

**DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE LANGUAGE OF
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN IN GHANA: EVIDENCE FROM
THE 2008 GENERAL ELECTIONS**

BY

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The logo of the University of Ghana is a shield-shaped emblem. The top section is blue with three golden stalks of grain. The middle section is white with a golden circular emblem. The bottom section is blue with a golden banner that reads "INTEGRITY".

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that apart from references to other works and quotations, which have been duly acknowledged, this dissertation is the result of my own original work, and that it has not been submitted for a different degree elsewhere.

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my wife, Cynthia Addy, my three sons, Sakyi, Tetteh and Nyarko and my only daughter Korkor.



ABSTRACT

The work discusses the use of stylistic devices and other devices in presidential campaign messages in Ghana. The author selects three of the 2008 presidential campaign speeches of Prof. Atta Mills, Dr. Papa Kwesi Nduom and Nana Akuffo-Addo the then presidential candidates of National Democratic Congress, Conversion People's Party, and New Patriotic Party respectively for the analysis. The analysis is grounded on Fairclough's (1995) in *Critical Discourse Analysis*, claiming that there is a close link across text, discourse practice, and socio-cultural practice. It also employs Walton's (1997) observation in *Propaganda Discourse Analysis*, which claims that propaganda discourse is indifferent to logical reasoning. It employs one-sided argumentation, persuasive dialogue, emotive language and persuasive definitions.

The work reveals that there is a link between the language (devices) employed by the candidates, and socio-cultural practices of Ghanaians. It also reveals that Ghanaian political campaign is audience-driven. The stylistic devices employed by the candidates include historical allusion, metaphor, anaphora and repetition, intertextuality, simile, personification, hyperbole and rhetorical question. The other devices deployed by the candidates include actor description, use of virtue words, polarization "We-They" categorization, vagueness, proof surrogate, ad hominem, emotive expression, appeal to masses, number game rhetoric, national self-glorification, downplayers, code-switching and promise. All the other devices are propagandistic in nature except code-switching and promise.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE WORK

| Abbreviations | Full Form |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| CDA | Critical Discourse Analysis |
| CPP | Convention People's Party |
| GBC | Ghana Broadcasting Corporation |
| GETFUND | Ghana Education Trust Fund |
| IEA | Institute of Economic Affairs |
| NDC | National Democratic Congress |
| NPP | New Patriotic Party |
| PDA | Propaganda Discourse Analysis |
| UGCC | United Gold Coast Conversion |



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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the Study

The basic aim of political communication is to inform, educate, persuade, influence and seduce supporters and non-supporters to embrace a particular idea or action, using different approaches and varied channels. The encoding of political communication in Ghana is very complex due to the fact that, the encoder (a politician), has to bear in mind the multicultural and multilingual background of his/her audience. According to Sornig (1989:97) “intelligibility is a prerequisite of persuasion”. So one can understand the difficulty involved in attaining “intelligibility” in a multicultural and multilingual state like Ghana when it comes to national politics. The issue of intelligibility becomes very pronounced in a state where most citizens cannot access the official language for their communicative needs. In short, politicians and voters must understand each other’s language well before effective communication can take place. Sornig (1987:97) posits that,

... the person to be convinced would have to understand every bit of information and every strand of associative meaning that is being transmitted to him. This would mean that not only referential –denotative features, conditioned by presuppositions, would have to be parallel in both parties, but also degrees of semantic intensity and expressiveness, and above all the connotative meaning potential, attitudinal aspects, fears, and expectations. In fact, the communicative biographies of the partners ought to be practically the same in order to guarantee mutual understanding and trustworthiness, since parallel semiotic backgrounds are necessary to effect the persuader’s main task, i.e. to lure the recipient into identifying with the persuader’s perspective.

What Sornig means basically is that interactants must understand each other or must be able to successfully interpret each other's utterances correctly. This communicative imbalance between politicians and electorates in Ghana, places huge communicative task on politicians to devise a linguistic tactics to convince the electorates to carry out the desired intent of politicians. This linguistic imbalance has caused politicians in Ghana to employ a lot of linguistic strategies to convince electorates to vote for them.

To talk about political communication in respect of Ghanaian political landscape, one terminology has emerged which is the focus of this thesis. It is ideology. The purpose of this thesis is to illustrate how Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Propaganda Discourse Analysis (PDA) play an invaluable role in studying and analyzing the ideological elements in selected presidential campaign speeches of Prof. Atta Mills, Dr. Papa Kwesi Nduom and Nana Akuffo -Addo Danquah of NDC, CPP, and NPP respectively. Specifically, the thesis uses selected speeches of these three candidates from the 2008 general elections to examine the persuasive strategies they adopted to canvass for vote.

The study adopts both Fairclough (1995) and Walton's (1997) theoretical frameworks. Fairclough (1995) states that to give life to the meaning of any communicative event, the context should not be relegated to the background. He links cultural, institutional and situational contexts to linguistic practice (this will be elaborated in chapter two under theoretical frame work). Similarly, Walton (1997) traces the origin, the meaning and the parameters within which a text can be labeled propaganda discourse. These frameworks are cardinal to this thesis

because a) any language a politician uses is context specific and b) political ideology thrives well through propaganda. Due to their in-depth analysis (CDA and PDA), they will help to account for real meanings and intentions of the politicians in question.

Language is not only a means of communication but also a means of presenting and shaping argument and political argument is ideological, because it stems from a series of beliefs (Beard, 2000:18). Taiwo (2007:221) posits that ideology refers to “attitudes, sets of beliefs, values, and doctrines with reference to religious, political, economic life, which shape individual’s and group’s perception and through which reality is constructed and interpreted” In other words, ideology is a reflection of one’s experiential knowledge and non-experiential knowledge which manifests itself in the way discourse is constructed and interpreted. Kress (1990), as cited in Taiwo (2007) observes that statements or propositions that constitute a discourse are themselves expressive of, and is underpinned by, a specific ideology.

This study points out how Ghanaian presidential candidates use **stylistic** and **other devices** to give existence to their ideology. It also examines the role context plays in the selection of these devices. The **stylistic devices** are discussed in chapter three while **other devices** are discussed in chapter four.

1.1 Objectives

The objectives of the study are

- i) to investigate the stylistic devices each presidential candidate employed to carry his message to the electorates.
- ii) to investigate other devices each of them adopted to achieve his communicative goal.
- iii) to examine the role context played in selecting the stylistic devices and other devices as evidenced in their speeches.
- iv) to identify the propaganda techniques each of them employed to market himself.

1.2 Research Questions

The following research questions will guide the researcher to have a direction and a focus.

- i) What are the stylistic devices employed by each candidate to attain his interactional goal
- ii) How does context influence the use of language in Ghanaian politics?
- iii) What devices are considered propagandistic in the Ghanaian political discourse?
- iv) What is propaganda discourse?

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Even though there seems to be a number of works on political language on the globe, research on this topic in Ghana is not extensive. Yankah (1995) worked on Okyeame and the Politics of Akan Royal Oratory. Agyekum (2006) worked on the Akan Traditional Arbitration: Its Structure and Language. Obeng (1997) worked on Language and Politics: Indirectness in Political Discourse. Anku (2010) researched on Politeness in Ghanaian Parliamentary Discourse. There is therefore the need to do further research into a wide range of political discourses in Ghana.

1.4 The Scope of the work

The thesis focuses on some selected campaign speeches delivered to electorates during political rallies by Prof. Atta Mills, Nana Akuffo-Addo Danquah and Dr. Papa Kwesi Nduom in 2008 (see their profiles in Appendix 1). In 2008, the candidates embarked on campaign tours nationwide. During these tours, they delivered speeches on different issues from town to town, village to village. However, I have selected only a handful of these corpora for the purpose of this study. The selection of these corpora is very essential because during political rallies, people from different socio-economic backgrounds came to listen to their would-be presidents. Ghanaians sat by their television sets and watched the candidates through live telecast or documentary. The candidates, being mindful of their audience and the nationwide coverage, carefully selected their dictions and topics in order to market themselves very well. The selection of these speeches

would enable me trace the exact linguistic strategies employed by each candidate to imprint his ideology on the minds of his target audience.

1.5 Relevance of the study

i) The work clearly demonstrates how elements such as immediate physical context, the wider social context, and the cultural context shape the use of language by Ghanaian politicians.

ii) The work points out that any genuine and sincere interpretation of remarks by politicians must among other things, emanate from careful considerations of the elements of the physical context.

iii) The work also points out that political discourse in Ghana is a reflection of the electorates' thought.

1.6 Organization of the chapters

This work is organized in five chapters. Chapter one presents background to the study, the objectives, the statement of the problem, the relevance of the study, the scope of the study, research questions, and organization of the chapters.

Chapter two considers methodology and theoretical framework. The theoretical framework discusses the meaning of critical discourse analysis, text, discourse practice, socio-cultural practice, the meaning and some relevant features of propaganda.

In chapters three and four, the researcher intersperses the analysis with the literature review. Chapter three analyzes and interprets the **stylistic devices** of the three presidential campaign discourses, and link them with social processes to interpret the hidden meaning of the text. van Dijk (1998: 8) posits that

Language users are not just individuals but may speak or write as members of (several) groups, their discourses may also express socially shared mental representations of these groups. Within a group, social representations are typically presupposed (while taken for granted) by the discourses of group members.

In other words, the language of speakers or writers does not reflect only the attitudes, socio-cultural beliefs or ideologies of the users but that of a group. Sometimes, some of these beliefs and values are implicitly stated in making utterances. The use of CDA and PDA is an appropriate means for investigating language activities; this will help to expose all the hidden intentions of language users (in this context, politicians) because they (CDA and PDA) approach the study of language from inter-disciplinary perspective.

Chapter four discusses and interprets **other devices** used in the selected speeches that constitute ideology. The **Other devices** include actor description, use of virtue words, polarization, WE-THEY categorization, vagueness, innuendos, proof surrogate, ad hominem, emotive expression, appeal to masses, number game rhetoric, downplayers, national self-glorification, code-switching and promise. Most of them are propagandistic techniques employed by the candidates to attain their political goals.

Chapter five is the conclusion. It comprises of the findings, recommendations, summary of the work and concluding remarks.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0. Introduction

This chapter surveys the methodology and theoretical framework that underpin this work. The methodology relates to the primary and the secondary data. In terms of theory work, this thesis is inspired by two frameworks: Fairclough's (1995) Framework for Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of Communicative Event and Walton's (1997) Framework on Propaganda Discourse Analysis (PDA). We explore how they (CDA and PDA) relate to language and ideology.

2.1 Methodology

Texts have ideology which is sometimes expressed through **stylistic** and **such a device as propaganda**. Most people do not want to be labeled propagandists since the term has some negative connotation, yet some people are quick to label others as such. In order to get the true reflection of what is happening in the Ghanaian political discourse in respect of propaganda, the researcher uses only naturally occurring data (speeches) for the analysis. The thesis uses two sources of data: primary and secondary. The main source is the primary data (the recorded speeches of the candidates). The sample speeches and the profiles of the presidential candidates are placed in the Appendix. The profile of each candidate appears in Appendix 1, Prof. Mills' speech is Appendix 2, Nana Addo's speech is Appendix 3, and Dr. Kwesi Nduom's speech is Appendix 4. The purpose for this

arrangement is to make it easy for readers to refer to the whole texts if the need arises.

2.1.1 Primary Data

This thesis uses video recordings of the speeches of the three presidential candidates based on 2008 general elections from Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) Video Library¹. Nana Addo code-switched between Ga, Akan and English, Dr. Papa Kwesi Nduom code-switched between Akan and English, and Prof. Mills used only English to campaign. The data in Akan and Ga were transcribed and translated into English language for non-Ga and Akan speakers to follow the discussions effortlessly. The orthographic transcription is adopted because it will help the researcher track the devices employed by the presidential candidates to give existence to their ideology.

2.1.2 Secondary Data

In order to have each candidate party's ideology, I interviewed the following officers at their national headquarters: NDC Communications' Director, NPP's Deputy Secretary, and CPP's Administrator. These officers were given to me by the various parties for any input I needed for this thesis. Secondly, the interview is relevant, because the presidential candidates whose speeches are being investigated belong to parties with different ideologies

For holistic and comprehensive analysis, the author read about relevant library resources such as books, journals, and articles. To gain insight into the analysis, he

also used relevant internet resources, newspapers, and debates organized by Institute of Economic Affairs around the subject at the time.

2.1.3 Data Collection Approach of the Study

This research adopted descriptive qualitative research approach whose data were taken from video-recordings from GBC's Video Library. A qualitative research seeks to unearth the reasoning underpinning human behavior. According to Anku (2010) a qualitative research helps to painstakingly observe, and analyze data and document it in a reliable manner. Wray et al (1998) explicates that qualitative research explores the type of strategies a communicator deploys and ascertains why the communicator uses them with reference to specific context and audience. Investigating the use of language, the qualitative researcher uses some contextual factors such as the topic, the setting, the time, the goal, the environment of the communicative event and the socio-cultural background of the speaker in its natural setting.

Descriptive qualitative approach is preferred over other approaches because of its efficacy in studying social reality. Agyekum (2010:13) posits that, naturalism recommends that so long as the study of social reality is concerned, it should be done from its natural perspective. The natural approach helps us understand how people behave in their natural state. This research is purely descriptive. That is, it investigates how ideology is expressed through political language by the three presidential candidates based on 2008 general elections.

2.2 Theoretical Foundation

This section briefly explains the meaning of critical discourse analysis which provides the theoretical foundation for this work. Specifically, it explains Fairclough's (1995) framework for critical discourse analysis of a communicative event and Walton's (1997) framework for propaganda discourse analysis.

2.2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of language. It approaches the study of language from many disciplines such as Linguistics, Philosophy, and Sociology. Wodak (1989:XV) proposes that "the purpose of CDA is to investigate language behavior in natural speech situations of social relevance (institutions, media, minority, problems, racism etc)". The purpose of CDA is to help identify and interpret how and why reality is structured in a certain manner. It helps to uncover and offer a clear explanation of certain social events or happenings in all societies. It helps to make "mechanisms of manipulation, discrimination, demagoguery and propaganda explicit and transparent", (Wodak, 1989: XIV). Because of its critical and multidisciplinary approach to the study of language, it is able to unearth most meanings that are not explicitly stated.

Taiwo (2007) observes that the prime goal of CDA is to reveal the way discourses are used in our everydayness with respect to power relations and development of new knowledge. According to him, CDA examines and judges the use of language carefully. Because of its careful examination of words, it is able to trace and locate the sources of deception, discrimination, confusion, inequality, dominance as well

as biases. In other words due to the critical role CDA plays in the investigation of the use of language in everyday life, it is able to expose the real intentions of language users. Malmkjaer (2001) asserts that CDA is a socially directed application of linguistic analysis modeled after the Hallidayan functional linguistics. Malmkjaer (2001: 102) argues that,

all linguistic usage encodes ideological patterns or discursive structures which mediate representations of the world in languages; that different usages (e.g., different socio-linguistic varieties or lexical choice or syntactic paraphrase) encode different situations and purposes; and by this means language works as a social practice.

This means the choice of words is not neutral in every discourse encounter. Every word used is infected with a set of beliefs and values. This set of beliefs and values manifests itself in different situations depending on the purpose, and the kind of communicative event being pursued. For instance, communication in political and religious arena will bring different choices of words. Each of the choices is ideologically laden.

As noted, this thesis gets its theoretical input from Fairclough (1995) and Walton (1997). Fairclough's theory is presented first.

Fairclough (1995) identifies three (3) central pillars of CDA, namely socio-cultural practice, discourse practice and text. The framework is summarized in figure 1 below. He believes that in analyzing any communicative event, the analyst should factor in the relationships between text, discourse practice and socio-cultural practice.

factors such as audience, setting and topic. Factors such as audience, setting and topic influence the interpretation of the speaker's choice of words.

Similarly, this thesis looks at possible interrelatedness of textual properties and power relations as discussed in Wodak (1989). It attempts to discover ideology which is hidden in the text. Batstone (1995), as cited in Taiwo (2007) believes that texts have covert ideologies and because they are not stated explicitly, they are difficult to describe.

2.2.1.2 Discourse Practice

Discourse practice looks at how a text is produced and consumed as the diagram in figure 1 indicated. Fairclough (1995:48) asserts that "A further dimension of communication in the mass media is the institutional practices associated both with production of media texts and consumption of media texts". Media organizations follow certain routines or regularities in producing media texts. Some of these routines deal with collecting and selecting material, and editing and transforming source material into finished texts. The production of texts is a collective responsibility that rests on journalists, producers, and various categories of editorial staff as well as technical staff.

The production and consumption of political texts are characterized in a similar way. The processes involved in producing political texts are managed through sets of institutional routines. According to Aboulai Fuhlanba, James Asante, and Richmond Lamptey, all political parties have committee modeled after that of parliament. These committees are usually made up of professionals who serve on

the various committees such as education, judiciary, security, and the economy. Aboulai Fuhlanba, James Asante, and Richmond Lamptey agreed that, every political party had a research department where all kinds of research related to governance were conducted.

Regarding sources of political information, the interviewees agreed that political parties got their sources of information from the media (both electronic and the print), government sources (both central and local), non-governmental organizations, and opponent's political speeches. All issues that may arise in respect of governance are referred to the appropriate committees for redress.

The consumption of political texts is characterized by its own institutional practices and routines. Political text is consumed by all political parties, especially the party in power and the major opposition party, ie the party with numerical strength next to the one in power. In most cases, the major opposition party uses all forms of linguistic weapons to criticize the party in government with the aim of dislodging them from power. Brekle (1989) describes these linguistic exchanges as waging war with words.

One institution which cannot be left out in the consumption of political text in Ghana is the media. First and foremost, all political parties release their political texts through the media to the general public, especially the electorates. After the texts have been released to the media, most of them, specifically the radio and the television, buy the newspapers and invite panelists with various backgrounds and sometimes party representatives to discuss some of these political texts. After the

discussion, the general public are invited to join the discussion by phoning in to make their contributions. Some of the media houses are Ghana Television, TV Africa, Metropolitan Television; Peace FM, Asempa, and Adom FM. All these are Accra based radio and television stations.

Other consumers of political texts are private individuals, companies (government and non-government), and foreign missions in Ghana.

On the issues of interpretation, due to different perceptions and different ideological orientation of consumers, all shades of opinions are brought to bear on political texts. Fairclough (1995:59) argues that, the individual text consumers' psychological and cognitive levels affect text interpretation. According to van Dijk (2000) the meaning of a text cannot be located in the text, on paper, or in the air, rather it is assigned to it by language users. Thus, it is not only the socio-cultural practice that affects discourse production and interpretation but also the cognitive ability of both the speaker and the listener shapes and reshapes the production and interpretation of a text.

2.2.1.3 Socio-Cultural Practice

As seen from the above diagram, the discourse practice (see page 14 for more details) is mediating between socio-cultural practice and text. The diagram depicts indirect relationship between socio-cultural and textual properties. According to Fairclough (1995), any analysis of communicative event minus socio-cultural aspect, offers a partial understanding of the text. Some speech analysts in analyzing communicative event may refer to some elements of discourse practice,

but throw little or no light on the wider social and cultural context. “My view is that this wider contextual matrix must be attended to because it shapes discourse practices in important ways and is itself cumulatively shaped by them” (Fairclough, 1995 p.62).

This means that even though language is different from socio-cultural element, there is a symbiotic relationship between them. And this is what Fairclough (1995) refers to as “socially shaped”, but it is also socially shaping or socially constitutive. That is, society makes contribution to the growth of language and language is also used to construct social identities, social relations, system of knowledge, beliefs, and ideologies. All these societal traits are showcased through language.

Kress (1985:5) states that every human being is part and parcel of a society. Nobody is an island, hence, every person in one way or the other has been shaped by his/her socio-cultural milieu. And thus certain meanings and values of society are mirrored through language. For instance, the use of literary devices like proverbs, metaphor, simile and euphemism is the interpretation of traditional wisdom based on experiences, practices and socio-political life of our forefathers (Agyekum, 2005).

Fairclough (1995) mentions three aspects of socio-cultural practice. They are more immediate situational context, wider context of institutional practices in which the event is embedded and the yet wider frame of the society and the culture. Each of

these shapes and reshapes the production of text. Henceforth, they will be called a) situational context, b) institutional context, and c) cultural context.

a) Situational Context

Situational context refers to all the activities that take place at the scene of communication minus the linguistic choices of the speaker. According to Cutting (2002:4), “The situational context is the immediate physical co-presence, the situation where the interaction is taking place at the moment of speaking”. Situational context refers to all the activities that take place on the scene or the environment where an interactive discourse takes place. Sekyi-Badoo (2002:259) refers to situational context as the non-linguistic aspect of the speech act, such as speaker and listener relationships, speaker and listener linguistic background and experience, their educational and cultural background. The use of non-verbal communication techniques of the speaker go into shaping and moulding the text of discourse.

According to Leckie-Tarry (1995:23), situational context consists of ideational knowledge, interpersonal knowledge, and textual knowledge. Ideational knowledge is an experiential knowledge gained by an individual within a specific cultural jurisdiction. It composes society’s norms, ideologies, institutions, culture, and knowledge from the existing set of texts in that culture-- inter-textual knowledge.

Wafula (2002:20) observes that political discourses are dialogic; hence they can be best understood through an inter-textual point of view. He observes that inter-

textual knowledge operates at two levels which are closely knitted together. Inter-textuality within a language is possible from its own cohesive devices. He mentions examples like ellipses, pronouns, and conjunctions as some of the cohesive elements which signal how a specific discourse is moulded and how it makes reference(s) to other texts. For instance, in the statement “**Politicians make lots of promises during campaign seasons. They build castles in the air**” the pronoun ‘**they**’ refers to politicians. It links the first sentence to the second thereby helping listeners or readers to understand the logic the encoder is putting across.

Inter-textuality outside the text has to do with borrowing from other texts to shape the meaning of a text which is being constructed. Obeng (2002:9) agrees that inter-textuality borrows from previous texts or text-type in creating a new one. He points out that political discourses are the meeting points of different texts. He believes the historical events, life histories, ideology, policies of the communicator influence texts he/she creates; hence to fully understand the texts the recipient must not delinked himself or herself from the context within which the text emanated. In short, inter-textuality looks at the interconnectivity of texts of a discourse.

Interpersonal knowledge is connected to how different people behave in different contexts or situations. Fairclough (1995:58) relates interpersonal knowledge to social relations and social identities. Social relations refer to relationship between two or more individuals while social identity deals with how to explain inter-group behavior based on one’s affiliation with an organization or status.

Fairclough (1995:85) posits that in analyzing a text, the analyst might focus on how social relations and social identities are articulated:

particular constructions of writer and reader identities (for example, in terms of what is highlighted-whether status or role aspects of identity, or individual and personal) aspects of identity or a particular construction of the relationship between writer and reader (as, for instance, formal or informal, close or distanced).

In analyzing a text whether spoken or written, factors such as status, identity, formality or informality of the event must be considered in order to make an appropriate judgment or comment on the text. For instance, in 2008, the presidential candidates whose speeches are under investigation presented their policies to the nation through presidential debates organized by the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA). During such encounters (IEA), the language employed by the candidates was more structured or formal as compared to language used during political rallies which is the domain of this thesis.

Thornborrow (1999:146) notes that we keep varying our relationships with others anytime we communicate in different interactive sessions. According to him, we keep changing our pronunciations as well as grammatical forms to suit the kind of audience we encounter. He refers to this kind of variation in speech as “style-shifting”. Style-shifting is commonly used by politicians to entice electorates to vote for them. According to Giles and Powesland (1975) and Giles and Sinclair (1979) as cited in Thornborrow (1999), style-shifting is based on the assumption that people want to show solidarity and approval in their dealing with others, and one way that speakers achieve their goal is through linguistic convergence (That is by changing their style of speech to fit more closely with those they happen to be

talking to). For instance, in 2008, the global economic crisis brought a lot of hardships on the world including Ghana. As a result of this global crisis, coupled with high tariffs on petroleum products, Ghanaians complained a lot about these hardships. In a way to be identified and solidarized with the people all the opposition parties to the then NPP government used the hardships as “political ammunitions” against the government.

In conclusion, in analyzing a discourse, the analyst should bear in mind the relationship between speaker and audience, as well as all the non-linguistic factors at the scene of communication.

b) Institutional Context

Every institution has its rules and regulations governing its people and their use of language. The rules and regulations governing the use of language, according to Bhatia (1992:23), are “most often implicitly understood and unconsciously followed by the participants in that communicative situation in which the genre in question is used-or explicitly enforced in some institutional settings”. He argues that sometimes those rules and regulations are in guide books, manuals, interactions, history, beliefs, and ideologies.

So far as political parties in Ghana are concerned, they do not have any explicit rules and regulations governing the use of language in the form of books or manuals. However, every political party has manifestos, history, beliefs, ideologies and philosophies that influence their linguistic choices in order to gain power.

According to Aboulai Fuhlanba, James Asante, and Richmond Lamptey (personal communication, May 2012) every political party has ideology¹. NPP believe in property owning democracy while NDC believe in Social Democracy and CPP on its part believe in Karl Marx Socialism (see Eatwell 1999).

In sum, even though political parties in Ghana have no explicit rules as regards the use of language, they have key values, beliefs, histories and attitudes that influence their linguistic choices in order to seduce and coax electorates to vote for them.

c) Cultural Context

Culture is made up of material and non-material components. The material components include food, shelter, clothing, and building (tangible culture). Non-material components include beliefs, knowledge, ideologies and philosophies. It is the non-material aspects that become crucial in encoding and decoding of discourses. Cutting (2002:21) maintains that “speech acts and their linguistic realizations are culturally bound. The ways of expressing speech acts vary from country to country, from culture to culture”. Leckie-Tarry (1995:20) argues that cultural context is the biggest and most intricate knowledge system shared by members within a specific cultural jurisdiction. It consists of institutional and ideological knowledge. Every communicator is a product of a specific culture. Therefore the way s/he constructs and interprets texts is densely influenced by his/her culture. A communicator functions “not as an isolated individual, but as a social agent, located in a network of social relations in specific places, in a social structure” (Kress, 1985:5).

Cultural context is a foundation on which the rest of the different types of knowledge depend for nourishing and functioning. Our attitudes, values, and ideologies about how we see the world are first and foremost acquired from our culture which is expressed through language. van Dijk (2004) posits that ideological beliefs are socially shared by people in a particular community. He argues that ideology becomes very fertile when the people belong to the same ideology and the same socio-cultural philosophy. According to him, socio-cultural philosophy is a pre-ideological condition. It means that before we adopt any ideology, we must identify ourselves with a particular socio-cultural setting or society. In other words, socio-cultural practice precedes ideological practice. The socio-cultural practice is a superset within which all the others find themselves. For instance, all Ghanaians belong to a society called Ghana. We are all aware of our system of government. We are aware of our constitutional obligations, cultural norms, social rules and conventions. Each individual Ghanaian first of all imbibes the cultural beliefs before joining any ideological group.

Saville-Troike (1990:32) observes that “there is a correlation between the form and content of a language and the beliefs, values and the needs present in the culture of its speakers” That is, there is a close affinity between culture and language. Culture makes input to the growth of language and language is also used to transmit information to others. That is, the relationship between language and culture is interactional. The use of language influences and shapes the social and cultural context. In decoding the meaning of texts, the analyst should consider

both the language and the culture within which the language emerged. This consideration will shed a holistic light on the interpretation of the text.

Leckie-Tarry (1995:20) argues that in any given communicative event, the interlocutors depend on the cultural knowledge which is triggered by an aspect of context of situation. Fairclough (1995) believes that cultural norms are articulated through language. Consequently, the listener, reader, speaker or writer's construction and interpretation of texts are largely dictated by culture or what he calls the "wider frames of society".

In short, there is a correlation between language and culture. As a result, any analysis of a language must be done in consultation with its cultural context.

2.2.2 Propaganda

The word 'propaganda' has become 'synonymous' with Ghanaian politics. In recent times, Ghanaian politicians and electorates alike continue to refer to each other as propagandist. This labeling of opponents as propagandist has really called for investigation into the meaning and elements of various political discourses that constitute propaganda in Ghanaian political cycles.

According to Walton (1997), the term propaganda was associated with the Roman Catholic Church. The term was given to a group of church officials known as the Congregation de propaganda Fide (Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith). The name of the group continued as the name given to previous meetings of Pope Gregory XIII with three cardinals in 1572 – 1582 that had the objective of resisting the Reformation. He maintains that from this neutral use of the term by the

Catholics, we can say that the term did not have negative meaning. However, it later took on negative connotations for the Protestants who were aware of the aims of the Catholics. The Catholics had in mind to take one sided view in respect of church doctrine, so it is easy to see how the term propaganda acquired a negative connotation, (Walton, 1997).

Brekle (1989) asserts that during the first and the second world wars, allies described the activities of their adversaries as propaganda. Allies during both wars labeled only the enemy opinion-forming activities as composed mostly of lies. According to him, both in times of war and in times of peace, there exist propaganda. He observes that propagandists employ linguistic assistance and put together appropriate texts and disseminate through the mass media.

Brekle (1989) argues that, the users of propaganda are inspired by certain interests they are pursuing. He suggests that sometimes propagandists employ “magical” speech acts such as cursing, invocation of higher powers (conjunction, prayer, and baptism.), insult, and slander. For instance, in 2008 general elections, one Ohene Agyekum an NDC Ashanti Regional Charman, was accused of having master-minded an attack on some NPP members. In order to establish her innocence about the matter, he cursed by calling a deity known as “Antoa Nyama” to kill all those who falsely accused him. On the other hand, there is non-magical speech acts such as deception, lying, calumny, denunciation, exposure or institutionalized speech as like nomination, and condemnation. He asserts that all these linguistic strategies are in principle designed to enforce the interest of power. Walton (1997)

is of the view that to describe a discourse or an argument as propaganda means to downgrade it.

It is true that most of the linguistic strategies used to coax electorates to vote for party “A” or “B”, have been described by some philosophers, especially logicians and moralists as illogical and unethical respectively. Le Bon (1896), as cited in Walton (1997), admits that crowds are not influenced by logical reasoning and that it will be insignificant for political communicators to use logical reasoning to persuade audiences. He believes that the eviction of crowds can be compared to religious faith, even religious fanaticism, than it is like that of effective, balanced logical thinking. It is not always the case that politicians adopt propagandistic techniques in communicating their ideas to the electorates. Whatever language politicians adopt depends on certain contextual factors such as topic, environment, audience and time.

Even though logicians may see propagandistic techniques as incorrect reasoning, the researcher is not dwelling on the fallacies. That is, the researcher sees propagandistic techniques as persuasive devices employed by public speakers to cajore their target audience to yield to their (public speakers) desired intent. Lauer and Amponsah (2010) argue that when a fallacy committed is related to neither deductive nor inductive argument, then it is purposely created to persuade and it is called rhetoric. However, when a speech is designed to manipulate the audience into believing there is a legitimate or genuine basis for disagreement but in fact provides none, then the argument is called polemic. Polemic refers to a piece of writing or speech in which a person strongly attacks or defends a particular

opinion, a person's idea or set of beliefs. The question is why do politicians attack or defend a particular course? My opinion is that if you eulogize your opponents all the time, then you are saying that they should continue to be in power. During war, every group wants to emerge as winners. Hence, all forms of strategies are applied. The point is that, can the strategies applied carry the day? If it can, then a communicative goal is attained.

Propagandistic techniques are used by politicians or public speakers as a means to arouse mob mentality. In order to maximize its effects, waving of flags and flaring music add impetus to the overall effects (Walton, 1997).

2.2.2.1 Characteristics of Propaganda Discourse

Propaganda as a discourse has certain features that make it different from others. Walton (1997:396) identifies ten characteristics of propaganda discourse. However, this author considers four of them as relevant to this study. They are as follows:

a) Indifference to Logical Reasoning.

The aim of propaganda is purely persuasive. Walton (1997) admits that the goal of propaganda is to pull crowd "in a certain direction" and the end result determines whether its objective is achieved or not. Brekle (1989) argues that propaganda is employed with the aim of influencing the masses. It evokes emotional elements, such as fear, threat and anger. The will to win or to destroy, depend wholly on the words used. These emotional states are evoked by members of the particular group who are interested in capturing power or in continuing to be in power. We know

that in logical reasoning, appealing to fear and threat in argumentation lead to fallacious reasoning. For instance, those who criticize the government should know that the government could be violent. This appeal to threat is usually used by politicians who do not have or lack evidence or rational arguments to make their case. This example demonstrates the use of propaganda as a tool for persuasion.

b) One-sided Argumentation.

Usually propaganda relates to issues from only one end of the pole. In seeking political office or any kind of office, the arguer usually uses “mono-partisan” approach instead of bi-partisan approach to an issue. According to Walton (1997) and Brekle (1989) propaganda deals or reports issues from only one perspective. Walton (1997) observes that, in propaganda, the speaker does not emphasize wisdom or prudence on the course of action. Propaganda does not consider alternatives or weigh them rationally.

Sornig (1989:96) argues that although words are means of expressing power and deception, the words themselves cannot be labeled as evil and poisonous, as has been the case since the days of F. Mauthner. He believes any damage that might have been caused as a result of a certain expression lies with the users who use linguistic power to change their interlocutors’ reception and recognition. He believes that this act of persuasive speech has not altered any reality but the speaker tries to use linguistic devices to change the way the interlocutors see reality and interpret it.

c) Involvement of Persuasive Dialogue

The basic and fundamental drive of propaganda is to cajole audience to support a particular course of action. Walton (1997) is of the view that the aim of propaganda is to secure compliance of the interlocutors with the action being championed by the group. To him, the propagandist does more than persuasion and re-education of the audience, but he gets the audience to side with him/her (politician) based on new viewpoint.

d) Emotive Language and Persuasive Definitions

Emotive language is language that stirs people's hatred, anger, happiness and love. Sometimes the kind of words we use to describe things or people have emotional suggestiveness or impact (Copi and Cohen, 2002:86). Walton (1997:399) asserts that for propagandists to attain their goals, they usually use emotively charged words or phrases that make the advocated position take on positive connotation while those of the opposition takes on negative connotation. For instance, in 2008, when the NPP went for primaries to elect one of their seventeen presidential candidates to lead the party, the NDC general secretary, Johnson Asiedu Nketia, described the candidates as thieves. Sometimes supporters of a particular regime are called "Freedom Fighters" while the opponents are labeled "Rebels". That is, in-group members are given accolades while out-group members are negatively described.

Another hallmark of propagandistic techniques is the use of persuasive language. They are couched to influence or stir emotions, usually relying on emotive words. According to Copi and Cohen (2002:110) persuasive definition is "deliberately

calculated to affect feelings and, indirectly, to alter conduct”. Stevenson (1944) as cited in Walton (1997) posits that, the purpose of a persuasive definition is to cause a “favorable” or “unfavorable” attitude towards something altering the descriptive meaning of the word even though the evaluative meaning remains the same. In effect, our working definition of propaganda will be “using linguistic tactics willfully as stimuli to get a response that serves the interest of the speaker”

Endnotes

¹ Messrs Aboulai Fuhlanba, James Asante, and Jonathan A. Attoh are NPP’s National Deputy Secretary, NDC’s National Communication Director, and CPP’s National Administrator correspondingly.

CHAPTER THREE

STYLISTIC DEVICES

3.0 Introduction

As noted in chapter two, Malmkjaer (2001:102) posits that “all linguistic usage encodes ideological pattern...” It follows logically that every word used by a speaker is infected with the speaker’s ideology. This means that language as a tool of communication can be interrupted to express the politician’s beliefs and ideology. There are many styles politicians adopt in order to imprint their ideology on electorates. One category of such means is the use of stylistic devices, which is the focus of this chapter.

Stylistic devices involved linguistic strategies that a speaker adopts in order to present his or her argument to his or her audience convincingly. According to Agyekum (2007:44), stylistic devices look at the linguistic techniques or strategies as to how to present spoken communication aesthetically. Political campaigners who form part of the larger oral artists, employ stylistic resources to enrich their language in order to woo the electorates to vote for them. In the Ghanaian political context, politicians are able to deploy stylistic techniques to promote, foster and entrench their ideology.

The following stylistic devices were employed by the presidential candidates to canvass for support in the 2008 general elections. They are allusion, metaphor, anaphora and repetition, intertextuality, simile, personification, rhetorical question, and hyperbole. The discussions are as follows:

3.1 Allusion

Allusion means making reference(s) to past or present events or phenomena (Ayi, 2007 p.39). Beaty et al (2002:A53) posits that allusion is a reference “whether implicit or explicit, to history, the Bible, myth, literature, painting, and music- that suggest the meaning or generalized implication of details in the story, poem or play”. In other words, allusion has to do with making reference to social reality or natural phenomena which are either clearly stated, implied or assumed. Allusion is a reflection of a speaker’s experiential knowledge or ideational knowledge which reflects his or her values, norms or beliefs, ideologies and philosophies.

Agyekum (2005:15) states that allusion sometimes acts as a linker that conjoins an old context with a new one with the aim of throwing more light on the new situation in order to make it more meaningful and understandable. According to him, it shows that the communicator is not ignorant of his /her socio-cultural values. That means that the speaker appeals to the cultural context within which the discourse emanates. The speaker makes references to issues that usually both himself/herself and the audience are aware of. In most communicative events, the most accessible context is the cultural context as indicated in figure 1. That is, the speaker’s choice of diction is largely influenced by the society in which s/he was born into. S/he chooses language that exists in her/his speech community to interact with her/his audience.

During political communication, allusion is employed in the form of intertextuality to communicate a party’s ideology. In the 2008 presidential campaign, Nana

Addo and Dr. Nduom (see Appendix 1 for their profiles) appealed to historical antecedent to communicate their political intentions to their audience as illustrated below:

To start with, Nana Addo used the following historical allusion to put his message across to his large and varied audience at Kasoa on 14/07/2008,

Na nea yeadu yi, aba a yerekɔtow yi, yese yerekɔ yen anim anaa yeresan yen akyi? Yerekɔ yen anim anaa yeresan yen akyi? Yerekɔ yen anim. Na mepɛ sɛ meka asem kakra a efa m'ankasa me ho. Ade ko nti a enne maba abegyina mo anim sɛ mepɛ sɛ meye president of Ghana. Nneɛma abien na mepɛ sɛ mebɔ so kakra bi. Meye abofra no, saa time no na madi four. Nneɛma a mekae wɔ wiase ha no ye me first memory. My first conscience memory ye 1948 riots no a ex-servicemen se yede petition rekɔma governor no a yekumm baako a emaa Nkran danee no, wɔhyehyew aborɔfo nneɛma. Saa time no, na me papa fie wɔ Kɔrlewɔko, Beti House. Eho ne U.G.C.Cfo headquarters a wɔye meeting. Afie ketekete bi a nkurɔfo rekɔ ba. Yen mpanyimfo yi rekɔ ba. Na mede mente ase. Na nea mihui ara ne sɛ, adwuma ko a me papa no ye no eye adwuma a ehia nkrurɔfo pa ara. Afie ketekete bi a nkurɔfo abɛbu wɔ ho sɛɛ. Na mese sɛ adwuma sɛɛ na ɔye na ehia nkurɔfo de a, ene menyin a meye bi. Nea mereka no, me nokwasɛm na mereka akyere mo no. Na mennim adwuma ko. Sɛɛ na Ghana fawohodi ho asemni na mpanyimfo sore a na yerekɔ ba yi. Nea eto so abien, mifii aburokyiri fi sukuu baa 1962. Saa time no na me Nana Dankwa wɔde no akɔ prison detention a yeayi no. Na ɔbae no, me maame a ɔye ne wɔfaase ne nuapayin ne me wɔfanom nyinaa ne me tenaa ase. Na Dankwa ɔpɛ m'asɛm pa ara. Nawɔpɛ sɛ mekɔka asem bi nkyere no. Adɛn a? Wɔhyɛ akyekyereakyekyere a aba n'akwan mu yi a, anyɛbiara yeanhwe yiye a, ɔbɛkɔ akowu wɔ Kwame Nkrumah prison...

[Where we are now, as we are going to vote, are we moving forward or backward? Are we moving forward or backward? We are moving forward. I would like to say something little about myself. The reason why today I am standing before you wanting to be the president of Ghana is that, I would like to touch on two things briefly. When I was a child, that time I was four. Things I remember in this world were my first memory. My first

conscience memory was 1948 riots when the ex-servicemen said they were sending a petition to the governor when one of them was killed, which led to disturbances in Accra. They set the belongings of the white on fire. At that time, my father's house was at korlewoko, Beti House. That house was the meeting place for the UGCC. It was then a small house where lots of people were moving up and down. Our elders were going up and down. For me, I did not understand. What I saw was that people cherished my father's work. This small house was crowded with people. I said if this is the way people cherish my father's work, then when I grow up I will do the same work. I did not know the kind of work. Surprisingly, it was about Ghana's freedom which our elders were busily moving up and down. Secondly, after schooling abroad, I returned in 1962. At that time my grandfather Dankwa had been released from detention. When he was coming, my mother who is his niece, and her elder sister and all my uncles sat me down and talked to me. Dankwa loved me a lot. They wanted me to go and tell him something. Why? If they consider the frequent arrest he was going through, may be, if we are not careful, he may die in Kwame Nkrumah's prison...]

From the above historical narrative discourse, Nana Addo appealed to cultural background knowledge context. Both Nana Addo and most of his audience shared the same knowledge about the 1948 riots in Ghana. Nana Addo told his audience that his "first conscience memory" was that of 1948's riots in Ghana which led to the death of one person. Historically, the 1948 riots came about as a result of soldiers who fought on the side of the British during the Second World War. The British officials failed to honour their promises to these soldiers. Nikoi (2010:81) observes that the Ghanaian soldiers (ex-serviceman) decided to stage a peaceful protest to the Osu Castle to complain to the Governor about their plight after the war. However, the British military officer, Major Imray, gave a command to shoot these Ghanaian soldiers which led to the death of Private Odartey, Corporal Attipoe and Sergeant Adjetej. The death of these three soldiers led to social unrest in all the major cities in Ghana. During the height of these disturbances, shops

belonging to Europeans were looted and burned. The death of the three soldiers contradicts Nana Addo's assertion that, one person was killed during the riot. In addition, Nana Addo told the audience that during this disturbance (1948) his father's house, located at Korleworko, Beti House, incidentally became the meeting place and the headquarters of the UGCC. Nikoi (2010:180) asserts that the UGCC was the first political party in Gold Coast, Ghana, of whom the NPP traces its ancestry.

To cut a long historical overview short, according to Nana Addo this political situation at the time molded and shaped his political career to the present. This is the reason why as noted in chapter two, for holistic and comprehensive analysis of any communicative event, the cultural practice should not be relegated to the background. The analyst should go beyond the speaker's grammatical and phonological elements of the discourse so as to locate the actual meaning of the text. Fairclough (1995) believes that cultural practice makes input to the development and usage of language and vice versa as noted earlier.

Dr. Nduom used historical allusion to remind the audience of some of the messages of the NPP's campaign in 2000 general elections.

Hwε afe 2000, amanyekuw bi bae a ɔse dε, hwε w'asetsena mu na tow aba. Hwε w'asetsena mu na tow aba! Ana meboa? Nnye emi na meka oo! Mese hwε wo kotoku na tow aba. Kotoku no a hawɔ aba mu no. Kotoku no a ɔaye har no, nna CPP rebeye ho edwuma.

[In the year 2000, there came a party. It said, take a look at your life before voting. Take a look at your life before voting! Am I telling lies? Am I the one saying it? I say consider your pocket before you vote. The pocket that is empty. The pocket that is light, that is what CPP is coming to work on.

Even though Dr. Nduom did not mention any specific party, Ghanaians are aware he was referring to the NPP.

According to Dr. Nduom, in the 2000 general elections campaign, the NPP which was then the official opposition to the then ruling party (NDC) asked their audience to use their personal economic conditions to assess the performance of the government. They (NPP) asserted that anybody whose conditions of living were good could vote for the ruling NDC. But those whose economic conditions were bad could vote the NDC out. Ironically, getting to the tail end of the NPP's first term in office, the same economic difficulties that prevailed under NDC resurfaced. Dr. Nduom who shared the same cultural background knowledge with his audience told them to pay the NPP in their own coin in 2008 general elections' campaign. He evaluated the NPP's economic performance against his audience's pockets. He told the audience to look into their pockets and see whether they (pockets) were full. If the pockets were full then they should vote for the NPP. If the pockets were empty then they should vote for the CPP for better economic conditions. Both allusions employed by Nana Addo and Dr. Nduom are not new. They are just reenactment and reproduction of a set of texts which is already in the public domain. The use of allusion in this context is to synthesize the present with the past with the aim of taking a decision as to who to be voted for.

3.2 Metaphor

Metaphor is an indirect speech act used to build analogical or inductive argument by comparing two dissimilar items which share some common features. If the similarities are more, then the comparison is good or strong. But if the similarities are less, then the comparison is bad or weak.

Lauer and Amponsah (2010) posit that metaphors are usually not meant to be a declarative factual statement. Their interpretation is considered by thinking of a sort of features or qualities that the suggested analogy or comparison brings into focus. According to them, metaphors are used to make value judgment about events, people, and places. In other words, the use of metaphors exploits abstract qualities of two unlike items. Usually, in making metaphorical utterance, the speaker makes references to items that are in the vocabulary of the speech community. The items being compared should not be 'exotic' to the interlocutors, otherwise they will be meaningless.

In politics, the use of metaphor helps political actors or politicians to explain some of their ideologies to the audience. Because ideological issues are more of abstraction, politicians tend to use items that are common in the form of metaphors to concretize their ideas. Dr. Nduom in the following extract employed metaphor to put his message across:

the CPP is called edwumawura [employer]? Why the CPP is called edwumawura[employer]?

Here, Dr. Nduom appealed to the encyclopedic knowledge of his audience. The role CPP played in the first republic is evident in the Ghanaian political spheres.

The use of metaphor in this context is ideologically laden. Literally “employer” is a person or an organization that has created job opportunities for others to work and be paid. In the same manner, CPP has been likened to employer due to its past achievements in relation to job creation. Dr. Nduom told his audience that this is how CPP came to be known as “edwumawura”. This means that the use of language really carries the speaker’s ideology, beliefs, norms and values which are not explicitly stated.

Prof. Mills in the following extract employed metaphoric expression to articulate his political vision to the people of Upper West. Firstly, most Ghanaians are aware that UDS was founded by the NDC government. Secondly, for Prof. Mills to specifically address the UDS shows that he knows the needs of the university. We may infer from the following utterance that he might have visited the UDS before the campaign:

Now with UDS, UDS you are going to be the backbone of development. I am telling you, we are going to set aside a special fund to develop UDS. So that UDS, UDS, UDS can take its pride of place because we established UDS. So we think if it is given its right place, UDS will contribute to the development of Northern Region.

Backbone is a part of something that makes the thing successful or well-built. Similarly, NDC would assist the UDS to develop the necessary capacity to support development in the Northern Region of Ghana. As a result, Prof. Mills promised financial assistance to UDS for development so that it becomes a force to reckon with in a comity of Universities in Ghana, which in the end will become a backbone of development in the Northern Region of Ghana. In the same vein,

Nana Addo linked their struggle to establish political institutions to that of a fight as indicated in the following except;

Institutional structures *na ewo ho no, eno na yen nni bi*

[...are there but we do not have them].

So our fight since then is to establish proper structures for our democracy, for the rule of law

Nana Addo exploited cultural background knowledge in the sense that most Ghanaians including his audience were aware that, the early part of Ghana's political history was dominated by military administration. It is also a well known fact that military administrations do not subscribe to the independence of socio-political institutions. Nana Addo compared the struggle to put in place fair and free political institutions which are credentials of democracy to that of a "fight". Nana-Addo himself had led some of these struggles before (see Appendix 1).

Beard (2000:21) observes that two common sources of metaphor in political discourse are sports and war, both of which involve physical struggle. According to him politicians and reporters on politics use war metaphors. For example, when one army fights another, they oppose each other with weapons. In the same manner, when two parties with different ideologies are seeking a single political office, they engage each other in a physical struggle amidst "linguistic weapons or strategies" so that the group with dominant ideology wins the war (election)

3.3 Anaphora and Repetition

Anaphora and repetition is the process by which a word or an expression is repeated at the commencement of successive phrases, clauses, sentences or paragraphs for rhetorical or persuasive effect, (Harmon and Holman, 1996 p.23).

Mazraam (1993) observes that apart from grammatical functions of repetition, it has rhetorical force and emotional impact on the audience. That is, repetition does not perform only a grammatical role but also persuasive functions as it imparts emotionally on the audience. Grammatically, repetition functions as a transitional device in that it links one idea with another thereby helping listeners to logically follow the speaker's thought.

Cutting (2002:114) posits that repetition helps to build relationships or connections between what is currently being said and what they have already said. Repetition also helps the audience to memorize a message. The memorization of a message by the audience is a prime concern of every politician because it is one of the deciding factors of winning an election.

Okpewho (1992:71) reports that one of the outstanding features of spoken language is repetition. According to him, repetition has both aesthetic and utilitarian value: in other words, it is a device that adds a touch of beauty or attractiveness to the spoken language. Aesthetically, the repetition of a discourse functions like a song which causes the listeners to sing along with the speaker. The song-like quality of a political speech allows voters to memorize the speech.

In 2008, all the candidates adopted repetition to help them explicate their ideologies. This is illustrated in the following excerpt by Dr. Nduom:

We are the people who build; we built the Tema Shipyard and Drive off. We are the people who created, we created Ghana airways. We are the people who build, we built Kumasi city hotel. We are the people who create; we are the ones who built Akasanoma. We are the people who build; we built the flag star house. .

With the above excerpt, Dr. Nduom intentionally and consciously repeated the clause “we are the people who create and build”. So it looks like a song which would cause the audience to memorize what the CPP can do when voted into power. I must say that most of the audience were aware of the content of the repetition because it is a public fact. Most of Ghana’s infrastructures were constructed by CPP. Dr. Nduom and his audience shared the same knowledge about the CPP’s achievements in the first republic. Paltridge (2006), as cited in Amuzu (2010), posits that anytime a speaker and a listener appeal to a shared socio-cultural context in any speech event, then the interpretation of the said speech must also appeal to same general context knowledge. As noted in chapter two, speech and culture are intertwined, therefore any analysis of a language must be done in its cultural environment for optimum result. Secondly, Prof. Mills repeated “my brothers and sisters” as a transitional device to announce a new topic and to create the awareness that anytime a new topic or subject is to be introduced it is preceded by it. The phrase “my brothers and sisters” was repeated from one paragraph to the next, so he could smoothly make connections with successive ideas. As noted, some of the ways of achieving cohesion in a discourse are through the use of conjunctions, ellipses, and

pronouns. However, in 2008, Prof. Mills used “my brothers and sisters” as a cohesive or transitional device as elucidated above.

One cardinal reason for using a repetition in an oral piece like political discourse is that, oral communication is unlike written communication. Usually, it has no permanent records. So one viable means of getting the message stuck in the minds of the electorates is through a repetition.

3.4 Intertextuality

Intertextuality, as noted in chapter two, is how different texts interact in a discourse. Malmkjaer (2001:549) posits that intertextuality concerns with how some texts are constructed on the basis of another. As noted in his contribution to the meaning of intertextuality, Obeng (2002:9) explains that intertextuality borrows from an old text or previous text to create a new one. In the following extract, Nana Addo adopted intertextual device to address his audience:

Ade baako a mente ase aburokyiri ko a yekoe no, yekoe sukuu wo ho. Won a ye ne won ko class no wonkyen yen wo biribiara mu. Nanso se wohwe won na yen a, difference a ewo mu no edosso. Sese na ne nyinaa gyina senea president aka institutions.

[One thing I do not understand, when we went abroad, we schooled there. We competed equally with our mates. However, when you look at them and look at us the difference is too great. All these can be attributed to what the president has said institutions]

Here Nana borrowed the word “institutions” from President Kuffour’s speech which took place earlier than his to create a new text. They both shared situational

and interpersonal context in that, both were on the campaign ground. The President also spoke with the electorates before Nana Addo spoke.

Two significant things that can be drawn from the borrowing are that, they all share the same ideology. People who belong to the same ideological divide find it easier to borrow from each other without twisting the meaning. It also indicates that the relationship between the president and Nana Addo was cordial. Within the above explanation of intertextuality, all the historical allusions as discussed in earlier pages of this thesis can also be classified as intertextuality.

3.5 Simile

Simile is just like metaphor: both of them are used to conduct analogical argument. Agyekum (2007:107) and Marcel (2004:115) argue that simile is a linguistic technique that uses linkers such as ‘like’, ‘as’, ‘than’, or the verb ‘resemble’. Agyekum (2007:107) asserts that for simile to thrive, the objects being compared should belong to concepts of different denotative value. Here are examples from Dr. Nduom’s speech:

When you come to Elmina, when you come to Elmina, *wɔbɛka akyerɛ wo dɛ CPP ɔayɛ dɛ putisii. Adze a wɔfrɛ no putisii, ese dɛ erohom ne do a, nna ɔabɛ nsu enyi. ɔayɛ tse dɛ CPP. ɔayɛ tse dɛ CPP.*

[...they will tell you CPP is like cork whether you press it or not, it will always be floating on water. It is like CPP. It is like CPP.]

The question is why should Dr. Nduom compare cork to that of CPP? The likely reason for him to correlate two apparently unrelated items is that, the two items are

inter-connected, (Marcel, 2004: p.119). The cork is made up of a small plastic or wood which is used to push into a bottle to close it. Anytime it is pressed into water it immediately floats on it no matter how hard it is pressed. Similarly, CPP according to Dr. Nduom has gone through a lot of difficulties as a result of manipulations from other political parties, especially, NPP, yet it is flourishing as if nothing at all has happened to it. Here again, Dr. Nduom exploited cultural background knowledge in that it is generally believed among Ghanaians that it was Danquah–Busia people of whom NPP traces its ancestry that master-minded the overthrowing of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. He was just reminding his audience the suffering the party went through before it is able to stand on its feet. He was just casting insinuation against their political predators.

3.6 Personification

Personification is given human qualities to non-human beings or inanimate objects. Harmon and Holman (1996) observe that personification is the endowment of human characteristic features such as emotions, intelligence, and human personalities to animals, ideas, abstractions, and inanimate objects.

In the following excerpt Dr. Nduom adopted personification to tell his audience that the party (CPP) is still in existence. It has not collapsed.

Now everybody knows that all the Convention People’s Party is alive. He used this specific personification to inform his audience about the resilient nature of the CPP considering the challenges it had endured from other political

opponents. Prof. Mills also employed personification in the following batch of sentences to address his audience.

Because you want progress, you don't want a government that is not caring. You don't want a government who thinks solely about its members.

We want a government that thinks about the generality of the people.

As at the time Prof. Mills was speaking, the government of the day was not caring or thinking about all Ghanaians as evidenced in his speech. According to him, the NPP government was practising selective justice. That is, when you were not a member of the government; you would not be taken care of. But Prof. Mills told his audience that when NDC comes to power they will think of every Ghanaian. They will also look after them and keep them in a good state.

3.7 Hyperbole

Hyperbole is a communicative device that makes something sound more serious than it really is. It is used to make impressive utterances to create rhetorical effect. Beaty et al (2002:A57) posits that hyperbole is “an overstatement characterized by exaggerated language” In other words, hyperbole is a slanting device which is deployed to inflate a situation or something with the aim of letting listeners see the seriousness or the urgency of it. Ayi (2007:60) asserts that hyperbole is “made up of an exaggerated statement which is not meant to be consumed literally but used to create a particular effect.” Dr. Nduom used the following hyperbole to attain his communicative goal:

Growing groundnuts nobody is there to buy the groundnuts

The indefinite pronoun “nobody” means not even a single person goes to the North to buy the groundnuts. He uses such an expression to indict the past and then NPP government of being insensitive to the plight of the groundnut farmers in Northern Ghana. Secondly, Dr. Nduom wanted the audience to see how serious the plight of the farmers was in Northern Ghana and therefore the need to reject the two political parties which were in power but had done nothing about it. Ironically, Dr. Nduom was a cabinet minister, a member of the NPP’s first term administration (see Appendix 1).

In any case, Dr. Nduom and his listeners shared the same knowledge as Ghanaians about the growing and selling of groundnut in Ghana. The general public (Ghanaians) are aware of the fact that groundnut is densely grown in the Northern Ghana. Some traders travel to the North to buy groundnuts to sell in the South, especially Accra and its environs. Therefore, the use of hyperbole in this context is propaganda in that Dr. Nduom has made his advocated position take on positive connotation and those of the opposition take on negative connotation. To say that not even a single soul goes to the North to buy groundnut is inconsistent with logical reasoning in that even if people do not go there to buy at all, at least there should be one person who goes there to buy. As noted, when a discourse is indifferent to logical reason then it is a propaganda.

Nana Addo also exploited hyperbolic-metaphor to describe the extent to which Ghanaians became intimidated under the CPP government which made his grandfather stand up to challenge the then Kwame Nkrumah regime.

Nanso mepɛ sɛ meka asem bi kyere wo na daama bi wobehu so mfaso. Sɛ daama bi no yɛbɛka Ghanafo abakɔsem sɛ eberɛ bi bae na Ghanafo nyinaa adane mmaa . Nti ehia sɛ Ghanani baako bɛtumi de ne nan asi fam aka akyerɛ Kwame Nkrumah se ade a ɔreyɛ yi nye ne kwan so nen. Enye eyi nti na yɛkɔperee yebenya fawohodi sɛ akyekyereakerekyee bɛba Ghana. Na ɔno de sɛ ne nkwa na ɔde bɛto ho ama ɔman no agyina a, he is prepared to do that. .

[But I want to tell you something so that in future you will realize the importance of it. In future, the history of Ghana will be told that it got to a time everybody in Ghana became a woman . Even all Ghanaians will be disgraced. So it is important that one Ghanaian will put his feet down and tell Kwame Nkrumah that he is on the wrong path. We did not fight for independence because of this. If indiscriminate arrest will become order of the day in Ghana; for him if laying down of his life will let the nation stand, he is prepared to do that .]

Here, Nana Addo used historical antecedent to show how intolerant Kwame Nkrumah's Administration was. Most Ghanaians were aware or have heard about the sour relationship between Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and Dr. J.B. Danquah as a result of the above quoted textual evidence. Nana Addo took advantage of the situational context to reproduce an old text to link the present. He used this allusion to encourage his audience who were mainly NPP members to stand for the party. He showed how almost every Ghanaian became afraid of Nkrumah's regime which caused his grandfather, Dankwa to vow to resist Nkrumah's oppression. Traditionally, women were brought up to be quiet and calm even when they are being hurt. In the same manner most Ghanaians under Nkrumah's regime were suffering in terms of human rights abuse as noted above, yet they were not prepared to stand up for their rights.

The above narrative discourse by Nana Addo is an example of over generalization. As we are all aware, over generalization is a well known

argumentative fallacy. Over generalization is fallacious because it makes assertion about all members of a class without exceptions based on sometimes inadequate evidence. In future if the history of Ghana is told that every Ghanaian became a woman under Nkrumah, then Nkrumah himself was a victim.

3.8 Rhetorical question

Rhetorical questions are speech acts that do not require any answer from the audience. They are used purely as interactional strategy to get the attention of the listeners or readers. Marcel (2004) and Agyekum (2007) agree that rhetorical question is a persuasive style of communication designed not to gain information but to create effect or to assert more emphatically the obvious answer to what is asked. In other words, rhetorical question is an attention seeking device whose focus is to get the audience to effectively participate in on-going interactive event.

This is illustrated in the following excerpt by Dr. Dr. Nduom

Asaase yi woana dze a? Asaase yi woana dze a ? Ɔye Ghanafo hen dze a. Yɛabrɛ. Ɔye den. Yɛabrɛ, yɛnnketsie mma obiara nnsisi hen bio, nnsisi Ghana bio.

[Who is the owner of this land? Who is the owner of this land? It is for Ghanaians. It is for Ghanaians. We are tired. What it is? We are tired. What it is? We are tired. We will not allow anybody to cheat Ghana again.]

Dr. Nduom and his audience shared the same situational context in that the use of demonstrative pronoun “ yi” [this] means he was pointing to the land at the scene of communication, that is, where the campaign was being held. Both Dr.Nduom and his listeners are all Ghanaians. They share the same socio-cultural properties . So the question above is not to seek the owner of the land but to lay emphasis on

the need for Ghanaians to vote for the CPP to bring the needed socio-economic change.

3.9 Summary of the Chapter

As seen from the foregoing discussions, the language employed by the presidential candidates indicates that, there is a link across the text, discourse practice, and socio-cultural practices of the society (Ghana) in which the communicative event was situated. As noted in Chapter two, the text refers to spoken or written words. Discourse practice refers to how the text is produced and consumed. Socio-cultural practice deals with cultural context, situational context, and institutional context in which the communicative event evolved.

The presidential candidates' choice of diction was densely influenced by the Ghanaian socio-cultural practices. That is, the kind of devices they employed, how they (devices) were produced and interpreted depend on Ghanaian socio-cultural practices. The words the candidates used were not alien to the electorates. They all appealed to the same cultural background knowledge. Both the presidential aspirants and their audiences had access to the same public domain knowledge. For instance, the content of the historical allusion employed by Nana Akuffo-Addo and Dr. Nduom was not new to Ghanaians. Ghanaians are aware of the genesis of the 1948 riots. They are aware of the achievements of the CPP government in the first republic and how and when UGCC started in the then Gold Coast.

The words employed by the presidential candidates were only precipitated by the situational context. According to Leckie-Tarry (1995: 20), in any interactive

encounter, both the speaker and the listener access the cultural background knowledge which is triggered by the situational context. The audience at the scene of communication determined what the presidential candidates had to say. For instance, the contents of all the stylistic devices deployed by the presidential aspirants indicate that they were talking to party faithfuls. If the situational context were different the story would be different.

Institutional context also played a major role in the selection of language by the presidential candidates. The words they used tell us which party they were affiliated to. For instance, the kind of message Dr. Papa kwesi Nduom took round the nation on the ticket of CPP to canvass for vote in 2008 might not be different in 2012, but the phraseology might be different. In 2012, he was the presidential candidate of Progressive People's Party. His choice of words would have to tally with his party's vision as well as ideology. For instance, in 2012 campaign, he could not use "We-They" categorization where "we" refers to CPP members as builders and "they" refers to their political opponents as destroyers. This explains why Fairclough (1995) states that for fuller understanding of a text, the analyst should go beyond the linguistic form and incorporate the broader socio-cultural practices of the speaker.

As noted, every word a politician uses is ideologically laden. It follows necessarily that the stylistic devices employed by the candidates carried their ideologies to the audience.

CHAPTER FOUR

OTHER DEVICES

4.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses what I termed **other devices**. **Other devices** have to do with discourse strategies other than stylistic which were employed by the presidential candidates to foster their ideology. The devices are actor description, use of virtue words, polarization, “we-they” categorization, innuendos, proof surrogate, ad hominem, emotive expression, appeal to masses, number game rhetoric, downplayers, national self-glorification, code-switching, and promise.

4.1 Actor Description

Political competitors use words with negative connotations to describe their opponents. van Dijk (2004) posits that in-group members initiate positive descriptions of their members and emphasize perceived negative characteristics of others. He describes this linguistic partitioning as self-positive presentation and other-negative presentation respectively. The practice of self-positive presentation and other-negative presentation is a shared socio-cultural activity. That is politicians appeal to the cultural knowledge of the speech community in which the political activities are situated. Politicians put down their ears and listen carefully for information about their opponents. If the information is negative then the opponent will express it in hyperbolic form to gain interactional lead. If the information is positive then the opponent will de-emphasize it. The purpose of this linguistic device (self-positive and other-negative presentation) is to lure the electorates to see speakers as “clean” and their political opponents as “dirty”. The

underlying purpose is to cause electorates to form a negative or an uncomplimentary opinion about political opponents.

This is illustrated by the following campaign message by Dr. Nduom:

We are the people who create; we created the Blackstar line. We are the people who build; we built the Tema Shipyard and Drive off. We are the people who create; we created the Ghana Airways. We are the people who built; we built Kumasi City Hotel. We are the people who create; we built the Akasanoma. We are the people who build; we built the Flagstar House. What about the other people? They sell. They destroy. They give what we have to other people. But the CPP will take back what belongs to us and give it back to Ghanaians. But the CPP will take what belongs to Ghanaians to them.

Dr. Nduom used euphemistic expressions to describe his party and used dysphemistic expressions to describe the two major parties, NDC and NPP in the roles they played in selling national assets. He used positive word(s) instead of one that carries negative associations for in-group members (CPP members) and words that carry negative effect on a listener's or electorate's attitude towards voting. He associated the CPP with the verbs "create" and "build" and associated the NDC and NPP with the verbs "sell", "destroy" and "give". This is a shared socio-political knowledge. The registers that attribute positive and negative characteristics to Ghanaian politicians were not "manufactured" by Dr. Nduom. He was just replaying what the society is saying about NDC and NPP in respect of the roles they played in divesting national assets. Ghanaians are aware of these historical antecedents. Dr. Nduom just wanted to remind his audience about each party's historical background for the audience to make their own electoral decisions as to who should be entrusted with the reins of power.

Prof. Mills on his part described the NPP as a party with a serious moral turpitude and therefore asked the audience to kick them out of power. He confidently said this at Wa in Upper West Region on 12/11/2008:

My brothers and sisters they say they want to move forward. Do you want to move forward with corruption? Do you want to move forward with arrogance? Do you want to move forward with arrogance? Do you want to move forward with cocaine? Do you want to move forward with fake promises? Do you want to move forward with amassment of wealth?

Prof. Mills, aware of the fact that the electorates have knowledge about what is happening in the country, used innuendo in the form of personal deixis “they” to warn them against renewing their (NPP) mandate. The pronoun “they” refers to NPP as a group not only its leader. Even though Prof. Mills did not mention any name, Ghanaians are aware that “moving forward” is NPP’s slogan. And as part of propaganda tactics, Prof. Mills attacked the slogan by using rhetorical force to move the masses against it. Prof. Mills appealed to the Ghanaian socio-cultural norms. As part of our social-cultural norms, we do not entrust leadership in the hands of corrupt, arrogant people who do not honour their promises. Prof. Mills used rhetorical questions packed with words that carry negative associations to describe the NPP so that electorates would see the need to kick them out of power. Prof. Mills employed emotional and value laden words such as “corruption”, “arrogance”, “cocaine”, “fake promises”, and “amassment of wealth” to describe the NPP. As noted under the theoretical framework, propaganda discourse uses emotion as a key for disseminating political messages.

4.2 Use of Virtue Words.

A virtue word is a word that depicts a speaker as having a sound moral character. It is one of the strategies of self-positive presentation. The use of virtue words is a culturally shared activity which portrays the actor as a moralist. Virtue word is a reflection of society's moral values

McGee (1980) posits that a virtue word generally consists of an abstract concept that is used in political speech to develop support for political positions. He coined the term "ideograph" for the mechanism by which one comprehends the specific concrete instances of political communication that reflects the more abstract idea of political ideology. In other words, a virtue word is used to make an emotive expression which makes the audience to see the speaker as a person who champions the course of societal ideals and puts his or her opponent in a negative light. The excerpt below by Prof. Mills describes himself and his party as people with sound moral character.

We are going to win. We are going to win because we stand for the truth.
We stand for honesty. We stand for transparency. We stand for humility.
We stand for love for one another and these are the things which take us

Prof. Mills uses abstract concepts such as "truth", "honesty", "transparency", "humility", and "love" to make moral value judgment about himself and his party telling the audience that they have the key to societal problems, problems which reflect themselves in the form of arrogance, corruption, dishonesty, and lying which prevent government from fulfilling its core mandate to the electorates. In 2008 general elections campaign, some Ghanaians plus the major opposition party (NDC) indicted the NPP and its flagbearer, Nana Akuffo-Addo of being arrogant, dishonest, and corrupt. Being aware of this socio-political fact, Prof. Mills

carefully selected his diction to tell the audience that his government would be different. These words were crafted in parallelism using the structure “We stand for.....”.

4.3 Polarization, WE-THEY Categorization

Semantically, some of the techniques in describing in-group and out-group members are rhetorical use of pronouns. According to van Dijk (2004) the objective pronouns “US-THEM” are few semantic strategies inherent in political debates. To him, the concept of polarization can function as the adjectives “good” and “bad” subdivisions of individuals who believe in the same ideology, as the case of friends and allies on one hand, and enemies on the other. That is, people who believe in the same ideology see themselves as good and others as bad. He observes that polarization may be rhetorically viable and fruitful when the relationship depicts contrast attributing features of “US-THEM” that are antithetical.

In the 2008 presidential campaign in Ghana, the subject pronouns “WE-THEY” were exploited a lot by Dr. Nduom to build such binary relationship as follows:

we are the people who create ; we created the Blackstar line. We are the people who build; we built the Tema Shipyard and Drive off. We are the people who create; we created Ghana Airways. We are the ones who built Akasanoma. We are the ones who build; we are the people who built the Kumasi City Hotel. What about the others? They destroy; they give what we have for others.

The personal deixis “**we**” refers to the CPP who claimed they built the economy during the first republic while “**they**” refers to both NDC and NPP whom the CPP presidential candidate used disparaging words about. As noted in chapter three, the

above excerpt is the perception of Ghanaians that the CPP came to build the economy but all the governments after CPP came to loot it. Dr. Nduom tactically never acknowledged any single weakness of his party or any single good thing associated with NDC or NPP. He used universal positive assertion about his party, CPP, and universal negative assertion about NDC and NPP. The purpose of this universal dysphemistic or dyslogic assertion is to paint NDC and NPP “black” so that electorates will disown them.

4.4 Vagueness

When an expression or utterance has no distinct meaning then it is considered vague. In his study of pragmatics of vagueness in Australian political discourse, Gruber (1993), as cited in Obeng (1997:59), asserts that “politicians must create and maintain a positive public face while at the same time attacking opponents; vagueness becomes inevitable facets of political communication” He further explains that the tacit knowledge of the community within which political discourse is being held provides an insight into the motivation underlying the use of vagueness in political speech. In other words, vagueness performs two communicative and interactional functions. First, the addresser or the speaker uses vagueness to build positive public image and second, he uses build negative public image for his/her political opponents. Vagueness can be classified as a sub-category of self-positive presentation and negative-other presentation. In addition in using vague expressions, politicians appeal to the implicit cultural principles in their societies. In this study, vagueness is seen as a slanting device employed by political actors to lampoon their opponents while at the same time running away

from their promises and assurances to the electorates. This is possible because vague expressions tend to embrace all kinds of interpretations thereby giving the actor the chance to escape. The following excerpt of Prof. Mills is vague:

My brothers and sisters, I am telling you Ghana is rich. But our money is in the hands of a few people. I will make sure that we distribute the money to all of you.

The use of “a few” does not have a well-defined referent. Does it refer to some Ghanaians or does it refer to some NPP members who were in government by then? The use of such quantifiers such as a few and few do not have a precise referent class. Secondly, the expression “I will make sure that we distribute the money to all of you” is vague because there is no realistic way of verifying it. Is the money going to be distributed to the speaker’s audience or is the speaker going to share the money to all Ghanaians? Is the money going to be distributed to the electorates individually after taking the reins of power or is it going to be channeled through developmental projects? Again, is it going to be given to the electorates through the payment of salaries?

Lauer and Amponsah (2010:65) observe that vagueness of an expression comes about when there is no much information to explain exactly what in the world the expression is referring to. Prof. Mills also employed the following vague expressions:

Now are they teachers here? Are they teachers here? Teachers thank you for your sacrifice. We will improve your conditions of service. Taxi drivers and trotro [commercial vehicle] drivers the same message goes to you

The term “improve” is a fuzzy concept. It does not have a clear definition or a specific meaning. Lauer and Amponsah (2010:33) describe such concepts as “essentially contestable”. According to them “essentially contestable” words are not well-defined because their definitions do not make clear which properties are captured by them. Most of these “essentially contestable” words are abstract in nature and are open to multiple interpretations. The use of fuzzy concepts by speakers do not allow recipients to logically and critically assess messages before accepting them. The use of vagueness in this context is propaganda since it is indifferent to logical assessment.

In addition, we do not know in this context whether the teachers and the trotro drivers belong to the same ministry. In the Ghanaian economy, trotro drivers are self-employed and belong to a highly informal sector while teachers are civil servants who belong to the formal sector of the economy. We are very much aware that the government of Ghana does not have much control over trotro drivers in terms of their conditions of work. Therefore to say that both teachers and trotro drivers are going to have the same improved conditions of service is mere propaganda.

The use of vague language by Prof. Mills was hugely influenced by both situational and cultural contexts. In terms of situation context, a lot of drivers and teachers were on the campaign ground: so there was a need to promise them something attractive. The scene of platform campaign is informal. It is informal because the language is not structured. The use of language during platform campaign is left to the discretion of the speaker. The speaker therefore opens his

political lenses widely and make sure everybody who came to the rally would get something home. Being inspired by the crowd and the cultural context, the speaker would try to please everybody, he/she ends up creating ambiguities and vagueness in his/her utterances. In terms of culture, Prof. Mills was aware of the plight of trotro drivers and teachers in this country. Teachers in general were poorly paid before the introduction of the Single Span Salary Structure in 2011. Drivers' fortunes correlate with how much is a gallon of petrol sold. In 2008 drivers were frustrated due to the global economic recess which affected the commodity market including petroleum. Being aware of the foregoing socio-economic fact, Prof. Mills shrewdly used them as "linguistic weapons" against NPP's administration which eventually led him to power.

Similarly, Nana Addo employed vagueness to make his plans known to the audience.

If free primary education has come in the era of kuffour, in the era of Akuffo Addo we are going to have free secondary school education in our country. We are determined to make sure everybody in this country, rich or poor, especially poor, has access to good quality education, that is the way we can go forward

The adjective "free" in this context is vague. For Nana-Addo to promise free secondary education without telling the audience what specific item and facility will be free. We don't know whether his would-be government will bear all the financial obligations of each student covering library, tuition which are already free, boarding facilities, and transport. This idea of "free secondary education" generated lots of debates among Ghanaians as to whether the nation can afford it. He also said,

Apart from the process of industrialization we can't do it without modernizing agriculture and for that to happen, we also have to undo one of the great injustices of our history. That is the gap in the development between the north and the south for the unity of our nation. So that we are one country, not two countries, the north and the south. Before we are going to that, we are going to transform agriculture in the north to make it the bread-basket for West Africa.

Most Ghanaians including Nana Addo's audience have knowledge about the disparity between the Northern and the Southern Ghana in terms of development. Most farmers in Ghana continue to produce food and raw materials using basic farming implements like cutlasses, hoes, and mattocks. Being equipped with this public knowledge, Nana Addo used the power of vagueness as a rhetorical device to communicate to his audience. The terms "modernizing", "injustice", and "transform" in this context are vague. Nana Addo did not tell his audience exactly what he was going to do to "modernize" and "transform" agriculture. In the same vein, he did not tell the electorates what and what constitute the "injustice" which has created the imbalance between the north and the south in terms of development.

Laura and Amponsah (2010:65) observe that an utterance or speech is vague if it does not provide enough information to explain what exactly in the world the utterance or the speech is referring to. Omozuwa and Ezejideaku (2009) posit that politicians consciously make use of words or expressions that are vague or indefinite. According to them, these words "have no realistic ways of validating them". The deployment of "modernizing", "injustice" and "transform" by Nana Addo would make it difficult for the audience to critically assess him. They lack standard method of verification, hence they are vague.

4.5 Innuendos

When expressions with negative associations are used to make reference to individuals, a group or a party without mentioning specific names, they are called innuendo. Obeng (2002:13) posits that political actors use innuendos when they want to talk about delicate issues. An innuendo is a linguistic technique used for negative “other- presentation”. Speakers use emotion as a persuasive tool to cast a slur on one’s political opponents to make electorates see them as “bad and unfit” to be voted for. Here are some excerpts from the data: Prof. Mills said,

My brothers and sisters, I know that they will come here and offer money. Will you take money and vote for them? Because they do not respect you, they think everybody has a price. But Allah did not put a value on anybody’s head. My brothers and sisters, even if you take the money vote against them.

He used the exophoric reference “they” to put his message across. Anyone who knows the political landscape of Ghana knows that, anytime there is an election, the electorates together with the opposition parties accuse the incumbent of political malpractices. Prof. Mills was referring to the NPP even though no specific name was mentioned. He was advising his audience to resist the attempt by the NPP to influence them with money. Dr. Nduom also used insinuating language to disparage the NDC and NPP as the excerpt indicates below:

So you will no longer be in your home country and selling everything from you. And they start selling everything from you, after selling everything from you what are they going to sell again? What are they going to sell again?

The personal deixis “they” in this context refers to the NDC and NPP whose tenure of office saw the selling of state assets to private individuals and

organizations through the implementation of divestiture policy. Some Ghanaians and the CPP who believe in socialist ideology do not endorse the sale of national assets. In the Ghanaian socio-cultural milieu, people frown upon those who sell their asset during hard times. Dr. Nduom called upon the electorates to gain consciousness about NDC and NPP who have sold a lot of Ghana's assets. They cannot be custodians of the Ghanaian asset.

Nana Addo also used innuendo as a device to inform his audience that the NDC would lose the 2008 general elections as indicated below:

Nea ehia yen ne se electoral commission bɛhyehye ne nneɛma nyinaa pɛpɛpɛ. Yeto aba no wie a, nea wanya no anya. Nea wannya no atease se enye kululu na mmom to na wɔnto amma no. Na abato nso de wo ara wonim ebinom benya, na ebinom nso bɛwe. Eyi de yenim wɔn a wobɛwe nti wɔnye wɔn ho ready

[What is important is that electoral commission should be able to put all necessary arrangements in place. After voting, the one who wins wins. The one who loses should understand that there is no foul play but that they did not vote for him. In elections, some will lose some too will win. For this one we know those who will lose. They should get themselves ready.]

As quoted above, Nana Addo through power of innuendo made sarcastic remarks about the NDC that they would lose the election. Even though no name was mentioned, we are aware of the fact that in 2008 the political tournament was between NDC and NPP. Prior to the elections, a lot of people were saying the NDC would lose. Having been equipped with this general knowledge, Nana Addo chose his diction carefully to conform with that of the populace. As noted in chapter two, Thornborrow (1999:146) observes that politicians consciously align

their linguistic choices with their audience in order to entice them to vote for them (politicians). He refers to this kind of linguistic variation as “style shifting”.

4.6 Proof Surrogate

Proof surrogate is a linguistic device which is used by communicators to create the impression that their conclusions are well investigated. According to Moore and Parker (2004:140), proof surrogate is used by speakers to suggest that there is an evidence or authority for a claim without committing themselves to cite such evidence or authority. It is a rhetorical strategy adopted by politicians to cause their audience or electorates to have confidence in them. As part of socio-cultural practice of Ghanaians, we believe in evidence or speaking factually. This idea of giving evidence has affected most public speakers including politicians. In the following excerpt, Nana Addo employed the proof surrogate device to put his message across to the gathered audience:

we are told, we are told that the first five years of the production of oil, we are going to earn fifteen billion US dollars.

Note that this declarative sentence has nothing to do with how many studies are involved, how good they are, who did them, or any other vital information. It is used purely as a rhetorical device aimed at creating the impression that the speaker has done his homework well and knows what he is asserting. Oil was found in commercial quantity in Ghana getting to the tail end of Kuffour-led NPP administration. The use of the proof surrogate device by Nana Addo in this context suggests his involvement in the government and for that matter he had up to date information about the oil found. As propaganda ploy, speakers use proof surrogate

persuasively to get listeners committed to side with them on the basis of such evidence.

4.7 Ad hominem (Argumentation)

Ad hominem is a well known argumentative fallacy of attacking or praising the person rather than dealing with the nitty-gritty of the dispute. Lauer and Amponsah (2010:298) state that,

If pleasant and laudatory facts cited about the individual responsible for or associated with the conclusion, the fallacy is called eulogistic ad hominem.

However, when negative properties are predicated about the person then the fallacy is dyslogistic ad hominem.

Prof. Mills employed the tool of ad hominem eulogistic to paint in the mind eye of his audience or electorates that the NDC candidates in Upper West stand tall when it comes to the pursuance of politics as indicated below.

But the people of Upper West I am making appeal to you. You have good representatives. You have men of substance. You have men of the right caliber. You have men of integrity. I am appealing to you to vote for all the NDC candidates to go to parliament.

Prof. Mills, who shared the same situational context with his audience, decided to use value laden words as well as value judgments to appeal to his audience to vote for him. Dr. Nduom also adopted ad hominem eulogistic to persuade and coax the audience to accept his candidature. Being aware of the fact that the electorates are likely to accept or endorse a conclusion when positive properties are said about the actor, he proudly asserts that

Yɛnka nkyerɛ Ghanafo dɛ yedzi hɛn ho nyi.

[Let us tell Ghanaians that we respect our ourselves]

Dr. Nduom was telling the electorates that they understand the meaning of democracy. This strategy deals with self-positive presentation and other-negative presentation; it is away of getting electorates to form a bad opinion about the other candidates.

The use of ad hominem eulogistic by Prof. Mills and Dr. Nduom was precipitated by what was happening at the time. Those who did not believe in NPP's ideology decided to associate its leader with all kinds of words with negative connotations.

In the same manner, those who did not believe in NDC also equated it with violence.

Having equipped themselves with this speculative cultural knowledge, Prof. Mills and Dr. Nduom decided to use stereotypical language that would indirectly add some credence to the negative perception that some opponents had about the NPP's leader and NDC as a whole

4.8 Emotive Expression

As discussed in chapter two of this thesis; emotive expression or language is employed by politicians to stir people's emotion such as hatred, anger, happiness, and love. Lauer and Amponsah (2010:8) observe that one of the ways in which a communicator can convey information is the use of incomplete sentences which they termed as emotive expression. According to them, emotive expression does not have any logical features or characteristics and therefore there is no basis for

evaluation. They observe that the information that emotive expression conveys takes the form of crying, hugging, waving one's arms and singing.

This is illustrated by the following slogan by Dr. Nduom

Twooboi!Twooboi!!

He used the word “twooboi” repeatedly as a transitional device to link one idea or topic to another, thereby helping listeners to understand his logic. “Twooboi” has not got any meaningful English version. It is used commonly by almost all the ethnic groups in Ghana. It is also commonly used by the military in Ghana anytime they are doing something in group, in order to inspire them. The use of “twooboi” is face to face communicative technique in the sense that always the listener and the speaker must share the same situational context so that its interactional goal will be achieved. It is also used as an intertextual device within the discourse because it is used to signal references to other parts of the text. Anytime a speaker shouts “twooboi” listeners will respond “yeee”. Both terms are just used to express emotional states.

4.9 Appeal to Masses

Appeal to masses is a well known argumentative fallacy which is employed by public speakers to win the hearts of their audience or groups. Copi and Cohen (2002:144) termed it as “appeal to emotion” which literally means appeal to the people or the mob. It is usually employed by propagandist because according to Copi and Cohen (2002:144),

it replaces the laborious task of presenting evidence and rational argument with expressive language and other devices calculated to excite enthusiasm, anger or hate.

That is, propagandist sees using rational argument as well as giving bias-free evidence to convince his or her audience as difficult to achieve. As discussed in chapter two, Walton (1997) admits that the activities of propagandists are indifferent to logical reasoning. He believes that, it will be a herculean task to convince electorates to vote for candidates through the presentation of biased-free evidence and rational argument. Here is an example from Dr. Nduom's speech:

What didn't they do to the CPP? In 1966 what didn't they try to do to us? What didn't they try to do to ban our members from contesting for public office? If you held the picture of Kwame Nkrumah, it was a crime. If you mentioned his name, it was a crime. They wanted to kill the CPP. They wanted us dead, now look at us. Look at us. Look at all of us. Look at all of us.

Dr. Nduom started with rhetorical questions through innuendo to cause the audience who were mainly CPP members to develop hatred towards the NPP party. The use of deitic element "they" points to the NPP party. Anyone who is conversant with Ghana's political history is aware that it was Dankwah-Busia tradition, of whom NPP traces its ancestry who master-minded the coup against CPP's administration in 1966. Dr. Nduom intentionally appealed to the situational context or the emotions of his audience to win their sympathy and support. Secondly, he kept on referring to the audience several times instead of presenting rational argument as to why Ghanaians should endorse his candidature. He rather was appealing to his large and varied audience, so that non-CPP members will know that the party is popular. Lauer and Amponsah (2010) observe that appeal to

the masses is common in arguments because human beings have the tendency to conform to what the majority believes in.

4.10 Number Game Rhetoric (Argumentation)

According to van Dijk (2004), one of the methods through which communicators achieve credibility and objectivity is the use of numbers and statistics. Lauer and Amponsah (2010:306) posit that,

These mathematical flourishes deflect attention from the subject matter, if the attributes or the qualities do not lend themselves to precise measurement.

Speakers tend to use statistical evidence to decorate their speeches which in the final analysis overshadows listeners' analytical and critical assessment of issues, especially, when the issues are contestable.

The number game rhetoric was evident in Dr. Nduom's campaign speech as in the following remark:

In 2004, when they voted sometimes what they said was NDC-500, NPP-800, and CPP-5. That is history. That is history. I am telling you in 2008 when the votes are cast, when the votes are poured unto the table, when the votes are counted, and this is what you are going to hear: NDC-200, NPP-300 and CPP-1000.

Dr. Nduom used this statistics to tell his audience to have confidence in the coming general elections because after all said and done the election result will be in their favour. But the issue was that those statistical details were mere speculation. It was not based on any research findings. It is purely rhetorical, a persuasive ploy. He just wanted to tune the audience's mind off his abysmal

performance in 2004 general elections. He was aware of the fact that the audience had this cultural background knowledge so he needed to rebut it.

4.11 Downplayers

Downplaying is a linguistic style that is deployed to make something appears less significant. Moore and Parker (2004:136) observe that downplaying is an attempt to make someone or something looks less important. Downplaying deals with words that are used to downgrade others. The purpose of downplaying is to use emotion as a main tool with the sole aim of causing electorates or audience to construct a negative view about individuals, groups, or set of beliefs so that the speaker will gain interactional advantage. Dr. Nduom made use of downplaying in his speech below:

They also say they brought capitation grant is okay.

The phrase “they also say” is used to downplay or make the audience think that it is less significant. The phrase also in this context means that the speaker is not aware of that social reality or that aspect of the NPP’s achievement but they claimed they brought it. It could also mean that the capitation was not introduced by the NPP, that they came and met it. When one looks at the whole utterance and its pragmatic implication, one can say that it is used as propaganda.

4.12 National self-glorification

In political discourse, sometimes good properties are predicated about a country or its leaders. According to van Dijk (2004), in parliamentary discourse on immigration, politicians regularly make positive references or shower praises upon

one's country which can be termed as nationalist ideology. The following excerpt from Nana Addo's speech is an example of National self-glorification which is executed through propaganda because the language used is skewed toward one side (one sided argumentation).

I have one duty. I have one duty that I have to discharge today. And that is on behalf of you, on behalf of the New Patriotic Party. On behalf of the people of Ghana, I want to say a word of gratitude for the exemplary leadership, and for the work, the productive work that has taken place in our country these last seven years. I want to stand on your behalf, on behalf of the people of Ghana to the great man who has served our nation with such dedication, commitment, and skill. And who has brought our country to where we are today. A country where freedom flourishes as it has never flourished before in our country. A country whose economy is at long last is beginning to work and make progress. A country that today is a model of good governance and international recognition and responsibility.
John Agyekum Kuffour ne n'abadiakyire Aliu Mahama ayekoo! Ghanafo se ayekoo!

[John Agyekum Kuffour and his Vice Aliu Mahama more grease to your elbows. Ghanaians are saying more grease to your elbows.]

By considering the pragmatic context of the above excerpt, one can say that the above is propaganda. As noted earlier under theoretical framework, one of the features of propaganda is that it encodes a one sided-argumentation. Nana Addo used "mono-partisanship" approach coupled with ad hominem eulogistic argument to communicate an issue which is already in the public domain (performances of successive government to his audience). According to Walton (1997:398), in propaganda discourse the arguer does not critically discuss an issue openly considering all merits and demerits on both sides. Sentences such as

...and who has brought our country to where we are today. A country whose economy is at long last beginning to work and make progress.

are some of the evidence that the above excerpt is one-sided argumentation and therefore can be termed as propaganda. It portrays the NPP and its leaders as achievers as against the other parties.

4.13 Code-switching

Code-switching is a scenario where a communicator mixes two or more languages that are mutually unintelligible, a practice commonly associated with bilingual or multilingual societies like Ghana. According to Akmajian et al (2004:307)

the term code-switching refers to a situation in which a speaker uses distinct varieties as discourse proceeds. This occurs quite commonly in everyday speech with regards to levels of style, for example, when speakers mix formal and informal styles

The purpose of code-switching in political communication is to achieve effective communication. Sornig (1989) as stated in earlier section of this thesis observes that, persuasion is very fruitful between partners whose communicative biographies are similar. Sornig (1989:98) asserts that the communicator and the recipient “can achieve understanding and agreement with a minimum of verbal activity”

In other words, if the speaker and the listener use the same language, small verbal effort will be needed to achieve effective communication. Speakers including politicians want to use a language that will facilitate their audience’s understanding. This is illustrated by the following excerpt by Nana Addo:

Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, National Chairman, members of the Great Elephant Party, brothers and sisters, the people of Kasoa. Mile akε Kasoa wɔyɔɔ. Kasoa hu’ε Central Region. Shi mile akε Gamεi pii yε biε

hewɔ miitaɔ maŋa amɛ dã ni mada nyɛfɛɛ shi akɛ nyɛba tamɔ nɛkɛ. Kɛ mikwɛ crowd ni yɔɔ biɛ lɛ, kɛ enɛ wɔkɛ baatsu ni yɛ maŋ nɛɛ mli lɛ Flagstar House lɛ, ejaakɛ mishɛ jɛmɛ momo. Yɛ yiwaladɔŋŋ! Yɛ yiwaladɔŋŋ!!

[...I know that we are in Kasoa. Kasoa is in Central Region. But I know a lot of Gas are here, so I want to first of all greet them and thank all of them for showing up in their numbers. When I look at the crowd here, if this is what we are going to use in this town, then I am already in the Flagstar House. Thank you very much! Thank you very much!]

Nana Addo was born and bred in a typical Ga community as indicated in his biography (see Appendix 1). It presupposes that Ga is his L1. Kasoa is part of Central Region (as read in the above corpus) but shares boundary with Greater Accra Region. Due to its proximity to Accra, a lot of Gas have migrated to the place (Kasoa). Knowing the role language plays in persuasive communication in politics, Nana Addo decided to code-switch between the official language (English) and Ga to introduce his campaign. After the introduction, Nana Addo kept on code-switching between the official language and the Akan language.

Dr. Nduom also code-switched between the official language and the Akan (see appendixes 3 &4 respectively). Both were aware that most of their audience did not understand the official language and therefore decided to code-switch between English and Akan or Ga to achieve “mutual intelligibility”. Both code-switched to enhance interpersonal communication thereby increasing solidarity with the audience. In the case of Nana Addo, code-switching between English and Ga is purely reverential. It is a way of showing reverence to the Ga settlers in Kasoa who came in their numbers to listen to him. It also signals his diverse linguistic

inventory which makes him prolific when it comes to campaigning in a multilingual state like Ghana.

4.14 Promise

A promise is one of the speech acts that creates a bond between the speaker and the listener in anticipation that the speaker will honour his/her word. According to Sekyi-Baidoo (2002) promise is a communicative strategy employed by speakers to inform their target audience of their (speakers) commitment to perform a particular activity or action in the future. In political discourse, usually, a promise is a way of telling the audience that the future will be more optimistic or better than the time of campaigning. Omozuwa and Ezejideaku (2009:49) observe that promise is one of the mechanisms employed by political actors to hold voters spell bound. This is illustrated by the following excerpt by Nana Addo:

If free primary education has come in the era of Kuffour, in the era of Akuffo Addo we are going to have free secondary in our country. We are determined to make sure that everybody in this country, rich or poor, especially poor has access to good quality education. That is the way we can go forward. In my time we are going to get free secondary education and we are also going to make sure every region in Ghana has public university to which there will be access.

Those who have meticulously followed presidential campaign in 2008, the above campaign message has now become one of the NPP's "jingle". The promise of free secondary education has gone down with a lot of Ghanaians and has now become a focus for discussion for both politicians and non politicians.

In the same manner, Dr. Ndom gave the following assurance to his audience concerning education:

I am telling you when the CPP comes to power, education from kindergarten to Senior High School will be free and it will be compulsory and it will be continuous and it will be continuous. We will no longer have , we will no longer have a situation where a young boy, a young girl 14 years, 15 years will take BECE exams and they will tell that boy, that girl go home because you failed. What are they going to do at fourteen? What are they going to do at fifteen? I am telling you we will build more schools so that everybody will stay in school from kindergarten to Senior High School.

He promised his audience the restructuring of the entire pre-tertiary educational system so that a lot of children can get access to it. This new educational policy will help take care of the exodus of young boys and girls on the streets of Ghana who could not pass their BECE and as a result could not gain admission to SHS.

Prof. Mills also promised the electorates that neither him nor his party members will engage in any acts of corruption as illustrated below:

My brothers and sisters, what I have seen here today have given me great encouragement. I want to promise, I want to promise in the presence of all of you. Atta Mills, Att Millls will not engage in corruption. I will not allow any of my ministers or party functionaries to engage in corruption. We will use the resources of the country for the benefits of the people.

His use of spatial deixis “here” and time deixis “today” indicates that, Prof. Mills took advantage of the situational context and made promises to his audience.

During the 2008 presidential campaign, corruption became an issue. Many Ghanaians perceived the NPP as a corrupt party. Prof. Mills assured the electorates that when he comes to power corruption will belong to history. However, few months after taking office, his government was plagued by the same corruption syndrome.

Prof. Mills had been a Vice President before. Both Dr. Nduom and Nana Addo were ministers of state under Kuffour's government. It was therefore not difficult for them to identify the critical sectors of the economy. Because they also belong to the same cultural environment, they were aware of the needs of Ghanaians nationwide. They therefore decided to garnish their speeches by promising the electorates to take care of them when elected. Prof. Mills made a lot of promises (see Appendix 2). I believe that his position as Vice President coupled with the fact that he was the only presidential candidate at the time contesting for the third time gave him a lot of insight into the game. His speech was heavily dominated by promises and condemnation of the then NPP- led government.

4.15 Summary of the Chapter

As noted in Chapter three, the presidential candidates had the same goal but they used different discourse strategies to achieve their communicative goal. Their messages were audience-driven. Lucas (2001:99) observes that the communicator's goal is to adjust to the audience, not to show how much she/he knows about a wide variety of issues. That is, the presidential candidates did not lord over the electorates in terms of ideas. They rather conformed to what the electorates were saying. Those who are familiar with Ghanaian socio-political landscape, would know that before 2008 general elections campaign, Ghanaians described both the NDC and NPP as "sellers" and "destroyers" due to the role they played in selling national assets in the name of divestiture. Others also described the NPP as "corrupt" and "arrogant". It is therefore not surprising when Dr. Nduom used actor description to label both the NDC and NPP as people who

“sell”, “destroy” and “give” what belongs to Ghana to others. On his part, Prof. Mills described the NPP as “corrupt” and “arrogant” This shows that political discourse in Ghana reflects the viewpoints of the electorates.

What is the essence of this audience-driven communication strategy adopted by politicians in Ghana? Ghanaian politicians adopt audience-driven communication strategies to entice the audience to vote for them. Ghanaian politicians change their speech to fit more closely with those they happen to be talking to. For instance, the use of code-switching by Nana Akuffo-Addo at Kasoa in the Central Region epitomizes audience-driven communication strategy. Although he was in the Central Region known to be an Akan speaking area, he was aware most of his target audience were Gas. He intentionally exploited audience-driven communication strategy so as to win the confidence of the electorates.

Political discourse in Ghana is audience-driven as indicated above. Political rallies in Ghana also deal with large crowds. As noted in chapter two, large crowds at political rallies are not influenced by logical reasoning. Being privy to this piece of information, the presidential candidates employed all kinds of persuasive devices which were inconsistent with logical reasoning as evidenced in their speeches. The persuasive devices which are not consistent with logical reasoning are described as propaganda. The presidential candidates employed propagandistic devices to downgrade their political rivals so as to gain interactional lead. For instance, both Prof. Mills and Nana Akuffo-Addo used innuendos to vilify their political opponents (see innuendos). The use of propaganda messages explains why Ghanaian political discourses are not issues based. Ghanaian politicians package

their messages to reflect their audience's views. The propagandistic devices deployed by the presidential aspirants were actor description, use of virtue words, polarization "We-They" categorization, vagueness, proof surrogate, ad hominem, number game rhetoric, downplayers, appeal to masses and national self-glorification. In short, political discourse in Ghana is audience-driven. It reflects the viewpoints of the electorates.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the salient discussions and findings of the present study. The study has dwelt on Fairclough's (1995) assumption in Critical Discourse

Analysis, claiming that there is a link between text, discourse practice and socio-cultural practice. And Walton's (1997) assumption in Propaganda Discourse Analysis, claiming that propaganda discourse is indifferent to logical reasoning. It employs one-sided argumentation, persuasive dialogue, emotive language and persuasive definitions. This chapter makes recommendations and concluding remarks of the present study.

5.1 Findings

This thesis discussed the language of presidential campaign in Ghana. As noted, the author selected three of the 2008 campaign speeches of Prof. Atta Mills, Dr. Papa kwesi Nduom, and Nana Akuffo-Addo the then presidential candidates of National Democratic Congress, Conversion People's Party and New Patriotic Party respectively.

The research revealed that there is a close link between text, discourse practice and socio-cultural practice. As noted in chapters three and four, the choice of diction by the presidential aspirants was densely dictated by Ghanaian socio-cultural practices. The electorates understood the stylistic devices and other devices employed by the candidates because they all shared the same public domain knowledge. For instance, the use of simile (see chapter three) by Dr. Papa Kwesi Nduom to remind the electorates of the difficulties CPP went through as a result of manipulations from other political parties was not new. This information is already in the public domain. Dr. Papa Kwesi Nduom was speaking as a

member of the Ghanaian community. The use of the above simile was anchored on the audience's memory of history.

Situational context played a major role in the 2008 presidential campaign. As we are aware, political rallies are face-to-face communicative event. As noted, because the presidential candidates shared the same physical environment with the electorates, they adopted audience-driven strategy in order to win their (electorates') confidence. In 2008 general elections, the presidential candidates tailored their messages to reflect the viewpoints of the electorates as noted under actor description and use of virtue words in chapter four. In tailoring their messages to tally with their audiences' viewpoints, the presidential candidates had to adopt different persuasive strategies some of which resulted in propaganda as discussed in chapter four.

Institutional context also played a very important part in the molding of campaign messages in 2008 general elections. As discussed in chapter two, political parties have history, values, attitudes, beliefs and ideologies which influence their linguistic choices in order to seduce and coax electorates to vote for them. The use of "We-They" categorization by Dr. Papa Kwesi Nduom is the epitome of institutional context. In 2008 general elections, the pronoun "we" refers to CPP members while "they" refers to NDC and NPP. In 2012 general elections, even if Dr. Nduom used "We-They" categorization, the interpretation would not be the same, because he was affiliated to a different party. Thus political discourse in Ghana reflects what Fairclough (1995) says that, there is a link between text, discourse practice, and socio-cultural practice. This means that for genuine

interpretation of a politician's choice of language, the analyst must consider the immediate physical context, the wider social context, and cultural context within which the discourse evolved.

5.2 Recommendations

I suggest that similar studies be made of speeches by parliamentary candidates so as to deepen our insight about political discourse in Ghana.

5.3 Concluding Remarks

Chapter one examined the general aims of political communication with regards to persuading, informing, educating, influencing, and seducing electorates to embrace a specific policy of an individual political actor or a party. It explained that the encoding of political messages in Ghana is very intricate due to its multilingual and multicultural nature. Being aware of this intricacy, politicians adopt different approaches and used varied channels to disseminate their information to their target audience. It also explained ideology as a reflection of one's experiential knowledge and non-experiential knowledge which manifests itself in the way language is used. The objectives, statement of the problem, the scope of the work, relevance of the study, and the organization of the chapters were also discussed.

Chapter two explained the methodology and theoretical framework of the present study. In terms of methodology, the qualitative research approach was adopted because of its ability to explore the type of strategies a communicator employs and ascertain why the communicator uses them with respect to specific context and

audience. The theoretical framework was inspired by two authors, namely Fairclough (1995) and Walton (1997). Fairclough (1995) observes that there is affinity between the text, discourse practice and socio-cultural practices of the speaker's society. So for any effective analysis of a language, the analyst should not delink himself from the speaker's socio-cultural practices. On his part, Walton (1997) claims that propaganda discourse is indifferent to logical reasoning. It uses one-sided argumentation, persuasive dialogue, emotive language and persuasive definitions.

In chapters three and four, the data for the research was presented and analyzed using both Fairclough (1995) and Walton's (1997) frameworks. Chapter three discussed the stylistic devices while chapter four discussed other devices. The stylistic devices employed by the presidential candidates include historical allusion, metaphor, anaphora and repetition, intertextuality, simile, personification, hyperbole and rhetorical question.

The other devices deployed by the presidential candidates are actor description, use of virtue words, polarization "We- They" categorization, vagueness, proof surrogate, ad hominem, appeal to masses, emotive expression, number game rhetoric, national self-glorification, downplayers, code-switching, and promise. All the other devices were propagandistic in nature except code-switching and promise.

In chapter five, the findings were discussed. The findings confirmed that there is a link across text, discourse practice and socio-cultural practices of the speaker's

society. In other words, the words the presidential candidates employed were not alien to Ghanaians. Both the candidates and the electorates had mutual knowledge about the kind of language the candidates used.

APPENDIX 1

PROFILES OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

Prof. John Evans Atta Mills

Prof. John Evans Atta Mills was born on July 21, 1944, at Tarkwa in the Western Region of Ghana but hails from Ekumfi Otum in the Mfantseman East

Constituency of the Central Region. He schooled at Achimota Secondary where he obtained his General Certificate of Examination (Advance Level) in 1963. He then went to University of Ghana where he obtained a BA in law. He pursued a PhD programme in School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London, while there, John Evans Ata Mills was selected as a Fulbright scholar at Stanford Law School in the United States of America. At age 27, he defended his doctoral thesis on taxation and economic development.

Prof. Mills was employed as a lecturer at the Faculty of Law at the University of Ghana where he rose through the ranks to become an associate professor. As has been characteristic of university lecturers, he taught in a number of universities outside Ghana as a visiting lecturer. He presented research papers at symposia and conferences within and outside Ghana.

In 1988, Prof. Mills became the acting commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service of Ghana and was named Commissioner in 1996. In January 1997, he was appointed as a Vice President by Ex-President J.J. Rawlings.

In 2000, he was appointed by his party to be its flag bearer. However, luck was not on his side, hence he lost to ex-president Kuffour the then NPP candidate for the presidency. He was re elected in 2004 to lead his party but the verdict was the same. In 2008, President Mills led his party for the third term against NPP's new candidate (Nana Akuffo-Addo) as well as CPP.'s candidate, Dr. Papa Kwesi Nduom. In his third attempt he won the presidency (in 2008 general elections)

with a narrow margin as explained under Nana Addo's profile. He was sworn in on January 7 to become the third president of the 4th republic.

Source: 1. <http://politics.myjoyonline.com/pages/201008/50219.phd>. 2/8/2012.

2. [http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomepage/people/person.phd?](http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomepage/people/person.phd?ID137)

ID137. 2/8/2012

Nana Akuffo –Addo Danquah

Nana Akuffo -Addo Danquach was born on March 29, 1944, in Swalaba, a suburb of Accra but hails from Kibi in the Abuakwa South Constituency in the Eastern Region of Ghana¹. He attended the Government Boys School and later Rowe Road School now known as Kinbu both in Accra Central. He went to England after completing Rowe Road School to study at Lancing College, Sussex where he obtained his General Certificate of Education (Ordinary Level and Advanced Level). He returned to the country to teach at Accra Academy before enrolling at the University of Ghana in 1964 where he obtained B.A Degree in Economics. After university of Ghana he went back to read Law in the United Kingdom (UK) and was called to the English Bar (Middle Temple) in July 1971 and to the Ghana Bar in 1975.

After his call to the English Bar, he went to work in Paris, France, as a lawyer with a renowned international US law firm, Coudert Frères, for five years. While in France; he learned the French language which has added to his linguistic repertoire. He returned to Ghana in 1975 to continue his law profession. He joined

the chambers of U.V. Campbell from 1975 – 1979 and then co-founded the firm, Akuffo -Addo, Prempeh and Co. Two of the prominent law celebrities that have passed through his chambers are Sophia Akuffo, Justice of the Supreme Court (Ghana), and Lawyer Akoto Apaw a prominent Accra based lawyer.

Nana Akuffo –Addo Danquah has served on numerous boards and committees in Ghana. He was the General Secretary of People’s Movement for Freedom and Justice (P.M.F.J). The group led the “No” campaign in the ‘UNIGOV’ referendum of 1978 which subsequently led to the collapse of the Acheampong Military Government, and the revival of majoritarian democracy in Ghana. Shortly after the referendum, Nana Addo went into exile due to the threat from the then military government.

In 1992 when the ban on multiparty democracy was lifted, Nana Addo became the first national organizer of the N.P.P and later that year became campaign manager of first presidential candidate, Prof. Albert Adu Boahen. In 1995, Nana Addo led the famous “kumipreko” [kill me now] demonstration of the Alliance For Change (A.F.C), abroad based political pressure group. It is believed that those demonstrations helped create the enabling environment for the N.P.P. in the 2000 elections.

In addition, Nana Addo was a member of parliament for the Abuakwa South constituency between 1996 – 2004 (three consecutive times) He was an Attorney General and Minister for Justice and Foreign Minister between 2001 and 2007 during Kuffour-led administration. One of his famous achievements was the repeal

of the criminal libel law, a law which was used to quail political opponents and some media practitioners.

In 2007, Nana Addo resigned to contest the flagbearership primaries in New Patriotic Party. He was given the nod to lead his party in 2008 presidential election. In the December 7, 2008 elections, Prof. Mills got 439,102,805 votes in the first round. Nana got 4,159,439 representing 49.13% of the total vote cast, placing him first but fell 74,000 vote short of the more than 50% needed for an outright victory. The eventual winner of the elections, Prof. Mills obtained 4,056,634 representing 47.92% in the first round and 4,521,032 votes representing 50.23% in the run off elections. Nana got 4,480,446 votes in the December 28 run off, lost to the then candidate Mills by a margin of 40,586 votes representing 0.46%

Source: 1.http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nana_Akuffo_Addo. 22/8/2012

2. [http://www.ec.gov.gh/Page.php?Page=395 and section=51 and](http://www.ec.gov.gh/Page.php?Page=395§ion=51&typ=1)

typ=1 . 22/8/2013

Dr. Papa Kwesi Nduom

Dr. Papa Kwesi Nduom was born at Elimina in the Central Region of Ghana on February 15, 1953. He hails from the same place (Elimina)³. He attended St. Augustine's College in Cape Coast, where he obtained his G.C.E Ordinary and Advanced Levels. From St. Augustine, he had admission to the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee in 1975, where he obtained a BA degree in Economics. He

went in for master's degree in management and a PhD in Service Delivery Systems in 1977 and 1982 respectively in the same University.

Dr. Nduom was employed as a life insurance underwriter with the North Western Mutual Life Insurance company between 1975 and 1978. Over the next year, he worked with the Blue Cross Blue Shield of Wisconsin. In 1979, he joined the Milwaukee Metropolitan Sewerage District as a budget and management analyst. In 1981, he worked with Deloitte and Touch as an associate consultant, rising to become a partner in the Milwaukee office of the firm by 1986. In 1992, he helped establish the West African branch (Deloitte and Touch) in Ghana.

Dr. Nduom's desire for politics was kindled when he was elected as assembly member of the Komenda-Edina-Eguafo–Abirem District Assembly for the Akotobinsin Electoral Area. In December 2000, he contested the parliamentary elections for the Komenda Edina – Eguafo – Abirem on the ticket of C.P.P. but he lost to Ato Quashie of the N.D.C. Due to President Kuffour's all-inclusive government policy, Dr. Nduom was given a ministerial appointment as a minister for Energy after a cabinet reshuffle in April 2003. In 2004 general elections in December he won as a member of Parliament in the same constituency.

In December 2007, Nduom was elected by his party (C.P.P.) to contest in the presidency in election which was to be held in December 7, 2008. However, Dr. Nduom lost the elections, getting less than 3% of the total vote cast. Both Nduom and Nana Addo lost to Atta Mills.

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paa_Kwesi_Nduom. 16/8/2012

APPENDIX 2

PROF. ATTA MILLS' 2008 SPEECH

VENUE: WA IN THE UPPER WEST REGION

ON 12TH NOVEMBER, 2008

English Transcription

We are going to win. We are going to win because we stand for the truth. We stand for honesty. We stand for transparency. We stand for humility. We stand for love,

for one another and these are the things which will take us. **{USE OF VIRTUE WORDS}**

My brothers and sisters, we have a special program for the three northern regions. We are going to open up the three northern regions. I can tell you that Atta Mills and the NDC will do this road connecting Wa to Bolga and Tamale. We are going to make sure that we give you jobs. We are going to train you. We are going to give you necessary skills. Those who after leaving J.S.S can't go to SSS, we will give them technical education, vocational education and find them jobs. Now let me ask you what has NPP done for you for the past 8 years? What have they done? Have they done anything for you? No!

My brothers and sisters, **{REPETITION}** they say they want to move forward. Do you want to move forward with corruption? Do you want to move forward with arrogance? Do you want to move forward with cocaine? Do you want to move forward with fake promise? Do you want to move forward with amassment of wealth? **{ACTOR DESCRIPTION}**

My brothers and sisters, I am telling you Ghana is rich. But our money is in the hands of a few people. I will make sure that we distribute the money to all of you.

{VAGUENESS}

You know at the moment if you are not an NPP it is as if you are not a Ghanaian. I want to tell you when Atta Mills becomes president he will be president for every Ghanaian. Every Ghanaian who deserves help will be helped, and will make sure this country is united. At the moment, we are polarized as a nation.

But the people of Upper West I am making appeal to you. You have good representatives. You have men of substance. You have men of the right caliber. You have men of integrity. I am appealing to you to vote for all the NDC candidates to go to parliament, and I tell you they will bring you progress. **{AD HOMINEM EULOGISTIC}**

They will bring you development. They will bring you jobs. They will bring you quality education. And they will ensure that they have to improve your living standards.

My brothers and sisters, I know that they will come here and offer money. Will you take money and vote for them? Because they do not respect you they think everybody has a price. But Allah did not put a value on anybody's head. My brothers and sisters, even if you take the money vote against them. Because you want progress, you don't want a government that is not caring. You don't want a government who thinks solely about its members. We want a government that thinks about the generality of the people. **{INNUENDO} {PERSONIFICATION}**

My brothers and sisters, we want the elections to be peaceful. We want the elections to be free, fair and transparent. Let us all be vigilant. But don't let anybody cheat you. Don't allow anybody to break the rules. Be each other's keeper, but I tell you at the end of the voting Atta Mills and NDC will come back to power.

My brothers and sisters, what I have seen here today has given me great encouragement. I want to promise, I want to promise in the presence of all of you.

Atta Mills will never turn his back on you. Atta Mills, Atta mills will not engage in corruption. I will not allow any of my ministers or party functionaries to engage in corruption. We will use the resources **of** the country for the benefits of the people.

{PROMISE}

Now are there teachers here? Are there teachers here? Teachers thank you for the sacrifices. We will improve your conditions of service. Taxi drivers and Trotro drivers the same message goes to you.

I want to acknowledge with gratitude the presence of the policemen who are here. They have guarded us the whole day and I would like to tell them Atta Mills will take care of them. And I will not discriminate.

Now with you UDS, UDS you are going to be the backbone of development. I am telling you, we are going to set aside a special fund to develop UDS, so that UDS, UDS, UDS can take its pride of place because we established UDS. So we think if it is given its right place, UDS will contribute to the development of the northern region. **{METAPHOR}**

Please stand solidly behind Atta Mills and NDC and I Know Allah Himself will shower his blessings on us.

Thank you, thank you and may God bless you all.

APPENDIX 3

NANA ADDO'S 2008 CAMPAIGN SPEECH

VENUE: KASOA IN THE CENTRAL REGION

ON 14TH JULY, 2008

English, Akan and Ga Transcription

Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, National Chairman, members of the Great Elephant Party, brothers and sisters, the people of kasoā, mile akε kasoā wɔyɔɔ.

Kasoa huye Central Region. Shi mile ake Ga mei pii ye bie hewo miitao maɲa ame danɲ ni mada nye fɛɛ shi ake nyeba tamɔ neke . Ke mikwe crowd ni yoo bie le, ke ene wɔke baatsu ni ye maɲ nee mli le Flagstar House le, ejaaki mishɛ jɛmɛ momo. Nye yiwaladɔɲɲ! Nye yiwaladɔɲɲ!! {CODE-SWITCHING}

[...know that we are in Kasoa. Kasoa is in Central Region. But a lot of Gas are here, so I want to first of all greet them and thank all of them for showing up in their I numbers. When I look at the crowd here, if this is what we are going to use in this town then I am already in the Flagstar House. Thank you very much! Thank you very much!]

Asem a ewo ho ne se merehye ase na edom sei na yede beye adwuma a, ennee December abato yi Opanyin Kuffour de Flagstaff key no bema me na yen nyinaa atumi ako ho. But ansa na mekasa no, ansa na mekasa no mesre se yen nyinaa nye dinn one minute silence, Na baabi a obiara wo wo Ghana ha , asofo ne imamfo ne obiara mmɔ mmɔden na yen nyinaa nnyina faako na yennɔ mpaee na yenna Onyankopon Twediampɔn ase, ewo ade papa a waye ama yen man yi. Nkoso a aba Ghana ne asomdwee a ewo yen man yi mu.

[The issue is if we begin to work with this crowd, then the December election Mr. Kuffour will give me the Flagstar House's key so that we shall all go therrere. But before I will speak, before I will speak I plead with all of us to remain one minute silence, wherever everybody finds himself/ herself in Ghana including pastors and Imams, let us remain at one place and thank God for the good things he is doing for us in this country. For the development that has come to

Ghana and the peace in this country.] Yɛn nyinaa nyɛ [*let us all remain*] one minute silence in prayer to the Almighty God in thanks for what he is doing for us in Ghana today. May he bless our nation and continue to let us prosper.

I have one duty. I have one duty that I have to discharge today. And that is on behalf of you, on behalf of the new patriotic party, on behalf of the people of Ghana, I want to say a word of gratitude for the exemplary leadership, and for the work, the productive work that has taken place in our country these last seven years. I want to stand on your behalf, on behalf of the people of Ghana to the great man who has served our nation with such dedication, commitment and skill. And who has brought our country to where we are today. A country where freedom flourishes as it has never flourished before in our country. A country whose economy is at long last is beginning to work and make progress. A country that today is a model of good governance and international recognition and respectability. John Agyekum Kuffour ne n'abadiakyire Aliu Mahama, ayekoo ! Ghanafo se ayekoo!! {**NATIONAL SELF -GLORIFICATION**}

Na nea yɛaduru yi, aba a yɛrekɔ akɔto yi, yɛse yɛrekɔ yɛn anim anaa yɛresan yɛn akyi? Yɛrekɔ yɛn anim anaa yɛresan yɛn akyi? Yɛrekɔ yɛn anim. Na mɛpɛ sɛ meka aɛm kakra a ɛfa m'ankasa me ho. Adeko nti a ɛnne maba abegyina moanim ne sɛ, mɛpɛ sɛ me meyɛ president of Ghana. Nnɛɛma mmienu na mɛpɛ sɛ meɔ so kakraa bi. Meyɛ abofra no, saa time no na madi four. Nnɛɛma a mekae wɔ wiase ha no yɛ me first memory. My first conscience memory yɛ 1948 riot no a ex-servicemen se yɛde petition rekɔma governor no a yɛkumm baako maa Nkran danee a wɔhyehyee aborɔfo nnɛɛma. Saa time no, na me papa fie wɔ kɔrlewɔko, Beti House. Ɛhɔ ne UGCCfo headquarters a

wɔyɛ meeting . Efiɛ ketekete bi mu, mihuie sɛ nkurɔfo rekɔba. Yɛn mpanyimfo yi kɔ ba. Na mede na mente ase, Na nea mihui ara ne sɛ, adwuma ko a na me papa yɛ no yɛ adwuma a ehia nkurɔfo pa ara. Efiɛ ketekete bi a nkurɔfo abebu wɔ hɔ sɛ. Na mese sɛ adwuma sɛ na ɔyɛ na ehia nkurɔfo de a, ene minyin a meye bi. Nea mereka yi yɛ me nokwasɛm na mereka akyerɛ mo no. Na minnim adwuma ko. San na Ghana fawohodi ho asenni na mpanyimfo sɔre a na wɔrekɔ ba yi.

Nea ɛto so abien, mifii aburokyiri sukuu baa 1962, saa time no na me Nana Dankwa wɔde no akɔ prison detention a wɔayi no. Na ɔbae no, me maame a ɔyɛ ne wɔfaase ne nuapayin ne me wɔfanom nyinaa ne me tenaa ase. Na Dankwa pɛ m'asɛm pa ara. Na wɔpɛ sɛ mekɔka asɛm bi kyerɛ no. Adɛn a? Wɔhyɛ akyekyereakyekyere a aba n'akwan mu yi, anyɛbiara yɛanhwe yiye a ɔbɛkɔ akowu wɔ Kwame Nkrumah Prison. **{HISTORICAL ALLUSION}**

Nanso wɔmpɛ no saa. N'adamfo Alatani, Osikani bi, wɔ dan wɔ aburokyiri a waka akyerɛ no sɛ ɔmmɛsen nkɔ London nkɔyɛ ne research no. Sɛ monim sɛ ɔno na ɔkɔyɛɛ resarch a enti yɛhuu sɛ wɔfrɛ yɛn man yi Ghana no, ɔntoa saa research no so na onnyaɛ Ghana politics no. Me nso aberante, ahyɛ me den. Me maame mpanyimfo binom ne me akasa. Da a yeyi no na mekɔ ne fi wɔ Adabraka.

Na nkurɔfo ahyia wɔ hɔ sɛ wɔretwɛn akokora no. Ɔ na ne tinwin ayɛ fitafita.

Ogyinaa balconi n'anim na owavuu obiara. Yewiei no na yɛkɔɔ dan mu na meka kyerɛ no sɛ, Papa Dankwa, me maame ne me papanom nyinaa yam hyehye wɔn. Owura Joe white asɛm a waka akyerɛ wo no, ose bra ɔbɛma wo baabi atena

na woaye wo research no. Enna ose meda wo ase pa ara se woabeka saa asem yi akyere me. Nanso mepɛ se meka asem bi kyere wo na daama bi wobehu so mfaso. Se daama bi no yɛbɛka Ghana abakɔsem, se, mmerɛ bi bae na Ghanafo nyinaa danee mmea {HYPERBOLE}. Yen ankasa Ghanafo yen nyinaa anim begu ase. Nti ehia se biako betumi de ne nan asi fam aka akyere Kwame Nkrumah se ade a ɔreyɛ yi nyɛ ne kwan so nen. Enyɛ eyi nti na yekɔpere se yebenya fawohodi se akyekyereakyekyere beba Ghana. Na ɔno de se ne nkwa na ɔde bɛto hɔ ama ɔman yi agyina a, he is prepared to do that. Nti ɔnkɔ baabiara nne ɔnkɔ baabiara ɔkyena. Eno na emaa mihui se wiase ha, se para a se wopɛ se woyɛ biribi ma wo man, ema wo manfo a, na ewɔ se woyɛ obi a wowɔ gyidi kɛse bi wɔ hɔ. Nyankopɔn mu gyidi wɔ hɔ. Enna afei nea wopɛ se woyɛ. Saa gyidi no na ɔde hyɛ me mu a mede gyina ha se mereba abɛboa ma yeagyɛ ɔman yi asi hɔ. Ama asi kwan pa so. Ama ɔman no akɔ n'anim ama yen nyinaa.

Mamma se mereba abɛhyɛ me kotoku ma. Enyɛ eno nti na mewɔ politics mu se mereba abɛhyɛ me kotoku ma, daa bi. Yɛbae se yerebeboa ama Ghana akɔ n'anim. Yɛbae se yerebeboa ama mmerante ne wɔn a wɔwɔ ɔman no mu nyinaa nso ayɛ nnipa. Ade biako a mente ase ne aburokyiri kɔ a yekɔe no, yekɔ sukuu wɔ hɔ. Wɔn a yene wɔn kɔ class no wɔnkyɛn yen wɔ biribiara mu. Nanso se wohwe wɔn na yen a, difference a ewɔ mu no ɛdɔso dodo. Sɛɛ na ne nyinaa gyina sɛnea president aka institutions {INTERTEXTUALITY}. Nhyehyɛɛ a wɔayɛ .

Kabi na menkabi aban. Saa no obiara a ɔwɔ biribi ka no, otumi kyere n'adwene.

Obiara ka n'adwene a, yetumi yi papa no a ewom no. Institutional structures no a ewɔ ho no, eno na yennibi. So our fight since then is to establish proper structures.

{METAPHOR}

[Where we are now, as we are going to vote, are we moving forward or backward? Are we moving forward or backward? We are moving forward. I would like to say something little about myself. The reason why today I am standing before you wanting to be the president of Ghana is that, I would like to touch on two things briefly. When I was a child, that time I was four. Things I remember in this world were my first memory.

My first conscience memory was 1948 riots when the ex-servicemen said they were sending a petition to the governor when one of them was killed which led to disturbances in Accra. They set the belongings of the white on fire. At that time my father's house was at korlewoko, Beti House. That place was the headquarters of the UGCC where meetings were held. A small house where people were moving up and down. Our elders were going up and down. For me I did not understand. What I saw was that people cherished my father's work. This small house was crowded with people. I said if this is the way people cherish my father's work, then when I grow up I will do the same work. I did not know the kind of work. Surprisingly, it was about Ghana's freedom which our elders were busily moving up and down.

Secondly, after schooling abroad I returned in 1962. At that time my grandfather Dankwa had been released from detention. When he was coming, my mother who is his niece and her elder sister and all my uncles sat me down and talked to me. Dankwa liked me a lot. They wanted me to go and tell him something. Why? If they consider the frequent arrest he was going through, maybe, if we are not careful, he may die in Kwame Nkrumah's prison. But they don't like that. He had a Nigerian friend who was rich and had a house abroad who told him to go to London to do his research. Do you know that he went and did a research through which we got to know that we are Ghanaians. He should continue that research and stop Ghana politics. Me too a young man this has encouraged me. My mother's elder sisters have spoken to me. The day he was released I went to his house at Adabraka.

A lot of people were there waiting for the old man. When he came his hair was very white. He was standing in front of the balcony and was waving everybody. After we had finished we went to the room and told him Grandfather Dankwa, both my father and mother are afraid. Mr. Joe White told you something. He said come he would give you a place to live and do your research and stop Ghanaian issues. He looked at me quietly and said, I thank you very much for coming to inform me this. But I want to tell you something so that in future you will realize the importance of it. In future the history of Ghana will be told that it got to a time everybody in Ghana became a woman. Even all Ghanaians will be disgraced. So it is important that one Ghanaian will put his feet down and tell Kwame Nkrumah that he is on the wrong path. We did not fight for our

independence because of this. If indiscriminate arrest will become order of the day in Ghana; if laying down of his life will let the nation stand, he is prepared to do that.

Consequently, he will not go to anywhere today nor tomorrow. He will live in Ghana forever. This made me to see that in this world, if you really want to do something for your country, for your people then you should be someone who has great faith. There is God's faith and the faith in what you want to do. If you don't have this faith in you you can't do anything. It is this faith he put in me which has enabled me to stand and also coming to help you build the nation. So that the nation will get on good path. So that the nation will go forward for all of us. I did not come to enrich myself. I am not in politics because of that; I did not come to enrich myself, no. We came to assist so that Ghana can move forward. We came to assist so that the youth and all citizens will progress. One thing I do not understand, when we went abroad we schooled there .We competed equally with our mates . However, when you look at them and look at us the difference is too great. All these can be attributed to what the president has said institutions. They have arrangements in place, democratic government. This allows everybody to say his mind. Everybody says his mind, so that we can take the good ones out. Institutional structures are there but we do not have them]

So our fight since then is to establish proper structures, {METAPHOR} We need to establish proper structures for our democracy , for the rule of law. That is the way forward for Ghana and for our children. If our country is to prosper, it is because every single child in Ghana will have opportunity to get good education.

So that our population will be educated for the skills needed for the modern economy .

Eno nti yɛbae a wɔka kyere mo se primary education free yentumi nye. Esiane se sika nni ho nti yen antumi nye. Nanso Kuffour se onte ase. Ono de ope se obiara nya kwan ko sukuu no bi. Nti primary school education a enye free no, kwan biara a yebefa so anya sika aye no free no yebefa so anya sika aye no, yebefa so .

[Because of this when we came we told you that we can't do free primary education because there was no money. But Kuffour said he would not understand. For him he wanted everybody to get opportunity to go to school. So any means we would get money to implement free primary education we would do. And we have done it.]

Enne [today] primary education in this country is free. If free primary education has come in the era of Kuffour, in the era of Akuffo-Addo we are going to have free secondary in our country. {VAGUENESS} {PROMISE} We are determined to make sure that everybody in this country, rich or poor, especially poor has access to good quality education. That is the way we can go forward. In my time we are also going to get free secondary education and we are also going to make sure every region in Ghana has a public university to which there will be access.

We want to take the country forward. We want to take our country forward.

Foundations that have been laid in the Kuffour era make it possible for us to

contemplate in the first time in our history how we can industrialize our country.

Yentumi nkɔ so sɛ yɛrɛtɔn yɛn kookoo ne yɛn gold ne timber ne raw materials na yɛatumi anya sika aba . Ɛnye yie saa.

[*We cannot continue to sell our cocoa and our gold and timber and raw materials and get money. It cannot be possible.*]

We now have to begin the process of industrialization of our country. And the next 10 years that is the project before us. At the end of the ten years, we are going to change the structure of the Ghanaian economy. So instead of being a producer of raw materials, is now going to be a producer of light goods, light industrial manufacturing activities. That is where we are going in the future of our country.

Apart from the process of industrialization; we can't do it without modernizing our agriculture. And for that to happen, we also have to undo one of the great injustices of our history {VAGUENESS}. That is the gap in the development of north and south for the unity of our nation so that we are one country, not two countries, the north and south. We now have to bridge the gap between the north and the south so that we have the unity of our country. Before we are going to do that , we are going to transform agriculture in the north make it bread basket for west Africa. These are the plans that we have. We are not going to be able to do these things unless we have two things: (1) asomdwoe, peace in our country. Efi ebinom ano a abato a ɛreba yi amma wɔn afa a basabasa beba Ghana . Gidigidi beba Ghana. Mogyahwie beba Ghana. Yɛmpɛ no saa. ɛmmasɔ. Abato de, ɛnye ntɔkwa. Ɛyɛ adwenkyerɛ. Ka bi na menkabi aban. Abato a yɛwɔ mu no yɛ

adwenkyere se Ghanani biara beko ako kyere n'adwen se amanbu no mfa ha. Nea ehia yen ne se electoral commision behyehye ne nneema nyinaa perepere . Yeto aba no wie a nea wanya no anya. Nea wannya no nso ate ase se enye kululu na mmom to na wantow amma no. Na abato nso de wo ara wonim, ebinom be nya na ebinom nso bewe. Eyi de yenim won a wobewe nti wonye won ho ready. {INNUENDO} Yempere basabasa biara wo Ghana. Na nea ehia ne se yebeko akoto aba.

Africa nyinaa anidaso ne yen. Africa nyinaa anidaso ne yen. Yen na yetwa kwanpa a ekyere amammuo pa. Yemmesee no afe yi. Won a woka saa no ye kakraa bi.

[... Peace, peace in our country. Some people are saying if they do not win this election, there will be confusion in Ghana. There will be disturbances in Ghana. There will be bloodshed in Ghana. We don't like it this way. It will not happen. Election is not about war. It is about saying your mind. Every Ghanaian will go and vote as to how the country should be run.

What is important is that electoral commission should be able to put all necessary arrangements in place. After the voting, the one who wins wins. The one who losses should understand that there is no foul play but that they did not vote for him. In elections some will win some too will lose. For this one we know those who will lose so they should get themselves ready. We don't like any confusion in Ghana. What is most important is we will go and vote. All Africans are counting on us. All Africans are counting on us we are the model of good governance. We cannot negate it this year. Only few people are saying that. They will not be able to influence the course of our history]

The second thing that we need in our country is progress ; is the unity among the people of Ghana. Some politicians have specialized in politics of divide and rule, setting one people against another kousasis against Mamprusi. Abudus against Andani. Komkomafo ne Nanumbafo, Ayigbefo ne Asantefo.

[...*Komkomas and Nanumbas, Ewes and Asantes*]

We in the NPP reject the politics of divide and rule. We do not approve of the politics of divide and rule. We want politics of unity , oneness , co-operation and collaboration. Se woye Sisalani, anaa Grushini anaa Frafra anaa Dagombani anaa woye Asanteni anaa Ayigbeni anaa Nkrani anaa woye Ɔkyeni anaa woye Kwahuni anaa Ahantani anaa Wangarani anaa Walani yen nyinaa ye Ghanafo. Yeye baako. Yemfa saa baako no nye adwuma na yenko yen anim. Yenkasa ntia won a wode mpaepaemu ba oman yi mu no. Enye saa na yere no wo Ghana ha.

[If you are Sisala or Krushi or Frafra or Dagomba or you are Asante or Ewe or Ga or you are Akyem or you are Kwahu or Ahanta or Wangera, Wala or Sisala we are all Ghanaians. We are one. Let us all work with this oneness and move forward. Let's speak against those who polarize the nation. This is not what we want in Ghana] So I am appealing to you to maintain the unity that has existed over the years. Let us continue to maintain that unity.

We are told, we are told that in the first five years of the production of the oil, we are going to earn fifteen billion US dollars {**PROOF SURROGATE**}. Mepɛ sɛ meka asem baako akyere mo. Oil no a yerebenya no, enye sika a ebekɔ president

Akuffo Addo bɔtom, anaa ne ministers anaa D.C.E.s. Ɛnye ɛno nti. Ɔman no sɛ yɛbɛkɔ yɛn anim nti mereka akyerɛ mo aba a yɛreba abeto is a simple thing.

Forward or backward. Yɛrekɔ yɛn anim. Wɔnya wɔhiɛ. Mlewohim, amazamugama. Onyankopɔn nhyira mo nyinaa. Meda mo ase papaapa.

Onyankopɔn nhyira mo nyinaa. Na ɛbeyɛ yie ama yɛn wɔ Ghana .

[I would like to tell you one thing. The oil that we are going to get, the money will not go into President Akuffo-Addo's pocket. Or his ministers or DCEs. The money is not coming because of that. We are going to use that to develop the nation. For us to go forward as a nation I am telling you this election is a simple thing , forward or backward. We are going forward. We are going forward. We are going forward. God bless you all. I thank you very much. God bless you all. It will be well for us in Ghana.]

I can promise you that. Good night, God bless you all.

APPENDIX 4

DR. PAPA KWESI NDUOM'S 2008 SPEECH

VENUE: CAPE COAST IN THE CENTRAL REGION

ON 8TH OCTOBER, 2008

Twi and English Transcription/Translation

What we are saying here is that a vote for CPP is a vote for peace.

Twooboi! Twooboi!! **{EMOTIVE EXPRESSION}**

Now I want to invite to the stage with me, I want to invite to the stage with me Dr. Kwaku Osafo, Dr. Kwaku Osafo, please, come with me here. Mr. Bright Akwetey if you can come with me here. Dr. Akuffo, Dr. Akuffo , Dr. Akuffo. These are some of the men all of us competed. All of us competed to become flag bearer of Convention People's Party. All of us, all of us together, all of us together united with one common goal. We all want the Convention People's Party to go back to Flagstar House. All of us, all of us and so I am happy to tell you that at long last

the Convention People's Party we are all together. We are strong. We are ready. We are ready to compete to go back to Flagstar House.

Twooboi! Twooboi!! Twooboi!!! **{REPETITION}**

What didn't they do to the CPP? In 1966 what didn't they try to do to us?

What didn't they try to do to us to ban our members, our leading members for contesting for public office? If you held the picture of Kwame Nkrumah, it was a crime. If you mentioned his name, it was a crime. They wanted to kill the CPP. They wanted us dead. Now look at us. Look at us. Look at all of us. Look at all of us. Look at all of us. **{ APPEAL TO MASSES}**

When you come to Elmina, when you come to Elmina, when you come to Elmina, wɔbɛka akyerɛ wo dɛ CPP ɔayɛ dɛ Putisii. Adze a wɔfrɛ no putisii, ese dɛ erohom no do a, nna ɔabɛda nsu enyi. ɔayɛ dɛ CPP. ɔayɛ dɛ CPP. **{SIMILE}**

[...they will tell you CPP is like cork whether you press it or not, it will always be floating on water. It is like CPP. It is like CPP.]

Twooboi! Twooboi!!

What I am telling you is look at us! look at us! Look at what we been able to accomplish. Who would have thought one year ago that Convention People's Party would be strong. Who would have thought that one year ago the Convention People's Party would become once again one of the leading political parties in Ghana? And here I want to ask of all you once again. All of you once again I am

looking for my card. All of you once again, all of you once again show your party card! Show your party card to Ghana! Show your Convention People's Party to Ghana! Let them see how proud you are to be a member of Convention People's Party.

Now they know, they know what we been doing all these weeks, all these months, all these months. Now everybody knows that all the Convention People's Party is alive. **{PERSONIFICATION}**

What I also want you to know is that last year in 2004, which is history. Let me tell you the history. In 2004, when they voted sometimes what they said was NDC 500, NPP 800, CPP 5. That is history. That is history.

I am telling you in 2008, when the votes are cast, when the votes are poured unto the table, when votes are counted, and this is what you are going to hear. NDC 200, NPP 300 and CPP 1000. **{NUMBER GAME RHETORIC}**

Twooboi! Twooboi!!

Now let me tell you. Let me tell you. Let me tell you that a year ago when they looked at us and they said oh! those old men. Oh! look at CPP those old women. Now, take a look at us ! Take a look at us! Strong and energetic women. Those of us who are going to the Flagstar House are not going and sleep. We are going to go and work hard so that Ghana can become proud and prosperous. And that is how come everybody must now come to the Convention People's Party.

And I am also telling you I am very proud of you. I want to thank all of you. I want to thank all of you, all of you for coming from Pusiga; for coming from Wa; for coming from all over the country.

Now look at us! We are standing here peacefully. Nobody is throwing stone at somebody. Nobody is shooting down anybody. We are peaceful people. Peaceful party. I am telling you when you vote for the CPP you vote for peace. When you vote for CPP Ghana will be peaceful. We will have stability.

The CPP is called edwumawura [employer] ? Why the CPP is called edwumawura [employer] ? {**METAPHOR**}.

We are coming. The CPP is coming so that the young men will get jobs to do. The CPP is coming so that when the old men and old women go to sleep, they would sleep peacefully because their children have something to do, because their children have money in their pockets.

Twooboi!

Hwε afe 2000, amanyekuw bi bae a ɔse dε, hwε w'asetsena mu na tow aba. Hwε w'asetsena mu na tow aba! Ana meboa? Nnye emi na meka oo! Mese hwε wo kotoku na tow aba. Kotoku no a hawɔ aba mu no. Kotoku no a ɔaye har no, nna CPP rebeye ho edwuma.

[In the year 2000, there came a party. It said, take a look at your life before voting . Take a look at your life before vote ! Am I telling lies? Am I the one

saying it? I say consider your pocket before you vote. The pocket that is empty.

The pocket that is light, that is what CPP is coming to work on.]

When we say CPP is edwumawura [employer], go to the north! They are hardworking people. They are growing groundnuts. Growing groundnuts, nobody is there to buy the groundnuts. {**HYPERBOLE**}

They are hardworking people. When the CPP comes back to power we will look at the oil mill at Tamale; so that hardworking farmers will get money in their pockets. They will have money in their pockets.

When the CPP was in power, we manufactured matches in Ghana. Today we import sacks from Bangladesh. I am telling you, when we come back to power our jute factory is coming so that Ghana's cocoa will go into sacks made in our own country. That is what edwumawura [employer] is saying. When CPP was in power, our tomato did not spoil because we had tomato factory at Zualugu. We knew that we had beef cattle in Ghana. That is why the meat factory was at Zualugu. Today that meat factory is not working.

My brothers and sisters, I am telling you when the CPP comes to power, give us one hundred days that meat factory at Zualugu will work again. It will work again.

When Kwame Nkrumah was in power, he brought the workers brigade. He brought the state farms and those who were against him what did they say?

They said government should not bring jobs. Government shouldn't bring jobs! And now they are in power and what are they doing? They are saying national

youth employment programme. I am telling you those were what we were doing several decades ago. And that they said they did not like it. And now if they say they like it, put it all together to edwumawura [employer]. He will come to do it well, so that the young man will get a job. The young woman will get a job. And I am telling you when CPP was in power education was free. Education was free. Professor Mills went to university on the CPP. Nana Addo Akuffo went to university on the CPP. The university was free. He did not pay any money. Not only that ,they could drink tea, tea, tea free, tea free at the university.

I am telling you when the CPP comes to power education from kindergarten to senior high school will be free and it will be compulsory and it will be continuous and it will be continuous. We will no longer have, we will no longer have a situation where a young boy, young girl 14 years, 15 years will take BECE exams and they will tell that boy, that girl go home because you failed. What are they going to do at 14? What are they going to do at 15? I am telling you we will build more schools so that everybody will stay in school from kindergarten to senior high school. They will not do any exams until they reach senior high.

{PROMISE}

Twooboi! Twooboi!!

We Ghanaians I know that Ghanaians are smart enough to cast a vote for members of parliament. They are smart enough to cast a vote for a president. If that is the case then they are also smart to elect their own District Chief Executives, their own District Chief Executives , so that development will work all over Ghana. I

want to change parliament so that parliament will be strong. So that parliament can do what parliamentarians are supposed to do. We don't go to parliament to become ministers. We don't go to parliament to say yɛɛyɛ! So that we vote people who go to parliament to make better laws for the country. Our platform is changed. Yɛɛ nsesa ma ɔaba Ghanaman mu. Sɛ nsesa bɛba a, kyerɛ CPP. Sɛ nsesa bɛba a, ɔwɔ de yɛsesa mu. ɔwɔ de yɛsesa mu. Yɛsesa mu ama obiara enya edwuma aye.

[*We want a change in Ghana. When a change comes let CPP be aware of the change so that we will make a change. We have to make a change. We are changing so that everybody will get a job to do.*]

Twooboi! Twooboi!!

let me tell you when I become your president, when I become your president and if you come to a state function, if you come to any state function, nothing will go into your mouth as lips touch your tongue if it was not grown in Ghana. Because that is what the Koreans did and they are proud people and they have money also. We in Ghana also will make sure those who have invested their money in Ghana we will buy their products.

We will buy what they grow. If Ghana makes rice we will eat rice so that Ghana gets money. That is why CPP says we want change that you can feel in your pocket. That is what CPP is bringing.

Ladies and gentlemen, let me tell you when you walk over all of Ghana; when you go to Wa and ask the person from Wa, can the CPP win? They will tell you yes, CPP can win. If you go to Adanse Akrofuom, if you go to Adanse Akrofuom they will tell you the CPP will win. If you go to Obuasi they will tell you CPP is winning. If you go to Damango they will tell you CPP is on its way to victory. If you go to Tamale, they will tell you CPP is winning. If you go to Prestea, they will tell you CPP is coming. If you go to Cape Coast they will tell you CPP is winning . If go to Dzarakokpe yesesa mu [we are changing]. They will tell you yesesa mu [we are changing]. So now , let me tell you! Let me tell you! Let me tell all of you, all of us, all of us that is listening. I want to say to you once again that I am proud that you are here.

You are standing here peacefully. I want you to go home peacefully. I don't want anybody to go and insult anybody. I don't want anybody from CPP to go and throw anything at anybody.

Yɛnka nkyerɛ Ghanafo de yedzi henho nyi [we respect ourselves], yedzi henho nyi [we respect ourselves]. We respect other people. We respect other people.

And now let me talk about the NDC and the NPP. Twooboi! Twooboi!!. I want to tell you that the NPP and the NDC came. They did what they could. The best that they could, they did it. Sometimes they brought rural electrification. Sometimes they brought the GETFUND. It was okay. They did what they could. The NPP too has come. They have done some things that are okay. They brought National Health Insurance. They also say they brought Capitation Grant is okay

{DOWNPLAYER}. But what I am telling you, I am telling you is take a look at yourself! Take a look at yourself!. Do you have the job that you want? Do you have the job that you want? Many of you, many of you don't have anywhere to sleep. Many of you are still sleeping on Verandas. You don't have houses. Landlords are telling you to bring two years rent advance. Bring three years rent advance. And yet you don't have money in your pockets. What I am saying to you is that they have tried what they can. They have tried what they can. There is nothing there again. It is now time for change. It is time for the CPP to come; so that we can have our matches in Ghana once again. So that we can get jobs. So that you will have respect. So that what belongs to Ghana will go to Ghanaians.

We are the people who create, we created the black Starline. We are the people who build, we built the Tema Shipyard and Drive off. We are the people who create, we created Ghana airways. We are the people who build, we built Kumasi city Hotel. We are the people who create, we are the ones who built Akasanoma. We are the people who build, we are the people who built the Flagstar House. **{HISTORICAL ALLUSION} {ANAPHORA AND REPETITION}**

What about the other people? They sell. They destroy. They give what we have to other people. But the CPP will take back what belongs to us and give it back to Ghanaians. But the CPP will take back to Ghanaians. **{ACTOR DESCRIPTION}{WE-THEY CATEGORISATION}**

Twooboi! Twooboi !! Twooboi!!!

Asaase yi woana dze a! Asaase yi woana dze a! Ɔye Ghanafo hen dze a. Ɔye

Ghanafo hen dze a. Yeabrɛ. Eyɛ den? Yeabrɛ. Eyɛ den? Yeabrɛ. Yɛnnkɔtsie mma

obiara nnsisi hen bio, nsisi Ghanafo bio because the CPP is coming back.

{RHETORICAL QUESTION}

*[Who is the owner of this land ? Who is the owner of this land? It is for
Ghanaians. It is for Ghanaians. We are tired. What it is? We are tired. What it
is? We are tired. We will not allow anybody to cheat us.]*

CPP is coming back so you will no longer, no longer will you be in your home
country and selling every thing from you. And they start selling everything from
you. And after selling everything from you, what are they going to sell again?

What are they going to sell again?**{INNUENDO}**

My brother who is here, my sister who is here, now I have a message for you. I
have a message for you. When you go home today, tell your father we are going to
vote today.

If you go home today, tell your sister that we are going to vote. What are we
going to do when we go home today?

Tell your brother! Tell your brother we are going to vote. What are we going to
do? When you go home, when you go home, when you go home, tell your friends,
tell your friends yesesa mu. Yesesa mu. Yesesa mu. Yesesa mu. Yesesa mu.
Yesesa mu. Yesesa mu.

[We are making a change this year. We are making a change . When you go home, tell your mother this year we are making a change. If you go home today, tell your sister that we are going to vote. What are we going to do when we go home today?]

Twooboi! Twooboi!!

Mo nuanom, mo noanom hom ntsie. Mo nuanom hom ntsie medze masem ko ewiei.

[My brothers and sisters, my brothers and sisters listen to me .My brothers and sisters listen to me lam bringing my message to an end]

In this country, in this country, when you are physically, physically handicap, some of the people, some of the people tell you that you don't have anything to contribute. If you are applying for a job, they tell you can't work. If you are deaf they tell you you can't work. But lam telling you, I am telling you when CPP comes to power, CPP comes to power whether you are deaf, blind or when you have a physical disability, what I am telling is that, the CPP will make sure you go to school. The CPP will make sure you have a job. The CPP will make sure you are respected in this country because we are there for everybody in this country.

Twooboi! Twooboi! Twooboi!

Hwε wo yanko enim! Hwε wo yanko enim! Na ka kyerε no dε afe yi dze ɔbeyε yie. Afe yi dze ɔbeyε yie.

[Look at your friend's face! Look at your friend's face! Tell him this year it shall be well!. This year it shall be well.]

Twooboi! Twooboi!

Wɔse de CPP adaka, ɔaye ma. CPP adaka ɔaye ma. CPP adaka ɔaye ma. CPP adaka ɔaye ma. NPP, NDC adaka ɔaye hoo. CPP adaka ɔaye ma. CPP adaka ɔaye ma. CPP adaka ɔaye ma. NDC adaka ɔaye hoo.

[They say CPP's ballot box is full. NPP NDC's ballot box is empty. CPP's ballot box is full. CPP's ballot box is full.]

Twooboi! Twooboi!

Mo nuanom, ma meka asem mma teachers. Teachers a wɔwo Ghana ha.

Teacherfo, teacherfo a wɔwo ɔmam yi mu. Teacherfo ho hia wɔ Ghanaman yi mu. CPP se de se yeɔba power a, teacherni biara benya dan na ɔada mu. Obohu mpontu wɔ n'asetsena mu. Obohu nkɔdo wɔ n'asetsena mu. CPP, se yeɔba power a, teacherni no kotoku mu beye yie. Ɔbeye yie, esiane de yehia teachers ama wɔaba abekyerɛ hɛn mmoframba no adze.

[My brothers and sisters let me say something for teachers, teachers who are in Ghana here. Teachers, teachers who are in this country. Teachers are important in this country. CPP says when we come to power a teacher will get a room to sleep in. He will see progress in his life. He will see development in his life. CPP

says when it comes to power the teacher's pocket will be okay. It will be okay because we need teachers to teach our children.]

Twooboi! Twooboi!

Hɔn a wɔwɔ polytechnic wɔwɔ ha ? [Are those in polytechnics here?] You who go to the polytechnics we will lift them up. So that if you also go to the polytechnic and come back, you will get money in your pockets.

This is what edwumawura [employer] is talking about. This is what edwumawura [employer] is talking about . Let me tell you, I want to speak. I want to say something to all the police officers who are here. I want to say something to all the police officers who are in Ghana. The army people who are in Ghana. All the workers in this country, the civil servants who are in this Country. We sympathize with you that as long as you are working in this country, as long as you are working in this country, the government and administration led by CPP nnkɔyɛ mbɔbɔr bio [You will not be miserable again.]

Polisifo, hom bɛyɛ yie. Hom bɛyɛ nyimpa. CPP sɛ dɛ Polisifo hom bɛyɛ yie.

Soldierfo, hom bɛyɛ yie. Prison Officer, wo kotoku mu bɛyɛ yie. Wo kotoku mu bɛyɛ yie . Civil Servants hom nnkɔyɛ mbɔbɔr bio, onsiandɛ sɛ yɛbɔwhɛ na hom ayɛ yie.

Dza meka nye dɛ ebinom ebinom se wɔrɛkɛ Flagstaff House. Binom, wɔsɛ wodu hɔ dadaadaw. Binom wɔahyɛ ase dɛ wɔrɛpam hɔm ntare a wɔdze bɔkɔ

Flagstaff House . Mo nuanom, hom ma yenye edwuma. CPPfo hom ma yenko
fie na yenkye edwuma mma hen nkorɔfo , mma hen nkorɔfo na wonko
parliament. Na se hen nkorɔfo ko parliament a, yebohu de nkorɔfo wo Ghana
ha.

*[Police will prosper. They will be human beings. Police, you will prosper ,says
CPP. Prison officer your pocket will be better. Your pocket will be better. Civil
servants you will not be miserable again because we will see to it that you
prosper.*

*What lam saying is that some people are saying they are going to Flagstar
House. Some people are saying they are already there. Some people have begun
sewing their clothes they will send to Flagstar House. My brothers and sisters let
us work. CPP members, let us go home and work for our people so that our
people will go to parliament. When our people go to parliament we will see that
people are in Ghana here.]*

I almost forget one thing. Let me add it before I end. Everywhere in the world the
government helps its own farmers. The State helps its fishermen . It makes sure
that what they grow they get a market in their own Country. I am telling you when
the CPP comes to power what our farmers grow, we will buy it. We will eat made
in Ghana rice and our farmers will have money in their pockets. When CPP comes
to power, our fishermen , our fishermen will not be at the mercy of foreigners .
When our fishermen go to sea we will not have foreigners who destroy the
ocean's belt. Our farmers also need money in their pockets. They need money in

their pockets and the CPP will make it happen.

Twooboi! Twooboi!!

Hwε wɔsɛ dɛ [**Look! They say**] oil no a aba no[the oil that has come] I am telling you if it is not coming to help the Ghanaian then it must as well stay in the ground. If it is not coming to help the Ghanaian then it must as well as stay in the ground. I want to make sure that we don't just export the oil but build a petrol-chemical industry in the western region . So that we can get real jobs . No longer to have the situation like

Akwatia and Obuasi again . We don't want Prestea . We don't want Tarkwa . We want jobs . Whatever comes to this land belongs to Ghanaians. We must enjoy it . We must enjoy it . We must enjoy it.

Twooboi! Twooboi!!

Afe yi yesesa mu . Yesesa mu . Yesesa mu . Wokɔ fie kakyere wo maame yesesa mu. kakyere wo papa yesesa mu. Ekɔ fie kakyere wo nua yesesa mu . kakyere wo yere yesesa . Wohu obiara a kakyere no yesesa mu. Afe yi yesesa mu.

Twooboi! Twooboi!!

This year we are making a change. We are making a change. We are making a change. If you go home tell your mother we are making a change. Tell your father we are making a change. If you go home tell your brother or sister we are

making a change. Tell your wife we are making a change. *This year we are making a change.*

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