UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

ANALYSES OF TWO SPEECHES BY OSAGYEFO DR. KWAME NKRUMAH: APPLYING INTERPERSONAL METAFUNCTION OF SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR.

BY

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THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF MA ENGLISH DEGREE.

MARCH, 2016
University Of Ghana

Department Of English

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This Dissertation Is Submitted To The University Of Ghana, Legon In Partial Fulfillment Of The Requirement For The Award Of MA English Degree.

March, 2016
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that, except for references to other people's work which have been duly acknowledged, this work is a result of my own research work, done under supervision, and has neither in part nor in whole been presented for another degree in the university or elsewhere.

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines two speeches of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, applying Halliday’s Interpersonal Metafunction of Systemic Functional Grammar. The two speeches are Dr. Kwame Nkrumah’s Independence Declaration Speech from British colonial rule on March 6, 1957 and a selected speech from his radio broadcasts to the people of Ghana, after the coup d'état of 1966, collectively dubbed “Voice From Conakry”.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana’s first Prime Minister and President, was notable for his prolific speeches and writings by which he expounded to his subjects his vision and plan of action in building the then new nation, Ghana. Many books and articles from both his critics and sycophants have contributed to his fame in the contemporary Ghana, Africa and the world at large. It is in view of this that this study sought to look at the man from language perspective in spite of the numerous books/articles about him.

After subjecting both speeches to Halliday’s Interpersonal Metafunction of Systemic Functional Grammar, it was revealed that Dr. Kwame Nkrumah per the MOOD analyses of Systemic Functional Grammar employed more declaratives in both speeches to convey much information to his audience. Again in both speeches, Dr. Nkrumah preferred using positive polarity as opposed to negative polarity attesting that as a good speaker, Dr. Nkrumah was assertive and confident in delivering his political messages. Moreover, the highest occurrences of present tenses in both speeches as against the future tenses confirm Dr. Nkrumah’s speech as being definite, explicit and captivating enough to arrest his audience’s attention.
From the analyses, it is seen that he equally employs low and median modals so as to come to the level of everyone and not to frequently use high modals like *must* to command them and this shortens the distance between him and his listeners. Notwithstanding this, the man’s speech is such that he ends up earning the trust, respect and confidence of his people as he is able to manipulate his use of pronouns appropriately. He uses *I* many times to foreground his authority yet he could find ways of using *we* to identify himself with his people. And that is leadership; knowing when to say what and Dr. Nkrumah proved he had it all.

Despite his consistency in his use of declaratives, present tenses, and polarity in both speeches, few variations could be deduced in his use of vocatives and modals between low and median modals as he manipulates them to suit the occasions of both speeches.

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), we use language to enact our personal and social relationships (the interpersonal Metafunction), and that is exactly what Dr. Nkrumah did during both circumstances of his speech.

Thus in both speeches, Dr. Nkrumah found ways of achieving the purpose of his speech.
DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my lovely daughter, Abena Ampofowaah Darko and to my wife, Roberta Agyeiwaa for their smiles and love that kept me on. Equally, I dedicate this work to the following: Mr. Samuel Amoh, Madam Cecilia Ampofowaa, Mr. Ebenezer Akowuah, Cynthia Sarpomaah Osei, Mrs. Cecilia Amo-Boateng, Mr. Joseph Dwumah, and Mr. Isaac Boisson for their care, devotion and financial support during my studies.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank God Almighty for His Son, Jesus Christ, who inspired me in many ways by His Words in spite of the difficulties I went through during my studies, and especially for the period of this dissertation.

I am grateful for the great help I received from many dedicated people. I must start with my debt of gratitude to my supervisor, Professor John F. Wiredu who did a painful job of taking the time to diligently supervise this dissertation and for the speed and devoted manner with which he supervised this work. Indeed, his guidance, critique, encouragement, and above all, patience shaped my thoughts about Halliday’s Interpersonal Metafunction of Systemic Functional Grammar. He really made this part of its application very practical to me.

I thank all the lecturers of the English Department for the knowledge imparted. I will forever be grateful. God bless you all.

I owe special debt of thanks to my parents Mr. Samuel Amoh and Madam Cecilia Ampofowaah and my sister Cynthia Sarpomaah Osei for the financial support they gave me and the diverse ways they contributed to making me go through this course successfully.

I would like to also express my gratitude to Mr. Joseph Dwumah for his encouragement and the financial support he offered me. It was really a big bail out for me. I sincerely thank my great friend, Cecilia Oti-Agyemang for the best she has always been to me then also my friend, Alphonse Nana Oppong, thanks for being there always.

I am also very grateful to Kwame Obeng-Appiah for the free consultation offered. You never ceased to respond to my call. I thank Mr. F. Kodie of the English Department (UG) and all my lecturers at Valley View University who encouraged me to come for further
studies at the University of Ghana, especially Mr. Abraham Okrah and Mrs. Felicia Annin.

I would not be able to end this list if I forget my course mates at the English Department, Gabriel, Sakip, Yvonne, Makafui, Ena, Kingsley, Mr. Kumah, Maxwell, Matilda, Rhoda, Kelechi, Charkitey, Griselda, Julius, for their wonderful friendship that kept me going.

I am also grateful to the Director and Board Members of Victory Presbyterian Church School, especially, the Chairman, Mr. Ebenezer Akowuah, for granting me the permission to go for this Graduate Programme with full salary in place.

I sincerely thank the able Welfare Executives of Victory Presbyterian Church School for always being there for me throughout my studies and to Richard Benimah, I say thank you for the support during all the difficult times.

I really appreciate the financial support and encouragement I received from my Pastor and brother Mr. Solomon Nii Saki Sackey of London as well as my uncle, Wofa Oppong of Italy. God bless them and Mr. Isaac Boisson whose prayers helped me to accomplish this work.

To my lovely wife, Roberta, I thank you for allowing me to be away in order to go through this course successfully. God bless you. And to you my sweet angel, Abena Ampofowaah Darko, your smiles kept me on when I felt discouraged. Daddy says thank you.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

CONTENT PAGE

DECLARATION ................................................................................................................ i
ABSTRACT .................................................................................................................... ii
DEDICATION ................................................................................................................ iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ............................................................................................. v
LIST OF TABLES ........................................................................................................... ix

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION ............................................................................. 1
1.0 Background ............................................................................................................... 1
1.1 Statement of the Problem .......................................................................................... 2
1.2 Objective of the Study ............................................................................................. 4
1.3 Research Questions ............................................................................................... 4
1.4 Relevance of the Study ........................................................................................... 5
1.5 Limitation .................................................................................................................. 5
1.6 Organization of the Study ......................................................................................... 5

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW ............................................................................................................................ 7
2.0 INTRODUCTION ..................................................................................................... 7
2.1 Theoretical Framework ............................................................................................ 7
2.2 The Concept of Systemic Functional Grammar ....................................................... 7
2.3 The Concept of Interpersonal Metafunction ........................................................... 11
2.4 PRONOUN .............................................................................................................. 14
2.5 REVIEW OF RELATED WORKS ........................................................................ 15

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY .................................................................... 19
3.0 Introduction ............................................................................................................. 19
3.1 Research Design ...................................................................................................... 19
3.2 Selection .................................................................................................................. 19
3.3 Data Collection Procedure ...................................................................................... 20
3.4 Data Analysis .......................................................................................................... 21

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS .......... 23
ANALYSES OF INTERPERSONAL METAFUNCTION IN BOTH SPEECHES 23
4.0 Introduction .................................................................................................................. 23
4.1 Analyses Of MOOD And Polarity In The Two Speeches .............................................. 23
4.2 The Use of Polarity ........................................................................................................ 32
4.3 The Use of Vocatives ..................................................................................................... 33
4.4 Analyses Of Modality In Both Speeches ..................................................................... 36
4.5 Analyses Of Pronoun In Both Speeches ..................................................................... 45
4.6 Finite/Tense Analyses .................................................................................................. 57
4.6 General Discussions Of Findings Of The Two Speeches .......................................... 62

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION .................. 67
5.0 Introduction .................................................................................................................. 67
5.1 Summary ...................................................................................................................... 67
5.2 Deductions/Conclusion ............................................................................................... 69
5.3 Recommendation ......................................................................................................... 74

WORKS CITED ..................................................................................................................... 75
Appendix I ............................................................................................................................ 77
Appendix II ............................................................................................................................ 80
**LIST OF TABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Table 1: showing the MOOD systems of the independent clauses in speech I</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 2: showing MOOD system of speech II</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 3: Polarity in Speech I</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 4: Polarity in Speech II</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 5: showing the use of vocatives in both speeches</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 6: depicting modality in speech I</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 7: depicting modality in Speech II</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 8: showing occurrences of personal pronoun subjects in Speech I</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 9: showing occurrences of personal pronoun subjects in speech II</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 10: Finite element of the MOOD systems of Speech I</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 11: Finite element of the MOOD system of speech II</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 12: showing MOOD systems of the independent clauses in both speeches</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 13: Polarity in speech I &amp; II</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background

Language plays a crucial role in politics; for every political action is prepared, accompanied, influenced and played by language. As a result, political speeches have been regarded as a major part of democracy, and they have been so throughout history (Irimiea 2010:2). Ghana is no exception.

Political speeches are supposed to increase the population’s political participation, help them to understand important issues and how problems are best solved as well as a way for the politicians to persuade others to have the same opinions as theirs. (Irimiea 2010:3). Through speeches, politicians are able to convey information and their views to their supporters and Computers and TV have undoubtedly made it easier for the citizens (and other people across the world) to access those speeches. These days, although the audience is a key part of political speeches, the real audience are the millions of people reading the speeches in the newspapers, listening to them on the radio or watching them on TV (Beard 2000:37).

Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah’s 1957 Independence Declaration speech was given before a large audience who were physically present. However, his collection of speeches dubbed “Voice From Conakry” were radio broadcasts to the people of Ghana during his exile in Guinea.

Speeches are important in politics and they help political leaders to liaise with their supporters in achieving a common political goal. In this work, Halliday’s Systemic
Functional Grammar is applied to study two Speeches of Osagyefo, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Halliday opined that language is inherently functional and that Grammar should be viewed as system and not as set of rules. He adds that it is the function of language that dictates its grammatical structures and rules.

The purpose of communication is to make meaningful interaction between the interactants and to establish meaningful relationships (Halliday 1985, Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Eggins 1994). Although many independent speeches from Ghana’s former heads of state over the years have been given to commemorate Ghana’s Independence Anniversary, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah’s Declaration of Independence (speech) always comes fresh and alive again as though he had just made the speech some few hours ago. It is not uncommon to find many people in Ghana who are very familiar with some portions of that speech like:

At long last, the battle has ended! And thus Ghana, your beloved country is free forever.

Equally captivating in the speech is his famous statement:

Our independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of Africa.

Moreover, when politicians in Ghana or Africa would want to instil “a can do attitude” in citizens, one is likely to hear them quote “after all, the black man is capable of managing
his own affairs.” It is therefore not surprising that The Hard Talk Tract Of Myjoyonline’s Ghanaian Agenda has described Dr. Nkrumah’s Independent Speech as

[T]he greatest speech ever written and delivered in Ghanaian geo-politics and rhetorical history.

The seemingly success of this speech is how well it was received by the audience and how meaningful it is to many people today. This presupposes that Dr. Nkrumah knew his audience very well and understood the conditions of his people and therefore made deliberate choices in addressing them.

Based on the tenets of Systemic Functional Grammar that language is functional, in that it used as a medium of communicating our thoughts to bring about meaning, it could be said that Dr. Nkrumah’s speech is described as “greatest in Ghanaian geo-politics” because his thoughts have clearly been understood, bringing about meaning. On the assumption that language is semiotic, that is meaning being made through a process of selecting from several options, means that Dr. Nkrumah rejected other possible ways/things he could have talked about but stuck to the words, vocabularies, and expressions which have earned the speech to be “greatest”. This could probably also mean that Dr. Nkrumah took into consideration the contexts of situation and culture by which he made the speech.

In view of the above, I have decided to examine the same speech described as greatest together with his speech, Voice From Conakry in the light of Halliday’s Interpersonal Metasfunction of Systemic Functional Grammar. Is Dr. Nkrumah’s speech described as “greatest” because he is able to have “meaningful interaction between the interactants” or
because he is able to establish ‘meaningful relationships’? The two speeches will thus be
used to examine how Dr. Kwame Nkrumah uses language to achieve his political
purposes in his speeches.

1.2 Objective of the Study

The study would seek:

i. to look at what MOOD choices are made by the speaker in both instances of
   the speeches given.

ii. to establish how the MOOD choices selected by the speaker contribute to the
    establishment of interpersonal relationships between the speaker and his
    audience.

iii. to look at the role of Modality, Polarity, Vocatives, Pronoun and Tense in
    bringing about interpersonalness in the texts.

1.3 Research Questions

In order to meet the said objectives, the following questions would have to be answered:

i. What MOOD types are employed in both speeches?

ii. How do the MOOD types used in both speeches contribute to establishing
    interpersonal relationship between the speaker and the audience?

iii. How do Modality, Polarity, Vocatives, Pronoun and Tense contribute to
    interpersonalness in the texts?
1.4 Relevance of the Study

This research is significant for a number of reasons: it will contribute knowledge to the research area under discussion –Interpersonal Metafunction (*Systemic Functional Grammar*). Besides, it would help readers understand how politicians use language to establish relationships with their political adherents/supporters and to give readers firsthand experience on how practical Halliday’s Systemic Functional Grammar could be. The two speeches analysed could inform readers the dynamics of Dr. Nkrumah’s speeches in the light of Halliday’s Systemic Functional Grammar, particularly the *Interpersonal Metafunction*.

1.5 Limitation

Even though Halliday’s MOOD analysis involves *Subject* and *Finite* which presupposes that all the *subjects* in the main clauses of the various sentences of both speeches would have to be looked at; due to time constraint, all forms of *subjects* would be ignored; only *pronoun subjects* would be examined. And even with Pronouns, possessives and *Wh* pronouns would not be considered. Only personal pronoun subjects would be analysed.

1.6 Organization of the Study

The research work was organized into five chapters. Chapter One considered the introduction of the study which consisted of the Background of the Study, Statement of the Problem, Purpose/Objective of the Study, Research Questions, Significance of the Study, Limitation of the study, and Organization of the Study.

Chapter Two dealt with the Literature Review of the study where the theoretical framework and some related works were discussed. Chapter Three discussed the
Methodology of the Study. The chapter included sub-headings like: research design, selection, data collection procedure, and data analysis.

Chapter Four was about Results and Discussions of Data. It dealt with the discussions of the data and the findings. Here, I analyzed the data (the two speeches by their MOOD constituents) and presented the findings to readers in a form of descriptions (tables) and discussion. Other aspects of the discussions included, Modality, Polarity, Vocatives, Pronoun and Tense

Chapter Five, the last chapter of the work, looked at the summary of the study, the conclusion, and the recommendations. This chapter was followed by references.
CHAPTER TWO
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the framework employed in the analysis of the data for the present study will be looked at. This will involve a brief explanation of the theoretical assumptions that underpin the framework and the quest to suit them to the specifications of the current study. Also, the chapter will consider a review of existing literature on Interpersonal Metafunction of Halliday’s Systemic Functional Grammar.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

As it is known, Systemic Functional Grammar is based on the foundations of Hallidayan view of Language as it is used in communication and it rests on the assumption that language is semiotic, systemic, and inherently functional.

2.2 The Concept of Systemic Functional Grammar

Systemic Functional Grammar, popularly known as SFG is a form of grammar that maintains that language should not merely be based on rules but meaning/function in the real world of the society in which that language is spoken. This theory of grammar explains that grammatical description of any language is on the basis that language is a social semiotic resource. According to Downing and Locke (2006), the major aim of this Systemic Functional Grammar is to establish a kind of correlation between the form and functional aspects of language. For instance, if someone says:
This is a stone.

Subject Finite

The position or arrangement of the subject ^ finite will bring about declarative structure while that of finite ^ subject will bring about interrogative structure as in:

Is this a stone?

Finite Subject

Thus although the constituents remain the same, once there is a change in the form (the ordering of the subject and finite positions) it results in the change of the structure and the subsequent communicative speech function. Thus while in the first, the structure is declarative, communicating statement, in the second the structure is interrogative, communicating question. This confirms why in Systemic Functional Grammar, attention is paid to both form and function of language.

Thus in the current study, the MOOD in Dr. Nkrumah’s speeches will be looked at with special attention paid to the ordering of the ‘subject and finite’ positions to bring out the grammatical structures produced as Declarative, Interrogative or Imperative and the speech functions they communicate and how these contribute to Interpersonal Metafunction.

Also, Halliday as quoted in Eggins (2004) is of the view that grammatical description is equally necessary in doing any text analysis; the component of form to the functional aspect of SFG brings to light the semiotic notion of language which as Eggins will say gives a powerful way interpreting language behaviour as choice.
If language is a semiotic system, then the process of language use is a process of making meanings by choosing. In making a choice from a linguistic system, what someone writes or says gets its meaning by being interpreted against the background of what could have been meant (said or written) in that context but was not. Through this distinction we relate what people did write or did say on any particular occasion (their actual linguistic choices) to what they could have written or could have said (their potential linguistic choices). (Eggins, 2004)

Let us consider the example below:

*The boy* is *strong*

*Subject*

For instance if I say the above, it means I have many options of nouns to have picked my subject from. I could have even used an animal, say a lion, and said *The lion is strong.* Even in using human being, I would have a wide range of people—male and female to choose from. I however selected male and even with male, a choice could have been made from the host of old man, man, young man, grandfather, boy, son, grandson, but I chose *boy.* This means that in making statements, speakers have a wide variety of possible alternatives available to them and they choose what they deem appropriate at the time of speaking.
As the Systemic Functional Grammar theoretical assumptions state, a text simultaneously encodes three metafunctions at the semantics level. These include the ideational, the textual and the interpersonal meanings.

**The ideational**: The ideational metafunction is concerned with the way external reality is represented, that is the content of the message. It is the obvious semantic reasoning that a text conveys. This meaning making potential is derived from a systemic pattern of choices which reveals the meaning potentials of language. According to Downing and Locke (2006: 122-3):

> A fundamental property of language is that it enables us to conceptualise and describe our experience, whether of the actions and events, people and things of the external world, or of the internal world of our thoughts, feelings and perceptions. This is done through transitivity, contemplated in a broad sense, which encompasses not only the verb but the semantic configuration of situation type.

This then communicates the processes, participants, and the circumstances involved in the text. The logical relationships that exist between the processes and participants could be revealed through analysis of the metafunction.

**The Textual**: The Textual metafunction is that part of the meaning which builds up different coherent thematic structures into the main text. Here, the audience is able to appreciate the topicality of the message produced, or its significance to the context in which it occurs, as well as the coherence between the whole text. All these then combine to bring about coherence and relevance to the audience in a socially appreciable way. (Halliday and Hasan 1985).
The Interpersonal Metafunction: The Interpersonal Metafunction is concerned with the relations, especially of power or societal conventions that exist between the speaker and addressee(s), and between speaker and text. In this metafunction, information about relations contained in the text is analysed. Texts come under the MOOD types either in the form of declaratives, interrogatives or imperatives. It must be noted that each of these three portrays different relationships the speaker has with the audience.

The Interpersonal Metafunction, which is one of the three meanings construed by language, according to the theory, where the clause is considered as exchange between the interlocutors, is the conceptual framework of this study.

2.3 The Concept of Interpersonal Metafunction

The grammatical system of MOOD is considered to be centrally related to the expression of interpersonal meaning. The MOOD element consists of two basic components – the Subject (usually a nominal group) and the Finite element (the verbal group or part of the verbal group).

Halliday and Matthiessen then explained what they termed as the MOOD network within which is a choice between imperative and indicative. If the speaker chooses indicative MOOD then there is a choice between declarative and interrogative. They explained further that the choice between declarative and interrogative is simply realized by manipulating the MOOD elements – the subject and the finite. For example if I say:
Kofi is my friend.

Subject Finite

The order above is Subject^Finite which is declarative. On the other hand, this could be revised by bringing the Finite in the first position followed by the subject producing Finite^Subject order to bring about interrogative as in:

Is Kofi my friend?

Finite Subject

It could be observed that in either case, “my friend” which is the “Residue” remains unaffected in the shift. Therefore an expression could be declarative or interrogative by simply manipulating the Subject and Finite positions in that expression. Below is an illustration of the MOOD system.

An illustration of the MOOD system from Wang (2008)
The diagram depicts some aspects of Interpersonal Metafunction –MOOD and Polarity which is of great importance to the current study. For instance, if in terms of the MOOD constituents the order of the subject and finite follows $Subject^\text{Finite}$, then the structure produced will be declarative; if however, the order is reversed, $Finite^\text{Subject}$, it becomes interrogative. As it is expected of most political speeches, if declaratives abound in the current study it will indicate that the speaker is assertive in the information he presents to his listeners. It will also mean that he assumes the role of information-giver with his audience as mere passive listeners.

If however, in the current study, the speaker, Dr. Nkrumah employs more of interrogative MOOD, it will mean that the speaker will want to solicit the views of his listeners. Additionally, if the speaker employs ‘Wh’ interrogatives, it will further confirm that the speaker is not just interested in the responses of his listeners but also their personal opinions on the issues he discusses in the speech and this will mean that he would want them to be drawn in to the discourse. This would then make the audience active participants and not mere passive listeners.

According to Halliday (1970), imperative clauses are most likely to communicate two main types of messages: one is to command the audience to do something, while the other is to invite the audience to do something or achieve something together, using Let’s. Most imperatives have their subjects omitted or do have implicit subjects.

Thus if the speaker uses imperative sentences, it would mean to make demands of his audience and this would mean that the speaker has assumed the role of being one in authority who demands obedience from his listeners. This may not always be the case because it is possible for a speaker to employ imperative to humbly make request or give
advice and I am sure such would be seen from this current study. Also, the use of imperative structures would also mean that the speaker would want the audience to be involved in the speech processes.

As noted from the diagram, Polarity is another way of analyzing text in terms of Interpersonal Metafunction. Polarity is positive when the clauses are unmarked while negative polarity is recognized by the presence of “not” usually located in the environment of the verb. The use of positive polarity will mean that the speaker is very confident in the information he gives out to his audience.

Again, vocatives also form important aspect of the MOOD structure employed in speeches to get attention or satisfy “face wants” of interactants in speeches. In this case, positive face, as in politeness, helps speakers to establish a kind of solidarity or intimacy with the audience or interactants while negative face is associated with threatening and emphasizing hierarchy and dominance.

2.4 PRONOUN

Another way by which Interpersonal Analyses could be done is by studying the use of personal pronouns in the text. This is because they establish a certain relationship between the addresser and the audience in a speech. Thus, personal pronouns are viewed as another way of carrying interpersonal meaning apart from MOOD and Modality. Generally, the first personal pronoun “I ”and “we” refer to the addressee, the second personal pronoun “you” refers to the person(s) addressed. According to Halliday (2000: 191), personal systems in general carry or bring about interpersonal meaning of the language. This personal system includes pronouns and possessives. A choice of one
pronoun over the others creates different interpersonal relationship. If *I* is used, it suggests the speaker is projecting himself to the listeners or audience as capable or strong enough while *we* could mean “I and others” or “I and you” of which the second encourages interpersonal rapport between the speaker and the audience in a speech delivery situation. *We* in Systemic Functional Grammar can be of two-folds. For instance, studies by Wang (2010) and Savoy (2009) emphasizes we inclusiveness while Ye (2010) and Mulderrig (2011) found that the pronoun *we* can be used for both inclusiveness and exclusiveness, making *we* a functionally complex pronoun.

The other pronoun which helps judge the interpersonal rapport in speeches is *you*. According to Li (2001), the role of the pronoun “you” in speech for instance is to establish an interactive atmosphere by creating a dialogic style in the speech to bring about intimacy or a close relationship between the addresser and the audience in the speech. And this usually bridges the gap between the speaker and the audience.

Thus in this current study, if there is no or limited uses of the pronoun ‘you’, it would mean that the speaker, Dr. Nkrumah did not want to bridge the gap between him and his audience or that he did not seek to achieve intimacy with his people.

### 2.5 REVIEW OF RELATED WORKS

In a political study by Ye (2010) on the *Interpersonal* analysis of Barack Obama’s Victory Speech, he investigated the contributions of MOOD, modality and pronoun in bringing about *interpersonalness* in the speech. These grammatical categories are also part of the current study. Ye’s research revealed that Obama’s Victory Speech was dominated by positive clauses that were followed by imperatives and interrogatives since
it was most likely that a political leader would offer messages that will reveal his political attitude and/or assumption and to also demand services. Even though Ye’s study was equally a political one like the current study, the two are different. In that while Obama’s victory speech could be compared to Nkrumah’s Independence Declaration speech because he (Dr. Nkrumah) had also won political independence for his country, the second speech from *Voice from Conakry* which is analysed simultaneously with the Independence Speech could not be compared to Obama’s victory speech, in that Nkrumah made the speech when his government had been overthrown. The circumstances are therefore different.

Again, Ye found that Obama’s speech was more of “you”-“we”-“you” affair which created a dialogic presentation and this shortened the communicative distance between Obama and that of his audience—other Americans. However, with the current study, the pattern of “you”-“we”-“you” has not been employed by Nkrumah and therefore he might use different strategy in bridging the gap with his audience.

What also makes this current study distinct is that while Ye, for instance, studied only one speech of Obama (his victory speech) in which his audience were physically present, the current study is on two speeches of Nkrumah which are both analysed simultaneously; in his Independence Declaration speech, the audience were physically present while the other was meant to be listened on Radios.

Again, Wang (2010) also employed transitivity and modality to study Obama’s first victory and inaugural speeches. The results of the analysis of *modality* reveal that Obama’s speech is one that is highly dominated by modal verbs as well as the first person
pronouns. While Wang’s research focused on transitivity, the current study focuses on Interpersonal nature of the speech. Even though, modality is also a category under study in this current work, modal verbs are not so prevalent as found by Wang in studying Obama’s speech.

Another application of Interpersonal Metafunction to political discourse is a study done by Ayoola in 2013. The study analysed advertisements of two political parties in some Nigerian newspapers in an attempt to canvass votes for their candidates. What makes the current study similar to that of Ayoola’s is that like the current study, Ayoola’s data were already transcribed texts. However, the two differ in the sense that Ayoola’s data were of two different political parties while in the current study, both texts are by one political leader, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. Also, in Ayoola’s study, attention was paid to only the MOOD and modality of the texts without a thorough analysis of the lexico-grammatical elements of say, tense. The current study is therefore distinct in that it has incorporated finite/tense analysis in looking at the certainty and factuality of messages presented in both speeches by the speaker.

Furthermore, Duran (2008) used some aspects of SFG to investigate other American presidential speeches. His study was more a contrastive study of acceptance speeches delivered by George Bush and Senator John Kerry before the 2004 elections in the United States. According to Duran, Bush portrayed himself as the main participant, and laughs at the contradictions and indecision of his opponent. The current study is however not comparative study of speeches by different political leaders. It rather focuses on simultaneous analyses of two speeches by a single politician, Dr. Nkrumah in different circumstances of his political career.
Thus the researches carried on most political speeches in the light of interpersonal metafunction usually analyse MOOD and modality or are done with single speeches of a political leader. If the speeches or texts are two, they usually belong to different individuals. In view of this, the current study digresses a bit to include such interpersonal elements of Polarity, Pronoun and Tense to the usually analysis of MOOD and modality seen in some researches.
CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

The chapter looks at the methodology that was used for the study. It explains how the study was carried out or conducted, how data were obtained and analyzed. It covers the following areas or sub-headings: research design, selection, data collection procedure, and data analysis.

3.1 Research Design

Although this study was supposed to be a qualitative one, statistics on the number of pronouns, modal verbs, and vocatives that were analysed brought some elements of quantitative research design. Thus this study was then a combination of both qualitative and quantitative research designs in order to make the analysis complete.

3.2 Selection

I employed purposive sampling technique in selecting the two speeches of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah for this dissertation.

In purposive sampling, researchers intentionally select individuals and sites to learn or understand the central phenomenon. The standard used in choosing participants and sites is whether they are ‘information rich’.

(Creswell, 2008:214).
Subsequently, two speeches of Dr. Nkrumah were selected for this study. Amongst the many speeches Dr. Nkrumah delivered, his Independence Declaration (speech) is selected as the Speech I in this work because of its unique climatic role in telling the ‘birth’ of a new nation –Ghana at the nation’s independence. The second speech was also selected because it is in sharp contrast with the first. He delivered the first speech when he was a Prime Minister of Ghana and the second when he had been deposed.

3.3 Data Collection Procedure

The data for this study were two selected speeches by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana’s first president, to the people of Ghana on different occasions, at different times. The first is his famous speech on the declaration of Ghana’s Independence on March 6, 1957, and the second is a selected speech from his radio broadcasts on Radio Guinea’s “Voice of the Revolution” collectively published as “Voice From Conakry”.

Osagyefo’s Independent Speech Declaration was selected because it bridges the gap between his earlier works for Ghana’s independence and the future of independent Ghana. Most of his later speeches, especially to fellow African Heads of State before the formation of O.A.U were only to push some of the agenda he had earlier expressed in the midnight speech of March 6, 1957. For instance, his insistence on African unity in most of his speeches was in agreement to what he had spoken about already during his declaration of Ghana’s independence:

As I said in the assembly just minutes ago, I made a point that we are going to create our own African personality and identity. It’s the only way that we can show the world that we are ready for our own battles.
Therefore, he believed that in recreating that African image, he needed a total cooperation of all others and this fueled his many speeches on the essence of African Unity. Thus in going through his speeches, Ghana’s Independence Declaration speech was ideal for this work while those after his presidency the *Speech II* as named in this work was selected as a result of its persuasive nature compared to the others. Both speeches were then finally selected from a host of others to be used for this dissertation.

3.4 Data Analysis

Since in Halliday’s Systemic Functional Grammar, clauses play vital roles especially in the Interpersonal Metafunction, the two speeches were first analyzed into their clausal elements and attention was paid to the main clauses. The clauses were analyzed by their *subjects* and *finite* verbs which Halliday calls MOOD constituents. The order of subject and finite in both speeches resulted in the number of declaratives, interrogatives and imperatives.

Where the order followed *subject*/*finite* position, it was counted as declarative while the reversed produced interrogative. The *imperatives* were noticed by their omission of explicit *subjects* and the use of “let’s”. In both speeches, the sentences were first numbered while within each sentence the main clauses were counted and their types indicated. Subscripts were first used to indicate the type of clause as declarative, interrogative or imperative while superscripts were used to number the occurrences of the various clausal types identified. It is based on these grammatical analyses that the two speeches were interpreted in the light of Interpersonal communication. The counting was
then easier to do. A table was drawn to display the inputs of the occurrences of the types of clauses and they were put into percentages.

Again, other factors like modality, personal pronoun subjects were also looked at. The modal operators in both speeches were grouped into low, median, high and their occurrences were numbered and put into percentages. For the pronouns, only the personal pronoun subjects of the identified main clauses were considered without including the possessives while in terms of the vocatives, they were merely counted to see their frequencies of use in both speeches.
CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

ANALYSES OF INTERPERSONAL METAFUNCTION IN BOTH SPEECHES

4.0 Introduction

This chapter looks at the data analysis and presentation of the study. The theme of Interpersonal Metafunction in the study is based on the system of MOOD and Polarity, Modality, Pronoun and Vocatives as well as Tense (Finite) in the two speeches used. Under each of these, the findings of both speeches are discussed.

4.1 Analyses Of MOOD And Polarity In The Two Speeches

MOOD system plays important role in conducting a study with SFG’s Interpersonal Metafunction. The choice of MOOD, however, is dependent upon what role the speaker would want to select and that to which he would want to assign to the addressee.

The analyses of the ordering of the subject and finite positions in the various clauses of the Speech I reveal that most of the clauses follow the subject \( ^{\text{a}} \) finite pattern, suggesting that most of the clauses are declaratives. Table 1 is a representation of the MOOD analyses as found in the first speech.
Table 1: showing the MOOD systems of the independent clauses in speech I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOOD SYSTEMS OF THE INDEPENDENT CLAUSES OF SPEECH I</th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>INDICATIVE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Declarative</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Imperative</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Statistically, out of the thirty-five main clauses in the Speech I, thirty-one of them forming eighty-nine percent (89%) are declaratives while three were imperatives with six percent (6%) and only one was interrogative, forming three percent (3%). This then confirms what most researchers say about the indicative and imperative MOODs in sentences. Ye’s (2010) assertion for instance is that declaratives clauses often dominate political speeches, while imperatives come next and are followed by interrogatives.

Declaratives when employed in speeches help give as much information as possible. Thus in political speeches, players often would want to give as much information to their supporters (audience) as time could allow. Dr. Nkrumah’s Independence Speech (Speech I) is not different and therefore he uses declaratives to inform his audience about Ghana’s independence which has been won. The following are analyses of the individual declarative clauses in the first speech.
“At long last, the battle has ended!

The MOOD of this clause is declarative and the speech function it communicates is statement, announcing to the audience an end of the battle against colonialism. Here the speaker uses the declarative in playing its traditional role of giving information.

And thus Ghana, your beloved country is free forever.”

The MOOD of the clause above is declarative and the speech function is statement, affirming the independence/freedom that has been won for the country.

And I want to take the opportunity to thank the chiefs and people of this country, the youth, the farmers, the women who have so nobly fought and won this battle.

Also I want to thank the valiant ex-service men who have so co-operated with me in this mighty task of freeing our country from foreign rule and imperialism.

In each of the two clauses above, the MOOD present is declarative and the speech function is statement by which the speaker recognizes the efforts of some specific people/group who contributed to the battle against colonialism. This makes the speaker identify himself with the people as team player in their victory over foreign rule and imperialism.
Here the clause above as captured in the fifth sentence of the first speech is declarative and the communicative function is statement. This comes as admonition from the speaker who sought to encourage the people to live in the consciousness of their independence.

But also, as I pointed out, that also entails hard work.

Dr. Nkrumah employs declarative structure in the sixth sentence above and communicates statement here too. The speaker recognizes the task ahead the aftermath of the independence and extends invitation to his audience to work hard. It is also a kind of caution to the people not to get over excited because independence is gained but that there is much work ahead of them.

The MOOD structure above is also declarative; the speech function here is statement and the speaker calls or invites his people for their support in helping him move the country forward.

He finally, on the twenty-second sentence, ends the entire speech also in a declarative; the communication function is statement, affirming the nation’s independence and forever freedom from colonialism. The above declarative then comes as an endorsement
of the political independence of the country from British Colonialism and foreign rule on the land.

It could then be realized from the text that it is not always that declarative MOOD necessarily gives information as people may assume. From the findings above, it could be seen that some of the declaratives extend invitation, appeal to people and caution as well as perform the traditional known function of giving information.

Dr. Nkrumah employs three imperative clauses in the first speech. They are analysed as follows:

(21i) Let us now fellow Ghanaians,

The speaker employs imperative structures above to close the gap between him and his audience by politely requesting of them to thank God for his blessings. This is done to gain the attention of his audience and to also involve them in the speech.

[21ii] Let us now ask for God’s blessing

The structure above is imperative, supposedly to command, but the speaker employs the imperative structure here as a way of suggesting to his audience to remember to be thankful to God who had helped them come out victoriously.

The next structure used by the speaker is interrogative.
But today, may I call upon you all - that on this great day, let us all remember that nothing in the world can be done unless it’s had the purport and support of God.

The interrogative structure above is used by the speaker to respectfully and politely request of them (audience) to reflect on how graciously God has dealt with them. This shows that there is a cordial relationship and mutual respect between the speaker and his audience.

The MOOD system of Speech II is also looked at. Table 2 summarises the MOOD system of the second speech as indicative (declarative/interrogative) or imperative and shows their frequencies of occurrence in the speech.

Table 2: showing MOOD system of speech II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOOD SYSTEMS OF THE INDEPENDENT CLAUSES</th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>INDICATIVE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Declarative</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IMPERATIVE</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the table, it is seen that the analysis of the second speech was not different from the first speech. Declarative still has the highest percentage of 87% while imperative came with eight percent (8%) and finally interrogative trailed last again with five percent (5%).

Thus in spite of the different circumstances of the speeches, no difference in terms of his choices of MOOD, was seen. In both speeches it is clear that preference for Declaratives
was highest. In this second speech, the speaker begins with a declarative structure to identify himself and his location:

\[(1)\text{ CHIEFS and people, men and women of Ghana, the rank and file of the Convention People’s Party, once again I speak to you from Conakry on Radio Guinea’s “Voice of the Revolution.}\]

The declarative structure above, like most declaratives used, has its communicative speech function to be statement and gives the audience information about the speaker and his location.

However, there were other declaratives which were also statements but were not giving information but promise/assurance and serving as reminder to the people. For instance:

\[\text{But they will fail. (9) Indeed, they have failed. As I told you in my last broadcast, I am still the constitutional head of the Ghana State.}\]

In the first clause above, the speaker promises and predicts the failure of the military regime that overthrew his government while in the second clause he affirms their doom.

He uses the third clause to remind the people that he was still the legally elected president of the nation; by this too, the speaker was indirectly threatening the army that overthrew his government. This shows that it is not always that declarative structures give information but they could be employed in diverse circumstances to serve different purposes apart from giving information.

Imperatives though are meant to give command; some instances of their uses in the second speech were different. For example:
stand firm $^{1}$ in your determination, even though you suffer in silence, and resist $^{2}$ all terrorism and buccaneering, martial law and false propaganda, with moral stamina and spiritual fortitude.

For the first one above, the speaker gives a non–authoritative advice, asking the people to remain determined and strong while in the second he rather persuade them further to kick against all forms of terrorism and false propaganda with courage.

In the instance of the third and fourth imperative structures, the speaker uses them not to command his audience but to admonish them not to be afraid. He encouraged them to be bold and self-assured as he tells them Do not be afraid or be cowed. Be confident. However, in the instance below the speaker now commands them to oppose the lies and misrepresentations of him while in the next, the speaker encourages them to take action.

By these imperative structures, the speaker is able to influence his people and get them involved in the speech process by making them active participants. Thus imperative structures though would usually perform their traditional function of ‘command’, they could be used in many ways to achieve specific purposes in communication as exemplified from the analysis of the second speech.

On interrogative structures, Dr. Nkrumah artistically employs them in some instances to demand for answers while in other instances he does not demand answers but either seeks
to question the wisdom in the military takeover or to arouse the emotions of the listeners. For example:

(23ii) But, what has made these army and police officers take \( \text{int.}^1 \) the step that they have taken, and why \( \text{did they} \text{int.}^2 \) do so during my absence from Ghana?

The above though are both ‘Wh’ interrogatives, the speaker has used them differently. While in the first clause he might want answers as to the reasons of his overthrown, in the second instance, he uses it to discredit the military’s ability to have made the attempt of his overthrown in his presence.

In the subsequent interrogative structures below, Dr. Nkrumah seems not to need answers to the questions, else he would have asked one at a time.

(58i) What have they\( \text{int.}^4 \) liberated, and what \( \text{are they} \text{int.}^5 \) trying to liberate? (58ii) Or do they\( \text{int.}^6 \) imagine that they are liberating Ghana in order to make her a present to their imperialist and neo-colonialist masters?

From the three interrogative structures above, it is evident from the third that the speaker had answers to his earlier questions and that he used the third interrogative structure here to expose the leaders of the coup and to warn them against any attempt of returning Ghana to colonialism. It is possible to say here that Dr. Nkrumah artistically employed interrogative to rather give information concerning the real intent of his overthrown. Thus in the second speech, he employs interrogative to both ask questions to get responses from his audience and to also arouse their emotions by exposing the army that overthrew him.
4.2 The Use of Polarity

Another important aspect of Interpersonal Analysis is Polarity which according to Halliday and Mattiessen (2013) is the opposition between positive and negative. The positive clause is usually unmarked while the negative clause has the presence of “not” usually located in the environment of the verb. The following are the results of the analyses of the two speeches.

Table 3: Polarity in Speech I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POLARITY</th>
<th>Occurrence/Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Polarity in Speech II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POLARITY</th>
<th>Occurrence/Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consider the following examples in Speech I:

\[(i)\] “At long last, the battle has ended!

\[(ii)\] And thus Ghana, your beloved country is free forever.”
The use of positive polarity here comes to confirm the speaker’s certainty and surety of the information given. Here it presupposes the speaker is very sure of the information he has given and that he is confident of himself that the battle has indeed ended.

\[(22i) \text{Ghana}\ \text{is}\ \text{decl.}^{30}\ \text{free forever}\]

He further used positive polarity to end the speech in the last sentence by stressing the theme of his entire message that the country was free forever. Thus by the use of positive polarity, the speaker presents himself as one who is very confident of himself in the message given.

Again, the overwhelming use of the positive polarity is an indication that the speaker is confident of himself that he is only presenting the facts and nothing else. Thus positive polarity is an indication of factuality. Such higher number of positive structures demonstrates the speaker’s surety of his propositions to his audience. Thus the speaker is certain and confident of the information he gives out to his audience.

4.3 The Use of Vocatives

In spite of the speaker’s overwhelming use of declaratives that makes him sound more like information-giver, he equally tries to employ vocatives in order to involve the audience in the speech. Thus by those vocatives, the audience’s attention is drawn as they are mentioned. Table 5 shows the occurrences of the speaker’s use of vocatives in both speeches.
Table 5: showing the use of vocatives in both speeches

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speech I</th>
<th>Vocatives</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speech I</td>
<td>Fellow Ghanaians</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech II</td>
<td>CHIEFS and people; men and women of Ghana; the rank and file of the Convention People’s Party; Countrymen; Countrymen Chiefs and people, men and women of Ghana</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The few instances of the use of vocatives in both speeches suggest that Dr. Nkrumah tried to identify his audience for their attention and participation thereby bridging the gap between him and them. Some examples as used in the speeches are as follows:

Speech I

Let us now fellow Ghanaians

In the first speech, only one vocative was identified. This suggests that the speaker did not make attempt to recognize the presence of his audience. This means that he might have relegated them to the background and that being in authority he did not probably care if they were listening to him or not. Moreover, Dr. Nkrumah might have been carried away in his joy of declaring the nation’s independence that he cared little about the audience’s attention.
However, the second speech was opened by such list of vocatives as it is seen in the first sentence and continued on the fifth and other parts of the speech to sentence seventy-four:

(1) **CHIEFS** and **people, men and women of Ghana, the rank and file of the Convention People’s Party, once again I speak to you from Conakry on Radio Guinea’s “Voice of the Revolution. Countrymen, (5) I am sure you already realize that this so-called Council does not constitute a new government of Ghana in Accra. Countrymen, at this time of trial, (52) it is important that you maintain your silent resistance.”

(74) “**Chiefs and people, men and women of Ghana, this is your hour of trial but (74ii) we shall triumph over our enemies.**

Even though in the first speech Dr. Nkrumah had his audience physically present, he failed to recognize their presence or call their attention to his speech. Meanwhile, he rather used more vocatives in the second speech in which his audience were meant to be listening to him from their radio sets at home. The *interpersonalness* here is that the speaker knew that once his audience were distant there was the need to keep mentioning and calling their names so that they could pay attention to what he wanted to tell them. It was a way of arousing their interest and seeking their rapt attention. Also, because he was deposed, he more than needed the listeners to help fight the National Liberation Council in order for him to come back to power.
4.4 Analyses Of Modality In Both Speeches

Halliday (2000) states that modality also plays an important role in carrying out the interpersonal metafunction of clauses showing to what degree the proposition is valid. The modal verbal operators in both speeches have been analyzed and the analyses are used to investigate Dr. Kwame Nkrumah’s level of commitment to the validity of what he says in both speeches. The modal auxiliary operators have therefore been grouped under the headings of Low, Median and High with their number of occurrences (frequencies). Based on these levels, the choice of one over the other remaining two affects the meaning of the text differently, creating its own kind of interpersonal relationship.

The results of the frequencies of the various modal operators are displayed in the table below based on their categories as low, median and high. This could be seen from Table 6.

Table 6: depicting modality in speech I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modal Operators</th>
<th>Specific modal verb</th>
<th>Frequency Occurrence</th>
<th>Total Frequencies of the various Modals</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Can</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Could</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>May</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Might</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median</td>
<td>Will</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Would</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shall</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Should</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Must</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the Table 6, it is seen that only six (6) modal verbs were used in the **Speech I** (Independence Declaration Speech). This means that the speaker’s use of modal verbs in the first speech is low and could mean that he was somehow tentative in some aspects of the information he let out. It therefore does not come as a surprise that in the few instances he applied modal verbs, low modals recorded the highest of three out of the six with fifty percent (50%) and median modal auxiliaries being second higher with thirty three percent (33%) while only one high modal was used, forming just seventeen percent (17%).

In **Speech II**, the use of modal verb operators is however encouraging as he uses modals thirty-five (35) times and this presupposes that in the second speech, the speaker was not tentative but confident in himself. The occurrences of the various modal verbs are displayed in the tabular form below. From the table, it is shown that Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in his radio broadcasts to the people of Ghana during his exile had special preference for median modals as compared to high or low modal operators. For the low modals, *can/could* occurred seven (7) times out of the total of nine low modals used while *may/might* occurred two (2) times. Together, a total of nine weak modals were used forming twenty percent (20%) while on the median modals, *will/would* occurred nineteen times and *shall/should* occurred five (5) times. Thus a total of twenty-three (23) Median modals forming sixty-eight percent (68%) were employed by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in the **Speech II**. In this second speech, high modals in the use of *must* occurred two (2) times, forming just six percent (6%) of the modals employed.
Table 7 summarises the various modal operators used in Speech II and their categories as Low, Median and High as well as their number of occurrences which, subsequently, have been put in percentages.

Table 7: depicting modality in Speech II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modal Operators</th>
<th>Specific modal verb</th>
<th>Frequency/ Occurrence</th>
<th>Total Frequencies Based On Modal Values</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Can</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Could</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>May</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Might</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median</td>
<td>Will</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Would</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shall</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Should</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Must</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As it has already been said, *can/could* denotes low modal commitment. Here, in the second speech, Dr. Nkrumah employed it six times and all in the negative polarity. For instance:

\(^{(18i)}\) *Not even their neo-colonialist and imperialist backers can* decl. \(^{24}\) save them from your wrath when you rise again.
The anarchy and terrorism these mutineers and traitors have tried to establish in Ghana cannot last very long.

These cowards cannot wash his blood off their hands by turning round to give him a military funeral.

Our secular and religious freedom cannot be destroyed.

The freedom which the people of Ghana under the leadership of the dynamic Convention People’s party fought for and won cannot be destroyed or even set back.

I will personally be with you, and when the time comes you fail to see it.

The first three sentences, sentence eighteen (18) and thirty (30) as well as fifty (50) are used to question the ability of the coup makers to sustain the coup for a very long time by negating “can”. The weak modals used hear also suggest that Osagyefo recognizes the strength of his opponents who had overthrown him in that coup and therefore preferred to use a weak modal to question their inability to sustain the coup. This then goes a long way to confirm that he did not underestimate the backers of the coup or those who masterminded it and the actual instruments of the coup. Thus Dr. Nkrumah was not very certain if the coup makers would go unpunished. The last two sentences were faintly used to encourage the people that in spite of the challenges of the dark days in the country from his overthrown, their freedom, both secular and religious would not be trampled upon. However, he still could not be so sure and therefore he uses the weak modal to connote his judgement and/or opinion.
May and Might become the next set of weak modals used by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in the Speech II. An example is \(^{(4i)}\) You \(^{*} may\) decl.\(^{6}\) cow them with tommy-guns and bayonets for a time but not the whole time.

May has been used to connote the choices available to the coup makers in using whatever means possible to tame the people of Ghana during the 1966 coup d’état to dance to their tune. “May” here then suggests that Dr. Kwame Nkrumah is fully aware that the leaders of the coup had the chance to resort to whatever means they would want to employ and that the tommy guns and the bayonets were not the only means available to them but it was also to alert his supporters to beware of the possibilities of the coup leaders employing more forceful means to coerce their compliance. This equally could mean that the coup leaders were to be careful because in spite of the choices available to them, they were still going to lose at the end of it. In both cases, it is clear that all were his personal guesses as to what is likely to happen.

The next set of modal operators worth talking about is the use of the Median Modal Operators which in the second speech forms the highest percentage of sixty-eight. Three of such modal operators were used and amongst them will recorded the highest, eighteen times and its counterpart would once while shall occurred three times and should two times. Thus will dominates the median modals. Out of the total of sixty-eight percent (68%) recorded for median modals, will alone forms fifty-one percent (51%).

Here the two functions of “will” are both seen. One group indicates the speaker’s predictions of futurity and the other demonstrates the speaker’s strong wish or determination. Out of a total of eighteen (18) main clauses that will is used, only five (5) of them were clearly instances satisfying “will” being used as predicting the future while
three actually expressed Dr. Nkrumah’s strong wish and determination. The remaining nine (9) clauses, however, perform this dual role inherently such that there is no clear cut as whether it is performing function of futurity clearly or that of expressing strong wish.

Instances of “will” performing such futurity functions are:

(22i) The physical resistance will emerge by itself.

(53i) Be confident, and very soon (53ii) you will rise again to put these imperialist and neo-colonialist inspired rebels and adventurers in their correct places.

(71i) Look at the very composition of the rebel Council, and you will find that it seeks to revive tribalism which we have taken so many years of hard work to eliminate.

(79i) We shall remove the obstacles they seek to place in the path of Ghana’s progress; (79ii) and peace will come again to our beloved Ghana.

Dr. Nkrumah employed will in the clauses contained in the sentences above to predict the future. His views are that if the Ghanaian populace become firm, in future, it is likely that they will be able to resort to physical resistance. He also encourages the people to observe the coup makers critically and that in the short time in the future they are likely to practice tribalism. He uses will to also encourage them to look into the future with hope, telling them that peace which has eluded the nation in those dark days would be restored.

Some clauses were equally employed to express Osagyefo’s strong determination and wishes. For example:

(15i) the wall of bayonets and rifles and tommy-guns they have erected around you will collapse.

(67i) Ghana is out of the gambling house of colonialism and (67ii) will never return to it again.
Dr. Nkrumah uses *will* in a firmer determination to condemn what he feels as an attempt to infringe upon the rights and freedom of the people during the period of the 1966 coup in the country. It is his strongest wish that the people are not cowed by guns, bayonets and threats of the rebel council that overthrew his government. He expresses stronger wish that the freedom and independence he led his people to fight for will remain so that the people do not ever go back into those days of foreign rule/colonialism.

In spite of these two functions, as I have already explained, most instances of “will” being used here in the second speech satisfy one of futurity, strong wish/determination as well as promise of an end to the days of military adventurism as well as hope of restoration of a legally CPP constituted government once more. For instance, the following sentences could possibly satisfy both functions of “will” in the speech to predict the future and to express Osagyefo’s strong determination in ensuring that the country returns to civilian rule and governance. The following examples demonstrate Dr. Nkrumah’s predictions of the future end of imperialism and his strong determination to return to the country in spite of his exile in Conakry, Guinea.

But they **will** fail. (9i) [Indeed], they **have** failed

The stand of neo-colonialism in Africa is being challenged by us and very soon it too **will** collapse.

The will of the broad masses of the people of Ghana **will** reassert itself. (55i) They **are** forcing you with bayonets and tommy-guns to do as they would like you to do. (56i) But intimidation and terrorism **will** pass away.

I **will** personally be with you, and when the time comes you **cannot** fail to see it.
In the above sentences, the clausal elements with “will” are both Dr. Nkrumah’s predictions and his yearn to see the coup makers fail completely. Thus in the sentence eight (8), Dr. Kwame Nkrumah predicts their doom that the coup is likely to be futile. Again in the next sentence (sentence 29), he seems to look into the future with the hope that just as colonialism fell so will neo-colonialism and that this did not remain mere predictions but could be his strongest desire and determination to see neo-colonialism completely fall apart. He also has strong wish that intimidation and terrorism will fail and he seems to see that also being fulfilled in the just soonest time in future. And as he moves on, the man in exile, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah’s wish to return to the country he had so much sacrificed for becomes clearer. He both promises that he would soon be with the people in person. He had spoken to them to remain firm so he looks into the future with the hope of returning to Ghana and he therefore promises them that he will be present in the country. Even though by saying this, Dr. Nkrumah tries to tell his subjects who might have been expecting him that sometime to come in the future he will be in the country again but at the same time his stronger determination to return is also clear that he will want to return from exile and that he desires to be with his own people and not continue to sojourn in another country. As the saying goes, there is no place like home so even though Dr. Nkrumah could possibly be given all the attention he needed in exile, it is clear from here that he was more than determined to return to his country. Thus it was not for nothing that in this second speech Dr. Nkrumah employed more of median modals. This was to restore hope to his people that in spite of the difficulties of the present, they can lift their heads to face the future with hope and confidence. The median modals are preferred because weaker modals would make his people doubt his strength of
character and his return altogether, while high modals might repel some of them completely. Thus by the use of the median modals, he does not sound weak and afraid yet he does not sound over confident in himself too. What he did was to maintain his balance, to restore the people’s confidence in him though he had been deposed and to express his strong determination to return to his homeland. This is not however to say that Dr. Nkrumah did away with high modals completely. He employed some high modals. The two instances are:

(62i) This clique of traitors and rebels who are doing so much to prepare the ground for them to come into Ghana must decl. call themselves a Council of Oppression and sell outs.

(81i) Our battle cry must be decl. “Away with the stooges of neo-colonialism. Away with Imperialism.

Here Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah uses “must” a high modal to charge the coup plotters to rather call themselves a council of oppression and sell outs instead of the National Liberation Council they dubbed themselves so. As the highest scale of modal commitment, Dr. Nkrumah employs it to mount pressure on the coup makers to relinquish their name of being a liberating council to oppressive council of sell outs. His use of must here then demonstrates his courage and intense determination to expose the clique of his army who carried out the coup d’état against him and that by using must he addresses them as though he were still in power, being the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. The second use of must in political speeches is to call on the audience to be determined to take action to achieve a common objective. This is clearly seen in the
second instance he employs *must* to call on the audience, his fans and supporters, to have a common voice to kick against the plotters of the coup which he referred to them as stooges of neo-colonialism.

4.5 Analyses Of Pronoun In Both Speeches

Apart from MOOD and Modality, pronouns also play vital role in carrying out Interpersonal Metafunction in speeches. According to Halliday (2000: 191), personal systems in general carry or bring about interpersonal meaning of the language. This personal system includes pronouns and possessives. In this study however, attention is paid only to pronouns and even that only personal pronoun subjects would be analysed; since in political speeches, the interpersonal meaning exists in the communication between the speaker and the audience, the choice of a particular personal pronoun over the other(s) definitely would suggest the speaker’s attitude towards his subjects or audience, creating varying effects on the listeners. The subject pronouns are then grouped as follows First Person (I, We); Second Person (You/You), Third Person (S/he, It, They). The table below presents the analyses of the Pronoun Subjects in the Speech I.
Table 8: showing occurrences of personal pronoun subjects in Speech I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun (Subjects)</th>
<th>Frequency/Occurrence</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the table, the personal pronoun *I* has taken the biggest share with fifty-five percent (55%) of the total pronoun subjects, followed by *we* with thirty-six percent (36%) and finally *it* with only nine percent (9%). For the interpersonal analyses here, attention will be paid to *I* and *we* and how they help bring about *interpersonalness* in the texts.

The Use of *I*

It could be observed from the speech that the pronoun *I* is the most preferred to the speaker. Another observation that could be made is the fact that right after the very first two sentences by which Dr. Nkrumah announces the country’s political independence,
the next sentences from sentence three starts with the use of the pronoun *I* and this is scattered throughout the speech to the very end.

It is understandable in that respect because after declaring the political independence of the people, there was the need for him to show his gratitude to the people who had cooperated with him to win the battle against colonialism. This becomes necessary because Dr. Nkrumah after many years of toiling to lead the country into its political independence from British colonialism surely received help and cooperation from the people and it was therefore necessary that he expresses his gratitude to the people who joined him in the struggle for independence. He probably did this because he knew very well that it was by the people’s cooperation and votes that had led him to have become the country’s first Prime Minister. Examples of such clauses are presented below:

(3i) And yet again, *I* want to take the opportunity to thank the chiefs and people of this country, the youth, the farmers, the women who have so nobly fought and won this battle.

(4i) Also *I* want to thank the valiant ex-service men who have so co-operated with me in this mighty task of freeing our country from foreign rule and imperialism.

Thus by the use of *I* here, Dr. Nkrumah was giving recognition to all the classes of people who had contributed to win victory for the country. With the next set of the Pronoun *I*, he uses the pronoun to identify himself with the people that in spite of the level he had obtained to become the First Prime Minister, he still needed their support and cooperation.
(7i) I am decl. depending upon the millions of the country, and the chiefs and people, to help me to reshape the destiny of this country.

(9ii) I'm relying upon your support. (9iii) I'm relying upon your hard work.

In spite of the attempts he makes to use the pronoun I in the context which would identify him with the people, the speaker’s over use of the singular first person pronoun suggests that the man projects himself as the strong man he was to have led them to attain their political independence. By the constant use of I especially throughout the text makes his listeners perceive him as a strong and confident figure, one in authority and capable of leading the country in the post-independent period in the history of the nation.

The Use We

The pronoun We in political speeches is likely to be taken for the speaker and the audience. Notwithstanding this, studies reveal that we in Systemic Functional Grammar can be of two-folds. While many studies like that of Wang (2010) and Savoy (2009) emphasizes we inclusiveness Ye (2010) and Mulderrig (2011) found that the pronoun we can be used for both inclusiveness and exclusiveness, making we a functionally complex pronoun. With the Speech I here, after careful analyses of the clauses the dominant function of we is that of inclusiveness while only two were that of exclusiveness, referring to the speaker and his government.
For example, in the sentences below, we is used for inclusive function:

\[5i) \textbf{we must} \text{ realise that from now on, we are no more a} \]
\[\text{colonial but a free and independent people.} \]

\[\text{(11i)} \textbf{We}, \text{have} \text{ decl.}^{18} \text{awakened.} \quad \text{(12i)} \textbf{We}, \text{will not} \text{ decl.}^{19} \text{sleep} \]
\[\text{anymore} \]

\[\text{(19i)} \textbf{We}, \text{have} \text{ decl.}^{26} \text{won the battle and} \quad \text{(19ii)} \textbf{we} \text{again re-} \]
\[\text{dedicate} \text{ decl.}^{27} \text{ourselves ...} \]

Thus Dr. Nkrumah uses the we inclusive to get his people involved that the realization that they are now a free people is for everyone including himself. This call of awakening is not just meant for his people but he also. It encompasses everyone; his opponents, his supporters, his subjects and everyone in the audience. This is a call on the people to safeguard their independence that in spite of the difficulties and differences in political ideologies towards the move for independence, at last it is finally here and that all should be proud and ready to move in the consciousness of this independence. It can also be said that by this inclusive we, Dr. Nkrumah identifies himself with the ordinary citizens of the country with equal rights and responsibilities on them all to reshape the future of the country.

While Dr. Nkrumah made extensive use of the we inclusive, he did not totally ignore the exclusive use of we to refer to himself and his political party or government. The following sentences depict instances where we is used to refer to himself and his administration and not the people in the audience.
depending upon the millions of the country, and the chiefs and people, to help me to reshape the destiny of this country.

prepared to pick it up and make it a nation that will be respected by every other nation in the world.

going to have difficult beginnings, but again, relying upon your support, relying upon your hard work.

going to demonstrate to the world, to the other nations, that we are prepared to lay our own foundation.

It is not for nothing that Dr. Nkrumah employs exclusive; having just come out of colonialism which is associated with all the ills, suffering, discrimination and injustice as well as backbiting amongst the citizens, he feels that there is the need to present a stronger team of governance which was more than prepared to cross over the country's difficulties and to restore peace and order to the people. Dr. Nkrumah, like many African heads of states at the time of independence, probably felt that colonialism had weakened the country and had devastated everything good on the land and therefore there was the need for a clearer committed government to correct such social ills. Thus by the use of exclusive here, he presents his government as a promising one capable enough to lead the people to achieve social and economic development. Again, he promises the audience and rekindles theirs hopes that his government is ready to work hard enough, in spite, of the difficulties and challenges to move the country forward. Such exclusive presents him and those of his cabinet as one in authority and he has therefore achieved his purpose of being the one in charge of the country.
In speech II, the pronoun occurrences are displayed as they could be seen from Table 9.

The table reveals that *they* has the highest percentage occurring twenty three times and forming thirty-eight percent while the next higher recorded pronoun is *I* which also occurred twenty times with twenty eight percent (28%). The Plural *You* had seventeen percent (17%) while *It* recorded thirteen percent (13%). *He* recorded just one percent (1%) while *She*, and singular *You* recorded zero. Table 9 displays the information as follows:

**Table 9: showing occurrences of personal pronoun subjects in speech II**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>Frequency/Occurrence</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the analyses *they* which did not appear in the first speech at all takes prominent lead in the speech II.
The Third Personal pronoun system (they)

They as the third person pronoun plural subject occurred twenty-three times, forming thirty-two percent. They refers to those people who might be absent. And if the people are absent then it is likely that the speaker would not be able to achieve a good interpersonal rapport with the listening audience since they may not be directly involved.

The following is how they has been used in the second speech. In the first place, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah for the many uses of they refers to the coup makers or those clique of his army and police (the National Liberation Council) who were the very instruments of his overthrown on February 24, 1966. Instances of the following depict so.

(2ii) I have learnt, with some amusement, of the feeble attempts by the so-called National Liberation Council to prevent you from using your own wireless sets for fear you might hear my voice. (3i) Perhaps they are unaware that the desire of the masses cannot be denied nor their will thwarted.

Since they as used referred to other people who were not his targeted audience, he made his real audience rather passive. And this then did not encourage interpersonalness in the speech.

The next pronoun that recorded a higher percentage is I which occurred twenty times with twenty-eight percent (28%). As has been said earlier, many uses of I would suggest a projection of “self”, that is a foregrounding of the speaker’s authority and strong influence. For example,
Countrymen, \((56)\) I am sure you\(^3\) already realize that this so called Council does not constitute a new government of Ghana in Accra

\(5\) am \(14\) sure that even those army and police adventurers and traitors know that without the support of the masses…

\(8\) am \(27\) confident that you shall prove him right

[In fact] \(10\) know.

Since Dr. Nkrumah was speaking at the time he had been overthrown in a coup done in his absence and had been forced into exile in Guinea, he had good reasons to have used \(I\) many times so as to portray himself as the same hero and leader who championed the cause of the people’s independence. It was also an attempt to make his audience view him as very powerful that he is capable of saving the country from the crisis of military interference in governorship and that he was still capable of breaking their front as he did to the colonial masters. Thus this constant use of \(I\) was to drum into the ears of audience that the coup was illegal and that it was not even a coup at all but sheer military adventurism and this was meant to raise the people’s confidence in him once again as their strong leader and to promise them of his return to restore order.

From the table, the next pronoun used frequently is the plural “You” which occurred twelve times forming seventeen percent (17\%). According to Li (2001), the significant role of “you” in speech for instance is to establish an interactive atmosphere by creating a dialogic style in the speech to bring about intimacy or a close relationship between the addressee and the audience in the speech. Let us consider the following examples:
I have learnt, with some amusement, of the feeble attempts by the so-called National Liberation Council to prevent you from using your own wireless sets for fear you might hear my voice.

Countrymen, I am sure you already realize that this so-called Council does not constitute a new government of Ghana in Accra.

Here, the speaker tries to reason with his audience to come to the realization that the National Liberation Council does not qualify to form any government to rule the people of Ghana. The pronoun You is used in the above to suggest that the speaker is ready to have an interaction with the audience and therefore directs the issues he raises to them directly; this form of calling on the audience to reason with him shortens the distance between him and the audience/listeners.

Again, in the subsequent use of You, the speaker rather tries to get his audience involved in the conversation the more by encouraging them that in spite of the challenges and oppression they may be going through, they are capable of rising to overthrow the army council who claim to be in charge of governance at the time. He sought to make them feel that they are stronger than the army and that they should get strengthened to defeat the coup leaders. Thus the speaker gets them involved in a shared responsibility that for him to return to the country again as the Head of Government that they so much wanted, if they indeed wanted it so, then they all had a duty to be courageous and to be steadfast in toppling over the army leadership. This is seen in the following:

(15i) the wall of bayonets and rifles and tommy-guns they have erected around you will collapse.[ I know]

(16i) you will rise up in your mass strength, to break
through it and overthrow these irresponsible army and police traitors and adventurers.

\[47i\] you should draw encouragement and conviction of your strength from the fact that these traitorous rebels have not dared to disband the Workers’ Brigade, for fear of its strength.

\[7i\] you will rise again to put these imperialist and neo-colonialist inspired rebels and adventurers in their correct places.

By giving them this responsibility, Dr. Nkrumah bridges the gap between him and his people (audience) and this therefore encourages interpersonal relationship between him and the audience.

**We** which is used normally to shorten distance between speakers and listeners/audience occurred only six times. This suggests that the speaker per his circumstances at a time gets off from his audience and only dwells on referential subjects while he is rather supposed to get the audience along in the speech. Some of the instances he employed *we* are below:

\[43i\] (Perhaps) we owe a lot to the Ghanaian’s inherent love for peace, because due to this peaceful disposition \[43ii\] we did not build our Armed Forces for external defence. \[44i\] we only maintained a token force for internal security.

The first parts on the uses of *we*, Dr. Nkrumah identifies himself with his audience as a lover of peace and therefore seems to understand why the people have not taken up arms also to fight back the illegal council in place as government. Then in the sentences below,
he makes the audience aware that he, like them, has a common focus—to overthrow and defeat the National Liberation Council. And he assures them that at last they will win together and that nothing was difficult enough to impede the success they will achieve. This form of inclusive *we* when used makes the audience feel that the speaker is just one of them and this feeling of unity alone sparks them up to work together in the direction of the speaker and this encourages interpersonal rapport between him and his audience.

By the pronoun *we* Dr. Nkrumah shortens the distance between him and his audience. In political speeches of this nature, it is not surprising that political figures in their victory for the course they championed tries to identify themselves with the people who had contributed to their success and achievement. They also take opportunity to close any distance between them and their political opponents so that they could join hands to build their country. And this is exactly what Dr. Nkrumah did to embrace everyone on the day of the country’s independence declaration as it has been seen from the analyses of Speech I on the use of the pronoun *we* and the same attitude of togetherness was demonstrated after his overthrown in the Speech II as he identifies himself with the audience by using *we* (inclusive) and explains to them they were all in the troubles together and would overcome together.

(74i) [Chiefs and people, men and women of Ghana], this is your hour of trial but (74ii) *we shall* triumph over our enemies

(78i) *We shall* overcome oppression and rebellion. (79i) *We* shall remove the obstacles they seek to place in the path of Ghana’s progress.
4.6 Finite/Tense Analyses

In talking about the MOOD, it has already been indicated as the subject and finite constituents of the clause. Thus the finite element equally plays an important aspect in Interpersonal Metafunction as it makes the proposition definite, to anchor the proposition in a way that we can argue about (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). According to Eggins, the Finite brings about tense – either past, present or future. However, since the finite is always the first element of the verbal group, the temporal finite verbal operators were first analysed into present or past by looking at the first finite verbal operators in both speeches. This brought about will and shall coming under present in the initial analysis before per their context they were identified as future. The tables below display the finite elements of the MOOD systems of the two speeches.

In the first speech, out of a total of thirty five (35) main clauses that were analysed, thirty-three (33) had their finite operators to be in the present tense. Two (2) out the thirty-three (33) were later classified as future since they were used in combination with other verbal element(s) in the clause to communicate future notion.

We will not sleep anymore.

Table 10: Finite element of the MOOD systems of Speech I
Thus *will* though is in the present tense, being combined with the lexical verb *sleep* suggests a future event. In this way, Dr. Nkrumah uses the finite to communicate a future precaution by negating it that they were never going to sleep nor rest. They were forever going to be alert and cautious of any external invasion from their British colonial masters or anywhere else.

The fact that most of the clauses have their finite in the present tense suggests that Dr. Nkrumah’s message was definite and that he was in a way presenting an all-time truth. This means that he presented facts to his people.

(1i) *At long last, the battle has* present 1 *ended!* (2i) *And thus Ghana, your beloved country is* present 2 *free forever.*

The opening of the speech in this way above is itself captivating and this makes the speaker definite about what he says. Thus the use of present tense here helps Dr. Nkrumah to announce to his audience their long awaited independence from colonialism.
The simple present tense which is used to make statements of facts helped Dr. Nkrumah to assure his people of their freedom. He did not mean they were going to be free the next day but that their “beloved country is free forever.” This then comes as affirmation of why the battle has ended.

Dr. Nkrumah repeats to his audience “We have present\textsuperscript{24} won the battle and \textsuperscript{(19ii)} we again re-dedicate present\textsuperscript{25} ourselves.” Thus he used present tenses to remind them that they were finally free. This then comes as a wakeup call to let them also know that the independence gained was not a gift packaged from the British Empire that they got it so freely but that it was a great battle and they have won at last. This will definitely ignites fresh energy into his audience to return home with victory consciousness. The fact that no one amongst the audience challenged Dr. Nkrumah on Ghana’s independence is a proof that those were statements of fact. Dr. Nkrumah also employed the past tense which is also definite to recount a past expression. The two examples are:

I made past\textsuperscript{1} it quite clear that from now on – today – we must change our attitudes.

In both instances above, Dr. Nkrumah recalls his earlier statements which he believed were still factual and relevant to the occasion.

If the use of the future tense makes the speaker sound tentative and that of present tense makes a speech definite, then Dr. Nkrumah’s Independence speech would always stand out as it abounds in overwhelming use of the present tense. It could also be the reason the speech is regarded as the greatest written and delivered in Ghana’s geo-politics.
An analysis of the second speech is presented below.

Table 11: Finite element of the MOOD system of speech II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>FREQUENCY</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the table, it could be seen that a total of one hundred and one (101) present tenses were recorded while twenty (20) of them were future markers as they combine with other verbs found in the clauses to communicate futurity. Ten past verbal operators were recorded.

In the second speech also, Dr. Nkrumah uses the present tenses to make several statements of facts to his audience in order to give them as much information as possible and to also seek to disabuse their minds from the supposedly lies and propaganda of the coup leaders. He announces his identity and where he is speaking from in the present tense.

> [O]nce again I speak present to you from Conakry on Radio Guinea’s “Voice of the Revolution.

That was a statement of fact to let his audience know where exactly he was. Then immediately, he uses same present tense to reason with the people that the coup leaders were not capable and could not be trusted with the political administration of the country.
What you find in Accra now is present, no more than a clique of military and police adventurers who are attempting to destroy and set back the economic, political and social gains of the people of Ghana.

By using the present tense, Dr. Nkrumah only affirmed his perception of the coup leaders as group of irresponsible army who were only living in adventurism. He however uses the past tense to recount his achievements while in office. And by using past tense, it presupposes Dr. Nkrumah’s definite stance as far as his achievements were concerned.

I should know this, because the Ghana Armed Forces, is my own creation. I reorganized the Army myself, founded the Ghana Air Force, and established the Navy from scratch.

On the contrary, instances of future tenses used in the speech also brings to light some portions of his speech that were mere guesses or hopes that he may not have been so sure of. For instance, he uses will to predict the doom of the coup leaders and this reveals he was not certain; however, when he needed to really sound very optimistic about his hope, he rather chose present tense immediately afterwards. This means that Dr. Nkrumah employed the present tenses whenever he really wanted to ensure the potency of his speech. The example below attests to this:

But they will fail. Indeed, they have failed.

As said earlier, he used the future tense to envisage the doom of his political enemies. The following sentences with will / shall are examples:
The stand of neo-colonialism in Africa is present. Being challenged by us and very soon it too will present. As I last assured you, it shall soon pass away. But intimidation and terrorism will pass away.

He also used the future tenses to promise the people of Ghana his return to the country. This means he was not certain as it has been explained earlier because the future tense makes expressions tentative while the present and past makes it definite.

I shall be with you very soon. I will personally be with you.

With the overwhelming use of the present tenses especially in the first speech, Dr. Nkrumah’s speeches remain relevant and timeless. No wonder his Independence speech is jingled on the air waves – radio, television – any time Ghana marks its independence celebration. This is as a result of his deep affirmation that “Ghana is free for ever.” The present tense used carries the import of his message as it ought to be.

4.6 General Discussions Of Findings Of The Two Speeches

Both speeches are from the same politician, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and they have been analysed on the basis of Halliday’s Interpersonal Metafunction to investigate how he established interpersonal rapport in both speeches on the two different occasions – one as the Prime Minister of Ghana (Speech I) and the other as a deposed Head of State (Speech II). Table 12 is a tabular representation of the MOOD analyses of both speeches.
Table 12: showing MOOD systems of the independent clauses in both speeches

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOOD SYSTEMS OF THE INDEPENDENT CLAUSES IN BOTH SPEECHES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MOOD TYPE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDICATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Declarative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPERATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the findings, it is discovered that in terms of MOOD systems/structures as declarative, interrogative and imperative, both speeches recorded highest percentages of the occurrences of declaratives with eighty-nine (89%) and eighty-seven percent (87%) respectively for Speech I and Speech II. Imperatives were the next in both speeches followed by the interrogative. This means that in both speeches the speaker preferred declaratives to imperatives and interrogatives.

Thus in both speeches, Dr. Nkrumah by the declaratives is more of an information giver as it is expected in political speeches. This is equally in agreement to what most researchers have found as far as Interpersonal Metafunction analysis is concerned in political speeches. This is because in political speeches, players or speakers tend to stress their ideologies and would want to give much information to their listeners/audience. However, there were other instances that declaratives were used differently apart from giving information. The overwhelming use of the declarative structures is also an
indication that the speaker is assertive in the information he presents to his listeners in both instances of Speech I and Speech II in spite of the different circumstances of the speech. The different circumstances he found himself did not so much affect his use of the declarative, imperative and interrogative structures in both speeches. Thus in both instances, preference for declaratives was highest.

Again, in terms of Polarity which is adjudication of Yes or No to affirm or deny propositions, both speeches favoured positive polarity as compared to negative polarity. Table 13 presents Polarity in both speeches.

**Table 13: Polarity in speech I & II**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POLARITY</th>
<th>Occurrence/Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As already indicated from the findings, positive polarity was ninety-four (94%) and ninety-two (92%) percent respectively for Speech I and Speech II. Thus the table above sums it up clearly that positive polarity occurred one hundred and forty-three (143) times while negative polarity occurred only eleven (11) times in both speeches. By this overwhelming use of positive polarity, it could be inferred that the speaker in both speeches demonstrates high confidence in presenting facts to his audience.

In terms of modality, in speech I, Osagyefo favoured the use of low modals in order to bridge the gap between him and his listeners and to get them along with him in building
the new post-independent nation. Thus he tried to reduce his use of high modals to the
barest minimum.

In speech II, will was used to raise the people’s hopes and aspiration to have a free
nation once again and to promise them of his earnest determination to return to restore
orderliness in the country while must was used twice; the first to attack the coup leaders
and the second to instigate and incite the citizens to do away with the military personnel
whom he suspected were stooges of what he called as neo-colonialism.

It is however expected that being in power, at the declaration of Independence, Dr.
Kwame Nkrumah would rather show his authority to the people by employing very high
modals or using fewer low modals but it was the opposite that happened. He rather used
Median modals and high modals when he was rather in exile, out of the presidency. This
was necessary because he needed to be firm and bold to denounce the coup completely
and to stand as a beacon of hope to his people whom he had heard in exile that several
atrocities had been meted out against them, especially those in the then ruling CPP
Government.

For Speech I, the pronoun I took prominence, occurring twelve (12) times and forming
fifty-five percent (55%) while We occurred eight (8) times with thirty-six percent (36%).
By using the first person pronoun subjects (I/We), Dr. Nkrumah employed the singular (I)
to project himself to his audience as a strong leader who is capable to lead them while he
uses we to refer to either his government or the audience so as to get identified with them
so that they support him to become a successful leader and help him build the nation. On
the other hand, Dr. Nkrumah used they twenty-three (23) times being the highest
percentage of thirty-two (32%) which never occurred even once in the first speech. Thus
it is possible to say that the circumstances of his overthrown affected his conversation with his audience such that he kept on using *they* to refer to his army personnel who staged the coup against him in his absence. Thus Dr. Nkrumah by using *they* many times was in a way relegating the audience to the background as though they were just to remain passive listeners. Here too he uses *I* also often to project himself once more as their leader, not really ready to bow to the coup makers at all. He also used *You* (plural) to get their attention and to urge them to remain strong in the second speech while encouraging them to resort to physical resistance when the need be.

Vocatives are important in political speeches to get the attention of the listeners. Dr. Nkrumah therefore employed vocatives in both speeches (I & II). He however intensified his use of vocatives in the second speech. This is probably because in the second speech as a deposed Head of State, he had to struggle to identify himself with his own people once again even as he had, sadly, been exiled from his own country, Ghana. Thus there was a constant need to keep on calling them *Countrymen*, etc., in order to make the audience feel he is still part of them and really care about their wellbeing. This could probably also be to get the audience involvement to revolt against the National Liberation Council who had deposed him in a military coup.

Both speeches recording very high occurrences of present tenses confirm that Dr. Nkrumah’s speeches are definite and that he is very optimistic about the information he puts across. It is then not surprising that Dr. Nkrumah’s speeches carry inspiration to the present generation in spite of the fact that they have been delivered decades ago. This could probably be that the overwhelming use of the present tense always makes his speeches important in the contemporary world such that they fit perfectly in present times.
CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.0 Introduction

This chapter gives the summary of the Dissertation, the conclusion, and the recommendations. The chapter is subdivided into three parts: Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations.

5.1 Summary

The study actually focused on “Analyses of Two Speeches by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah: Applying Interpersonal Metafunction Of Systemic Functional Grammar.”

The main purpose of the study was to investigate how an individual could use language differently for different purposes in different circumstances to enact social relationships, applying Halliday’s Systemic Functional Grammar; the two speeches of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah were ideal for this academic exercise.

The study was then guided by the following research questions:

i. What MOOD types are employed in both speeches?

ii. How do the MOOD types used in both speeches contribute to establishing interpersonal relationship between the speaker and the audience?

iii. How do Modality, Polarity, Vocatives, Pronoun and Tense contribute to interpersonalness in the texts?

The transcribed versions of both speeches were used for the analyses. Major findings include:
a) Both speeches by the MOOD constituents favoured more of declaratives, followed by imperatives while interrogatives were the least used.

- The frequent use of declaratives makes the speaker assume the role of information giver yet he is able to bridge the distance between him and the listeners by identifying himself with his listeners through some of the pronouns employed in the declarative structures used.
- Imperative clauses were used to get the listeners involved in the speech process so that they are not passive listeners; they were also used to rather offer suggestions (first speech) and to give advice (second speech) than to command to make the speaker sound authoritarian.
- Interrogative structure was used to politely make request of the audience – showing a kind of mutual relationship between the speaker and his audience (listeners). It was also employed in the second speech to give very vital information indirectly to listeners in order to arouse their attention instead of asking questions (for answers) as the speaker’s desired answers were already captured in the rhetorical questions he raised.

b) Most of the clauses, in terms of polarity, were positive in both instances of the speeches.

c) Differences were however noted in types of pronoun choices, modals, and vocatives for the two speeches and this was for him to achieve a peculiar purpose of the speeches in both instances. The second speech favoured highest use of median modals as compared to the first speech which was characterised by frequent use of low modals. In both instances, high modals recorded the least.
d) Vocatives were much more present in the second speech than in the first speech.

e) The two speeches abound in high occurrences of present tenses which confirm how definite Dr. Nkrumah’s speeches are.

f) Declarative, Imperative, and Interrogative structures though have traditional functions of giving information, commanding or asking questions respectively in speeches, they could be used in diverse ways to suit the speaker as seen in the analyses.

5.2 Deductions/Conclusion

This paper has employed Halliday’s Systemic Functional Grammar (Precisely, Interpersonal Metafunction) to study how political figures use language in different situations or contexts. Thus the independence declaration speech (Speech I) and a selected text (Speech II) from Dr. Nkrumah’s broadcast speeches from Conakry have been studied using the lenses of Halliday’s Interpersonal Metafunction. This is done to illuminate the role of Interpersonal Metafunction in political speeches, especially by same politician in different circumstances of political history in his country.

The analysis here focuses on various elements of interpersonal meaning in both speeches. The following choices were analysed: MOOD, Polarity, Vocatives, Modality, Personal Pronouns and Tense. From the analysis of MOOD in both speeches, it is seen that Dr. Nkrumah opted for declarative clauses for their potential in providing as much information as possible while imperative clauses ranked second and interrogatives trailed last. He also artistically used declaratives to encourage his people, while he used imperatives to offer advice. Meanwhile his interrogatives did not all ask questions but
some (from the analyses) provided information and even cautioned the audience against falsehood. This then disagrees with researches that assume that always the declaratives give information, imperatives for command and interrogatives for asking questions.

Notwithstanding the fact that both speeches were made under different circumstances, their analyses in terms of MOOD in Systemic Functional Grammar show that political speeches are usually declaratives by structure followed by imperative, confirming many researches done with SFG on political speeches. This overwhelming use of declarative clauses leaves the audience as sheer listeners without making them part of the speech interaction. However, it enables the speaker to serve his purpose of giving information to the audience.

Apart from the MOOD analysis, Polarity was also looked at to see how it has been handled by the speaker in both speeches to bring about interpersonal rapport; as it has already been observed from the discussion of the findings, polarity in both speeches favoured high positive polarity as against low negative polarity in both speeches. This affirms that the persona here is confident and very sure that he presents factuality. This is equally an indication that the speaker is very assertive with the content of his message/presentation.

Thus looking at both MOOD and polarity as elements of Interpersonal Metafunction, there is a certain level of consistency in his use of language in both speeches. Dr. Nkrumah used MOOD and polarity to establish interpersonal relationship with his listeners/audience. In both instances, he uses declaratives to give as much information as
he could while he shows confidence in his facts by maintaining positive polarity in both speeches as well as present tenses.

Vocatives form the third element in the Interpersonal Metafunction application to both speeches. However, unlike the similarities drawn between the use of MOOD and Polarity in both speeches, vocatives rather bring about differences in the two speeches. In **Speech I** the speaker makes less use of vocatives as compared to **Speech II** where he used them frequently to get the attention of the audience throughout the speech. It could be inferred that in speech II, Osagyefo tried harder to use the vocatives to get the audience involved in the speech because he was physically absent and that they could only hear him on radio.

Moreover, modality was looked at. In view of this, the speaker’s use of modal auxiliaries has also been examined. In the first speech, Dr. Nkrumah’s use of modal verbs in the first speech was very low. He also had preference for low modals like *can, may*, which reveals that in the first speech Dr. Nkrumah avoided being so confident in himself and therefore employed weak modals. The next frequently modal he used in same speech is the median scale modal. Contrary to the Speech I, Dr. Nkrumah’s use of modals in the second speech was encouraging. He employs modal auxiliary operators of median scale hugely to dominate the speech. Thus the median modals recorded sixty-eight (68%) as opposed to low modals with twenty-six (26%) and high modals with only six percent (6%). His excessive use of the auxiliary *will* illustrates Dr. Nkrumah’s strong will and determination to return to the country as its true legal Head of State. By the use of *will*, he equally predicts the doom of the coup makers and makes predictions of a better future for the country when he returns. Even though his use of high modals here too is low the two
occasions he employed must, a high modal, was to warn the coup plotters of the atrocities they were committing and to call on the audience to do away with the so called National Liberation Council.

His overwhelming use of the first person pronoun (singular), especially in the first speech was a projection of himself and therefore did not encourage interpersonal rapport but he however makes attempt using the inclusive we to get his audience involved. In the second speech on the other hand, Dr. Nkrumah rather employs they as the highest pronoun subject in the speech and this refers to the coup leaders; thus probably by frustration and determination to attack them, he forgets about his audience only to be making references to his opponents—the coup leaders.

Conclusively, although Dr. Nkrumah’s use of Polarity and analyses of MOOD constituents in both speeches did not show any clear difference between the speeches as they both tend to favour more declaratives and positive polarity, the analyses of modality, personal pronoun-subjects and vocatives brought about differences in both instances of the speeches analysed. It could then be concluded that most political speeches are likely to give information to listeners/audience despite different political histories or circumstances by which such speeches are made. When it comes to pronoun usage, Speech I recorded fifty-five percent (55%) of I; we recorded thirty-six percent (36%) while It recorded nine percent (9%). Both pronouns it and I which form sixty-four percent (64%) do not encourage interpersonal rapport but we which usually establish interpersonal rapport formed just thirty six percent (36%). In the second speech, I, he, it, and they which do not usually create interpersonal relationship with the listeners or audience form a total of seventy-four percent (74%) while you and we which usually
bridge the gap between the speaker and the audience form twenty six percent (26%). The conclusion drawn here is that in political speeches, the speakers are likely to project themselves to the people (audience) and would want to make their ideologies known to their supporters. The speakers then end up distancing themselves from their audience. However, Dr. Nkrumah still tried to maintain close relationship by using we which encompasses himself and his listeners towards a common focus while he uses you to get them to do or reason with him. Thus the MOOD systems, polarity and pronoun usage in both speeches are not totally different.

However, the differences in both speeches stem from their use of vocatives, and modality. In terms of vocatives, Dr. Nkrumah uses it more frequently in the second speech than in the first speech. This would suggest that in the second speech he tries to arouse the attention of the audience the more to get them involved in the speech making process. Again, while Dr. Nkrumah employed low modals and median modals more frequently in the first speech, he rather tends to use median modals in the second speech to sound more affirmative and confident in his presentation. This was necessary because he needed his audience to rise against the military council that overthrew his government.

The different uses of the various elements of Halliday’s Interpersonal Metafunction here affirms the notion that language performs specific functions in the society and that speakers make deliberate choices which affect their relationship with the addressee(s) during communication.
5.3 Recommendation

The study has revealed that in political discourse, speeches by the political players are based on the political atmosphere at the time. Therefore same individual would employ different schemes of various elements of Interpersonal Metafunction be it Polarity, Pronoun, vocative, etc., in scoring political points or achieving his aim.

However, there are overlapping instances in determining the interpersonal rapport when using all the elements of the Interpersonal Metafunction. For instance, when it comes to vocatives, Speech II recorded more vocatives yet in that same Speech II, pronouns like they and he or it which do not encourage interpersonal rapport were equally on the higher side too. Though the speaker might have achieved his aim by using different approaches to get his audience along, it is difficult to judge on a whole if he really established interpersonal rapport considering the fact that in terms of vocatives he would have satisfied so while by pronoun he would not have achieved same purpose that much. It is therefore recommended that in studying or applying Halliday’s Systemic Functional Grammar (Interpersonal Metafunction) the researcher employs just one of the elements/methods say Pronoun to make the study straight forward.

It is also recommended that further researches are carried out to investigate whether indeed more of Dr. Nkrumah’s speeches would change from this pattern to really confirm that he adopts different styles to achieve his purposes in his political speeches. Finally, thorough studies could be conducted to prove whether same individual’s different speeches would have much difference or just little as it is seen here. It is possible that broader similarities in the two speeches here could be confirmed by similar studies of comparing two or three speeches of same person.
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[http://kwabena.me/post/193427005/kwame-nkrumahs-speech-on-independence-6th-march](http://kwabena.me/post/193427005/kwame-nkrumahs-speech-on-independence-6th-march)
Appendix I

MOOD ANALYSIS OF SPEECH I

Kwame Nkrumah’s Speech On Independence: 6th March 1957

(1) “At long last, the battle has ended! And thus Ghana, your beloved country is free forever.”

(2) And I want to take the opportunity to thank the chiefs and people of this country, the youth, the farmers, the women who have so nobly fought and won this battle.

(3) Also I want to thank the valiant ex-service men who have so co-operated with me in this mighty task of freeing our country from foreign rule and imperialism.

(4) And as I pointed out, it quite clear that from now on – today – we must change our attitudes, our minds, realise that from now on, we are no more a colonial but a free and independent people.

(5) But also, as I pointed out, that entails hard work.

Reshaping Ghana’s destiny

(6) I am depending upon the millions of the country, and the chiefs and people, to help me to reshape the destiny of this country.

(7) We are prepared to pick it up and make it a nation that will be respected by every other nation in the world.
We know we are going to have difficult beginnings, but again, I'm relying upon your support, relying upon your hard work.

Seeing you in this, it doesn't matter how far my eye goes, I can see that you are here in your millions and my last warning to you is that you are to stand firm behind us so that we can prove to the world that when the African is given a chance he can show the world that he is somebody!

We have awakened. We will not sleep anymore. Today, from now on, there is a new African in the world!

That new African is ready to fight his own battles and show that after all, the black man is capable of managing his own affairs.

We are going to demonstrate to the world, to the other nations, that we are prepared to lay our own foundation.

Our own African identity

As I said in the assembly just minutes ago, I made a point that we are going to create our own African personality and identity, the only way that we can show the world that we are ready for own battles.

But today, may I call upon you all - that on this great day, let us all remember that nothing in the world can be done unless it’s had the purport and support of God.
We have won the battle and we again re-dedicate ourselves … Our independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African continent.

Let us now fellow Ghanaians, let us now ask for God’s blessing and for only two seconds in your thousands and millions, I want to ask you to pause only for one minute and give thanks to almighty God for having led us through our difficulties, imprisonments, hardships and suffering to have brought us to the end of our trouble today.

National anthem One minute silence.

Ghana is free forever and here I will ask the band to play the Ghana national anthem.

Source of transcription: http://kwabena.me/post/193427005/kwame-nkrumahs-speech-on-independence-6th-march
Appendix II

MOOD ANALYSIS SPEECH II

Ghana Is Out Of The Gambling House Of Colonialism And Will Never Return.

13th March 1966

(1) CHIEFS and people, men and women of Ghana, the rank and file of the Convention People’s Party, once again I speak to you from Conakry on Radio Guinea’s “Voice of the Revolution.”

(2) A week ago I spoke to you on the day of the 9th Anniversary of our Independence. Since then, I have learnt, with some amusement, of the feeble attempts by the so-called National Liberation Council to prevent you from using your own wireless sets for fear you might hear my voice. Perhaps they are unaware that the desire of the masses cannot be denied nor their will thwarted. You may cow them with tommy-guns and bayonets for a time but not the whole time.

Countrymen, I am sure you already realize that this so called Council does not constitute a new government of Ghana in Accra. What you find in Accra now is no more than a clique of military and police adventurers who are attempting to destroy and set back the economic, political and social gains of the people of Ghana. In this nefarious pursuit being propelled by neo-colonialists and their agents who have resorted to the use of force to keep the people of Ghana oppressed. But they will fail. Indeed, they have failed. As I told you in my last broadcast, the
Convention People’s Party is still the vanguard of the people’s political movement, and I am still the constitutional head of the Ghana State.

I am sure that even those army and police adventurers and traitors know that without the support of the masses they have no existence. They also know that the people of Ghana are behind me. Hence, the vicious propaganda and vilifications spreading about my government and the Convention People’s Party and its integral wings.

These people have underestimated the strength of the masses; they have miscalculated the dynamic force of the Convention People’s Party. Before your united might, confronted with your mass strength, the wall of bayonets and rifles and tommy-guns they have erected around you will collapse. I know you will rise up in your mass strength, to break through it and overthrow these irresponsible army and police traitors and adventurers.

I am sure that already in their hearts these enemies of the people regret the folly of their action and go in daily fear of its consequences, for they feel your anger like the Sword of Damocles hanging over their heads. Not even their neo-colonialist and imperialist backers can save them from your wrath when you rise again.

It was the late Major General Barwah who in his humble and amiable frank way told me that the Ghana Army could not take political power and exist in Ghana. As I promised you in my last broadcast I shall be with you very soon and I am confident that you shall prove him right. First, stand firm in your determination, even though you suffer in silence, and resist all terrorism and
buccaneering, martial law and false propaganda, with moral stamina and spiritual fortitude. \(^{(22i)}\) The physical resistance will \(_{28}\) emerge by itself.

\(^{(23i)}\) But, what has made these army and police officers take \(_{1}\) the step that they have taken, and why \(^{(23ii)}\) did they \(_{2}\) do so during my absence from Ghana?

If they felt strong enough and confident in themselves \(^{(24i)}\) why did they \(_{3}\) make this treacherous move only when I was away? \(^{(25i)}\) They \(_{4}\) thought \(_{29}\) that supported by their imperialist and neo-colonialist masters, \(^{(25ii)}\) they \(_{5}\) could \(_{30}\) terrorise you into subjugation, with rifles, bayonets, and tommy-guns, and force anarchy and destruction on you. \(^{(26i)}\) They \(_{6}\) chose \(_{31}\) my absence as the most opportune time for their treachery because they dared not do it in my presence. \(^{(27i)}\) They \(_{7}\) have \(_{32}\) bitten more than they can swallow and \(^{(27ii)}\) their days of reckoning are \(_{33}\) approaching.

As for the imperialists and neo-imperialists, \(^{(28i)}\) they \(_{8}\) have \(_{34}\) only succeeded in aiding and abetting the insane murderers of patriotic citizens in cold blood, and the killers of innocent loyal army officers. \(^{(29i)}\) The stand of neo-colonialism in Africa is \(_{35}\) being challenged by us and very soon \(^{(29ii)}\) it \(_{9}\) too will \(_{36}\) collapse.

\(^{(30i)}\) The anarchy and terrorism these mutineers and traitors have tried to establish in Ghana cannot \(_{37}\) last very long. \(^{(31i)}\) It \(_{10}\) is \(_{38}\) bound to be of short duration, and as I last assured you, \(^{(31ii)}\) it \(_{11}\) shall \(_{39}\) soon pass away. \(^{(32i)}\) Then, you \(_{12}\) will \(_{40}\) find yourselves reborn in a strength which was previously not experienced by the people of Ghana.

\(^{(33i)}\) \(_{13}\) know \(_{41}\) that the bulk of the army and police does not support this rebellious clique. \(^{(33i)}\) \[In fact\] \(_{14}\) know, \(_{42}\) that, but for the treacherous instigation of certain
police officers with neo-colonialist bias, my armed forces would have thought twice before stooping to such a disgraceful act of rebellion for which there is no reason whatsoever. (34i) It is sheer stupidity and vandalism. (35i) I know that there are many in my armed forces who are loyal to me and even though they are either being misguided, intimidated or bullied now, (35ii) they will rise again with the people to defend the people’s cause. (36i) I should know this, because the Ghana Armed Forces, is my own creation. (37i) I reorganized the Army myself, (37ii) founded the Ghana Air Force, and (37iii) established the Navy from scratch. [I remember] it was only very recently that I ordered seven jet fighters from Italy for the Air Force for training purposes. (39i) [Unfortunately], two crashed and Ghana is now left with five.

(40i) [Countrymen], when you see these traitorous rebels strutting around the Accra streets looking pretentiously menacing, when you are continuously disturbed by the whines of the five jet fighters as they engage in aerobatics over the city of Accra, be afraid or be cowed. For, as the creator of the Ghana Armed Forces, I assure you that even their combined strength is powerless and harmless. (42i) An eloquent testimony of their weakness is borne by the great resistance they encountered from the handful of my Guard Regiment at Flagstaff House.

(43i) [Perhaps] we owe a lot to the Ghanaian’s inherent love for peace, because due to this peaceful disposition we did not build our Armed Forces for external defence. (44i) We only maintained a token force for internal security. (45i) For the same reason the Ghana Police Service is unharmed unlike the colonial Police Force. (46) Herein lies the wisdom in late Major-General Barwaah’s contention that the
Ghana Armed Forces can never successfully subjugate the masses. In numbers alone, even the strength of the Workers’ Brigade completely overshadows the Armed Forces, and you should draw encouragement and conviction of your strength from the fact that these traitorous rebels have not dared to disband the Workers’ Brigade, for fear of its strength.

Major-General Barwah’s loyalty was unquestioned and the facts of his cold-blooded murder make a classic example of cowardly assassination. You know how he was awakened in the small hours of the morning by some of the rebel army officers, and how they shot him dead at close range because he flatly and categorically refused to join the plot and hand the army to them. These cowards cannot wash his blood off their hands by turning round to give him a military funeral. He is dead, but I know that as Chief of Army Staff, there are some army officers who are still loyal to him and these will rise and avenge his death at the right time, even though now they suffer in silence.

[Countrymen], at this time of trial, it is important that you maintain your silent resistance. Be confident, and very soon you will rise again to put these imperialist and neo-colonialist inspired rebels and adventurers in their correct places. The will of the broad masses of the people of Ghana will reassert itself. They are forcing you with bayonets and tommy-guns to do as they would like you to do. But intimidation and terrorism will pass away.

interesting and at the same time ridiculous, that this clique of army and police adventurers should call themselves a “National Liberation Council.” What
have they\textsuperscript{18} int.\textsuperscript{4} liberated, and what \textsuperscript{(58ii)} are they\textsuperscript{19} int.\textsuperscript{5} trying to liberate? \textsuperscript{(58i)} Or do they\textsuperscript{20} int.\textsuperscript{6} imagine that they are liberating Ghana in order to make her a present to their imperialist and neo-colonialist masters? \textsuperscript{(59i)} I\textsuperscript{16} would\textsuperscript{76} advise this clique of lying traitors rather to liberate themselves from their neo-colonialist and imperialists masters. Since the 24th February incident,\textsuperscript{(60i)} you\textsuperscript{10} only have\textsuperscript{77} to look around to see the influx into Ghana of these imperialists and neo-colonialists as well as their agents!\textsuperscript{(61i)} They\textsuperscript{21} stream\textsuperscript{78} into the country because they smell a fertile ground for economic subjugation and financial profiteering.\textsuperscript{(62i)} This clique of traitors and rebels who are doing so much to prepare the ground for them to come into Ghana must\textsuperscript{79} call themselves a Council of Oppression and sell outs.\textsuperscript{(63i)} They\textsuperscript{22} are not\textsuperscript{80} a National Liberation Council but a Notorious Liars Council.

\textit{[I know]}\textsuperscript{(64i)} they\textsuperscript{23} have\textsuperscript{81} told you and \textsuperscript{(64ii)} are\textsuperscript{82} still telling you a lot of lies in an attempt to deceive and mislead you.\textsuperscript{(65i)} But take heart,\textsuperscript{imp.\textsuperscript{5}} stand firm\textsuperscript{imp.\textsuperscript{6}} and \textsuperscript{(65iii)} oppose\textsuperscript{imp.\textsuperscript{7}} their lies and vilifications.\textsuperscript{(66i)} The freedom which the people of Ghana under the leadership of the dynamic Convention People’s party fought for and won cannot\textsuperscript{83} be destroyed or even set back.\textsuperscript{(67i)} Ghana is\textsuperscript{84} out of the gambling house of colonialism and \textsuperscript{(67ii)} will\textsuperscript{85} never return to it again.\textsuperscript{(68i)} Our secular and religious freedom cannot\textsuperscript{86} be destroyed.\textsuperscript{(69i)} The forces of light will\textsuperscript{87} eventually overcome those of darkness, and \textsuperscript{(69ii)} truth will\textsuperscript{88} always prevail over falsehood.\textsuperscript{(70i)} This is\textsuperscript{89} a moral law which cannot be denied even if these oppressive rebels and mutineers take your wireless sets away from you or forbid you to use them, by military decrees.

\textsuperscript{(71i)}Look\textsuperscript{imp.\textsuperscript{8}} at the very composition of the rebel Council, and\textsuperscript{(71ii)} you\textsuperscript{11} will\textsuperscript{90} find that it seeks to revive tribalism which we have taken so many years of hard work to
eliminate.\(^{(72i)}\) \(I^{16}\) assure \(^{(91)}\) you that they cannot destroy the socialist gains of the Convention People’s Party, or the social state we have created.\(^{(73i)}\) The same Ghanaians masses who defeated colonialism \(^{(92)}\) also defeat neo-colonialism and their agents in Ghana.

\(^{(74i)}[\text{Chiefs and people, men and women of Ghana}], \text{this is } \(^{(93)}\) your hour of trial but \(^{(74ii)}\) we \(^{(94)}\) shall \(^{(17)}\) triumph over our enemies.\(^{(75i)}\) \(I^{17}\) call \(^{(95)}\) upon the rank and file of the Convention People’s Party, those brave men who won so gallantly against the colonialists in pre-Independence days;\(^{(75ii)}\) \(I^{18}\) call \(^{(96)}\) upon the Farmers Council Co-operatives, the National Council of Ghana Women, the Ghana Moslems’ Council, the Workers’ Brigade and all Party wings and activists in the nine regions of Ghana, and last but not least, the Young Pioneer Movement and all the youth of Ghana to stand firm in this hour of trial, resist \(^{(9)}\) all falsehood and deception, and \(^{(75iii)}\) prepare to revolt \(^{(10)}\) against this clique of oppressive and deceiving adventurers.\(^{(76i)}\) \(I^{19}\) also call \(^{(97)}\) upon those loyal sections of my armed forces and police to identify themselves with the masses and fight at their side to destroy these rebellious traitors and stooges of colonialism.\(^{(77i)}\) \(I^{20}\) will \(^{(98)}\) personally be with you, and when the time comes \(^{(77ii)}\) you \(^{(12)}\) cannot \(^{(99)}\) fail to see it.\(^{(78i)}\) We \(^{(5)}\) shall \(^{(10)}\) overcome oppression and rebellion.\(^{(79i)}\) We \(^{(6)}\) shall \(^{(101)}\) remove the obstacles they seek to place in the path of Ghana’s progress; \(^{(79ii)}\) and peace will \(^{(102)}\) come again to our beloved Ghana, cleansing it of the vilifications, shame and abuses which these adventurers and mutineers and their imperialist and neo-colonialist masters have tried to heap upon Ghana.

\(^{(80i)}\) There is \(^{(103)}\) victory for us.\(^{(81i)}\) Our battle cry must be \(^{(104)}\) “Away with the stooges of neo-colonialism. Away with Imperialism. Down with the clique of Army and Police

86
adventurers. Onward to social, economic and political progress of the fatherland. Forward, to the glory of Ghana and Africa. Long live the Convention People’s Party. Long live the African Revolution.”