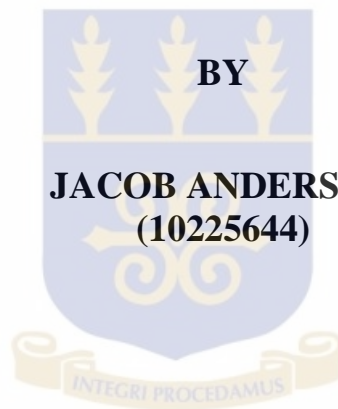


**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH**

**A STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF SOME SELECTED POLITICAL
SPEECHES BY JOHN EVANS ATTA MILLS**



**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA,
LEGON, IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT
FOR THE AWARD OF MPhil ENGLISH DEGREE**

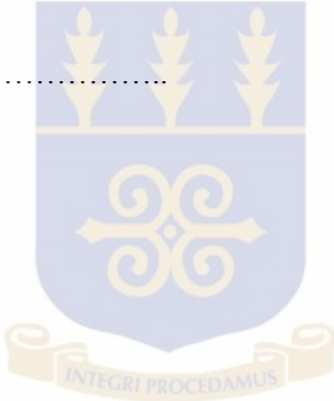
JULY, 2014

DECLARATION

I do hereby declare that this thesis, with the exception of the cited references, is the result of my own original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

.....

Jacob Anderson
(10225644)

The crest of the University of Ghana is a shield-shaped emblem. The top section is blue with three golden wheat stalks. The bottom section is also blue with a golden decorative scrollwork design. Below the shield is a golden banner with the Latin motto "INTEGRI PROCEDAMUS" written in blue capital letters.

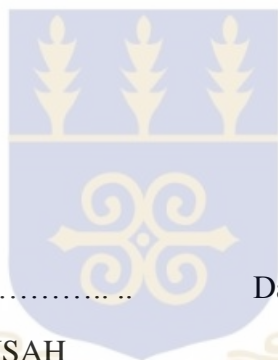
Date

CERTIFICATION

We hereby certify that this thesis was supervised in accordance with procedures laid down by the University.

..... Date

PROF. KARI DAKO
(SUPERVISOR)



..... Date

DR. GLADYS NYARKO ANSAH
(SUPERVISOR)

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to, my dad, Mr. Paul Anderson. May this be a testament of your impeccable conviction and commitment towards education.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My utmost thanks go to the almighty God for the gift of life and the grace to accomplish this milestone.

It is appropriate that I acknowledge the immense contribution of the following personalities who spurred me on during my period of study. My dad, Paul Anderson, my adorable mum Grace Laryea, endearing siblings; Victoria Anderson, Maxwell Anderson, Thomas Anderson, Juliana Anderson, Perpetual Anderson, Patience Anderson as well as Pastor Ernest Ofori Ansah who was an inspiration.

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I will be an ingrate if I do not also thank Mrs. Dora Baah of Ghana International School for her continuous counseling and for being my number one cheer leader. I thank the staff of the General Office of the English Department especially Aunty Hetty, Aunty Alima and Sir Eric for their relentless support not forgetting Papa Otu.

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ABSTRACT

The research investigates some selected political speeches delivered by John Evans Atta Mills. The selected speeches span almost every sphere of his political life, including; a campaign speech (as an opposition leader in the run- up to the 2008 elections), an inaugural speech, an independent day speech, a republic day speech and a new year's eve message to the nation (all as president). The objective is to unravel the stylistically significant features prevalent in the selected speeches, find a possible relationship between the background of the speaker and the stylistic features, and ascertain whether or not the inherent stylistic features project him as a Man of Peace as he was acclaimed. Through an eclectic approach, the analysis encapsulates the metafunctions as postulated in Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics and Onah's Concept of Peace as perceived in the African Traditional culture as its framework. The analysis of the data is structured on Fairclough's three dimensional models which include; a textual analysis, a discursive analysis and a socio-cultural analysis (2001). The findings show that the speaker employed stylistic features such as positive self-projection, repetition, code switching, biblical allusions, historical allusions, a fatherly imagery and the imagery of a preacher. Also inherent in these stylistic features is the speaker's mental disposition, his world view and traces of his background. The manner in which these prevalent stylistic features were employed by the speaker with respect to the underlining socio-political, socio-cultural and religious situation of the country project him as a Man of Peace.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The practice of politics has over the years been replete with the tactful formulation of perceptions and beliefs about significant occurrences, of problems, of policy changes and most significantly of leaders.

Amidst this construction of beliefs are a clash of interests, persuasion and manipulation, imposition of opinions, definition of allies and opponents etc.

There is, therefore always, a linguistic, discursive and communicative dimension to the field of politics. Edelman (1985, p1) attests to this phenomenon when he comments thus,

“While coercion and intimidation help to check resistance in all political systems, the key tactic must always be the evocation of meanings that legitimize favored courses of action and threaten or reassure people so as to encourage them to be supportive or remain quiescent”.

This evocation of meanings undoubtedly hinges on carefully crafted speeches which therefore become an integral component to the field of politics. This is due to their intended objective which is to persuade the audience to accept the stance of the speech maker. To this end, political speeches assume traits such as subtle mystification and distortion in their quest to persuade the audience to accept the stance of the speech maker, Edelman (1985). In the struggle for political power between those who seek to assert and maintain power and those who seek to resist it for instance, the ability of a political speech to mystify and distort becomes very crucial.

Fairclough's (1992), van Dijk (1996), and Obeng (2002) all assert that political speeches are embellished and foregrounded with a particular style which helps in conveying the intended message

According to Bell, (2001) the idea of style presupposes three things: firstly, there is the existence of regularities and patterns in speeches, secondly, there is also an alternative, a choice- a 'that way' which could have been chosen instead of a 'this way' and finally there is an I, an ego, or identity shrouded in speeches. Political speeches like every other speech exhibit these three characteristics of style.

Fordjour (2002), highlighting the role of political speeches in Ghana, asserts that even though the country has enjoyed a stable democracy since the re- introduction of constitutional democracy in 1992, the only thing that could derail this current democratic gain is hate speech, especially, by political actors. This gives credence to the crucial role speech plays in the practice of politics in Ghana.

These propositions have informed the research of some political speeches by the political actor; John Evans Atta Mills, a former president of the republic of Ghana.

His emergence to the active fray of Ghanaian politics kick - started in 1996 when Jerry John Rawlings, president and flag bearer of the then ruling party the National Democratic Congress appointed him as his vice president. Hitherto, he had been a lay back law professor at the University of Ghana, Legon and the Commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service. After serving as vice president, he ran for president on the ticket of the NDC for three consecutive times in the history of the party. John Evans Mills won the Presidency on the third successive attempt with a margin of less than one percent in the

2008 general elections with his campaign on CHANGE and the accolade Man of Peace or Asomdweehene (in the Akan language). He also stands out currently to be the only presidential aspirant in the fourth republic whose bid suffered two separate run – off elections, the first, during the 2000 presidential election, which he lost and the second, during the 2008 general elections which he won eventually.

What this research seeks to do is to investigate the stylistic features prevalent in some selected political speeches articulated by him in order to ascertain whether or not these stylistic features project him as a Man of Peace and whether there is a possible relationship between his background and his choice of words.

The research will exploit the theories expressed in Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics which, amongst other things, considers Language as a system of choices which presents its users with a network of choices to create a text, whether spoken or written. The meaning of a text is therefore dependent upon the choices made by the speaker from the options within the language system or, in some cases, from what is not chosen (Teo, 2000, p.24). Besides this, it also postulates that texts reflect three different but general and concomitant types of meaning known as: Experiential meaning, Interpersonal meaning and Textual meaning. By experiential meaning, a text or discourse provides readers with a view of the world as seen or understood by the writer or the speaker. The interpersonal meaning reveals that a text or discourse reflects the speaker's role in the speech situation, his interaction with others (Halliday, 1973). The textual meaning which doesn't form a part of the analysis is concerned with the creation of text; it expresses the structure of information and the relation of each part of the discourse to the whole and to the setting" (Halliday, 1973). Systemic Functional Linguistics,

furthermore, posits that a text is best understood when information about the context within which it was generated: the ‘context of situation’ and the ‘context of culture’ are available. Due to this Igwebuike Onah’s (2006) concept of peace as perceived in the African setting will be integrated into the research since the research aims amongst other things to ascertain whether the stylistic features inherent in the selected political speeches project John Evans Mills as a Man of Peace. According to Onah, the African considers Peace in relation to the existence of order, harmony and equilibrium between the beings in the universe. This notion is undergirded by the fact that Peace is viewed both as a spiritual value and a moral value. As a spiritual value, Africans believe that God is the orchestrator of the harmony and equilibrium in the universe. Peace is considered as a moral value because human beings are obliged by God to ensure the continuous sustenance of the balance between the beings in the universe through the execution of good conduct. Emphasizing the role of speech in the attainment of harmonious living, Onah stressed that the maintenance of the integration and balance of the beings in the world is the overriding goal of communication.

It is the expectation of the researcher that this study when completed will unravel the stylistic features prevalent in the political speeches of John Evans Atta Mills and also enrich our ways of thinking about language and help readers become more persuasive in their writing and speaking.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

A cursory look at Ghana's post-independence political history reveals that it has been dominated by the construction of beliefs about its political leaders.

These beliefs have been expressed in terms of accolades. During the struggle for independence, the title 'Ghana's show boy' emerged. This title was used to describe the first president of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. In the heat of the political revolution in the 1980's the accolade 'Junior Jesus' also became a household name in the country (former president, Jerry John Rawlings who was a dominant political actor during that era was identified by this title). Also in the era of the fourth republic, the compliment 'Gentle Giant' became the order of the day in the political sphere of the country. Former president John Agyekum Kufuor was the recipient of this accolade.

Like all the other political elections and seasons, the 2008 presidential elections also saw the emergence of a catchphrase, namely 'Man of Peace' (Asomdwee hene in the Akan language) to describe the then leader of the opposition party, John Evans Atta Mills by his campaign machinery. It however became more entrenched after he was elected president and it metamorphosed into a household name in Ghana.

But how do we ascertain the veracity or mendacity of this title? Was it just propaganda, a political gimmick or did the leader's personality merit this accolade?

Leech (1981) asserts that one's use of language or style of language is a sure way to ascertaining one's personality.

A study by Nicholas and Tal (2005) reveals that in the spoken form, language leaves residues of personality in the conversations we hold and the personal narratives we tell.

In the written forms as well, language leaves residues of personality in our poetry, essays and blogs.

Another interesting development which has surfaced in the job market also shows that most potential employers follow their prospective employees on social media platforms like Facebook, Tweeter etc. in order to have substantial information about their personality etc. based on their choice of words. This helps them, according to a research conducted by The Pitt News (2013), to determine the personality of their prospective employees.

Language choice or language style therefore becomes instrumental in distinguishing between language users or personalities.

1.3 LANGUAGE, STYLE AND POLITICS

The field of Language has triggered diverse opinions especially from twentieth century scholars. Edelman (1985) posited that Foucault; for instance, perceives language as antedating and thus constructing subjectivity, Derrida considers all language to be performative, that is, a form of action that undermines its own presuppositions, Chomsky on the other hand investigates the sense in which grammar is generative. Despite these differences in opinion, there seems to be a general agreement that, language is the key creator of the social world's people experience (Edelman, 1985). So crucial is language to the human race that it has given rise to several disciplines one of which is the field of Stylistics. The term has been for a long time considered as a branch of literary criticism with the author's style as its major theme. Its focus transformed from the study of the author's style to how meanings and effects are produced in literary texts.

As a field of language which dates back to antiquity but fledged in the C20th, it has come under several attacks from numerous language experts. One reason for the historical debates around stylistics has been the difficulty of defining 'style.' Even in its most simple sense of variation in language use, many questions instantly arise: variation from what? Varied by whom? For what purpose? In what context of use? (Stockwell, p 746). Fowler (1996. p185) for instance, rejects the term style as a working term arguing that it lacks precision. According to him the word has an inevitable blurring effect since the kinds of regularities referred to are too diverse in their nature. The different sub-disciplines that have been integrated in stylistics have also brought along different senses of the term. However, stylistics have been championed by scholars such as Leech and Short (1981), Carter, (1982), Brumfit and Carter (1986), Fabb et al. (1987), Short (1988), Toolan (1992&1998), (1998), Wright and Hope (1996, 3rd edn 2003), Verdonk and Weber (eds.) (1995), etc. Ghazala, (2011) sums up the views espoused by these proponents of stylistics as follows:

- Stylistics is a branch of linguistics.
- It is a language-based approach. Its concern is solely with language.
- Its major concern is with the analysis of literary texts of all genres and classes, whether canonical or non-canonical.
- It is a combination of linguistic/structural patterns (e.g. stylistic features) and the implied meanings (or functions) produced by them.
- It involves all types of stylistic choices at the different levels of language: lexical, grammatical and phonological in particular.

- It is an activity that can be applied to the analysis of other types of text, e.g. genres of English language, with the aim of specifying the characteristic stylistic features and functions of each variety.

For the purposes of the research, our idea of stylistics will be based on Crystal's definition. According to Crystal (2003, p.440) "stylistics is a branch of linguistics which studies the features of situationally distinctive uses of language, and tries to establish principles capable of accounting for particular choices made by individual and social groups in their use of language".

The goal of stylistics therefore, is to analyse the language habits of speakers with the main intention of identifying from the general stock of linguistic features peculiar to the English language or any language as used by speakers on every occasion, those features which are restricted to certain kinds of social contexts; with the view of expatiating, where possible, why such features have been used, in sharp contrast to other alternatives; and to classify these features into categories based upon a view of their function in the social context. (Crystal and Davy, 1969)

1.3.1 DEFINING POLITICAL DISCOURSE / SPEECHES

Since the data for the research is entirely based on political speeches (or discourse), the researcher considers a brief expatiation on this subject matter of great significance.

The categorization of a speech or discourse as political has generally been associated with its actors or authors who are basically politicians and more so by the discursive properties inherent in the speech or discourse. Van Dijk, (1993; 1997, and others),

however, postulates that any attempt at defining political discourse will be futile if it tries to escape the very notion of politics. According to him politics does not only include official or unofficial political actors, events, encounters, settings, actions and discourses but more abstractly, political processes, political systems (democracy, communism etc.), political ideologies (liberalism) and political relations (such as power, inequality, hegemony, and oppression). These he has referred to as the domains of politics. The categorization of discourse as political therefore needs a systematic contextual definition in terms of relevant systems, organizations, actors, settings and cognitions, among others. Expanding on context, Van Dijk is of the view that, the time, place and circumstance, as well as the participants and their actions constitute an essential component of context. Communicative events such as cabinet meetings, parliamentary sessions, election campaigns, rallies are therefore also paramount in our consideration of a political setting

Political discourse is therefore basically about politics. The Oxford Advanced learner's Dictionary (International Student's Edition) also defines politics as activities involved in getting and using power in public life, and being able to influence decisions that affect a country or a society. The goal of every political discourse analysis is to expose how political events, acts and processes are organized, structured, and expressed, and what kinds of possible influence or effects they may have on the political cognitions of the public at large (Van Dijk, 1993).

1.4 MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

The reaction which greeted the demise of president John Evans Atta Mills in 2012 is what motivated the researcher to carry out this work. Of all the tributes that poured in to honour and celebrate the late president, one phrase was very outstanding, ‘Man of Peace’ or ‘Asomdwee hene’ in the local parlance.

In a news report by the Africa News Service (2012) for instance, a mourner made the following remarks, thus

“I saw him some few times during his visits to our region.
I heard him preach peace all the time in his speech.
So I wanted very much to be here to bid him farewell,"
said 65-year-old Lawson Nartey, who was dressed in
black with a red ribbon around his neck”.

Another thing that struck the researcher was the display of doves at the funeral ground to authenticate the description ‘Man of Peace’ since a dove is a symbol of peace in the Ghanaian culture and also in the Christian religion. What even fascinated the researcher most was the name given to the burial place of the late president; ‘Asomdwee Park’ meaning Peace Park. It must also be noted that this description of the late president as a man of peace prevailed even whilst he was alive.

Nevertheless, this accolade accorded to John Evans Atta Mills did not go down well with some section of the public. The Managing Editor of the Daily Searchlight for instance was reported to have rejected the idea that John Evans Mills was a Man of Peace. According to him the fact that the late president was a soft spoken person did not make

him a peaceful person and that most of his activities as president were at variance with the description.

This research is therefore of benefit as it would help unravel the motivation behind the common description of the late president as a man of peace.

1.5 RESEARCH PROBLEM

The effectiveness of a speech, especially political speech, depends on many factors, including the mood of the crowd, the ability of the orator, the situation the crowd confronts, the topic of the speech and especially the use of carefully crafted words. This makes political speeches a good breeding place for linguistic exploration and exploitation.

Some work has been carried out on political speeches elicited by heads of state of Ghana. However, the focus of earlier work has not been on stylistics. Some of the studies also assumed a comparative form. Adjei Fobi (2011) for instance investigated the role of metaphor in selected political speeches by Nkrumah and Rawlings. Anim –Ayeko (2012) probed the use of metaphor in the politics of Ghana with emphasis on verbal and nonverbal selected political advertisement in the print media. Recently, Djabatay (2013) undertook a critical discourse analysis of selected political speeches by John Dramani Mahama and Nana Akufo Addo. The researcher therefore deems it expedient to undertake a stylistic analysis of some selected political speeches made by the former president Atta Mills.

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In the bid to identify and describe the problem, the following questions arise;

1. What are the stylistic features that characterize or underpin the selected political speeches by John Evans Mills?
2. Do these stylistic features project him as a man of peace?
3. Is there a possible relationship between the background of the late president and his choice of words?
4. Was the accolade, Man of Peace, befitting of John Evans Mills or was it just a political gimmick and party propaganda?

1.7 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

It is the expectation of the researcher that this study when completed will unravel the stylistic features prevalent in the political speeches of John Evans Atta Mills and ascertain whether or not there are recurrent stylistic features that project him as a man of peace. The study will also enrich our ways of thinking about language and help readers become more persuasive in their writing and speaking. In addition to this, it will add to existing scholarship on the relationship between language style and personality and also bring to the fore the interplay between a person's background and the person's choice of words. Furthermore, it is expected that the study will serve as a guide for others who hope to control or resist power through the use of carefully crafted speeches. Lastly, political actors to whom communication is indispensable will find the study a useful resource on directions to achieving their goal.

1.8 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The research focuses entirely on the distinctive linguistic features prevalent in the selected political speeches made by John Evans Atta Mills and what functional significance they contribute to his description as a Man of Peace.

The selected speeches span almost every sphere of his political life such as his; campaign speech (as an opposition leader in the run up to the 2008 general elections), his inaugural speech, one of his independent day speech, one of his state of the nation's addresses presented to parliament, and a New Year's Eve message to the nation (the last four as president).

Crucial to the research is to uncover how his political speeches are carefully organized, structured and expressed and the possible influence or effects they may have on the political cognitions of the public. To achieve the goal of the research the analysis will be approached through an appraisal of the selected political speeches to bring to light its inherent stylistically significant features.

The backgrounds of the speeches and their contexts as well as the background of the speech maker will be explored in order to categorize them into their appropriate socio-political context.

1.9 LIMITATIONS AND DELIMITATIONS

There were some limitations which bedeviled the present research;

In the collection of data for this research, it was realized that an appreciable number of political speeches made by John Evans Atta Mills as an opposition leader were unavailable as they could not be found in their official designated places. Even though these speeches do not form a core of the data for this research, their unavailability exposes the value accorded to campaign speeches by the various stakeholders in the country.

In ascertaining whether or not the accolade Man of Peace is befitting of John Evans Atta Mills, the researcher restricts the analysis to his language style since the research is entirely a stylistic one. Other possible elements such as his conduct and general attitude are relegated to the background.

Again the researcher is aware of the interchangeable use of the titles man of peace and 'asomdwee hene' even though the translation is inappropriate. The English translation of the title asomdwee hene should be king of peace and not man of peace. Despite this situation, Peace remains the common denominator of the two titles and so does not affect the research in any way. The research, however, does not also seek to ascertain the rationale behind this phenomenon.

In conclusion, the research is also not a study of the ideological content of the political speeches. Content analysis was limited to the stylistic features present in the selected political speeches.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 STYLISTICS: A BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW, DEVELOPMENT AND APPROACHES

The development of stylistics dates back to antiquity and coincides with the development of the thought about the use of language. In ancient Greece for instance, the use of language was considered primarily as an effort to create speeches.

The art of creating speeches was called Rhetoric (*techne rhetorike*) and was taught as a subject with the aim to training speakers to create effective and attractive speeches. Language was further used amongst the Greeks for the creation of poetic works. This field dubbed 'Poetics,' studied a piece of art and focused on the challenges of expressing the ideas before the actual moment of utterance.

The final field of the use of language amongst the Greeks was the art of creating a dialogue known as Dialectics. This was the study of creating and guiding a dialogue, talk or discussion, as well as the study of methods of persuasion.

Stylistics, as a field in linguistics developed along two of these three trajectories of the use of language amongst the ancient Greeks, with Poetics going its way to create a field of study known as Literary Criticism and Rhetoric and Dialectics developing into Stylistics (Missikova 2003).

Amongst the various divisions of Rhetoric, (invention, arrangement, selection of style and delivery) stylistics specifically emerged from *elocutio*; which is the selection of style for an appropriate effect. In this regard, Greek rhetoricians, for example, expressed

interest in the devices and tropes that were used by orators for effective argument and persuasion.

Simpson (2004) posited that one particular field of academic inquiry that made a more direct and lasting impact on the methods of contemporary stylistics is the interrelated movements dubbed Russian Formalism (Viktor Shklovsky and Boris Tomashevsky) and the Prague school of Structuralism (Jan Mukarovsky and Wilhem Mathesius).

The theoretical contributions of these two schools are the concept of foregrounding and the notion of the poetic function in language.

2.2 CONCEPT OF FOREGROUNDING AND POETIC FUNCTION

Considered as the most significant stylistic theory, Mukarovsky (1964) explicated that....

Foregrounding is the opposite of automatization, that is, the deautomatization of an act; the more an act is automatized, the less it is consciously executed; the more it is foregrounded, the more completely conscious does it become. Objectively speaking: automatization schematizes an event; foregrounding means the violation of the scheme.

In other words foregrounding seeks to carefully move away from the routine use of language by adopting some linguistic devices into a text which thwarts the normal way in which language is structured, read, processed or understood. The automatized (routine) use of language, which requires strict adherence to the conventions of language, schematizes it or puts it in a more general and acceptable way thus produces familiar meanings only. The use of foregrounding devices in a text (which requires a more conscious effort) challenges the norm or DE- automatizes it by not only allowing readers

to perceive meaning but rather encouraging them to create a special perception or vision of the subject matter.

Foregrounding has two caveats; firstly it focuses on aspects of the text which deviates from a linguistic norm and secondly, it brings aspects to the fore through repetition or parallelism.

A deviation is attained when a set of conventions or expectations are broken. It produces some kind of surprise in the reader and draws his or her attention more to the form of the text and less to its content. Deviation may occur at all the levels of language such as the lexical, the syntactical, the phonological, the graphological, the semantic, etc.

Parallelism is also realized when the statement of a concept is immediately followed by a treatment of that concept through the use of either similarity or contrast. It is achieved through a repetition of a word, phrase or sentence.

Leech and Short (1981, p.48) further enhances our understanding of the foregrounding devices by way of offering or introducing some new terminologies. According to them, there are two kinds of foregrounding, namely; qualitative foregrounding and quantitative foregrounding. In this regard, a deviation from the rules of the language code or from the conventions of language use or both is described as qualitative foregrounding. Quantitative foregrounding occurs when the deviance is from some expected frequency of linguistic occurrence and not from the language code. That is, instead of choosing from the network of options available in the system of a language, there is a deliberate attempt by an author to restrict him or herself to some selected pattern in order to achieve some kind of uniformity.

Rather than distinguishing deviation from parallelism as two separate devices of foregrounding, one can infer that Leech and Short seems to establish deviation as the over-arching device in foregrounding since there is an element of deviation in both qualitative and quantitative foregrounding. The underlying difference between the two is deviation from the language code and deviation from the expected frequency in the normal use of language where variety is normally expected. They further posit that deviations must not be interpreted in isolation but rather be seen as forming a meaningful pattern with other linguistic features. Widdowson (1975) taking this further, comment that this isolation must be understood not with reference to only the linguistic system but also with reference to the context in which they appear.

The devices of foregrounding (deviation and parallelism) are used in texts in a functional and condensed way. They support the possible meaning of the text and lead the reader in their textual interpretation and attainment of aesthetic knowledge. By employing abnormal forms of language, it interferes with the readers' routine behavior, common place views and orientations with new unexpected insights and sensations.

Simpson (2004) by way of streamlining the notion of foregrounding pontificated that;

...the point of foregrounding as a stylistic strategy is that it should acquire salience in the act of drawing attention to itself. Furthermore, this salience is motivated purely by literary considerations and as such constitutes an important textual strategy for the development of images, themes and characters, and for stimulating both effect and affect in a text's interpretation.

In other words, foregrounding elements must be linguistically or literarily motivated and be deliberately infused into the text by the writer. A successful execution of this task does not only capture the reader's attention but appeals to his imagination and invoke some

sentiments in him or her. A foregrounding element must therefore contribute immensely to the overall meaning and goal of the text. Not every linguistic deviance is therefore categorized under the concept of foregrounding.

The poetic function on the other hand is amongst a six module of the functions of language proposed by Roman Jakobson. According to him the poetic function projects ‘the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection (paradigmatic) into the axis of combination (syntagmatic)’ (Jakobson 1960, p. 358).

Meaningful communication is achieved at the intersection of these two axes. Each sign along the paradigmatic axis is selected by virtue of its equivalence (that is, its similarity to some and difference from other signs in the sign system).

Along the syntagmatic axis, signs chosen are combined with other signs according to the rules of syntax in order to form the sequence of signs which comprise the utterance in question.

The concept of foregrounding and the notion of Poetic function provide a broader outlook into contemporary stylistics in that one has to concentrate on the text as an object and must also focus on the formalistic and mechanical description of patterns in the levels of language such as phonology, lexis and syntax at the sentential level. Crystal and Davy (1969) make this assertion explicit when they intimate thus;

“This is the end the stylistician is seeking- to compose a single linguistic picture of a text as a whole, to make a synthesis of the information he has discovered from his earlier analysis into levels. Once he has done this, the descriptive aspect of the linguist’s role is complete. The tasks which then follow- critical interpretation and evaluation- are not his concern”.

Linguistic stylistics is the term which serves to categorize such works which describe patterns in a text by way of supporting linguistic theory.

2.3 MENTALIST STYLISTICS

Another field of academic enquiry which had an appreciable influence towards the advancement of Stylistics was put forward by the Mentalists. Following Chomskyan Transformational Generative Grammar which perceives language as a mental phenomenon, they championed the relationship between language and the mind. In Thorne (1981, p. 44), he expressed that Stylistics must be equated with judgment on manifestations of linguistic competence. In other words grammaticality and acceptability of forms should be the hallmark of any stylistic analysis. Rather than focusing on the form of the text for analysis, Thorne proposes an investigation on how the surface structure, that is, the observable, reflects the deep structure since stylistic judgment belongs to the area defined as “deep structure”. Proponents of this approach towards stylistics believe that it provides a more complex and meaningful way of analysis.

2.4 TEXT LINGUISTICS

The development of text linguistics in the seventies also had a tremendous impact on the development of stylistics. Even though it was concerned with form it considered the text as a unit and not as a string of sentences. Proponents perceived discourse as text equivalent and placed their work on the level of discourse. This brought about a new dimension to textual analysis since the concept of context is a pivotal element in discourse. Fowler (1996) distinguishing between text and discourse intimated that, “ to look at language as text entails the study of whole units of communication seen as

coherent syntactic and semantic structures which can be spoken or written down...discourse is the whole complicated process of linguistic interaction between people uttering and comprehending texts. To study language as discourse requires, therefore, attention to facets of structure which relate to the participants in communication, to the actions they perform through uttering texts, and to the contexts within which the discourse is conducted.''. In this sense, discourse transcends the mere physical linguistic representations or signals captured, and delve into the extra-linguistics parameters such as the social, cultural, and political dispositions of participants. Text is then considered as the precursor to the analysis of a discourse. This perspective led to a context-oriented form of stylistics.

Advances in Pragmatics with proponents' interest in language performance and the extent to which the social and situational contexts affect understanding of language enhanced approaches towards stylistic analysis (Short 1981).

2.5 RADICAL STYLISTICS

Radical Stylistics, a term coined by Burton in 1982, added a new impetus to the scope of stylistic analysis. As part of its agenda is the critic's search for the ideological imprint of the text. This approach probed the social and historical forces which influence the production and reception of text. Fairclough, (1989) argued that there is a tension inherent in the relationship between a text and its reception in the wider context of social relations and sociopolitical structures in general. He calls this, the ideology underlying the text. The concept of ideology brings to the fore the investigation of themes such as power, authority and inequality inherent in text. Van Peer (1991) a proponent, intimated

that “textuality is partly a linguistic characteristic and partly the result of socio-cultural forces which provide the text its place and function within society as a whole”. In other words, linguistic choices are occasioned by the worldview and disposition of language users. A textual analysis must therefore not be limited to the visible linguistic features but must probe the underlining socio- cultural factors which contribute to the production of a text. Burton further postulated that a text is therefore subjected to value judgment since it is politically and socio- culturally motivated. Understanding the dimensions of discourse such as the social and historical, as well as, the ideological backgrounds extends the boundaries of stylistics.

The above information shows the arduous journey of stylistics, its history, the development and the approaches it has undergone. One can subsume stylistics into two main categories, that is, formalist stylistics, which centers more on the form of the text and its descriptive patterns, and functionalist stylistics which transcends the text form and integrates extra linguistic elements in its analysis thereby making it more context oriented. The researcher will therefore employ the functional stylistics approach due to its interest in encapsulating extra linguistic elements in its analysis.

2.6 CRITICISMS AND THE DEFENCE OF STYLISTICS

The need for a thorough description and interpretation of literary texts through an interaction with their linguistic organization and other extra linguistic factors has triggered numerous criticisms on approaches to textual analysis. However, as stated earlier on in Chapter one, Stylistics is one of such approaches which have suffered immensely from such criticisms. From its inception, stylistics has been shaped by debate

and lack of consensus. Most of the debates have sought to question the affiliation, aims, and methods of stylistics.

The question about the affiliation of stylistics is one area which has seen a lot of divergent opinions from both linguistic and literature experts. Heightened by the emergence of terms such as linguistic stylistics and literary stylistics, the argument has always been whether stylistics belongs to linguistic criticism or literary criticism. Linguistic stylistics focuses more on the form of the text and its description, rather than, its interpretation or appreciation by way of serving linguistic theory. Literary stylistics on the other hand focuses on the appreciation and interpretation of literary texts through the investigation of language organization. Stylisticians like Zyngier (2001) argues that the distinction between linguistic and literary stylistics stems from the approaches and goals many stylistics analyses have taken. In order to put stylistics into its proper perspective by way of bridging the gap between linguistic stylistics and literary stylistics, Widdowson (1975, p. 3) for instance intimated that stylistics involves both literary criticism and linguistics, as its morphological make-up suggests: the 'style' component relating it to the former and the 'istics' component to the latter. Carter (1988, p.161) elicited similar view to Widdowson when he said that stylistics is essentially a bridge discipline between linguistics and literature and there are always arguments about the design of the bridge, its purpose, the nature of the materials and about the side it should be built from. Simpson (2004, p. 2) further added that

“The text’s functional significance as discourse acts in turn as a gateway to its interpretation”. The entire process of interpretation is therefore inseparable in practice. In other words what has been touted as linguistic stylistics and literary stylistics are actually

inseparable since stylistics coheres the linguistic and literary analysis in analyzing a literary work.

With regards to the goal of stylistics many have described the stylistician as an old dull grammarian whose main interest is to investigate and count the number of nouns, adjectives or verbs in a sentence. Verdonk (2002) buttresses this assertion when he described stylistics as too mechanistic and reductive since it avoids evaluation for the most part of the analysis in the interest of naïve objectivity and also claiming too much for interpretations that are at best merely text-immanent. Zyngier (2001) commented that statements such as these suffer from anachronism since they do not take into consideration new developments that have taken place in stylistics. Simpson (2004), elucidating on the purview of contemporary stylistics intimated that;

It is the full gamut of the system of language that makes all aspects of a writer's craft relevant in stylistic analysis. Moreover, stylistics is interested in language as a function of texts in context, and it acknowledges that utterances (literary or otherwise) are produced in a time, a place, and in a cultural and cognitive context. These 'extra-linguistic' parameters are inextricably tied up with the way a text 'means'. The more complete and context-sensitive, the description of language, then the fuller the stylistic analysis that accrues.

In this regard Simpson postulates that contemporary stylistics is not restricted to only some of the stratifications of language but has a purview which encapsulates all levels of language ranging from orthography, phonology, syntax, lexicology, semantics, pragmatics etc. He goes further to propound that; a stylistic analysis of a text must be context based with full recognition of all the prevailing extra linguistic factors which help

in the attainment of meaning. A good overview and exploration of these dynamics will lead to an adequate stylistic analysis.

The final area of stylistic analysis which has also suffered from immense criticisms is the methods employed by stylistician to carry out their analysis. According to Crystal and Davy (1969), the first step to any stylistic analysis is an intuitive one which requires an appreciable linguistic competence. Due to this, many linguistic experts such as Lecercle (1993) have described stylistics as a subjective venture bedeviled with impressionist comments and full of a disorganized sequence. Simpson (2004) in his bid to address this criticism expressed that stylistic analysis must conform to three basic principles which he cast mnemonically as the three 'Rs'. They stipulate that all.

- stylistic analysis should be rigorous
- stylistic analysis should be retrievable
- stylistic analysis should be replicable

A stylistic analysis should be rigorous in the sense that it must follow a comprehensive framework which is founded on the structured models of language that explains how we process and understand the various patterns in language. Since language in itself is not a disorganized system comprising signs and symbols but rather a network of systems with layers, levels and links, a stylistician must be able to effectively organize an utterance or text into the levels of language. Simpson thus outlined the major levels of language with a brief explanation of the purview of each level.

Level of language	Branch of language study
The sound of spoken language; the way words are pronounced.	Phonology/phonetics
The patterns of written language; The shape of language on the page	Graphology
The way words are constructed; Words and their constituent structures.	Morphology
The way words combine with other words to form phrases and sentences	Syntax/grammar
The words we use; the vocabulary of a language	lexical analysis; lexicology
The meaning of words and sentences.	Semantics
The way words and sentences are used in everyday situations; the meaning of language in context	Pragmatics

A stylistic analysis which adheres to a strict organization based on the levels of language serves as a road map for other stylistician to follow. This allows for verification of the various categories used in the analysis and helps validates the conclusion arrived at. This makes the stylistic analysis retrievable. The attainment of this makes it possible for other stylisticians to apply it to other text thereby making it replicable. The end products of stylistic works are therefore not entirely based on intuition since stylistically significant features go through the linguistic furnace where they are tested.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Analyzing text or discourse presents researchers with numerous theoretical possibilities; however, two theoretical traditions will form the basis for analyzing the data.

3.2 SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS

We shall adopt M. A. K. Halliday's (1985, 1994) Systemic Functional Linguistics (henceforth SFL) as one of the theoretical model for the analysis. Systemic Functional Linguistics (henceforth SFL) is a theory which considers language as a 'social semiotic', that is, a system which presents its users with a network of choices to create a text, whether spoken or written. Halliday explains this preoccupation in the following way:

“It seemed to me that explanations of linguistic phenomena needed to be sought in relationships among systems rather than among structures – in what I once called ‘deep paradigms’ – since these were essentially where speakers made their choices” (pg. 1)

The meaning of the text is therefore dependent upon the choices made by the speaker from the options within the language system or, in some cases, from what is not chosen (Teo, 2000, p.24). SFL therefore perceives language as a resource for making meaning and meaning conversely resides in systemic patterns of choice. This notion is in contrast with the traditional assertion of language considered as a system of rules and which stifles creativity in speech argued by Chomsky (1956). Halliday further postulates that, the explanation of how language works

needed to be grounded in a functional analysis, since language had evolved in the process of carrying out certain critical functions as human beings interacted with their ... 'eco-social' environment. (pg. 1)

The theoretical assumptions of SFL can therefore be summarized as follows:

- Language is functional, that is, It is concerned with how language is structured and used to make meanings (Eggins 1994)
- Language is semiotic. The meaning of a text is dependent upon the choices made by the speaker from the options available within the language system. Even though the semiotic quality stretches across written, spoken and multi-modal text forms and all the forms are 'semiotically' substitutive of each other the focus in this study will be on written text forms and political speeches in particular.
- A text is understood within context. In this regard a text is understood when, information about the context within which it was generated: the 'context of situation' and the 'context of culture' are available.

Fowler (1986, p.148) makes this explicit when he gives examples of birthplace, family, school and affiliated social groups, together with the patterns of interaction and the limitations of experience associated with them, as evidence of the above. A text or discourse therefore provides readers with a view of the world as seen or understood by the writer or the speaker. Coffin (2001, p.94), reiterated that all speakers are influenced by the economic and social system in which they live and also by the roles they inhabit within these systems.

Halliday further introduces a term which is very crucial to our understanding of the function of language called Lexicogrammar. According to him a language consist of

more-or-less closed systems of words and grammatical structures, with our vocabulary constituting a relatively open system, and grammar a fixed number of relatively closed ones. From these systems language users make choices in order to construct, simultaneously, wordings and meanings.

Meanings are of three categorizations, and every utterance encodes meaning on three levels simultaneously known as Metafunctions. The three types of meanings available to speakers are textual, interpersonal and ideational. Language users use their lexicon-cum-grammar over the course of a given utterance to:

- ✓ structure information as efficiently and effectively as possible from a communicative point of view (Textual Meaning).
- ✓ to achieve interpersonal goals (Interpersonal Meaning).
- ✓ represent experience (Ideational Meaning).

The metafunctions are described in terms of three main variables that influence language use. They are Field, Tenor, and Mode.

- ❖ Tenor refers to the socially defined relations between the interactants involved
- ❖ Field refers to the subject matter of the text.
- ❖ Mode is the medium and role of language in the situation. David (2002)

The textual metafunction relates to the mode, the internal organization and communicative nature of a text. This comprises textual interactivity, spontaneity and communicative distance. The textual metafunction is that part of the meaning which builds up different coherent thematic structures into the main text. The textual meaning refers to the actual form of the way text is organized; it deals with information

management, resources and genres. Through the combination of resources at different textual levels it allows ideas and attitudes about themes, actions and events to be expressed: “textual [...] concerned with the creation of text; it expresses the structure of information and the relation of each part of the discourse to the whole and to the setting” (Halliday, 1973).

The interpersonal metafunction relates to a text’s aspect of tenor or interactivity. Tenor comprises three component areas:

- The speaker/writer persona
- Social distance
- Relative social status

The interpersonal meaning expresses judgments, assessments, gives guidelines, deals with relationships between people, the relationship between texts and readers/viewers and the relationships within texts: interpersonal [...] the grammar of personal participation; it expresses the speaker’s role in the speech situation his personal commitment and his interaction with others” (Halliday, 1973). Texts come under the four main mood types present in the English language either in the form of declaratives, interrogatives, imperatives or subjunctives, all develop different relations with the audience as well as with the speaker. Besides representing the context as they experience it, speakers of a language enact their roles as participants in the context, as they interact with each other. Interacting, they, in a sense, create the context, as they negotiate their own roles in it and those of others. Ogunsiiji sums up this metafunction thus, “... help to establish and sustain social relations” (2000 p.77). The interpersonal will form part of the analysis of the data because the research aims to unravel the kind of personality projected by the selected political speeches of our chosen political actor. The researcher believes that the

relationship between the political actor and his audience played a crucial role in their perception of him.

The ideational metafunction indicate the contextual value of field that is the nature of the social process in which language is implicated. It is interested in ‘ideation’, grammatical resources for constructing our experience of the world around and inside us. It is based on experience and it expresses ideas, actions, events, states: “experiential [...] that part of the grammar concerned with the expression of experience, including both the processes within and beyond the self – the phenomena of the external world and those of consciousness.” (Halliday, 1973). A clause in its ideational function serves as a mechanism for representing patterns of experience to develop a mental picture of reality. This is used by individuals to convey their inner feelings (goings-on) and their experience of the world. People express their experience through their ideas, actions, events, and states by way of the following;

- The processes going on;
- The participants involved;
- The attributes of these participants;
- The circumstances of the events such, as time, place, manner, cause, accompaniment, matter and role.

The system that works out the types of goings- on or processes: participants, and the circumstances associated with the processes is known as the Transitivity system. It tells us the kind of relationship that exists between the processes, participants and the circumstances under which they relate. David (2002, p. 10)

In following SFL analytical procedure, process refers to the action part. This is achieved by the verbal group. Halliday outlines six processes in the SFL transitivity system. They include,

- material processes
- relational processes
- mental processes
- verbal processes
- existential processes
- behavioural processes

The first four processes will form an integral part of the research due to the following:

Firstly, the material process is perceived as doings or happenings. In a clause a participant (called the ACTOR) does something (material process) to something/someone (called the GOAL). The Actor, Goal and Beneficiary are the participants involved in this process. The Actor is the ‘doer’ of an action or process; the Goal constitutes the entity, whether animate or inanimate that suffers the action; and Beneficiary being the participant that benefits from the process. (Halliday, 1985). The Actor however, is said to be the obligatory element of this process. Below are some examples:

1. We give thanks and praise to the Almighty.
Actor Process Goal Beneficiary

2. Our politics will not focus on power and privilege.
Actor Process Goal

In the above examples, we and our politics play the Actor roles; with the process *give and will not focus* becoming the process. Expression such as *thanks and praise* as well as *on power and privilege* act as goal whilst *to the almighty* plays the role of the beneficiary. The presence of a beneficiary in the first sentence is stylistically significant.

Secondly, the relational processes on the other hand are processes of being especially of the participating entities in a discourse. A clause with a relational process may be used either to identify something with something else (identifying type) or to say that something is an attribute of something else (attributive type).

Halliday (1978), intimated that copular verbs such as be, seem, appear, become, look etc. are used to attain the relational process of transitivity. This is centered on elements such as carrier, possessor, attribute or identifier under a circumstantial, possessive, or intensive as the examples below show.

1) Circumstantial that expresses “X is at / of Y” relationship:

It is a change in a new direction to enable us move forward with unity of purpose

Identifier Process Attribute Identifier

2) Possessive which expresses “X has Y” relationship:

A short while ago I took the oath of office as the 3rd President of the 4th Republic.

Identifier Processor Identifier Attributive

regard, he senses the phenomenon which is the task ahead of him and expresses his readiness to serve.

Verbal processes; in conclusion, are basically processes of saying in a more general sense; they include the different modes of saying such as asking, commanding, offering, stating etc. It involves a sayer who represents the participant. This may or may not be a conscious being, but anything capable of putting out a signal. Other participants which occur with these processes are the Beneficiary (the receiver of the message or signal) and Verbiage (the 'content' of saying) which may be represented as a separate clause reporting what was said or may be construed as a participant. Verbs such as, tell, report, asked, announce and argue etc. are prominently used. Examples include;

- a) I want to tell you my brothers and sisters across our Nation, from Gambaga to Accra

Sayer *Process* *Beneficiary*

- b) I wish to extend a special welcome to our distinguished guests.

Sayer *Process* *verbiage* *Beneficiary*

3.3 THE CONCEPT OF PEACE IN THE AFRICAN SETTING

Another supporting theory which will be used to enhance the research is the concept of peace as perceived in the African setting written by Igwebuikwe Onah (2006). Onah

examines the meaning of peace, how it can be attained and what it takes to maintain it in African traditional culture.

Expatriating on the meaning of Peace, Onah outlines four parameters which are crucial in our understanding of the meaning of peace in the African traditional setting. According to him, peace is not an abstract poetic concept but rather a down-to earth practical concept. It therefore permeates in every facet of the life of the African and thus could be seen, felt and touched. In addition to this, Onah intimated that the concept of peace in the African setting should not be conceived in relation to conflict and war, but rather in relation to order, harmony and equilibrium. In other words peace transcends the absence of conflict and war and takes into cognizance all that it takes for a balance between the beings in the universe. Peace, in the African setting is considered both as a moral value and a spiritual value. The African believes that God is the orchestrator of harmony and equilibrium in the universe and as such man is obligated to ensure its continuous sustenance. Good conduct is therefore expected by all beings to maintain order, harmony and equilibrium in the universe. In his quest to explicate further on how Peace could be attained in the African setting, Onah postulated four main sources namely;

- Peace as fullness of life,
- Peace as a result of harmonious living,
- Peace as a gift of God,
- Peace as a pre-condition for progress.

The fullness of life is perceived as a prerequisite for the attainment of Peace in the African traditional setting. This is achieved when there is harmony in the network of relations amongst the spiritual, human and material beings. One cannot be said to have

peace if there is a lack in any of the basic things that are considered necessary for life in an African society such as good health, a wife, husband, children, family, and means of sustenance. Anyone who possesses all these things also needs to also have good relationship with the other members of the community whether living or dead, otherwise he or she cannot be said to have peace. Onah sums it up this way

“Peace is good relationship well lived; health, absence of pressure and conflict, being strong and prosperous... Peace is the totality of well-being: fullness of life here and hereafter, what the Yoruba call *alafia*... [that is] ‘the sum total of all that man may desire: an undisturbed harmonious life.

A possession of material wealth by a being devoid of any immoral conduct is envied in the African traditional setting whereas the reverse is out- rightly rejected. An action considered to be capable of hampering another from achieving the fullness of life is judged as a breach of peace. An egoistic, who is not even violent, is considered an enemy of peace.

A second requirement for the attainment of peace in the African Traditional setting is the need for harmonious living. To achieve this, conscious effort is made at all times to resolve differences rather than cancelling or denying them. Onah presented two caveats of harmony in the African traditional setting. They include harmony in one’s personal life and harmony with one another. The need for a being to reconcile his or her yearnings with his or her means and link his thoughts, feelings, and utterances in the execution of his social and religious duties is the goal of personal harmony. This results in the attainment of inner peace. A cordial relationship between a being and other beings in the community is the underlining factor for the attainment of harmony with one another.

Emphasizing on the role of speech in the attainment of harmonious living, Onah stressed that the maintenance of the unity and balance of the beings in the world is the overriding goal of communication. The attainment of this objective enhances the growth of life whilst the reverse weakens and threatens the integration of the whole community.

Onah further stressed that the concept of majority carries the vote is alien to the African traditional culture since all effort is made to sample and integrate the views of members of a community in order to arrive at a consensus. In the course of decision making, the few whose views are dissenting willingly give up without any external compulsion in the collective interest of the community.

A victim who interferes with the peaceful co-existence of the members in the community is compelled to make up for it through just “reparation or restitution”, based on the offence committed. This brings about the notion of Justice. Onah expressed the fact that Peace and Justice are inseparable in the African traditional setting. Sarpong (1989) expressing this notion in the context of the Akans exclaimed that;

“Justice produces peace... there can be no peace without justice... Peace is honourable... peace can never be achieved when you are disgraced or when you disgrace another person. People must relate to one another on equal terms.”

Okere (1998), commenting about this notion amongst the Igbos of Nigeria reiterated thus;

“Peace is not something that happens but rather a situation that arises when justice happens. It is a happy state of things that happens when the state of things is just... the

result of order and right alignment... It is not only that peace is based on justice, rather, peace is justice and justice is peace.”

Okere seems to have heightened the relationship between Peace and Justice. He opined that justice is not only a pre requisite for peace but justice itself is peace and peace is justice. The two can therefore be used interchangeably. This reflects the significance of harmony between the members of the community in the African traditional setting. A breach of the harmonious co-existence of members in a community is not taken lightly at all as all efforts are put in place to punish offenders and restore the peace. Of all the breaches of the social and cosmic harmony in African traditional setting, to interrupt human life is considered the most serious. Life is sacred and it comes from God and so God alone has the right to interrupt it at any stage. Spilling of human blood therefore defiles the murderer and the earth.

Peace in the African traditional setting is believed to originate from God since He is considered the source of universal order and harmony. Whilst attempting to do their best to maintain the peace of the community, they acknowledge their fallibility and so look up to their creator for the provision of true peace. Sacrifices and offerings are therefore explicitly made to ask for peace most often in the situation where a violation of a religious or moral norm has occurred, or to ward off any evil spirits capable of thwarting one's peace. As part of the religious functions of family heads and political leaders in most African traditional setting is the maintenance of peace through settlement of disputes, offering of sacrifices and prayers for peace. Another point which is worth noting at this stage is that, in the African traditional setting the peace-maker is said to be

a representative of divine power on the one hand and social harmony on the other. As an individual he expresses the divine origin of peace, a peace that is associated with the virtues of loyalty, honesty and trust in God.

Finally, Peace is also perceived as a pre requisite for progress in the African traditional setting. Since progress is considered as a blessing from God, it therefore becomes impossible to think of true progress in the midst of moral, social and cosmic disorder. Peace in the community as well as in the individual (inner peace) provides a good platform for major developmental progress in the community and a quality of life for the individual. This is the true meaning of progress. It is viewed as just another word for more peace; however, there simply cannot be more peace unless there is some peace already.

Since the research seeks to ascertain whether or not John Evans Atta Mills is a man of peace, as he has been touted, through his language style, this theory proves very significant. However the researcher will only engage aspects of this theory which are considered relevant to the objective of the research. These include Peace as harmonious living and Peace as a gift from God. In considering Peace as harmonious living, the researcher will focus on how the speaker through his language style championed the course of harmonious living amongst his citizenry. Also with Peace as a gift from God the researcher will investigate aspect of the speaker's language style which shows his reliance on God for the Peace and progress of the country. The other two will not fall under the purview of the analysis because they do not involve the use of words.

3.4 LANGUAGE AND MEANING (SPEECH ACT THEORY)

Studying meaning as an exercise in the field of language has sparked a lot of investigations from various language experts. Two different but complimentary cardinal directions have been propounded; they include Semantics and Pragmatics. Whereas semantics studies the conventional meanings projected by the use of words, phrases and sentences of a language (Yule, 1997:114), Pragmatics, on the other hand, studies language from the point of view of the user, especially the choices, the constraints he meets with in employing the use of the language and the effects the use has on the communication situation.” (Watson and Hill 1993:146). The difference, however, is that “while in semantic analysis, there is an attempt to focus on what the words conventionally mean, pragmatic analysis focuses on what a speaker might want the words to mean on a particular occasion” (Yule 2003:114). Meaning in pragmatics is, therefore, defined relative to a speaker or user of the language, whereas meaning in semantics is defined purely as a property of expressions in a given language, in abstraction from particular situations, speakers or hearers (Leech 1983:6) quoted in Akinwotu (2013:1).

Paramount to Pragmatics is the Speech Act Theory which was first propounded by the English scholar, J.L. Austin in his 1962 work: *How to Do Things with Words*.

Austin intimated that in the production of an utterance certain actions are performed. He began his theory by distinguishing between performative and constative utterances. In a later, development, however, he classified linguistic acts into three components, namely; locutionary act, illocutionary act and perlocutionary act. According to him, locutionary act deals with the act of saying something, whereas, Illocutionary act focuses on the act

performed when an utterance is made, or the intention the speaker has in uttering a statement. The third act which is the perlocutionary act looks at the response of the listener based on his or her understanding of the illocutionary force of the utterance.

Another scholarly work which improved upon Austin's work (1962) is John Searle (1969). Following the work of Austin, Searle goes further to categorize speech acts according to the purposes they attain when they are produced in a given situation. The current research will apply this theory as part of its analysis. They are presented under five groups as follows:

1. Assertive acts: these are performed in sentences which cause the development of perceptions, ideas or beliefs in the recipients of these acts. The speaker is straight and firm in this act and makes utterances that hang on the truth values contained in them.
2. Directive acts: these are utterances that require a direct response on the part of the addressee. These call for an action of a sort by way of a reaction to the utterance. These include commands, orders, conditionals and others.
3. Commissive acts: this is when the speaker commits himself by speaking to an action to be carried out in the future.
4. Expressive acts: these touch on the psychology of the speaker. They are utterances that derive from and communicate the emotive and immeasurable abilities of the speaker.
5. Declarative acts: with this act the authoritative capacities of the speaker and his expert knowledge in the field concerned, is performed.

Politicians generally articulate series of intentions in their speeches such as informing, inspiring, assuring, accusing, promising, directing, suggesting, inciting, apologizing, disagreeing, criticize, etc. Akinwotu (2013, pg. 3). This informs the importance of the speech act theory to our data analysis. We therefore focus our attention on the examination of the five major classes of illocutionary acts in the speeches. The analysis of a speaker's language use for effective communication moreover involves the context of utterance; hence, we make recourse to the contextual backgrounds that influence specific illocutionary acts when the need arises.

3.5 METHODOLOGY

This chapter focuses on the methodology applied in the study. The general lay-out which informed the analysis is presented by the researcher. The research design, data collection methods, sampling and treatment of data are discussed.

3.5.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research employs the qualitative approach for the data analysis. This is due to the focus and goal of this approach. The qualitative method of analysis focuses on a holistic description of events, procedures, and philosophies occurring in natural settings with the aim of making accurate situational decisions (Stainback, and Stainback, 1988). In this regard, culturally specific information about the values, opinions, behaviours of a given population within a particular social context are considered. Patton, (2002) also reiterated, that; a qualitative analysis aims at uncovering emerging themes, patterns, concepts, insights, and understandings. Reinard (1994) commenting about the nature of this approach also postulated that it uses descriptions of observation expressed in

predominantly non-numerical terms. Snider's (2010), speaking about numbers, noted that even though they impress, they also conceal far more than they reveal. This implies that qualitative analysis applies tools which trigger an in depth response to situation. Quinn and Cochran (2002) in their quest to streamline approaches in qualitative analysis expressed that, it aims to answer questions about the 'what', 'how', or 'why' of a phenomenon rather than 'how many' or 'how much', which are answered by quantitative methods. According to Patton (2002), the nature of the sources of data for qualitative analysis which include interviews, observations, survey questions, narrative scripts and documents, informs the types of questions asked. These questions are geared toward complex processes, exploration, and discovery. Patton (2002, p. 514), advised that since the product of exploration and discovering do not come easy, one must have multiple and diverse ways of thinking about a problem, engaging in what he calls "mental excursions" using multiple stimuli, "side-tracking" or "zigzagging," altering patterns of thinking, drawing linkages between the "seemingly unconnected," and "playing at it," with the goal of "opening the world to us in some way" (p. 544).

Qualitative data analysis also follows a general inductive approach since it does not impose explicit theories on the data to test a specific hypothesis. The data instead are permitted to speak for themselves through the use of conceptual categories and descriptive concepts. These themes are usually grounded in a framework of interconnected ideas that make sense. The conceptual framework is then interpreted by the researcher with reference to the given literature on the topic in an attempt to explain, with a theory, the phenomenon being studied. Many different interpretations are generally considered before the researcher builds a meaningful argument in the most

transparent way possible (to help reveal how the conclusion was arrived at) so that others may judge the validity of the study.

This analytic procedure will be used because the research deals with written political speeches which will be appraised to bring to light the stylistically significant features as well as the contextual functions. This makes qualitative approach the most suitable for this work.

Due to the interdisciplinary nature of Stylistics (Hoffmannova, 1997, p.5), the analysis will follow an eclectic approach which will encapsulate the metafunctions embedded in Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics and Onah's concept of Peace in African Traditional setting. To enhance a good structuring of the analysis, it will follow Fairclough's three dimensions model which include, textual analysis, discursive analysis and socio-cultural analysis (2001). The discursive analysis and the socio-cultural analysis will however be concurrently carried out due to the nature of the research.

According to Fairclough (2001), the analysis of a text consists of the study of the structures of language produced. In this regard some selected aspects of the data will be analysed using systemic functional linguistics to unearth their syntactic patterns due to their potency in revealing the actors and the processes they undergo. The features of transitivity, voice and literary devices will therefore be analysed.

The discursive analysis focuses on the production, consumption and reproduction of the text. Interpretation of the text is crucial at this stage and so the researcher will try to unravel the foregrounding elements or stylistically significant elements inherent in the text. The context of culture and situation as postulated by Halliday will be integrated.

According to Fairclough (1995), language use coincides with the revelations of social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and beliefs. The socio-cultural analysis will therefore occupy itself with unraveling these elements. Onah's concept of peace in the African Traditional setting will form a crucial component.

3.5.2 METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION

The initial step of the task was the collection of speeches delivered by the political actor. During this attempt the researcher realized that there were more available political speeches by John Evans Atta Mills as a president than as an opposition leader even though, he campaigned eight years for the presidency and was in office as president for less than four years. This became apparent since the National Archives and the Information Service Department could not provide the researcher with political speeches made by the political actor as an opposition leader. Contacts with some key members of the 2008 campaign machinery of the National Democratic Congress also proved futile. Most of the speeches were therefore obtained from the internet (Ghana web) whilst some were obtained from accredited media houses in audio files and were later transcribed. In all about fifteen speeches were obtained for the commencement of the research.

Information used for the introductory part of the research and other relevant materials for the review of literature was also obtained from the library.

3.5.3 SAMPLING PROCEDURE

The multiplicity of available political speeches delivered by John Evans Atta Mills, especially as president, therefore required that a sampling technique must be used to help make strategic choices. The purposive sampling was therefore chosen since it posits

amongst other things that a previous knowledge of the data is required by the researcher. This promotes efficiency by ensuring that the data chosen is useful to the objectives of the research. Conversely, it also helps ensure that unwanted material does not interfere with the analysis. According to Patton (1990), the significance of purposeful sampling is embedded in selecting information-rich situations or samples (those that readers can learn a great deal about issues of significance to the purpose of the research) for study in depth.

Since the study seeks to unravel the stylistic features inherent in the selected speeches, the researcher was guided by this in the selection of speeches for the analysis.

It must also be noted that some of the speeches were chosen due to the popularity they enjoyed and the impact they had on the citizenry at the particular time they were delivered. One of such speeches which was re-titled by the then main opposition party, the New Patriotic Party as “Ghana will be like Kenya” for instance was selected due to the wide coverage it had and the significance it received during the 2008 electioneering season.

The type of purposive sampling which encourages this approach is the theory- based or operational construct sampling. This allows the researcher to sample data based on the manifestations and revelations of a theoretical construct of interest so as to elaborate and examine the construct. In this sense, data is chosen to fit into or mimic a favoured phenomenon chosen by the researcher.

3.5.4 TREATMENT OF DATA

The initial step which was carried out was a thorough reading of the available speeches to become well accustomed to them.

This was followed by an investigation into the context within which the various speeches were made as well as the circumstances which led to their delivery. In this case, cognizance was given to the rationale behind the speeches, the period in which they were delivered and the occasion which surrounded their delivery.

After this, the researcher selected five speeches for the commencement of the analysis. These speeches include: an Inauguration speech, a New Year's Eve message, a Republic Day's speech, Independence Day's speech and one campaign speech he delivered as an opposition leader which was popularly called 'Ghana will be like Kenya'. The researcher considers these speeches appropriate due to the objectives of the study. It is important to also note that these speeches reflect almost every aspect of the life of the political actor. It therefore gives us a good overview and a fair representation of the political life of John Evans Atta Mills.

The researcher also refrained from a large body of data for the analysis since that would have interfered with the objective of the study. Even though there were more than one independent day speech, New Year's Eve message, Republic Day speech etc., delivered by the political actor, the five speeches were selected due to their richness in style and also to achieve uniformity since all the speeches with the exception of the campaign speech were delivered in the year 2010.

Stylistically significant features such as imagery, repetition, self- projection, biblical allusion, euphemism, sermonization etc. were investigated by the researcher. The research also proceeded further to interpret the discursive properties based on the socio-political context of the country.

The last aspect of the work was to find out whether the inherent stylistic significant features projected the political actor as a Man of Peace he was acclaimed to be. This was the most difficult part of the work since it required a cautious application of Onah's Concept of Peace in African Traditional setting. The inherent stylistic significant features were therefore tried and tested based on this framework.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The goal of this research is the analysis of selected political speeches delivered by John Evans Atta Mills with the main purpose of; unraveling the stylistically significant features prevalent in the selected speeches, finding a possible relationship between the background of the political actor and the prevalent stylistic features and lastly ascertaining whether or not the inherent stylistic features project him as a Man of Peace, as was acclaimed. In view of this, the linguistic features, socio-cultural and political setting as well as the background of the political actor will form a crucial component of the analysis.

To achieve this goal, the analysis is structured into three parts. The first part will analyse the stylistic features prevalent in the selected political speeches and this will be followed by an interpretation of the discursive properties based on the socio-cultural and political setting of the country. This will however be carried out concurrently with an explanation of the socio-cultural and political setting which forms the bases for our understanding of the speeches.

4.2 ANALYSIS OF TEXT AND STYLISTIC FEATURES

This stage will focus on the analyses of stylistic significant features in the selected political speeches. In doing so, cognizance will be given to the features of transitivity and the metafunctions of language as espoused by Halliday.

An interpretation of the discursive properties will also follow to enhance our understanding of the stylistic features which will be unraveled. This will help unravel the underlining context of culture and context of situation which forms the basis of the speeches. Halliday (1978, pg. 192) buttresses this phenomenon when he asserted that data are the observed facts of text-in-situation; that is, what speakers say in real life.

The context of culture serves as the behavioural matrix within which all social interaction takes place. This enhances our interpretation of a text since it serves as the spring board against which actions are analysed. The context of situation likewise serves as the motivation behind the production of a text. Since these contexts are both implicitly and explicitly reflected in a text, one ought to be meticulous and experience to be able to unravel them. The explicit ones serve as a gateway to our understanding of the elements from outside the text.

4.3 POSITIVE SELF PROJECTION

This is an attempt by the political actor to present to his audience a positive personality of himself. He therefore develops a conception of himself and tables it before them. Embedded in this conception are his worldview, his mental disposition and traces of his background. Through this effort, a particular image is formed in the political cognition of the audience. This phenomenon is considered a significant stylistic feature because it is prevalent in almost all the selected political speeches. Below are examples (the highlighted words buttress this assertion),

I wish to begin by acknowledging the presence of my two predecessors; former President Jerry John Rawlings and former President John Agyekum Kufuor. On

behalf of our nation I salute you, Your Excellences. I recognize your invaluable experience and deep insight into matters of state and you will be important reference points during my tenure of office as President.

(pg. 119 lines 2-7 of the Inauguration speech)

The speaker reveals his orientation as president to his audience in his quest to portray his personality to them. His recognition of the two former heads of state presents him to his audience as one who is not disrespectful but rather an obedient and humble leader, one who appreciates his forebears. Even though this might seem to be a mere observation of protocol, his admission of their great wealth and level of sophistication in matters of governance is crucial as it presents him as an appreciative leader. The speaker's intention to rely on their expertise during his reign as president also projects him as a leader who does not consider himself to be omniscient but one who is ready to consult and learn when the need arises. This conceptualized identity affects the political cognition of his audience and influences their relationship and perception of him.

Ghanaian politicians and politicians in general through the use of some techniques such as agency desist from acknowledging or admitting the achievements or good deeds done by their political opponents with the fear of losing some vital political points. However in the above extract, we come across a violation of such political culture in place of a cultural context of gratitude and respect for one another regardless of ones' political affiliation due to the speaker's choice of words. Even though the situation demands that the speaker acknowledges the former heads of state of the country, especially the outgoing president, the speaker goes on to express the view that he will rely on their

expertise in his daily discharge of duty as president. It is important to state here that, the out-going president is the main political opponent of the speaker and so it was unexpected of him given the political culture to imply that he was going to rely on the expertise of his political rival during his reign as president. Moreover, it is the norm of Ghanaian politicians and politicians in general to project themselves as the first amongst equals in matters relating to governance in order to persuade their audience. It was therefore apolitical on the part of the speaker to have made such confessions. In addition to this, the speaker in breaking the status quo could offend some of his party members since such gratuitous comments put his party at a disadvantage given the heated rivalry which exists between the two main political parties.

*I have always said that **I will be President for all Ghanaians whether they voted for me or not, and without consideration for which part of the country they come from. It will be my duty as President to heal wounds and unite our dear nation. I intend to pursue relentlessly all avenues for entrenching peace and unity in all parts of the country as I am enjoined by the constitution to do.*** (Inauguration speech pg.120 lines 6-11)

In the above extract, the speaker exposes his mental disposition as president to his audience in his bid to market his identity. He reiterates his stance to embrace, support and represent every citizen of the country irrespective of their party affiliation, ethnic or religious backgrounds. His preparedness to exhaust every available means to reconcile the nation after a keenly contested election (which almost drew the nation apart) and his desire to see the nation united is put across to the audience. By this, he markets his

personality to his audience and they become mindful of the kind of personality they have as president. (The highlighted words buttress this assertion)

The closeness of the election result which saw the speaker's ascension to the presidency politically divided the country into two, with the NDC as winners and the NPP as losers. This made the need to unite the country more urgent hence the speaker's choice of words. In championing the course of national unity however; the speaker indirectly stepped out of his shoes as a politician belonging to a particular party to fulfill this task. In this regard, he did not allow his party to claim ownership of his new status but rather became the thread which will knit the two factions together. The speaker in championing this course was also aware of the political geography of the country. With the Ashanti region touted as the world bank of the NPP and the Volta region also noted to be the stronghold of the NDC, the need to highlight this reality in order to correct such perception especially after the end of a keenly contested election cannot be overemphasized.

On page 120 (lines 16-21 of the inauguration speech), we come across another situation in which the speaker tries to project the kind of personality he would like his audience to associate him with, thus;

Our politics will not focus on power and privilege. On the contrary we will not forget the concerns of the Ghanaian people who want to see an improvement in their living conditions. Willingness to put personal advantage aside will therefore be one of the key demands on those who will serve in the Atta Mills government. Honesty, fairness, compassion and sincerity will be the hallmark of my administration. I have no wish to carry out political vendetta of any kind.

Here, the speaker takes the projection of his personality to another pedestal by attempting to dissociate himself from the kind of politics which insulates leaders from the laws of the state and gives them undue access to state resources to the detriment of the masses. In this regard he tries to set the stage for a new era of the practice of politics in the country. To kick start this, a criterion for the selection of leaders into his government will be based on their commitment to eschew from practices which always put their needs ahead of those of the generality of the people. The association of his name to the conceptualized identity in the speech is very crucial as it enhances his effort to achieve his intended target. The manner in which he unveils the pillars which will guide his administration is worth considering since it makes his intentions explicit. Rather than shrouding them or making them implicit, he uses the strategy of enumeration so that they will be well captured by the audience. To enhance his introduction of this new era of the practice of politics in the country, he expresses his desire to desist from the practice of attacking opponents with the advantage of state resources; an act perceived to be common to the practice of politics in the country.

By doing this the speaker lays bare to his audience his world view and political orientation as president. This conceptualized identity is therefore entrenched in the political cognition of the audience and informs the kind of relationship which will later ensue between them. The speaker in this sense consciously initiates this relationship through the use of language.

With the transition from one government to a different government, the prevalent tradition of winner takes all, that is, the situation in which the winner of the election replaces all state officials from their offices with his party folks, was imminent. This prevalent political culture creates undue fear and catapults officials of the losing party into a state of hopelessness since they are about relinquishing their post irrespective of their competence and nationality. The political transition therefore puts them at a disadvantage and makes them appear as dejected Ghanaians who do not have a stake in their own country. However the speaker's choice of words brings hope and propagates a new dispensation of the practice of politics in the country. As the leader of the ruling party, he will give equal opportunity to all Ghanaians. The culture in which new government unleashes its vengeance on out-going governments as a way of revenging the supposedly ill- treatment suffered in their hands informed the speaker's choice of words.

On page 123, lines 1-5, of the Inauguration speech, the speaker presents himself to his audience as one who has a fair understanding of the current state of the economy and who is also knowledgeable about the requisite measures that ought to be taken to achieve the goals of the country. His recommendations expose his disposition as president and his expectations of the citizenry. The proposed measures are to psychologically prepare the minds of the people for the policies which will be implemented in the future. In other words, should the citizenry find the policies uncomfortable, he counts on their patriotism and devotion to the collective interest of the state to endure and overcome the challenges. The aftermath of the policies will be inured to the benefit of the entire nation, so to speak.

*When the political transition is completed I will address the people of Ghana on the state of the economy which we have inherited. **But I know we have to face hard truths and take bold, strong measures. I believe that as a nation, we will find the strength of character, love of country, and hope for our shared future as a nation, to accomplish even the most difficult of tasks.***

Exposing the true state of the country's economy has always generated heated verbal wrangling between opposition parties and ruling governments in Ghana since it serves as one of the tangible basis of assessment by the electorates and thus forms a crucial component to the success or otherwise of ruling parties. The practice has therefore always been to alter or tamper with the macro-economic indicators so as to instill some hope and confidence in the electorates, especially by ruling governments. To the opposition parties, the tradition is to either exaggerate a mismanagement of the economy by a ruling party or to completely misinform the electorates on a supposedly mismanagement of the economy in order to enhance its chances of winning elections. Economic matters therefore become a breeding place for political parties to expose and lambast their opponents. The speaker in order to inform the country about the nature of the state of economy he has inherited employed the tool of euphemism, a situation alien to the practice of politics in the country. Instead of capitalizing on his position to lambast the out-going government as has always been the situation the speaker did the contrary. He did not conceal the truth from his citizenry neither did he hurl insults and blame on the out-going government, but rather psyches the citizenry as to what their attitude ought to be in the midst of the challenges.

A similar scenario is also reiterated on page 115 (lines 4-11 of the Republic Day speech) when the speaker commented thus;

Fellow Ghanaians, brothers and sisters, having been given the mandate 18 months ago to execute the Better Ghana agenda, I stay committed to managing the affairs of state in an open, honest, truthful and transparent manner. I have committed myself to serving Mother Ghana, and I will serve to the best of my ability. Human as I am, and human as this Administration is, there is no denying the fact that it is not every action of ours that may sit well with all the people all the time. For that reason, I have continued to make the point that we are open to all manner of constructive criticism. We do not claim perfection or claim to know it all.

In this extract, the speaker continues to project his identity to his audience through the manner and way he endeavours to steer the activities of government. Here again, he makes it explicit through the tactics of enumeration. The political actor exposes his orientation as president to his audience as a servant who is ready to sacrifice his all to the service of the country. He also introduces a new conceptualized identity of himself as a fallible being and as such a fallible administration whose activities will not always please the citizenry. This is considered significant because the speaker tries to give his audience prior information about himself which will form the basis of their relationship. In this regard he attempts to streamline their expectations of him as president in the sense that he together with his cabinet is culpable to making mistakes. The overriding goal is to make the audience conscious of his personality and relate with him as such. This will in turn guide their criticism of him and his administration.

The desire to win political power and even entrench such position compels politicians to employ all sorts of tactics and also use words that make them appear superior and become demigods especially in the political cognition of the electorates. Ghanaian politicians and politicians in general therefore refrain from words which expose their weakness and thus belittle them in the eyes of their competitors and electorates. In the discharge of their responsibilities, the norm has always been to project themselves as individuals who are ‘super competent’ and do not falter in their assignments. The strategy and objective has been to win the trust and confidence of the electorates at all times in order to either retain their positions or enhance their chances of political victory. In this regard they indirectly insulate themselves from criticisms since their choice of words and posture projects them as perfectionists. We come across a completely different scenario when the speaker confesses that he is a human being capable of faltering in his discharge of duties as the president. This statement defies the practice of politics in the country as it changes the prevalent perception electorates hold about politicians as infallible beings. His call for constructive criticisms of his administration from the electorates’ damages the entrenched position consciously projected and enjoyed by Ghanaian politicians. Criticisms from the electorates also make them active partners in the governing process, so to speak.

On page 116 lines 13-20 we come across another situation in which the speaker advertises his identity to his audience, thus:

I have pledged that for as long as I continue to manage the affairs of state, our oil discovery shall not be a curse; it will be a blessing. However, I do not regret taking those

decisions and given the opportunity, I will do same for as long as the interest of Ghana continues to remain paramount in the Better Ghana agenda of this Administration. As more oil continues to be discovered, God forbid that I prevent the generality of Ghanaians from benefiting from the oil revenues.

The speaker at this circumstance projects to his audience a kind of personality which he would like to be associated with, with regards to the oil discovery in the country. He assures them of his steadfastness to help make the discovery an asset which will benefit the entire nation. In other words his audience should trust his competence and efficiency to establish the necessary conditions and legislations required to make the discovery of oil beneficial to the country. Here, he also expresses his knowledge about the possibility that the discovery might jeopardize the future of the nation if the requisite measures are not put in place to manage the proceeds which will be accrued as happened to other countries in the sub region. The speaker also signals his identity to his audience in this circumstance as a selfless leader; one who puts the interest of the nation first; above his own personal aggrandizement. His invocation of God to buttress this conceptualized identity under this circumstance is very significant as it reveals his religious inclination to his audience. By so doing he tries to bridge the distance between himself and the audience since he is mindful of the religiosity of the nation.

The commencement of the production of oil in commercial quantity in the country brought with it a whole lot of controversy about the management of its proceeds. With hindsight of the mismanagement of oil proceeds and its attended repercussions in the sub region, Ghanaians were determined to ensure that the discovery inure to the benefit of the

entire citizenry; thus becoming a blessing and not a curse. The discovery however; becomes a curse if its proceeds are enjoyed by some selected few (usually the 'elite') in the country to the detriment of the entire citizenry; a situation which usually creates suspicion and arouses some hostility between the leaders and their subjects. It must also be noted that the mismanagement of oil proceeds in the sub region has questioned the moral integrity of most African leaders. A lot is therefore expected of the speaker for the efficient and effective utilization of money accrued from the oil production. What is however worth noting is how the speaker chose to assure his people about his ability to safeguard the oil proceeds for the benefit of all Ghanaians.

The speaker, apart from promising them, chose to invoke God's name to further boost his assurance. He invokes God's name because he first and foremost believes in His existence and considers himself and the entire citizenry subservient to Him. Moreover the speaker knows of the religiosity of his citizenry and therefore capitalizes on that to his advantage in his quest to assure them. By invoking God he believes his message of assurance will be given the seriousness that it deserves.

In his campaign speech, page 112 (lines 2-6) another effort is made by the speaker to project himself to his audience thus;

I want to repeat with all the force at my command, the warning note that I sounded last year, that should there be another attempt by the ruling or any other part at the December elections to steal the verdict of the people, the National Democratic Congress and all fair minded Ghanaians will categorically reject out of hand the fraudulent results

so proclaimed and will adopt all legitimate means, to seek redress to any such political misconduct.

Here, the speaker projects himself to his audience as one with great authority and as such a powerful person who controls a large following. He therefore vehemently cautions against any attempt by any of the competing political parties, especially the then ruling New Patriotic Party, that will negatively affect the electioneering process. He exposes his disposition to his audience as a peace loving person, who will defend the smooth, peaceful and transparent running of the election process. His defense of the election process is very crucial as it further reveals his worldview and informs his audience about his personality. His actions are in two folds; firstly he will out rightly reject the supposedly fraudulent result declared and then will afterwards turn to the appropriate legal process for redress.

Ghana has held six successful presidential and parliamentary elections to the admiration of the world ever since the re-introduction of constitutional democracy in the country in 1992. Ensuring the smooth and peaceful running of each general election has however not come on a silver platter as there have been pockets of electoral violence scattered in some parts of the country. Some of the elections have also been dotted with some controversy surrounding its transparency and credibility with the two leading political parties (the NDC and NPP) accusing each other of using the benefit of incumbency to rig the election. The advent of any general elections therefore throws the entire nation into a state of fear and anxiety. The rationale behind the activities of countless groups such as the Peace Council, Religious bodies, Traditional rulers, Civic Institutions, NGO's etc.

working studiously to ensure peace during and after elections explains the atmosphere which characterizes presidential and parliamentary elections in the country. The 2004 general elections, a precursor to our context of situation, likewise did not escape such an occurrence as we saw the main opposition party (the NDC), led by the speaker accused the ruling political party (NPP) of rigging the election. With the advent of the 2008 elections the speaker again as the leader of the opposition party did not mince his words as he vehemently cautions against a repetition of, according to him, another effort by the ruling party to rig the election. Since he is the leader of the main opposition party, his declarations goes a long way to contribute to the peaceful or otherwise running of the election. The choice of words of the speaker at the initial stages however sends some shivers down the spine of the citizenry as he does not hesitate to indicate his authority and the power available at his disposal.

This power and authority becomes his motivation which gives him the impetus to vehemently stage his stance about his intended reaction should the election be rigged by any of the competing political parties especially the ruling NPP. He justifies this reaction when he associates himself with all who believe in the sanctity of the elections. Post-election reactions especially by main opposition parties have always been marred with violence and massive loss of lives and properties especially in the sub region. This has always been the case because opposition parties due to some strange reasons do not usually employ the laid down procedures assigned by the constitution to settle electoral matters. The speaker's reaction however allays the fears and anxiety of the citizenry as he promises to follow constitutional procedures to register his displeasure.

4.4 REPETITION

The use of repetition is considered as a significant stylistic feature because it abounds in the selected political speeches. There is an overwhelming use of the phrase '*my brothers and sisters*' in almost all the selected speeches. The speaker uses this phrase as a way of addressing his audience. It is also a way of identifying with them. He wants them to see that they are a part of him. It is a subtle way of trying to get their support. In this quest he lays bare his orientation as president and his expectation of the people. He adopts this as a tool to bridge the gap between the presidency and the citizenry. In other words, as one of them, he will not do anything that will negatively affect them and similarly they will not also say or do anything that will negatively affect him and the presidency. As a brother to the citizens, he is sensitive to their plights and will always extend a hand of brotherly love to them so to speak. The speaker also uses this tool to express the fact that his doors are always open to his 'brothers and sisters' to come in and dine or enjoy each other's company. As a stylistic feature, it helps to reinforce his idea about a particular situation or a favoured philosophy. The phrase, 'my brothers and sisters', sometimes appears an over wording since the speaker before addressing his audience with the phrase, had made an earlier reference to them. He therefore doubly addresses them.

In the Republic Day Speech for instance, there is an unprecedented repetition of the phrase *my brothers and sisters*, thus;

*Good afternoon fellow Ghanaians, **my brothers and sisters** ... (Pg.114 line 1)*

*Fellow Ghanaians, **brothers and sisters**, having been given the mandate 18 months ago to execute the Better Ghana agenda... (pg. 115 line 4)*

*Fellow Ghanaians, **my brothers and sisters**, some tough decisions have had to be taken in the supreme interest of the nation... (pg. 116 line 7)*

*Fellow Ghanaians, **my brothers and sisters**, our Republican status will be meaningless unless it is linked to the protection of our resources and revenues. (pg. 117 lines 1-2)*

*Fellow Ghanaians, **my brothers and sisters**, as a nation we have come a long way. (pg. 117 line 15)*

*Fellow citizens, **my brothers and sisters**, I thank you for this opportunity to share some time with you this afternoon and once again.... (pg. 118 line 3)*

A similar situation could be found in the speaker's New Year's Eve message, thus

*Good morning, fellow Ghanaians; **my brothers and sisters**, friends and daughters of mother Ghana. (pg. 128 lines 1-2)*

*There were challenges some of them extreme, however **my brothers and sisters** by the grace of God and through our own commitment and strong determination we were able to overcome these challenges and even made some notable gains. (pg. 128 lines 6-8)*

***My brothers and sisters** let us remind ourselves that the year 2010 is the second year in an arduous journey of four years. (pg. 128 lines 17-18)*

***My brothers and sisters**, this is the kind of spirit which should move us in whatever we do so that like the Under 20s we can also win honour and glory to our dear nation and move towards our set goals. (pg. 129 lines 8-10)*

*Therefore **my brothers and sisters** let us rally solidly behind the Black Stars as they attempt to lift high the flag of Ghana.....* (pg. 129 lines 13-15)

***My brothers and sisters**, friends and daughters of our dear nation on this occasion...*

(pg. 130 lines 4: 5)

This phenomenon is also reflected in the Inauguration speech, thus

*At this moment of joyful celebration, I hear a call to duty and I make a pledge to you **my brothers and sisters** that I will strive to make a difference in the politics of our nation.*

(pg. 120 lines 1-2)

*I want to tell you, **my brothers and sisters** across our Nation, from Gambaga to Accra, from Wiawso to Keta, from every village, nook and cranny to every city center and in-between.* (pg. 123 lines 8-10)

A common feature of political speeches or discourse is the consistent reference accorded to the audience by the political actor. There is no convention which regulates how Ghanaian politicians should address their audience when engaging them in a discourse. It is a matter of choice on the part of the politician, an avenue which also exposes his orientation and mental disposition. The choice of audience address by the politician reflects his perception of them and the kind of relationship that is likely to ensue between them. What has however dominated the scene during the period of the fourth republic has been the phrase ‘fellow Ghanaians’ or in some cases ‘fellow countrymen’. The speaker’s choice of addressing his audience is however a deviation from the popular

tradition, as it is alien to the practice of politics in Ghana. Rather than adhering to the status quo, the speaker introduces the phrase ‘my brothers and sisters’ as his preferred salutation of his audience. By addressing his audience as his brothers and sisters, the speaker brings the presidency closer to the door step of the citizenry; it becomes a shared asset and a shared responsibility. The address thus becomes an invitation by the speaker to actively engage the citizenry into matters of governance. As brothers and sisters, elements such as suspicion, back-biting, unconstructive criticisms, leading to hostility are drastically reduced. It therefore promotes a good and healthy relationship between the presidency and the citizenry. If indeed the term Mother Ghana is anything to go by then the speaker’s choice of audience address is spot on, thus, all Ghanaians come from one mother and as such the president together with the citizens are brothers and sisters.

4.5 ALLUSION

There are an appreciable number of references made in the selected political speeches. These references come in two shades; firstly there are countless references to the name of God (from the bible) and finally, some reference are made to the political history of Ghana and other countries in and out of the sub region.

4.5.1 BIBLICAL ALLUSION

The speaker’s countless reference to God presupposes two things; that Ghana is a highly religious country and that its entire population believes in the existence of a supreme being (God) who controls the lives of everyone. His employment of this device is an attempt to broadcast his religious inclination as president and to project a particular personality in the political cognition of his audience as one who reveres God and

acknowledges his active role in the activities of man. It also presents him as one who makes every effort to please his maker, a God fearing and as such a trustworthy president. His invocation of God at the end of almost all his speeches is very significant as it heightens his disposition and exposes his complete reliance on God for all his endeavours. That is to say, he looks up to God for the accomplishment of any promise or commitment he has made or has had with the nation. Its positioning at the end of almost every speech is also crucial because it becomes one of the last words received by his audience. This undoubtedly affects their political cognition and perception of their president. Examples include;

*Thanks to the steadfastness of the good people of Ghana, **sovereign will has prevailed.** We give thanks and praise to **the Almighty.*** (pg. 119 lines 17-18 of the Inauguration Speech)

*Let us join in this great challenge that **the Almighty** has laid before us, so as to transform our country in the years to come, that we may be the ultimate beneficiaries of a prosperous Nation under **God.*** (pg. 123 lines 11-13 of the Inauguration Speech)

*As more oil continues to be discovered, **God** forbid that I prevent the generality of Ghanaians from benefiting from the oil revenues.* (pg. 116 lines 19-20 of the Republic Day Speech)

*May the good **Lord** continue to bless you and give you strength and long life so that we can drink from your fountain of wisdom ...* (pg. 118 lines 9-10 of the Republic Day Speech)

*May the good **Lord** continue to bless our homeland Ghana and make us greater and stronger.* (pg. 118 lines 11-12 of the Republic Day Speech)

*May **God** be our helper!* (pg. 127 line 19 of the Independent Day Speech)

***God** bless our homeland Ghana.* (pg. 113 line 12 of the Campaign Speech)

In the political history of Ghana especially in the era of the fourth republic, no head of state has ever invoked God's name and use it in the way the speaker does it.

First and foremost, the speaker's attribution of his ascension to the presidency as an act of God is uncharacteristic of a politician given the prevailing political culture. (pg. 1 lines 17-18 of the Inauguration Speech). Instead of the speaker rendering his gratitude to his campaign machinery and praising their sophistication and tactics as has always been the tradition, he exposes his orientation and mental disposition through his choice of words, by attributing his victory to divine will. By this attribution, the speaker poses as a representative of God who has come to do His bidding. He therefore considers the citizenry as people entrusted to his care by God. It is not surprising that in assuring his people about his readiness to ensure that proceeds from the oil discovery inures to the benefit of the entire population, he invokes God's name. (pg. 3 lines 19-20 of the Republic Day Speech). Instead of popularizing his personality to the electorates as one capable of bringing relief and transformation to the lives of his people, his choice of words resonate contrary expectation as he consistently invokes the name of God

4.5.2 HISTORICAL ALLUSION

Several references are made by the speaker to the history of Ghana and to other countries in and out of the sub region. The employment of this tool is to help the speaker achieve his intended targets which are of diverse nature such as fostering his inclinations, glorifying the past deeds of his political party, reminding his audience about their political history, cautioning the ruling party, etc.

In his campaign speech for instance the speaker makes use of two references to the political history of Ghana, thus

The NDC would therefore like to assure every Ghanaian that it will not allow the NPP in the coming elections to repeat such a disgraceful conduct as it did in 2004. The electorate alone shall be judge of the eight-year stewardship of the NPP. (pg. 112 lines 8-10)

The essence of this historical allusion is not just to assure the citizenry of the speaker's intention to protect the sanctity of the up-coming election but to tarnish the reputation of the NPP who are his main opponent in the elections. In order for him to employ this tool he assumes that the electorate shares in his belief and the belief of his party that the NPP cheated in their bid to win the 2004 election. Even though this allegation cannot be substantiated, the speaker uses this tool to make the electorate believe that his opponents have a proven track record of such vices. The underlining rationale is to project himself and his party to the electorates as the only clean leader and the only party with the interest of the citizenry at heart.

Also on page 112, lines 13-15 of the campaign speech the speaker makes another reference to the political history of the country to achieve a similar purpose, thus

The NDC has not only put total confidence in democratic governance, including the holding of free, fair, transparent and credible elections, but has also demonstrated the virtues of a peaceful transition of administration as everyone witnessed in January 2001.

The essence of the historical allusion made here by the speaker is to explicitly remind the electorates of the admirable track record of his party with regards to good democratic practices. Not only have they organized peaceful and smooth elections but have handed over power to a different government without any skirmishes. The speaker indirectly entreats the ruling government to replicate this fine example.

We come across another historical allusion employed by the speaker in his Republic Day message to the nation, thus

50 years ago, on 1st July 1960, led by our First President, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana became a Republic. It was a logical sequel to our struggle for independence which we attained on March 6th, 1957. From that day, July 1, 1960, the Queen of England ceased to be our Head of State and we took absolute control of our destiny. Today we commemorate the Golden Jubilee of our status as a Republican state and we must take stock of how far we have come as a nation. (pg. 114 lines 1-8)

The significance of the use of this historical allusion by the speaker cannot be over emphasized as it gives him an opportunity to present to his audience an expository account of the political journey of the country from the struggle that preceded its attainment of independence leading to its achievement of republican status. The speaker

uses this tool to remind his audience of the importance of their republican status and the need to be proud of this historic achievement. He uses this allusion to also admonish them as a nation to take a retrospective analysis of their journey from the day it assumed full responsibility of its destiny from the British to their current situation.

The speaker also makes some allusions to other countries in his bid to achieve his desired target of cautioning the stake holders of the country's electoral process. We come across such situations in his campaign speech, thus

It therefore urges all Ghanaians and the international community to draw useful lessons from the on-going Kenyan conflict situation and the unacceptable conduct of elections held recently in other African countries with a view to ensuring that they are not replicated in our dear country at the next general elections. (pg. 112 lines 14-17)

The essence of the use of this allusion by the speaker is to conscientise all the various stakeholders involved in the up-coming elections of the need to help safeguard the smooth running of the electoral process. His reference to other African countries and particularly the conflict situation in Kenya (a product of post- election violence) suggests that Ghana is not different from Kenya and therefore has a high possibility of experiencing such situations since it falls within the same sub region and is also yet to go through a major electoral process. In other words, Ghana could experience such a situation if all the stakeholders such as the electorate, participating political parties, the electoral commission, international observers and etc. do not take a cue from the Kenyan situation and ensure the peaceful, transparent, and fair electoral process in the country.

On page 112 lines 18-21 of the campaign speech, the speaker makes yet another allusion to a country that has suffered from a pre-election violence in his quest to present his message to his audience, thus

We wish to take this opportunity to warn also against the kind of pre-election violence that has taken place in Pakistan with the unfortunate assassination of Benazir Bhutto and to urge the ruling NPP government to ensure the safety and security of Presidential and Parliamentary candidates as well as all citizens in the coming elections.

The political actor makes reference to the situation in Pakistan as a basis to alert and caution the ruling government about the possibility of pre-election violence in the country as it prepares to go into an election in order to choose leaders who will steer the affairs of the state. The objective is to implore them to intensify the security apparatus of the nation especially before the election in order to ensure the protection of the key actors or aspirants in the election and the electorates as well. Since a presidential aspirant had lost his life prior to an election, he as well as other presidential aspirants stands the risk of losing their lives too, so to speak.

4.6 CODE SWITCHING

Halliday (1975) posited that code switching fulfills the interpersonal function of communication in the sense that the code mixed language acts as a mediator between the speaker and the participants in the communicative event. In the course of his interaction with his audience the speaker employs the tool of code switching for various purposes such as enhancing the effectiveness of his speech etc. Rather than sticking to the official language of the country, which is the English Language, the speaker interlaces his

speeches with some of the local languages (Fante and Ga) irrespective of the circumstance he finds himself in.

This is evident in his New Year's Eve message and the Republic Day speech respectively, thus:

*My brothers and sisters, friends and daughters of our dear nation on this occasion, **mima mu nyinara afehyia pa afi ko be tu nyen, afi sese na ye di yen sa esi ye bo de Ghana so wo afa ni tampa efra.*** (pg. 130 lines 4-6)

*Our men in uniform whose international peacekeeping achievements stand tall; our gallant sportsmen and women who continue to bring pride and glory to Mother Ghana; our professionals who continue to distinguish themselves both locally and on the international stage. **Ayekoo** to all of them.* (pg. 130 lines 6-10)

In the first instance, even though the speaker started his speech in English he chose to conclude with his native Fante language. His use of local language, and for that matter Fante, is to achieve diverse purposes. Firstly the speaker uses the local language to project his identity as a Ghanaian and specifically a Fante. Again, his use of the local language presents him the opportunity to close the status gap between the presidency and the citizenry, that is to say, he is no different from them. In addition to this, the adoption of code switching eases his communication with his audience as it helps him to emphasize a particular phenomenon and also makes it possible for him to reach out to as many in the audience as possible.

As the official language of the country, the English language has undoubtedly wielded so much power that it is considered to be the language of prestige. It enjoys great currency in the area of law, commerce, education, mass media, religion and politics. In the practice of politics it is the language for political debates and rallies especially in the formal sector. The English language is used by political aspirants to address electorates with whom they do not share a common language. In the area of government (executive, legislature and judiciary) the English language is used for all state functions. It is therefore a common practice for all heads of state to use it when addressing the nation. However in these addresses to the nation by the speaker we come across instances in which he interlaces the English language with some of the local languages. The speaker's choice of the local language at the completion of his address is an endorsement of the common practice which prevails during such festivities. (pg. 130 lines 4-6). New Year is an occasion characterized with excitement, sober reflections and well-wishing. As the leader of the nation, it is expected of the speaker to capitalize on the occasion to address the citizenry in order to firstly; join in the celebration, secondly, engage them in a year under review and finally pronounce his wishes and expectations for the New Year. It is at the point of expressing his wishes and expectations for the New Year that the speaker veers off into the local language (Fante). It must be noted that during such festive seasons most well-wishers often employ the local language to the English language since it effectively captures their sentiments and carries the requisite cultural connotations which accompanies the objective. Here, the speaker's wish and expectation for the New Year is for the nation to be a place where every citizen, both young and old will be happy and

proud of, thus, *mima mu nyinara afehyia pa afi ko be tu nyen, afi sese na ye di yen sa esi ye bo de Ghana so wo afa ni tampa efra.*

4.7 IMAGERY

A careful analysis of the speaker's speeches reveals two dominant images which are prevalent in almost all the selected political speeches. The image of a preacher who leads his people to their God and the image of a father who counsels his compatriots and children alike are implicitly woven into the selected speeches. These stylistic features due to their predominance, unconsciously exposes the speaker's orientation and identity in order to influence his audience's perception of him.

4.7.1 FATHERLY IMAGERY

In this section, I demonstrate how the speaker uses his speech to project himself as a father (father figure) , thus

Fellow Ghanaians, my brothers and sisters, as a nation we have come a long way. But there is a longer journey ahead. Our forebears have played their part; it is our time to play our part. For those of us who find ourselves in leadership positions, it is important that we bequeath to the youth a strong legacy and sense of belonging which will empower them to commit themselves to the forward march of Mother Ghana. 50 years, from today, it is the youth of today who will be managing the affairs of state and we dare not bequeath to them a legacy that will kill their sense of belonging. To the youth, I say, be proud of your heritage and be proud to be a Ghanaian.

(pg. 117 lines 15-23 of the Republican speech)

Here, the image depicted by the speaker is that of a father with great foresight who sees beyond the present. Acknowledging the enormous contributions of the past heroes of the country, he counsels the current generation about the need to also offer their relentless service to the nation. He therefore admonishes the current crop of leaders to be mindful of their ways in order not to mislead or send the wrong signal to the younger generation as the nation strives to achieve its goals. The need to equip the youth with the necessary nationalistic values needed for effective nation building remains paramount to him. As the next generation of leaders who will hold the forts of the country, it is crucial that they cultivate the right values and attitudes that will enhance the perpetual growth and development of the nation when the current crop of leaders has exited the scene. He therefore admonishes 'his children' to be excited about their roots and be full of pride as true citizens of their country, Ghana.

On page 129 lines 4-10 of the New Year's Eve message to the nation also present us with a projection of a fatherly image, thus

For the youth of this country, on this New Year's Day I would want to ask you to take advantage of the many positive opportunities that abound. I want the youth in particular to emulate the fine example of the UNDER 20 football team. The UNDER 20's made us proud they brought us glory and honour by winning the world cup. This they did with sheer determination and a willingness to die for our country. My brothers and sisters this is the kind of spirit which should move us in whatever we do so that like the Under 20s we can also win honour and glory to our dear nation and move towards our set goals.

The fatherly image is once again depicted here through the choice of words used by the speaker. The speaker conscientises the youth to utilize the numerous opportunities which the country presents them, in other words, the necessary foundation required for the youth to make progress in life has been prepared for them and so they must relinquish idleness and rather channel all their energies into the positive utilization of these opportunities. His expectation of the youth of the country is informed by his admiration of the Under 20 football team. This is as a result of the pride and praise they brought the nation. He outlines the components of their victory at the world cup so as to encourage the youth to apply them in all their endeavours. The overriding objective is, however, to encourage the citizenry to at all times cultivate values needed to uplift the image of the country.

In his address to the youth at the Independence Day (pg. 126 lines 21-28), the fatherly image is explicitly portrayed in the speeches made by the speaker, thus

Remember, there are no shortcuts in life. Hard work pays. There will be hurdles you have to jump over, there will be challenges; there will be extremely tough times; but don't be quitters. Winners are not quitters and quitters are not winners. In life, the race is not necessarily for the swiftest, but for the sturdiest. Uphold virtue, morality and honesty and you will become great men and women of your time.

The fatherly image is very explicit here. The speaker in his interactions with the youth corrects certain misconceptions surrounding life and outlines the road map as well as the attitude required to attain success. He first and foremost counseled that success is not achieved over night neither does it happen by chance, but rather it requires great effort

from the individual. Furthermore, challenges and obstacles are inevitable in life but one must not give up in the face of these oppositions. The speaker, in addition to this, counseled them that in their quest to attain success they should exercise patience in order to go through the process of learning since it is not so much about who gets there first but who has the requisite experience, capacity and stamina to survive. He however cautioned that apart from skills character is an essential ingredient towards the attainment and sustenance of success. The speaker therefore outlined some key character traits expected of every accomplished personality or all who desired success.

4.7.2 IMAGERY OF A PREACHER

The image of a preacher is predominantly expressed in almost all the selected political speeches. This is due to the role the speaker assumes in his interaction with his audience. In the course of his interaction the speaker does three things, firstly he offers some advice on moral standards or behaviour to his audience; secondly he conscientise them about God and His role in the life of man and finally he calls for the promotion of unity and oneness as a people. Examples include:

However it is important that as we soldier on to build the Better Ghana that we desire, we do not reduce our political discourse to invectives and name-calling. Some of us can take the name calling, but not all of us can. And sometimes, you cannot predict what those who cannot take it may be tempted to do. It is a danger that we must all guard against. Especially for those of us who find ourselves in leadership positions, it is important that we engage in decorous discourse and pull those who look up to us along the path of decorum and decency. This is so whether it is discourse within our own

parties or between and among parties. I have always said, and will keep on saying that as a nation, we will continue to have our differences-especially political differences. Indeed, we all cannot share the same belief or think along the same lines. But those differences must not keep our eyes away from the need to collectively put our shoulders to the wheel and build a Better Ghana for our generation and the generations unborn. (Pg.115 lines 11-24 of the Republic Day speech)

Here, even though the speaker does not cite the reference of his sermon so to speak, the image of a preacher admonishing his congregation to eschew certain vices which poses a threat to their collective interest is made explicit. At the onset of the sermon, the speaker admonishes his congregation (nation) to desist from the use of rude or unpleasant remarks which tarnishes the reputation of others. The rationale behind this clarion call is that others like him can endure and forgive such offenders but unfortunately not everyone can accommodate such denigrating comments. The danger however is with the response which is likely to emanate from victims who cannot endure such rude comments. Their hidden intentions might negatively affect the stability of the country and so it is crucial for the nation to refrain from such attitudes. The speaker directs his message to the leaders of the nation as well as himself to set the right example to their subordinates by being polite and decent in their use of language. As role models their choice of words can positively or negatively influence their audience and so they should capitalize on their influence to positively impact their audience. He further added that apart from ones' personal idiosyncrasies, Ghana's multi-party system also makes the expression of divergent views inevitable. However, the speaker advised that this diversity should not blur their common vision and responsibility of laying the right foundation for posterity.

The imagery of a preacher who leads his people to their creator and testifies of His active role in their lives is also made manifest in the following speeches, thus

Ghana's oil belongs to Ghanaians and Ghanaians will benefit from this God-given natural resource find. (pg. 116 lines 20-21 of the Republic Day speech)

The speaker at this point of his delivery assumes the role of a preacher by directing his audience attention to God as the giver of this great natural resource (oil). By so doing he admonishes them to give the utmost praise to God and not any individual. He also indirectly informs them that God has entrusted this resource into their care and so as stewards, they will effectively manage the resource to the benefit of all Ghanaians. Since God, their creator is the source of this resource; no person can claim ownership of it and hijack its proceeds so to speak.

In the New Year's Eve message to the nation, the speaker also makes deliberate effort to direct the attention of his audience to God, thus

*Good morning fellow Ghanaians; my brothers and sisters, friends and daughters of mother Ghana. A few hours ago we ushered in the New Year 2010; **let us all give thanks to the almighty God for shepherding us individually and as a nation through the year 2009.*** (pg. 128 lines 1-4)

The imagery of a preacher admonishing his congregation to render praise and adoration to God is portrayed here. This is because the speaker believes that it was God's protection and guidance that led the entire nation throughout the previous year up till the New Year. That is to say that it will be ungrateful on the part of any individual or the entire nation to render praise to any individual for the sustenance of their lives. As the leader of the

nation, he therefore instructs all and sundry to show appreciation to God for His good works.

Also in the New Year's Eve message, we come across imagery of a preacher encouraging his audience to seek the face of God, thus

Let us continue to pray to the almighty God to continue to bless our homeland Ghana to make our nation greater and stronger and to make us bolder in our defense of the course of freedom and of right and to give us the determination to do what is right and display fearless honesty in the conduct of our affairs. (pg. 128 lines 1-4)

The imagery of a preacher is most poignantly reflected here through the choice of words used by the speaker. He calls on his assembly to be consistent in their prayers. The speaker as the leader of the assembly goes on to deliver the prayer topics to his assembly, thus; they should ask their creator to shower his bountiful blessings on the nation in order for it to be resolute against any external domination. Secondly, the speaker encourages his audience to seek the face of God for the grace required for good moral living. That is to say it is God who gives the power and will for man to do the right thing.

In the concluding paragraph of the Inaugural speech, the imagery of a preacher is also reflected, thus

*Let us join in this great challenge that the Almighty has laid before us, so to transform our country in the years to come, **that we may be the ultimate beneficiaries of a prosperous Nation under God.*** (pg. 123 lines 11-13)

Here, the speaker directs the focus of his audience to God. In this regard, he informs them about the hegemony of God over the nation. That is to say the nation has been totally surrendered to the rule of God, a theocratic state so to speak.

The imagery of a preacher who calls for the promotion of unity and oneness amongst all his audience is also captured in some of the selected speeches, thus

Let us forge ahead in unity, let us have faith and optimism in the future. I want all Ghanaians to remember that this is the only nation we have and our nation can only progress when we are all resolve to work hard to be committed and dedicated. (pg. 128 lines 21-24 of the New Year's Eve message)

The imagery of a preacher who admonishes his congregation to adopt the right attitude needed for nation building is enacted here. The speaker calls for the promotion and cultivation of habits necessary for harmonious living, trust and confidence in the future amongst his audience. The need to promote and cultivate harmony amongst all and sundry is under girded by the fact that; firstly, Ghana is the only country and home that we have and so we should guard it jealously to avoid any act which will plunge the nation into chaos and render its inhabitants homeless; secondly, development and progress can only take place in an atmosphere of oneness and harmony, where everyone is committed to the collective interest of the nation.

Also in the Independence speech the imagery of a preacher calling for the promotion of unity is indicated thus,

Together; young and old, and at all times, let our love for Mother Ghana override all other interests. (pg. 127 lines 16-17)

The imagery of a preacher advocating unity of purpose amongst his congregation is depicted here. In this regard, he calls on every one (without downplaying the contribution of the youth) to be patriotic and be Ghana conscious in order not to allow any parochial interest override that of the collective interest of the nation.

In the Inauguration speech, the imagery of a preacher promoting the spirit of unity amongst his compatriots is also expressed, thus

We have a challenge to ensure that our laws work in a system that is blind to one's place in society, or ones political persuasion. We will do all in our power to ensure social justice, equity and equality under the laws of Ghana. There is only one Ghana and that Ghana must work in the interest of every Ghanaian. (pg. 122 lines 5-8)

The imagery of a preacher who is determined to lay the right foundations for the promotion of unity and oneness amongst his congregation is explicitly expressed here. As the leader of the congregation, the speaker recognizes the significance of the strict and equal application of the law to every citizen (irrespective of ones' status and political affiliation) in any quest to attain unity. That is to say that, the situation in which some individuals insulate themselves from the laws of the country due to their status and political affiliation poses a threat to the unity of the nation. The speaker expressed the fact that as one people it is imperative that every effort or initiative undertaken must be geared towards the collective interest of the entire nation.

The speaker's choice of words in the course of his interaction with his audience makes him assume a role contrary to the perceived traditional role usually played by heads of state of the nation. Firstly; the speaker offers some advice on acceptable moral standards

or behaviour expected of his contemporaries as they practice their trade of politics. What necessitated this choice of words were the so called ‘hate’ speeches which dominated the political scene of the country during the said period. The speaker devoted a greater part of his address to the nation to speak against this menace in a fashion which makes him appear as though he were a preacher addressing his congregation. The speaker in his sermon calls for a kind of political discourse that is motivated by sound and constructive remarks since that is what the nation needs to achieve its intended targets. In other words, the freedom of speech which the country enjoys as a result of its democratic practice should not be abused but effectively utilized to the benefit of the country. His choice of words also confirms that he has been a victim of such unpleasant remarks but has been able to dismiss them or rise above them. However to promote harmonious living amongst the citizenry, and to avoid some heinous machinations which is likely to emanate from other victims of such derogatory comments it is prudent that such practice is nipped in the bud. After addressing the congregation, the speaker directed his focus to the leaders of the country and admonished them to set the right example for the emulation of the younger generation. His choice of words shows that he is ready to lead by example hence the call to his other colleagues to do likewise. His acknowledgement of the inevitability of everyone to share the same opinion shows his readiness to accommodate dissenting views relating to the governance of the nation. He therefore calls for tolerance amongst his congregation especially during intra and inter group (party) discourse. The speaker however cautioned against the practice of decision making in which the collective interest of the country is relegated to the background due to the expression of divergent opinions which are mostly parochial in outlook. That is to say, people must always be mindful and

guided by the national interest in any effort aimed at assembling views for national development.

The speaker, through his choice of words, secondly conscientise his audience about God and His active involvement in the affairs of the country as though he was a preacher or a proselytizer. The situation which occasioned this speech and the choice of words which emanated from the speaker is worth commenting on. The speaker's ascension to the presidency coincided with the production of oil in commercial quantity for the first time in the history of the country. Usually politicians would want to pride themselves with such a feat and consider it as a feather in their cup and as such play it loud in the minds of the electorates. However, the speaker does the contrary. Instead of capitalizing on the situation to project himself and his achievement to his audience, he rather directs the attention of his audience to God, as the one who has given them such a national asset. In other words, God is the giver of every good thing that happens in the country and so the audience should acknowledge that and render praise to His name.

4.2.1 CONTEXT OF CULTURE/ CONCEPT OF PEACE

A thorough examination of the stylistic features embedded in the selected speeches delivered by the speaker will be carried out to ascertain whether or not they commensurate to Onah's concept of Peace as portrayed or perceived in the African Traditional culture. As has been earlier stated, the African considers Peace in relation to the existence of order, harmony and equilibrium between the beings in the universe. This notion is undergirded by the fact that Peace is both a spiritual value and a moral value. As a spiritual value, Africans believe that God is the orchestrator of the harmony and equilibrium in the universe. Peace is considered as a moral value because human beings

are obliged by God to ensure the continuous sustenance of the balance between the beings in the universe through the execution of good conduct. Even though Onah outlined four sources for the attainment of Peace in the African Traditional setting, only two will form the basis of the analysis (as stated earlier) since they are considered relevant to the research; thus, Peace as a result of harmonious living and Peace as a gift from God.

4.2.1.1 PEACE AS A RESULT OF HARMONIOUS LIVING

In order to fulfill their moral obligation of ensuring balance between the beings of the universe, Africans and as such Ghanaians try as much as possible to promote cordial relationship amongst them at all times. To achieve this, conscious effort is made to resolve differences rather than to deny or cancel them. This makes the concept of majority carries the vote an alien practice in the Ghanaian culture as all attempt is made to sample and integrate the views of all members in a community to arrive at a consensus. An interference with the peaceful co-existence of the members in the community is considered a grievous offence and it attracted by a reparation or restitution. Justice is therefore considered a vital element towards the attainment of a healthy relationship between members in a society. Communication or interactions between members of the community is highly embraced as the most important tool employed at all times in any quest to achieve harmonious living.

A thorough assessment of the speaker's choice of words in his quest to project his personality to his audience reveals that he consciously championed the course of harmonious relationship amongst his citizenry regardless of the situation he confronted. On page 119 lines 2-6 of the Inauguration speech for example, the speaker acknowledged

the presence of his political rival and expressed his readiness to make him an integral component of his reign as president of the nation. This choice of words by the speaker implies that even though his party emerged victorious he will not side line his opponents but will collectively engage them in administering the country. The speaker's choice of words also positively imparts the political cognition of the citizenry as it creates the feeling of oneness amongst the winning party and the losing party, thus

*I wish to begin by acknowledging the presence of my two predecessors: **former President Jerry John Rawlings** and **former President John Agyekum Kufuor**. On behalf of our nation **I salute you, Your Excellences**. I recognize your **invaluable experience and deep insight into matters of state** and you will be **important reference points during my tenure of office as President**.*

On page 120 lines 6-11 of the Inauguration speech, the speaker through his choice of words expressed his preparedness to promote peace and unity amongst his citizenry. Even though he led his party to an electoral victory, he repeatedly expressed his desire to champion the course of all and sundry and be president for the entire nation regardless of which of the political divide one belongs to. His commitment to also revive victims of the electoral defeat, who are mainly his political opponents, testifies of his unflinching desire to promote unity and peace in the country, thus

*I have always said that **I will be President for all Ghanaians whether they voted for me or not, and without consideration for which part of the country they come from**. It will be my duty as **president to heal wounds and unite our dear nation**. I intend to pursue*

*relentlessly all avenues for **entrenching peace and unity in all parts of the country as I am enjoined by the constitution to do.***

Also on page 120 lines 16-21 of the Inauguration speech, the speaker's choice of words exposed his disposition as one who is ready to fulfill his moral obligation to ensure harmony between his people. Hinting on the criterion for the selection of officials who will serve in his administration, the speaker expressed that such people must be ready to put their parochial interest aside and seek the common good of the whole nation thus, promoting the spirit of unity of purpose. Also in outlining the ingredients which will characterize his administration, the speaker listed qualities which promote healthy relationship amongst people such as *honesty, fairness, compassion, and sincerity*. The speaker's motivation for this high moral standard which he has set for himself is rooted in his willingness to refrain from any act of vengeance on his opponents, a situation which has dominated the political sphere in the fourth republic. To promote harmony amongst the citizenry, he is committed to forgive any ill treatment he has supposedly suffered in the hands of the outgoing government (which doubles as his political rival), thus

*Our politics will not focus on power and privilege. On the contrary we will not forget the concerns of the Ghanaian people who want to see an improvement in their living conditions. **Willingness to put personal advantage aside will be one of the key demands of those who will serve in the Atta Mills government. Honesty, fairness, compassion, and sincerity will be the hallmark of my administration. I have no wish to carry out political vendetta of any kind.***

In addition to this, page 112 lines 2-7 of the Campaign speech, presents us with a situation in which the speaker's choice of words resonated contrastive responses from the electorates as it was considered by some section of the political divide as one capable of disturbing the peace of the nation thus,

*I want to **repeat** with all **the force at my command**, **the warning note that I sounded** last year, that should there be another attempt by the ruling or any other party at the December elections to steal the verdict of the people, the National Democratic Congress and all fair minded Ghanaians will categorically **reject out of hand the fraudulent results so proclaimed and will adopt all legitimate means, to seek redress to any such political misconduct.***

The initial choice of words of the speaker undoubtedly interferes with the harmony in the country given the atmosphere of fear and anxiety which characterizes pre-elections. As the leader of the main opposition party he employs military jargons, such as *force, command, warning note, sounded* etc. to indicate the motivation for his call. He thus refers to his party adherents as a force as though he was a freedom fighter and they a mercenary group ready to carry out his bidding by employing unconstitutional means to safeguard the smooth running of the election. His message to the other political parties especially the ruling party is a vehement threat against any attempt aimed at tampering with the election result. The impact of his initial words coupled with the prevalent pre-election atmosphere of fear and anxiety interferes with the orderliness and harmonious coexistence of the citizenry in the country, especially between sympathizers of the ruling party and that of his party. However, the speaker's concluding choice of words calms the nerves of the electorates and allays their fears. His reaction to a tampered election result

will be that of an out- right rejection of the declared result which will be accompanied by an adoption of the constitutional procedures to seek redress. The choice of reaction by the speaker is very significant since an illegitimate choice could jeopardize the peace of the country. The speaker's choice of reaction however; is one that will rather strengthen the peace and harmony of the nation. Even though the speaker could have avoided his concluding choice of words, a case which would have psychologically affected the ruling party and thus interfered with the peace of the country, he was quick to clarify his stance by indicating his intended reaction. The speaker's intended reaction distils his earlier threat. His choice of reaction may have been complemented by his long association with the legal fraternity in the country and his Christian orientation.

Another stylistic feature prevalent in the selected political speeches delivered by the speaker is his choice of audience address. The repetitive usage of the phrase *my brothers and sisters* by the speaker is a clear demonstration of his earnest desire to promote harmonious relationship between the presidency and the citizenry. His embellishment of the prevalent audience address of *fellow Ghanaians* with *my brothers and sisters* indicates his conscious effort to entrench the kind of healthy relationship needed for an effective nation building. The speaker relinquishes his perceived status as the first amongst equals, as he does not consider his citizens as his subjects nor does he consider them as his slaves but rather he wants them to see him as co-equal and blood relations. He is not different from them and as such he will not lord it over them. He intends to actively engage them in the process of governance. By so doing he brings everyone together irrespective of one's religion, class, ethnic group, party affiliation etc. He

therefore eliminates all the factors which could have interfered with the promotion of harmonious living in the country. Examples include;

*Good morning, fellow Ghanaians; **my brothers and sisters**, friends and daughters of mother Ghana.* (pg. 119 line 1-2)

*There were challenges some of them extreme, however **my brothers and sisters** by the grace of God and through our own commitment and strong determination we were able to overcome these challenges and even made some notable gains.* (pg. 119 lines 6-8)

My brothers and sisters** let us remind ourselves that the year 2010 is the second year in an arduous journey of four years.* (pg.119 lines 17-18) ***all in his New Year's Eve message.

*At this moment of joyful celebration, I hear a call to duty and I make a pledge to you **my brothers and sisters** that I will strive to make a difference in the politics of our nation.*

(pg. 119 line 19)

*I want to tell you, **my brothers and sisters** across our Nation, from Gambaga to Accra, from Wiawso to Keta, from every village, nook and cranny to every city center and in-between.* (Pg.123 line16) *all in his Inauguration speech.*

The dominant imagery projected through the speaker's choice of words also exposes his genuine interest to promote a healthy relationship amongst his citizenry. As the leader of the nation he recognizes the significant role of discourse towards nation building and as such calls for the kind of interaction that will strengthen one another and not incite acrimony amongst them. Even though he has been a victim of derogatory remarks from

other people in the country, his commitment to ensure harmonious relationship makes him forgive such culprits. However; he still pursues this agenda of constructive and decorous discourse amongst the people because of two reasons. Firstly, the unknown reaction of others who have suffered from such rude remarks threatens the peace of the nation as one does not know the impact such reactions will have on the peace of the country. The need to also leave a good legacy for the younger generation by setting the right example is the second motivation behind this crusade. As part of their role as leaders of the country is the fulfillment of their moral obligation by ensuring that their choice of words enhance the prevailing harmony in the country. Rather than resorting to rude remarks amidst the expression of dissenting views, his call to the leaders to cultivate the attitude of tolerance is a step in the right direction given the pluralistic nature of the country. Tolerance is therefore the tool for harmonious relationship in this democratic dispensation the country finds itself so to speak. The speaker's admonishment of the leaders to be guided by the collective interest of the country in all decision making processes is an indication of his commitment to promote unity of purpose which will enhance a healthy relationship amongst all and sundry. This will get rid of all acts of selfishness and parochial interest; elements which interfere with harmonious living, thus

However it is important that as we soldier on to build the Better Ghana that we desire, we do not reduce our political discourse to invectives and name calling. Some of us can take the name calling but not all of us can. And sometimes you cannot predict what those who cannot take it may be tempted to do. It is a danger we must all guard against. Especially for those of us who find ourselves in leadership positions, it is important that we engage in decorous discourse and pull those who look up to us along the path of

decorum and decency. This is so whether it is discourse within our own parties or between and among parties. I have always said, and will keep on saying that as a nation, we will continue to have our differences especially political differences. Indeed we all cannot share the same belief or think along the same lines. But those differences must not keep our eyes away from the need to collectively put our shoulders to the wheel and build a Better Ghana for our generation and the generations unborn. (pg. 115 lines 11-24 of the Republic Day speech)

4.2.1.2 PEACE AS A GIFT FROM GOD

Even though Africans and as such Ghanaians try as much as possible to fulfill their moral obligation of ensuring harmony between the beings of the universe, they appreciate their fallibility and therefore acknowledge God as the only source of true peace and harmony in the universe. Conscious effort is therefore made at all times to invoke His blessings on them and the community as a whole. This is expressed in forms such as sacrifices, offerings and prayers. This role is usually performed by family heads and political leaders of the community. One who does this is regarded as a representative of God who trusts in Him and exudes His qualities such as advancing the course of peace. He is thus referred to as a peace-maker or a man of peace.

An in-depth analysis of the speaker's choice of words in the course of his interaction with his audience reveals that he consistently acknowledged the active role of God in the country and thus invoked His name and claimed to rely on His blessings at all times.

On page 119 lines 17-18 of the Inauguration speech, the speaker attributed his ascension to the presidency to divine will. He therefore expressed his gratitude to God for making

him a steward over the nation. The speaker's choice of words reveals his reverence of God and admittance of his fallibility; it also shows his acknowledgement of God's active role in the country, thus

Thanks to the steadfastness of the good people of Ghana, sovereign will has prevailed.

We give thanks and praise to the almighty.

On page 128 lines 1-3 of the New Year's Eve message; the speaker again attributes the safety and security of his people throughout the previous year to God. Even though he is the leader of the nation, he conscientise his people to render their adoration to God and not to him thus,

*Good morning fellow Ghanaians; my brothers and sisters, friends and daughters of mother Ghana. A few hours ago we ushered in the New Year 2010; **let us give thanks to the almighty God for shepherding us individually and as a nation through the year 2009.***

In other circumstances, the speaker through his choice of words in the course of his interaction with his audience revealed his reliance on the blessings of God for the country's progress, thus

May the good Lord continue to bless you and give you strength and long life so that we can drink from your fountain of wisdom ... (pg. 118 lines 1-3 of the Republic Day Speech)

May the Good Lord continue to bless our homeland Ghana and make us greater and stronger. (pg. 118 lines 4-5 of the Republic Day Speech)

May God be our helper! (pg. 127 line 18 of the Independent Day Speech)

God bless our homeland Ghana. (pg. 112 line 5 of the Campaign Speech)

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 CONCLUSION AND FINDINGS

The objective of this research was the analysis of some selected political speeches delivered by John Evans Atta Mills with the main purpose of; unraveling the inherent stylistically significant features prevalent in the selected speeches; finding a possible relationship between the background of the political actor and the prevalent stylistic features and lastly ascertaining whether or not the inherent stylistic features project him as a Man of Peace, as was acclaimed. The analysis is structured in three parts: Descriptive, Interpretational and Explanational, even though in practice the Interpretational and Explanational aspects were carried out simultaneously. The linguistic features and the socio-cultural political setting are integrated into the analysis using Halliday's systemic functional linguistics and Onah's concept of Peace in the African Traditional setting.

5.1.1 FINDINGS OF DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

The prevalent stylistic features which were captured in the selected political speeches under the framework of Description are as follows:

1. POSITIVE SELF PROJECTION

The political actor employed this stylistic feature to present to his audience the kind of personality he would like to be associated with. To achieve this goal he developed a conception of himself and tabled it before them. Shrouded in this conception are his

worldview, mental disposition and traces of his background. Some of the projections reflected through his choice of words include:

- ✓ a humble and grateful leader who appreciates his forbears,
- ✓ a unifier who embraces all and sundry, irrespective of their party affiliation, ethnic or religious background, etc.,
- ✓ a law abiding leader who does not abuse incumbency for his personal gains to the detriment of the citizenry,
- ✓ a competent leader who has a firm grip on the country's economic situation and has the requisite panacea to improve it,
- ✓ a selfless servant who is ready to sacrifice his all to the service of the country,
- ✓ a committed leader who is ready to ensure that the nation's discovery of oil becomes a blessing and not a curse to the country,
- ✓ a lover of the art and culture,
- ✓ a leader who is interested in the development of the youth in the country,
- ✓ an optimistic leader who believes in the potential of the country to make greater strides,
- ✓ a fallible being whose actions and inactions may not please the generality of the people at all times,

2. REPETITION

The speaker's choice of audience address: *my brothers and sisters* is predominantly repeated throughout the selected speeches. This stylistic feature was employed by the speaker to express his perception of the citizenry, bridge the gap between the presidency

and the citizenry, and it finally serves as an invitation by the speaker to actively engage the citizenry in the governance of the nation. It therefore enhanced his relationship with them. Embedded in this choice of audience address is the speaker's mental disposition and traces of his background. Even though the choice of audience address by the speaker was a deviation from the status quo, and thus an innovation by the speaker in the practice of politics in the country, especially amongst its heads of state, it buttressed the common term *Mother Ghana* as it indicates that all the citizenry are the offspring of a particular mother. The phrase also has some biblical connotation as it re-enacts the relationship that existed amongst the early church in the book of Acts.

3. ALLUSION

The analysis reveals that an appreciable number of references are made by the speaker in the course of his interaction with the audience. This stylistic feature comes in two forms: biblical references and historical references. The biblical reference was used by the speaker to show his reverence, trust, reliance and acknowledgement of God's crucial role in the positive transformation of the country. It exposed the speaker's religious inclination and his orientation as the president of the country. He employed historical allusion, on the other hand, as a tool to foster his inclinations, such as glorifying the past deeds of his political party, reminding his audience about their political history, and cautioning the ruling party.

4. CODE SWITCHING

The analysis shows that the speaker intermittently interlaced the English language with some expression from the local languages, such as Fante and Ga. The speaker used this stylistic feature to project his identity as a Ghanaian and to close the status gap between the presidency and the citizenry. The local language also enhanced the speaker's interaction with his audience as it aided him to reach as many people as possible. Most importantly, the choice of the local language by the speaker effectively captured the requisite cultural connotations of his intentions and thus fostered intelligibility.

5. IMAGERY

The imagery of a father and that of a preacher were prevalent in the selected political speeches. Through his choice of words, the speaker counseled his compatriots to uphold high moral standards and act as good role models for the youth in the country. Also as a father, he corrected certain youthful misconception about the roadmap to success and conscientise them to acquire the requisite values which will make them resilient in their individual endeavours. In addition to this, the speaker admonished the youth of the country to equip themselves with the necessary nationalistic values needed for effective nation building. As a preacher the speaker oriented his citizenry about the need to acknowledge their creator in every aspect of their lives and render praise to Him as the source of every good thing that happens in their lives and the country as a whole. He also called for tolerance amongst his compatriots as they practice their trade of politics since the country's democratic practice makes room for the expression of dissenting views. He

however championed the course of decorous discourse during intra and interparty interactions.

5.1.2 DISCURSIVE PRACTICE OF INTERPRETATION-FINDINGS

It was evident that the context of culture and the context of situation aided the interpretation and understanding of the stylistic features as they enhanced the appreciation of the extra linguistic factors which contributed immensely towards the speaker's choice of words. The concept of Peace as perceived in the African Traditional setting provided a strong cultural ground for the interpretation of the recurring stylistic features. It also provided sufficient basis for the use of the accolade Man of Peace to address the speaker and it also proved that it was no political gimmick or propaganda.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

The research carried out centered on some selected political speeches delivered by John Evans Atta Mills. The selected speeches spanned almost every sphere of his political life, including; a campaign speech (as an opposition leader in the run up to the 2008 elections) an inaugural speech, an independent day speech, a republic day speech and a new year's eve message to the nation (all as president). The objective was to unravel the stylistic significant features prevalent in the selected speeches, to find a possible relationship between the background of the speaker and the stylistic features, and ascertain whether or not the inherent stylistic features project him as a Man of Peace as he was acclaimed. Through an eclectic approach, the analysis encapsulated the metafunctions as postulated in Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics and Onah's Concept of Peace as perceived in the African Traditional culture as its framework. The analysis of the data was

structured based on Fairclough's three dimensional models which include; a textual analysis, a discursive analysis and a socio-cultural analysis (2001). The findings show that the speaker employed stylistic features such as positive self-projection, repetition, code switching, biblical allusions, historical allusions, a fatherly imagery and the imagery of a preacher. Also inherent in these stylistic features are the speaker's mental disposition, his world view and traces of his background. The manner in which these prevalent stylistic features were employed by the speaker with respect to the underlining socio-political, socio-cultural and religious situation of the country projects him as a Man of Peace.

Since a greater percentage of data for the research were delivered during the speaker's reign as president, it is therefore imperative to recommend that further research be carried out using speeches delivered by the speaker as an opposition leader. It is expected that this data will elicit different findings.

Moreover, in attempting to ascertain whether or not the speaker is a Man of Peace, the researcher focused solely on his language style relegating other elements such as his general conduct to the background. The researcher therefore envisages that further work which will encapsulate these other elements will trigger some interesting findin

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APPENDICES

PREZ MILLS SO CALLED GHANA WILL BECOME KENYA SPEECH IN 2008

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Press,

I want to repeat with all the force at my command, the warning note that I sounded last year that should there be another attempt by the ruling or any other party at the December elections to steal the verdict of the people the National Democratic Congress and all fair minded Ghanaians will categorically reject out of hand the fraudulent results so proclaimed and will adopt all legitimate means, to seek redress to any such political misconduct.

The NDC would therefore like to assure every Ghanaian that it will not allow the NPP in the coming elections to repeat such a disgraceful conduct as it did in 2004. The electorate alone shall be the judge of the eight-year stewardship of the NPP.

The NDC has not only put total confidence in democratic governance, including the holding of free, fair, transparent and credible elections, but has also demonstrated the virtues of a peaceful transition of administration as everyone witnessed in January, 2001.

It therefore urges all Ghanaians and the international community to draw useful lessons from the on-going Kenyan conflict situation and the unacceptable conduct of elections held recently in other African countries with a view to ensuring that they are not replicated in our dear country at the next general elections.

We wish to take this opportunity to warn also against the kind of pre-election violence that has taken place in Pakistan with the unfortunate assassination of Benazir Bhutto and

to urge the ruling NPP government to ensure the safety and security of Presidential and Parliamentary candidates as well as all citizens in the coming elections.

In conclusion, let me convey the sincere condolences of the National Democratic congress to the families of the more than 500 people who have lost their lives needlessly in the conflict in Kenya and also express the hope that the over 150,000 displaced persons in that country would be returned to peace and their homes as soon as possible.

In the same vain, we extend these sentiments to our very own people in Bawku.

The point is not lost on many Ghanaians that President Kufuor has not yet visited the Bawku area but has managed to visit others in similar difficulties.

President Kufuor must not forget that it is his position as president of Ghana that propelled him to the AU position.

God bless our homeland Ghana.

REPUBLIC DAY SPEECH BY HIS EXCELLENCY PRESIDENT JOHN EVANS**ATTA MILLS – July 01, 2010.**

Good afternoon fellow Ghanaians, my brothers and sisters, 50 years ago, on 1st July 1960, led by our First President, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana became a Republic.

It was a logical sequel to our struggle for Independence which we attained on March 6th, 1957. From that day, July 1, 1960, the Queen of England ceased to be our Head of State and we took absolute control of our own destiny.

Today we commemorate the Golden Jubilee of our status as a Republican state and we must take stock of how far we have come as a nation. We celebrate the day as we have done for the past fifteen years, dedicating it to our senior citizens.

We must praise the foresight of our former Head of State, President Jerry John Rawlings who took the decision to dedicate the day to our senior citizens, adding another important significance to the day. Other Leaders have also contributed their quota to the growth of Mother Ghana and we are grateful to them.

This country owes a lot to our senior citizens who have toiled through their youth as farmers, teacher, nurses, soldiers and policemen, workers, doctors etc. contributing to the growth and development of Ghana.

Most of them hardly receive public recognition during their working life and the least we can do, is to appreciate their hard work and efforts every 1st July. By identifying and

inviting them to share a meal on this all-important day, we are reminding ourselves that a nation that does not honour its unsung heroes is not worth dying for.

Dear senior citizens, we appreciate your contribution to growth and development of Mother Ghana. Fellow Ghanaians, brothers and sisters, having been given the mandate 18 months ago to execute the Better Ghana agenda, I stay committed to managing the affairs of state in an open, honest, truthful and transparent manner.

I have committed myself to serving Mother Ghana, and I will serve to the best of my ability. Human as I am, and human as this Administration is, there is no denying the fact that it is not every action of ours that may sit well with all the people all the time.

For that reason, I have continued to make the point that we are open to all manner of constructive criticism. We do not claim perfection or claim to know it all. However, it is important that as we soldier on to build the Better Ghana that we desire, we do not reduce our political discourse to invectives and name-calling.

Some of us can take the name calling, but not all of us can. And sometimes, you cannot predict what those who cannot take it may be tempted to do.

It is a danger that we must all guard against. Especially for those of us who find ourselves in leadership positions, it is important that we engage in decorous discourse and pull those who look up to us along the path of decorum and decency.

This is so whether it is discourse within our own parties or between and among parties. I have always said, and will keep on saying that as a nation, we will continue to have our differences – especially political differences.

Indeed, we all cannot share the same belief or think along the same lines. But those differences must not keep our eyes away from the need to collectively put our shoulders to the wheel and build a Better Ghana for our generation and the generations unborn. This is because there are things that bind us together and make us Ghanaians.

Let us endeavour to make the things that unite us fly above the things that divide us. We were united in fighting to become a Republic; let us stay united in building a Better Ghana. Fellow Ghanaians, my brothers and sisters, some tough decisions have had to be taken in the supreme interest of the nation.

Were there other national-interest options, such tough decisions would not have been taken. Under the circumstances, the only option has been to take such tough decisions and all I ask, is for you to bear with Government. One crucial area which has seen us take tough decisions in the supreme interest of Mother Ghana is the oil sector.

I have pledged that for as long as I continue to manage the affairs of state, our oil discovery shall not be a curse; it will be a blessing. I know that in taking some of those decisions, we have hurt some interests.

However, I do not regret taking those decisions and given the opportunity, I will do same for as long as the interest of Ghana continues to remain paramount in the Better Ghana agenda of this Administration.

As more oil continues to be discovered, God forbid that I prevent the generality of Ghanaians from benefiting from the oil revenues. Ghana's oil belongs to Ghanaians and Ghanaians will benefit from this God-given natural resource find.

Fellow Ghanaians, my brothers and sisters, our Republican status will be meaningless unless it is linked to the protection of our resources and revenues. As your President, I will protect our oil revenue and make sure that it benefits the nation.

On this Golden Jubilee celebration of our attaining Republican status, I want to congratulate all who continue to fly high the flag of Ghana.

Our men in uniform whose international peacekeeping achievements stand tall; our gallant sportsmen and women who continue to bring pride and glory to Mother Ghana; our professionals who continue to distinguish themselves both locally and on the international stage.

Ayekoo to all of them. Our Senior National Team, the Black Stars, have become worthy ambassadors of Ghana and they have made history in South Africa for being the only team to qualify for the quarter final stage of the first ever World Cup tournament to be hosted by Africa.

Last year it was the Satellites; this year it is the Black Stars. We are proud of them. Fellow Ghanaians, my brothers and sisters, as a nation we have come a long way. But there is a longer journey ahead.

Our forebears have played their part; it is our time to play our part. For those of us who find ourselves in leadership positions, it is important that we bequeath to the youth a strong legacy and sense of belonging which will empower them to commit themselves to the forward march of Mother Ghana.

50 years, from today, it is the youth of today who will be managing the affairs of state and we dare not bequeath to them a legacy that will kill their sense of belonging.

To the youth, I say, be proud of your heritage and be proud to be a Ghanaian. Fellow citizens, my brothers and sisters, I thank you for this opportunity to share some time with you this afternoon and once again, I reaffirm my commitment to providing the leadership that will help build a Better Ghana. Together, let us put Ghana first!

To all our distinguished and celebrated senior citizens, I thank you for honouring this invitation and extend to you, the gratitude and well wishes of a grateful nation.

May the good lord continue to bless you and give you strength and long life so that we can drink from your fountain of wisdom and experience as we meet new challenges in nation building. May the Good Lord continue to bless our homeland Ghana and make us greater and stronger. Thank you for your kind attention.

INAUGURAL SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT JOHN EVANS ATTA MILLS**WEDNESDAY, 7TH JANUARY 2009**

Madam Speaker, Vice-President John Dramani Mahama, Her Ladyship Chief Justice, Hon. Members of Parliament, Our Chiefs and Queen Mothers, My fellow Ghanaians. I wish to begin by acknowledging the presence of my two predecessors; former President Jerry John Rawlings and former President John Agyekum Kufuor. On behalf of our nation I salute you, Your Excellences.

I recognize your invaluable experience and deep insight into matters of state and you will be important reference points during my tenure of office as President. I wish to extend a special welcome to our distinguished guests who have traveled from far and near to witness this momentous occasion.

Madam Speaker,

A short while ago I took the oath of office as the 3rd President of the 4th Republic.

With a grateful heart, I want to thank all Ghanaians for giving me the mandate to serve as President; you have changed the face of Presidency, Parliament and the political process itself. The least I can do is to work to your satisfaction and deliver on our promise for a better Ghana.

We have emerged from one of the most keenly contested elections in the history of our country. Our democracy has been tested to the utmost limit. Thanks to the steadfastness of the good people of Ghana, sovereign will has prevailed. We give thanks and praise to the Almighty.

At this moment of joyful celebration, I hear a call to duty and I make a pledge to you my brothers and sisters that I will strive to make a difference in the politics of our nation.

This is the dawn of a new era of change for a better Ghana. It is not change for change sake. It is a change in a new direction to enable us move forward with unity of purpose. Ours will be consensus driven agenda, and in building that consensus we will recognize the contribution of our compatriots in other political parties. I have always said that I will be President for all Ghanaians whether they voted for me or not, and without consideration for which part of the country they come from.

It will be my duty as President to heal wounds and unite our dear nation. I intend to pursue relentlessly all avenues for entrenching peace and unity in all parts of the country as I am enjoined by the constitution to do.

We will not let the fear of crime rob law abiding citizens of their freedom. Improving the internal security situation will therefore be a top priority of the new Government so that Ghanaians can begin to feel safer in their homes and communities.

Madam Speaker,

Our politics will not focus on power and privilege. On the contrary we will not forget the concerns of the Ghanaian people who want to see an improvement in their living conditions. Willingness to put personal advantage aside will therefore be one of the key demands on those who will serve in the Atta Mills government.

Honesty, fairness, compassion and sincerity will be the hallmark of my administration. I have no wish to carry out political vendetta of any kind.

The principles of accountability will be upheld. And the law will be allowed to take its course. We have a duty to ensure that our laws are administered without fear or favor, and to this end we must avoid the syndrome of one set of laws for one group and another for the others.

We, have a challenge to ensure that our laws work in a system that is blind to one's place in society, or ones political persuasion. We will do all in our power to ensure social justice, equity and equality under the laws of Ghana.

There is only one Ghana, and that Ghana must work in the interest of every Ghanaian.

I extend a hand of cooperation to members of the Judiciary, security services and public service. I remind them of their obligations to the state and urge them to be loyal and committed to the larger interest of the Ghanaian people.

I also want to reassure the business community that the Government which I lead means well. Our goal is to facilitate creation of a business environment that balances the resuscitation and growth of local industries and enterprises with operations of foreign businesses considered essential to the creation of a robust national economy.

We will not pursue a policy that sees Ghanaian industries suffering from unfair competition. Our local businesses will be encouraged to create jobs and play their role in growing the Ghanaian economy. And we will strive to balance the efficiency of the market with the compassion of the state.

We made promises to Ghanaians on the strength of which they have reposed trust in me and elected me and the National Democratic Congress to lead our nation over the next four years, and hopefully beyond.

The core of our campaign message and our agenda for change was;

1. Investing in People
2. Job Creation
3. Infrastructure Development and Expansion
4. Open, Transparent and Accountable Government

Our success in accomplishing the agenda for change will be measured by the extent to which we realize the vision of a better Ghana where opportunities are available to all our people and where Ghana's prosperity will reach all not just a few.

Madam Speaker,

We will strengthen our relations with our neighbors and help accelerate the processes toward economic integration in the sub-region. We will continue to be active in the African Union and in efforts to resolve conflicts on the continent. We will collaborate with the United Nations and other international and global institutions to make the world a better and safer place.

Madam Speaker,

When the political transition is completed I will address the people of Ghana on the state of the economy which we have inherited. But I know we have to face hard truths and take

bold, strong measures. I believe that as a nation, we will find the strength of character, love of country, and hope for our shared future as a nation, to accomplish even the most difficult of tasks.

Though our task ahead presents many challenges, I am confident that working together we will prevail and Ghana will be the ultimate winner.

I want to tell you, my brothers and sisters across our Nation, from Gambaga to Accra, from Wiawso to Keta, from every village, nook and cranny to every city center and in-between.

Let us join in this great challenge that the Almighty has laid before us, so to transform our country in the years to come, that we may be the ultimate beneficiaries of a prosperous Nation under God.

**53RD INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATION ADDRESS BY HIS
EXCELLENCY PRESIDENT JOHN EVANS ATTA MILLS.**

March 06, 2010.

THEME: INVESTING IN THE YOUTH FOR A BETTER GHANA

Your Excellency The Vice President,
Right Honourable Speaker Of Parliament
Her Lordship The Chief Justice
Government Functionaries
Members of the Diplomatic Corp
Traditional Leaders
Educationists
Teachers
Pupils & Students
Fellow Ghanaians,

On behalf of myself and the Government, I congratulate us as a nation on the occasion of our 53rd Independence Day celebration.

I commend each and every one of you on the parade square this morning for adding a lot of colour to the celebration.

I must admit that I have enjoyed the wonderful turnout, the gymnastics, the cultural display and the dexterity with which the youthful band has rolled out very wonderful tunes.

Also, I congratulate pupils, students and teachers all over the country who have worked hard to make the celebration a success.

Today is a day for you the youth, and you must be proud of what you have achieved as regards your invaluable contribution to celebrating such a momentous occasion on the nation's calendar.

As a Government, it is our conviction that getting you actively involved in our Independence Day activities is very critical to ensuring that you appreciate the struggles and toil that have brought us this far and also to inculcate in you a sense of nationalism and belonging.

You must be proud of your heritage and you must be proud to be Ghanaian.

53 years ago, our Founding Father, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah declared Ghana a free nation and it is a well catalogued fact that the struggle for independence was not an easy one.

Many were those who shed their blood for our independence and we salute their memory for their selfless dedication to giving life to Ghana.

The journey has not been an easy one; we have gotten this far through our collective determination and we must not relent in our efforts to move forward in the right direction as we strive to build a Better Ghana.

Over the decades, scores of Ghanaians have worked, and continue to work in the best interest of Ghana.

It is now time for us as leaders, and you as future leaders, to also to contribute our quota to nation building.

The Better Ghana agenda is not limited to time and space that is why a critical pivot around which our governance programme is revolving, is, investing in you the youth in particular.

We are committed to investing in the youth in order to build the critical mass that will not only sustain the development agenda, but more importantly, move it to higher heights.

The future of our beloved Ghana is in your hands and education is the key that will open the doors of the future.

The future belongs to you.

Be it in the area of; medicine, law, engineering, or entrepreneurship; education is the key that will unlock your potential and equip you with the capacity to take control of your destiny.

That is why it is important that you work hard and set educational goals for yourselves.

Teachers have a responsibility to inspire you; parents have a responsibility of making sure you stay on track and support your education; Government has the responsibility to set high educational standards by supporting teachers to give off their best, as well as providing the right atmosphere for teaching and learning.

At the end of the day, if you have the best teachers, have the most supportive parents, have a government that invests heavily in education, and you do not take advantage of the opportunities available to you, you will fail to benefit from the talents and potential God has given you.

Remember; there are no shortcuts in life.

Hard work pays.

There will be hurdles you have to jump over; there will be challenges; there will be extremely tough times; but don't be quitters. Winners are not quitters and quitters are not winners.

In life, the race is not necessarily for the swiftest, but for the sturdiest.

Uphold virtue, morality and honesty and you will become great men and women of your time.

My pledge to you is that as a Government, we will not renege on our pledge to give depth, verve, and modern day meaning to our educational system which will create the opportunities for you to take advantage of.

Personally, as happened this year, I will continue to play host well behaved pupils and students to drum home the fact that discipline is a trait that must be placed on a high pedestal.

Once again I congratulate all those who have made it possible for us to have a successful Independence Day celebration.

Together; young and old, and at all times, let our love for Mother Ghana override all other interests.

Let us continue to pledge on our honour to be faithful and loyal to Ghana our Motherland and also pledge to uphold and defend the good name of Ghana. May God be our helper!

**AN ADDRESS TO THE NATION BY PRESIDENT JOHN EVANS ATTA MILLS
ON 1ST JANUARY 2010 (NEW YEAR MESSAGE)**

Good morning fellow Ghanaians; my brothers and sisters, friends and daughters of mother Ghana. A few hours ago we ushered in the New Year 2010; let us all give thanks to the almighty God for shepherding us individually and as a nation through the year 2009.

Few will deny that the year 2009 was one of the most critical in the history of our dear nation. There were challenges some of them extreme, however my brothers and sisters by the grace of God and through our own commitment and strong determination we were able to overcome these challenges and even made some notable gains. Having spent the year 2009 laying the right foundation and also taking appropriate action which will put us in the position to move our country forward in the right direction I am more than convinced that in 2010 our ability to move the country in the right direction is going to be greatly enhanced. We will certainly be in a better position to create jobs for our people, to invest in our people, to expand infrastructure, to expand the frontiers of democracy and freedom and to provide comprehensive security for all Ghanaians. Finally we will be in a better position to manage the affairs of our dear nation in an open, honest and transparent manner.

My brothers and sisters let us remind ourselves that the year 2010 is the second year in an arduous journey of four years. We should therefore expect that in the course of our journey there would be challenges, there would be immediate successes but there could also be setbacks. But I can assure you that whatever we encounter, inch by inch we shall be moving towards our goal of building a better Ghana. Let us forge ahead in unity, let us

have faith and optimism in the future. I want all Ghanaians to remember that this is the only nation that we have and our nation can only progress when we are all resolve to work hard to be committed and dedicated.

For the youth of this country, on this new years' day I would want to ask you to take advantage of the many positive opportunities that abound. I want the youth in particular to emulate the fine example of the UNDER 20 football team. The UNDER 20's made us proud they brought us glory and honour by winning the world cup. This they did with sheer determination and a willingness to die for our country. My brothers and sisters this is the kind of spirit which should move us in whatever we do so that like the Under 20s we can also win honour and glory to our dear nation and move towards our set goals.

The Black Stars will be going to Angola hopefully to bring us continental honour and glory and then move on to the world stage in South Africa. I am very confident that they would do us proud; they will bring us honour and glory. Therefore my brothers and sisters let us rally solidly behind the Black Stars as they attempt to lift high the flag of Ghana not only for Africans to see but for everybody in the world to see the might, the power and the determination of Ghanaians.

I would want to wish each and every one of you a fruitful, prosperous and fulfilling new year. I have special greetings for our police men and soldiers who are engaged in international peace keeping assignment, I know you miss your families but I know that in a few months from now you will be coming back home after representing Ghana gallantly abroad.

Let us continue to pray to the almighty God to continue to bless our homeland Ghana to make our nation greater and stronger and to make us bolder in our defense of the course of freedom and of right and to give us the determination to do what is right and display fearless honesty in the conduct of our affairs. My brothers and sisters, friends and daughters of our dear nation on this occasion ‘ mima mu nyinara afehyia pa afi ko be tu nyen, afi sese na ye di yen sa esi ye bo de Ghana so wo afa ni tampa efra.