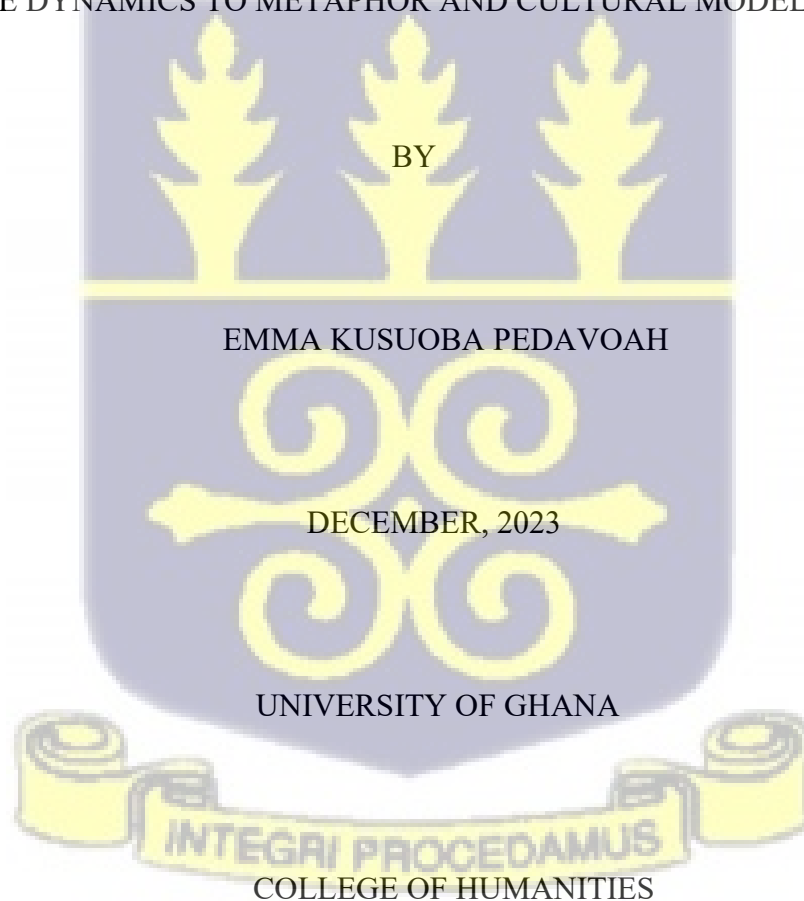


UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

SCHOOL OF LANGUAGES

METAPHORISING CORRUPTION IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC OF GHANA: A  
DISCOURSE DYNAMICS TO METAPHOR AND CULTURAL MODEL APPROACH



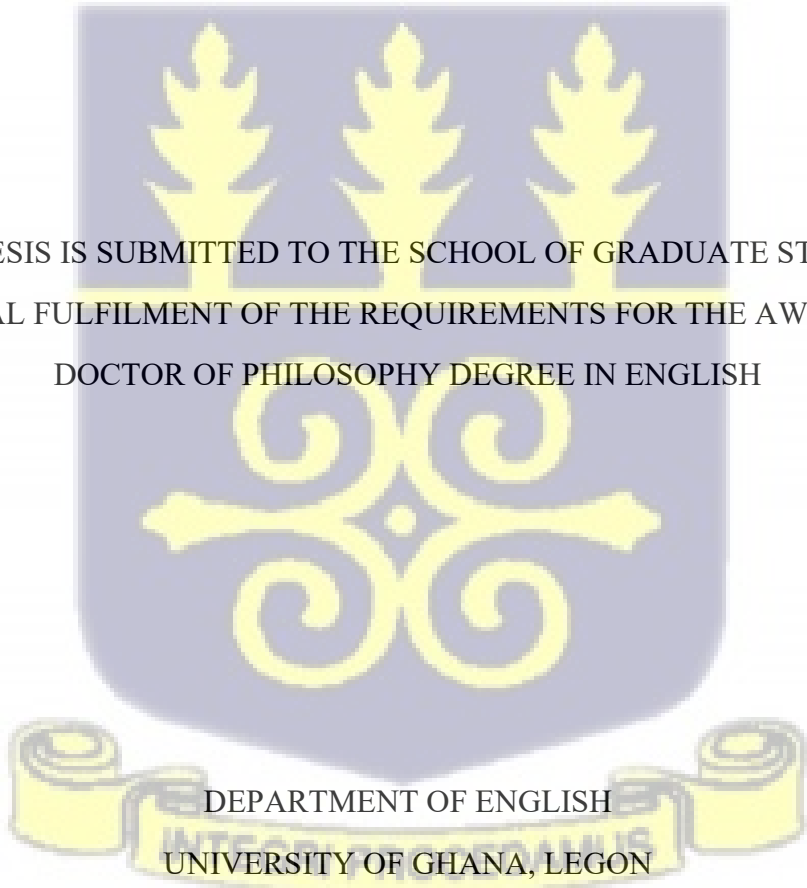
SCHOOL OF LANGUAGES

METAPHORISING CORRUPTION IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC OF GHANA: A  
DISCOURSE DYNAMICS TO METAPHOR AND CULTURAL MODEL APPROACH

BY

EMMA KUSUOBA PEDAVOAH

(10440169)



THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES IN  
PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY DEGREE IN ENGLISH

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH  
UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON


DECEMBER, 2023

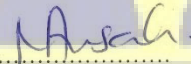


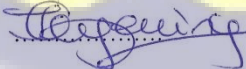
**DECLARATION**

I, Emma Kusuoba Pedavoah, declare that I independently conducted this study having worked under the close supervision and guidance of my supervisors as undersigned.

I also declare that the research report as a whole or in part has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university and that I conducted this study ethically, and accurately, citing all sources of information.

<b>Candidate</b>	<b>Signature</b>	<b>Date</b>
Emma Kusuoba Pedavoah		December 12, 2023

<b>Principal Supervisor</b>	<b>Signature</b>	<b>Date</b>
Prof. Gladys N. Ansah		December 12, 2023

<b>Co-Supervisor</b>	<b>Signature</b>	<b>Date</b>
Prof. Jemima A. Anderson		December 12, 2023



DECLARATION

I, Emma Kusuoba Pedavoah, declare that I independently conducted this study having worked under the close supervision and guidance of my supervisors as undersigned.

I also declare that the research report as a whole or in part has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university and that I conducted this study ethically, and accurately, citing all sources of information.

<b>Candidate</b>	<b>Signature</b>	<b>Date</b>
Emma Kusuoba Pedavoah	.....	December 12, 2023

<b>Principal Supervisor</b>	<b>Signature</b>	<b>Date</b>
Prof. Gladys N. Ansah	.....	December 12, 2023

<b>Co-Supervisor</b>	<b>Signature</b>	<b>Date</b>
Prof. Jemima A. Anderson	.....	December 12, 2023



DEDICATION

Wholly to the Holy Trinity, one God



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My gratitude first and foremost goes to God almighty for graciously granting me the opportunity to embark on this programme and to accomplish this study. I dedicate my efforts to Him.

Pursuing my doctoral degree was possible because some people supported and believed in me on this journey all the way through. I thank my parents, Mr. Justice M. M. Pedavoah and Mrs. Elizabeth Awupare-Pedavoah (both of blessed memory) for the opportunity to receive formal education, and for preparing me for life's challenges. Teaching me values has paid off tremendously.

Also, my profound appreciation goes to my Supervisors, Prof. Gladys N. Ansah and Prof. Jemima A. Anderson, for their unfailing academic support, their ever-ready-to-help attitude towards my developmental needs, socially and academically, their heart-warming encouragement, and for the pieces of advice that will be eternally useful to me. The moments I shared with them — working on my research in their offices, at their homes, and even accosting them at car parks — have been greatly rewarding and memorable. I cannot forget the opportunities they offered me. Without their commitment, and dedication as mentors, I would have never known that in academia and personal life, it is best when there is effective collaboration. Through their mentoring, guidance, great knowledge and passion for student success, this academic journey has been productive and enjoyable. They have positively impacted the research itself and my professional identity.

I, again, want to recognise the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, UG, for the scholarship granted me for my PhD through the Enhancing Doctoral Training in the Humanities (ENDOTH-UG) programme. I am grateful to the foundation.

I want to acknowledge my darling husband, Guido Sopiimeh, who has not only been a solid rock to me on this journey but has also shown much understanding in all respects. Always holding forth for me, and taking care of our darling boys, Nibesob Sopiimeh, Nomusob Sopiimeh and Maalusob Sopiimeh, especially in times when I had to leave them to undertake research abroad, cannot be taken for granted. My sons, Nibesob, Nomusob, and Maalusob, have been incredibly supportive and I say, God bless them abundantly. I also thank all my family members, my siblings — Mary-Magdalene Pedavoah (PhD), Jane-Frances Bajaaba Pedavoah and Jones Pedavoah — for their prayers, understanding, and keeping me laughing even through the storms.

Many great men and women in academia have mentored me and I will use this space to say I AM GRATEFUL to all of them. To Prof. Hellen Yitah, Prof. Gordon Adika and Prof. John Franklin Wiredu for giving me hope that I could come this far, I am grateful.

The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation funded my research stay at the University of the Western Cape, South Africa; my time there was productive; thanks to the support and guidance of Prof. Bassey Antia, my mentor. I thank him for the time shared in workshops and seminars and for the reviews and comments I received from him during seminar presentations on my work. Sponsored by the German Academic Exchange Services (DAAD) and the Viadrina International Program - for Graduates (VIP), a research stay at the European University, Viadrina, Germany under the supervision and mentorship of Prof. Cornelia Muller and Prof. Konstanze Jungbluth was beneficial, productive, and enjoyable; I used the period to conceptualise the whole study. I appreciate this very much. A semester online with the University of Alberta, sponsored by Global Affairs Canada, was an eye-opener and I am grateful for that opportunity.

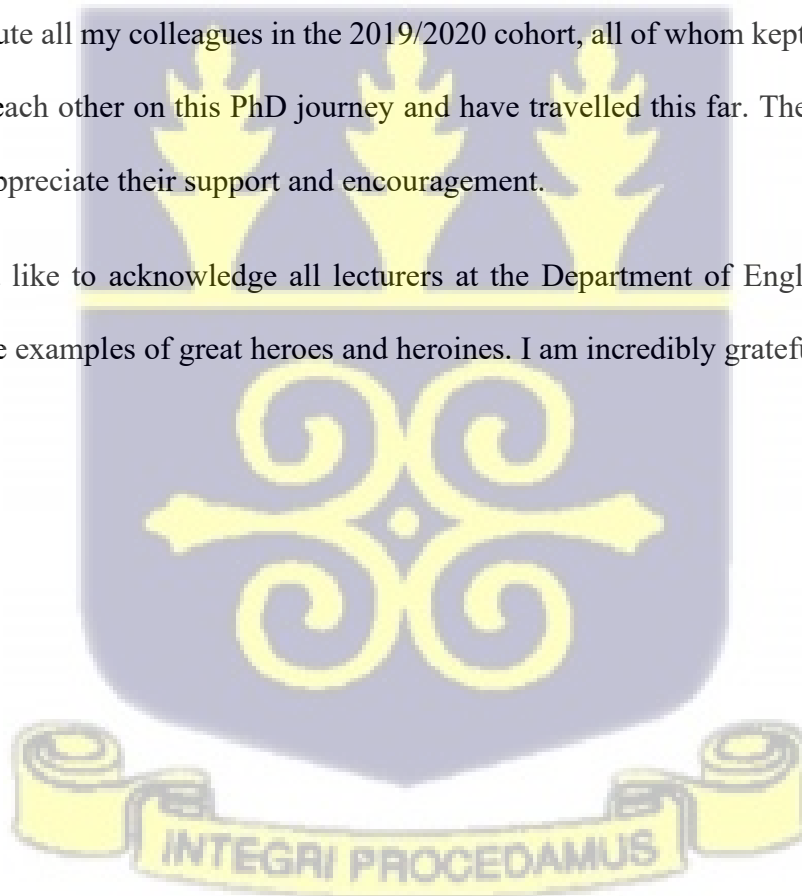
My utmost appreciation goes to Rev. Fr. Timothy Akanson, and Rev. Fr. Kusi Ababio (both of blessed memory), Monsignor Boakye Gyan and Rev. Sr. Patricia Mensah Sarpomaah; they supported me in my youthful days, and they prayed for me and taught me to persevere. I say God bless you.

I treasure the love and support I have received from the Sopiimeh and allied families. They are great examples of what it means to be resilient. God bless you all.

To Sophia Y. Kyie, my Pogzie, her dedication and joyful presence is inspiring. God richly bless you.

In addition, I salute all my colleagues in the 2019/2020 cohort, all of whom kept me smiling while we encouraged each other on this PhD journey and have travelled this far. They are gallant men and women. I appreciate their support and encouragement.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge all lecturers at the Department of English, University of Ghana. They are examples of great heroes and heroines. I am incredibly grateful.

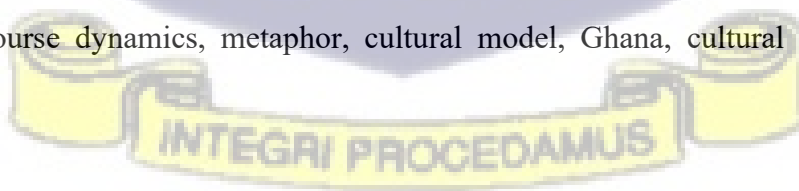


## ABSTRACT

In many cultures and democracies around the world, corruption as a social phenomenon has been described and defined variously but commonly as a shameful act and a criminal offence. Ghana's 1992 Constitution, which is the basis for the current democracy in the country, also defines and describes corruption in these terms. Even though the phenomenon and its common definition appear to be near-universal, findings from cross-cultural studies suggest that different socio-cultural groups filter the conceptualisations of concepts, even near-universal ones, to reflect construals that are salient to their societies, and cultures. While Western democracy is motivated by Western-based cultural conceptualisations (Sharifian, 2003, 2013), it is now practised by many cultures around the world. Nevertheless, there is a paucity of research on how culture-specific contexts influence different notions of democracy because of the ways a people use language to shape their understanding and to encode such understandings of such notions including corruption. Metaphor as a linguistic tool forms part of everyday language use and that helps us to understand people's conceptualisation/understanding of concepts. This study employs the discourse dynamics model of metaphor by Cameron (2010) and the cultural model approach by Sharifian (2003) as theoretical and analytical frameworks to investigate the (cultural) metaphorical conceptualisation of corruption in Ghanaian English as it occurs in selected presidential speeches during the Fourth Republic of Ghana. The present study examined fifteen (15) State of the Nation Addresses (SONAs) delivered by the five (5) Ghanaian presidents of the Fourth Republic to identify linguistic choices such as metaphors, deixis and seemingly neutral metaphors that were used to encode the cultural understanding of corruption in Ghana. The analysis of the data revealed that corruption was metaphorically conceptualised (generally) as A FIGHT, A DISEASE, A LEGACY, and AN ENEMY while measures to solving corruption were metaphorically conceptualised as WAR. However, the following systematic metaphors were employed to conceptualise corruption:

CORRUPTION AS A LEGACY, CORRUPTION as SOMETHING CONCEALED, CORRUPTION AS SOMETHING ROTTEN and CORRUPTION AS SOMETHING TO BE HIDDEN. These systematic metaphors were systematically linked to the following cultural schemas/models in Ghana: THE NATION AS A FAMILY, POLITICAL LEADERS AS PARENTS (NOT TO BE CRITICISED PUBLICLY), GIFT-GIVING AS SHOW OF APPRECIATION and FAVOURITISM AS BUILDING FAMILY TIES AND SOLIDARITY. Using communicative strategies such as indirectness and linguistic features such as deixis these metaphor choices help the presidents to challenge and negotiate prevailing social, political, ideological, and cultural attitudes towards corruption, as it has been described in the 1992 Constitution. Corruption in the 1992 Constitution is described in relation to the abuse of public office for private gain. This research contributes to theory by combining the discourse dynamics and cultural model approaches to studying metaphorical conceptualisation relating to corruption and demonstrating that it is not enough to consider the discourse event, but that the extralinguistic context (historical, cultural, ideological) presents important clues to understanding the motivation for the metaphorical conceptualisation employed by the participants. It also contributes to the argument on the need to review the use of universal definitions when dealing with context-specific issues.

Keywords: discourse dynamics, metaphor, cultural model, Ghana, cultural conceptualisation, corruption



LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Types of vehicle development.....	84
Table 2: types of metaphor shifting .....	85
Table 3: the presidents of the third republic and their terms of office.....	106
Table 4: data in excel spreadsheet a.....	114
Table 5: Data in excel spreadsheet B.....	115
Table 6: Corruption-related clauses in the speeches.....	122
Table 7: JJR metaphor choices .....	126
Table 8: JAK metaphor choice .....	130
Table 9: JEAM metaphor choices.....	135
Table 10: JDM metaphor choices .....	142
Table 11: NADAA metaphor choices.....	153
Table 12: Dominant metaphor choices made by the presidents .....	159
Table 13: Comparing metaphor choices across speeches .....	162
Table 14: Metaphor choices compared between NDC and NPP Presidents.....	164
Table 15: President Jerry John Rawlings's metaphors.....	212
Table 16: Metaphor choices of president J.A. Kufuor across speeches.....	219
Table 17: Metaphor choices of President J.D. Mahama .....	235
Table 18: Linguistic metaphor choices of President Nana Addo across speeches .....	245

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: A map of Ghana showing the 16 regions of Ghana .....	53
Figure 2: Synopsis of the theoretical framework of Cultural Linguistics.....	64
Figure 3: The theoretical framework of Cultural Linguistics (Sharifian 2017, p.6).....	66
Figure 4: The relevance of cultural conceptualisations to other disciplines and domains.....	69
Figure 5: The analytical framework of Cultural Linguistics .....	73
Figure 6: Metaphor-led discourse analysis .....	92



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFRC	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
CMT	Conceptual Metaphor Theory
DDM	Discourse Dynamics of Metaphor
CPP	Convention People's Party
CPI	Corruption Perception Index
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JAK	John Agyekum Kufuor
JEAM	John Evans Atta Mills
JDM	John Dramani Mahama
JJR	Jerry John Rawlings
MIP	Metaphor Identification Procedure
NADAA	Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NLC	National Liberation Council
NPP	New Patriotic Party
PNC	People's National Convention
PNDC	Provisional National Defence Council
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
SONA	State of the Nation Address
UGCC	United Gold Coast Convention



## Table of Contents

DECLARATION .....	v
DEDICATION.....	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT .....	vii
ABSTRACT .....	x
LIST OF TABLES .....	xii
LIST OF FIGURES .....	xii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .....	xiii
<b>CHAPTER ONE.....</b>	<b>1</b>
GENERAL INTRODUCTION .....	1
1.1.1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1.2 BACKGROUND .....	2
1.1.3 THE GHANAIAN SOCIETY AND CORRUPTION.....	4
1.1.4 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.....	12
1.1.5 OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS .....	16
1.1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	17
1.1.7 SCOPE AND DELIMITATIONS.....	17
1.1.8 THE USE OF DISCOURSE DYNAMICS AND CULTURAL MODELS APPROACH .....	19
1.1.6 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY .....	20
1.1.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS .....	24
1.1.8 OVERVIEW OF THE CHAPTERS.....	24
<b>1.1.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY .....</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>CHAPTER TWO.....</b>	<b>27</b>
LITERATURE REVIEW.....	27
2.1.1 INTRODUCTION.....	27
2.1.2 DEFINITIONS OF CORRUPTION: AN OVERVIEW .....	27
2.1.3 EMPIRICAL LITERATURE REVIEW ON CORRUPTION .....	36
2.1.4 TYPES AND FORMS OF CORRUPTION.....	38
2.1.5 CAUSES OF CORRUPTION .....	42
2.1.6 LINGUISTIC STUDIES OF CORRUPTION.....	44
2.1.7 THE NEED FOR THE PRESENT STUDY .....	53
2.1.8 CHAPTER SUMMARY .....	57
<b>CHAPTER THREE.....</b>	<b>59</b>

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	59
3.1.1 INTRODUCTION.....	59
3.1.2 AN OVERVIEW OF STUDIES IN METAPHOR.....	60
3.1.3 CLASSICAL APPROACHES TO METAPHOR STUDIES.....	61
3.1.4 CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES TO METAPHOR STUDIES.....	61
3.1.6 CULTURAL LINGUISTICS AS AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK.....	63
3.1.8 THE CULTURAL MODEL / CULTURAL SCHEMA.....	66
3.1.9 CULTURAL SCHEMA.....	68
3.2.1 HOW TO IDENTIFY CULTURAL CONCEPTUALISATIONS.....	72
3.2.2 DISCOURSE DYNAMICS APPROACH TO METAPHOR.....	74
3.2.4 APPLICATION OF DDM TO TEXTS.....	87
3.2.5 STUDIES THAT APPLY DDM IN STUDYING SOCIAL PHENOMENON.....	95
3.2.6 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE CHOICE OF THE THEORY.....	96
3.2.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY.....	98
<b>CHAPTER FOUR.....</b>	<b>100</b>
METHODOLOGY.....	100
4.1.1 INTRODUCTION.....	100
4.1.2 RESEARCH APPROACHES.....	100
4.1.4 RESEARCH DESIGN AND JUSTIFICATION.....	102
4.1.5 DATA TYPE AND SOURCES.....	103
4.1.6 DATA PREPARATION.....	107
METAPHOR IDENTIFICATION IN THE DISCOURSE DYNAMICS TO METAPHOR FRAMEWORK.....	108
4.1.7 DATA RELIABILITY.....	117
4.8 DATA ANALYSIS.....	118
4.1.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY.....	120
<b>CHAPTER FIVE.....</b>	<b>121</b>
METAPHOR CHOICES AND THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF CORRUPTION.....	121
5.1.1 INTRODUCTION.....	121
5.1.2 METAPHOR CHOICES OF THE PRESIDENTS.....	121
5.3 METAPHOR GROUPING OF DOMINANT METAPHORS ACROSS THE SPEECHES.....	157
5.1.4 COMPARING METAPHOR CHOICES AMONG THE PRESIDENTS ACROSS SPEECHES 161	
5.1.5 COMPARING METAPHOR CHOICES ACROSS POLITICAL PARTIES.....	163
5.1.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY.....	165

<b>CHAPTER SIX</b> .....	167
THE GHANAIAAN SOCIOCULTURAL UNDERSTANDING OF CORRUPTION .....	167
6.1.1 INTRODUCTION .....	167
6.1.2 THE GHANAIAAN PHILOSOPHY OF PERSON AND COMMUNITY (INSIGHTS FROM AKAN) 170	
6.1.3 THE NOTION OF PERSONHOOD AND THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF CORRUPTION 172	
6.1.4 GHANAIAAN DOMINANT CULTURE AND CORRUPTION .....	173
6.1.5 PERSONHOOD AND THE COMMUNITY .....	179
6.1.6 ACHIEVING PERSONHOOD THROUGH BUYING LEGITIMACY .....	188
6.1.7 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRADITIONAL DISCOURSE AND CONCEPTS OF CORRUPTION .....	190
6.1.8 CULTURAL COGNITION AND SOCIO-CULTURAL PRACTICES OF GHANAIAANS ..	199
6.1.9 COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY .....	204
6.2.1 CHAPTER SUMMARY .....	206
<b>CHAPTER SEVEN</b> .....	208
ATTITUDES, VALUES, BELIEFS AND POLITICAL STANCE IN THE SONAs.....	208
7.1.1 INTRODUCTION .....	208
7.1.2 COMPLEX DYNAMIC SYSTEMS UNDERLYING METAPHORICAL CONCEPTUALISATIONS .....	209
7.1.3 CORRUPTION AS SEEN BY PRESIDENT J.J. RAWLINGS .....	211
7.1.4 CORRUPTION AS SEEN BY PRESIDENT JOHN AGYEKUM KUFUOR .....	217
7.1.5 CORRUPTION AS SEEN BY PRESIDENT JOHN EVANS ATTA MILLS .....	229
7.1.6 CORRUPTION AS SEEN BY PRESIDENT JOHN DRAMANI MAHAMA (JDM) .....	234
7.1.7 CORRUPTION AS SEEN BY PRESIDENT NANA ADDO DANKWA AKUFFO-ADDO (NADAA) .....	244
7.1.7 CORRUPTION AND THE POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES OF THE NDC AND.....	250
NPP 250	
7.1.8 POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES OF THE NDC AND THE NPP IN RELATION TO CORRUPTION .....	251
7.1.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY .....	252
<b>CHAPTER EIGHT</b> .....	255
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS .....	255
8.1.1 CHAPTER INTRODUCTION .....	255

In this concluding chapter, I provide a summary of the objectives for the study by revisiting its theoretical and methodological underpinnings. Next, the chapter provides answers to the research questions of this study. It also draws conclusions on how corruption is conceptualised and

understood by the presidents of the Fourth Republic of Ghana. Lastly, the chapter concludes with a declaration of the limitations of this study, and recommendations for future research.....	255
8.1.2 SUMMARY OF THE STUDY .....	255
8.1.3 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS.....	257
8.1.4 IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY .....	262
8.1.5 LIMITATIONS.....	263
8.1.6 CONCLUSION.....	264
8.1.7 RECOMMENDATIONS.....	265
REFERENCES .....	267
APPENDIX .....	279
STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESS 1999 .....	280
SESSIONAL ADDRESS BY FLT. LT. J.J. RAWLINGS ON THE STATE OPENING OF THE SECOND MEETING OF PARLIAMENT THURSDAY 29TH APRIL 1993 .....	280
SESSIONAL ADDRESS BY H.E. MR. J.A KUFUOR (PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GHANA) ON THE OCCASION OF THE STATE OPENING OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE THIRD PARLIAMENT OF THE FOURTH REPUBLIC AT THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE IN ACCRA ON THURSDAY, 15TH FEBRUARY, 2001.....	280
STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESS, 31ST JANUARY, 2006 BY H.E. JOHN AGYEKUM KUFUOR, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GHANA PARLIAMENT HOUSE .....	281
STATE OF THE NATIONS ADDRESS DELIVERED BY H.E. JOHN AGYEKUM KUFFOUR ON THE 14TH FEBRUARY 2008.....	281
STATE OF THE NATIONS ADDRESS DELIVERED BY H.E. JOHN EVAN ATTA MILLS, 2009 .....	281
STATE OF THE NATIONS ADDRESS DELIVERED BY H.E. JOHN EVAN ATTA MILLS, 2012 .....	282
STATE OF THE NATIONS ADDRESS, OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL DELIVERED BY H.E JOHN DRAMANI MAHAMA PRESIDENT OF THE GHANA TO THE 6TH PARLIAMENT OF THE 4TH REPUBLIC ON FEBRUARY 21ST , 2013.....	282
STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESS PRESENTED BY H.E. JOHN DRAMANI MAHAMA PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GHANA & COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES AT THE THIRD SESSION OF THE SIXTH PARLIAMENT OF THE 4TH REPUBLIC ON THURSDAY FEBRUARY 26, 2015 .....	282
STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESS FEBRUARY 25, 2016 .....	282
MESSAGE ON THE STATE OF THE NATION BY HIS EXCELLENCY NANA ADDO DANKWA AKUFO-ADDO PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE GHANA ARMED FORCES. THURSDAY, 8TH FEBRUARY 2018 .....	283
MESSAGE ON THE STATE OF THE NATION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC, NANA ADDO DANKWA Akufo-Addo, ON THE OCCASION OF THE STATE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT, ON THURSDAY, 20TH FEBRUARY, 2020, AT PARLIAMENT HOUSE, ACCRA. ....	283

MESSAGE ON THE STATE OF THE NATION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC, NANA  
ADDO DANKWA AKUFO-ADDO, ON TUESDAY, 9TH MARCH, 2021, AT PARLIAMENT HOUSE  
ACCRA .....283



## CHAPTER ONE

### GENERAL INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1.1 INTRODUCTION

In this study, Lynne Cameron's discourse dynamics approach to metaphor analysis (Cameron 2003, 2010) and Sharifian's (2003, 2017) cultural model and schema as applied in Cultural Linguistics are employed as analytical, and conceptual frameworks to fifteen (15) selected State of the Nation Addresses (SONAs) delivered by five (5) presidents of the Fourth Republic of Ghana with a view to examining their metaphor choices in conceptualising corruption. The study sought to, firstly, provide an overview of the discourse on corruption from 1993 to 2023. The basic argument of the study is that a Western-based definition of, or worldview on, corruption, as is the case in the 1992 Constitution of Ghana, could be problematic since it does not completely capture the belief system, values and practice of the people. Thus, what the constitution of Ghana describes as corruption is not fully representative of Ghanaians' understanding of the concept. Specifically, the study examined how the presidents within the period chose and used metaphors to talk about corruption while drawing on the cultural nuances that characterise the Ghanaian understanding of the concept. Secondly, its objective was to identify patterns as they emerge from how the presidents use metaphors to conceptualise corruption and to examine the systematicity of the patterns as revealed through the discourse dynamics approach to metaphor. These were examined to find out how the choice of metaphors potentially reflects the culture of the people of Ghana in terms of their collective understanding of corruption. Thirdly, from the standpoint of cultural models and cultural schemas, the study sought to interrogate the role that these conceptualisations

play in the context within which the speeches were delivered, and to evaluate what is revealed about Ghanaians' understanding of corruption in relation to the metaphor choices which the presidents make in talking about corruption and their attempts to fight it. It is important to note that the issue of representativeness by using the presidents to make generalisation has not been glossed over. This issue of representativeness is discussed in Chapter 6. Finally, this study examined metaphor choices to find out how they potentially reflect the values, attitudes, beliefs, and political posturing of the individual presidents about corruption.

## 1.1.2 BACKGROUND

### 1.1.2.1 GHANA AS A MODERN POLITICAL STATE

Ghana was the first sub-Saharan African country to gain independence from British colonial rule. After a long struggle for independence, Ghana, then known as the Gold Coast, gained independence under the leadership of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah on the 6<sup>th</sup> of March 1957. In his independence declaration speech at the time, Nkrumah emphatically spoke about the fact that the African had proven that he could manage his own affairs. The country has remained a sovereign nation, and it has been a republic since July 1, 1960. Ghana changed from a government and parliamentary system which was headed by a Prime Minister to a system where presidents are elected through a multiparty democracy. There have been three military governments and four republics with democratically elected governments since independence; the Fourth Republic marks the longest period of democratic rule in Ghana. It is a land of a people of great diversity, yet its citizens are united as a people. The diversity exists in the language, religion and cultural norms and beliefs of the people. According to the ethnologue, about 80 languages are spoken within the borders of Ghana and the people are highly multilingual.

Ghana has had a chequered history in terms of its political and democratic rule. In 65 years of independence, “Ghana has had four republics and three military regimes and has had four democratic experiments since 1957 with the last starting in 1993” (Morrison, 2004, p. 421). Ghana continues to reflect good democratic practices through her ability to continue to practise a multiparty democracy though power mainly alternates between two political parties. The National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP), have rotated power since 1992 when Ghana returned to multiparty democracy, marking the Fourth Republic. While the NDC grew out of the populists’ remnants of Rawlings’s military rule (1981-1992), the NPP is largely described as a liberal party, as reported by Morrison (2004). These are the two political parties that have won the admiration and support of the people of Ghana within the Fourth Republic despite the individual internal wranglings of both parties. The two parties have dominated in all the political elections of the Fourth Republic with a high score of 70-80% of all vote counts.

Party politics plays a major role in recruiting leaders for the country’s government machinery. J.B. Danquah, and Kwame Nkrumah form the first group of leaders of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) though Kwame Nkrumah broke away after forming the Convention People’s Party (CPP). A major reason for this breakaway was differences in political stance regarding when power was to be taken away from Britain, the colonial ruler at the time. While Nkrumah wanted power within the shortest possible time, the UGCC thought otherwise; they wanted it delayed until an appropriate time.

Nkrumah was overthrown in a military coup in 1966, led by General Joseph Ankrah, who formed the National Liberation Council (NLC). Nkrumah was accused by the NLC of dictatorship and running a one-party state, hence his overthrow. In 1969, a ban on politics which was imposed by the CPP was lifted by the NLC. The Progress Party (PP) led by K.A. Busia won the national

election in the same year, 1969, and this begun the Second Republic. The parliamentary system of the United Kingdom was adopted, and a new constitution was drafted based on this Western democratic system. Ghana fell into the hands of several military dictators who had accused leaders of the civilian governments of corruption and mismanagement of state resources. In June 1979, Jerry John Rawlings, a young recruit, led a military coup which transitioned Ghana to military rule in the same year. Rawlings handed over power to Dr. Hilla Limann. The Third Republic was thus ushered in after Dr Hilla Limann led the People’s National Congress (PNC) to victory in the Third Republic. Dr Hilla Limann’s reign was, however, short-lived as Jerry John Rawlings, through another military coup, overthrew the PNC in 1981. Rawlings ruled Ghana under a military regime twice after overthrowing Dr. Hilla Limann in 1979 and again in 1981. Rawlings accused Dr. Hilla Limann of being ‘weak’ and for allowing corruption to thrive. The Fourth Republic came into existence in 1992 after Ghana returned to constitutional rule under Jerry John Rawlings.

### 1.1.3 THE GHANAIAN SOCIETY AND CORRUPTION

In a 2021 report from the Transparency International on Corruption Perception Index (CPI), Ghana ranks 73 out of 180 countries (<https://www.transparency.org/en/countries/ghana>). The report is given on a scale of 100 being very clean of corruption while 0 represents being highly corrupt.

Corruption is considered a criminal offence by the 1992 Constitution of Ghana. The concept of corruption is explained in the Criminal Offences Act of Ghana 1960 (Act 29) as amended by the Criminal Offences (Amendment), 2021, (Act 1034), Section 240 of Ghana as:

“A public officer, juror, or voter commits corruption in the respect of duties or the vote, if the officer, juror, or voter directly or indirectly, agrees or offers to permit the conduct of that person as public officer, juror, or voter to be influenced by the gift, promise or prospect of valuable consideration to be received by that person, or by any other person.”

Despite this explicit Act as stated the 1992 Constitution, which guides the democracy of the Fourth Republic of Ghana, the country continues to battle with corruption.

The 2021 Population and Housing Census of Ghana reports that Ghana has a population of about 30.8 million, of which 49.3% are male and 50.7% are female. Ghana currently occupies a land mass of about 238,533km<sup>2</sup> and is endowed with natural resources such as gold, diamond, bauxite, cocoa, timber, and crude oil. These resources contribute largely to sustaining lives in the country and across the world. Ghana is the second largest cocoa producing nation in the world and has one of the largest oil deposits in West Africa.

Despite her abundant natural resources and political stability, Ghana continues to dwindle economically, a situation which has been attributed to poor leadership and mismanagement. For instance, by 2016 when Ghana prepared to celebrate her 60 years of independence, many Ghanaians had lost faith in successive governments. I particularly refer to an editorial of the Daily Graphic which reported that “the flame of national passion has died, and even though the President lighted the flame on March 6 to symbolise (the) passion that spearheaded national development, that symbolic gesture was probably a futile attempt to reignite a passion that no longer exists” (Title: Ghana at 59: What are expectations going to be at 60 ? Monday 8 March 2016).

Gross domestic product by the end of 2015 stood at 3.5 per cent growth for the year and by March 2016, inflation stood at 19.2 per cent with unemployment estimated to be about 6 per cent (Aryeetey & Kanbur, 2017, p. 3). The International Monetary Fund (IMF) programme was adopted in 2005 with a loan of some \$900 million given to Ghana to help boost the economy and bring it

back to a stable condition. By 2015, nearly a decade later, Ghana had to return to the IMF, and, in 2023, Ghana has again signed up to an IMF programme.

Notwithstanding the fact that politicians speak strongly against corruption, they are often accused of it. Various governments continue to promise in their political campaign messages that they will deal with corruption. The first president of the Fourth Republic of Ghana, President Jerry John Rawlings, for instance, promised to “clean up” the system of corruption, and people who were found to be corrupt received various sentences and served varying number of years in prison or even faced a firing squad. When President Rawlings was succeeded by President John Agyekum Kufuor, the second president of the Fourth Republic, John Agyekum Kufuor, said corruption was “as old as Adam”, meaning that it has roots dating back to the ancestors of Ghana. John Evans Atta Mills, the third president of the current republic, also expressed his revulsion to corruption while John Dramani Mahama, in his inaugural speech in 2016, described it as a ‘canker’. The people, however, voted him out, giving him just a single term of office unlike his predecessors of the Fourth Republic who all had two terms of office. He was accused of being corrupt. The sitting president of the NPP, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, has been described by the former Special Prosecutor, Martin Alamisi Amidu, as “the mother serpent of corruption” (MyJoyOnline, 27 November 2020). As is evident from the discussion in this section, corruption is a topical issue in Ghana and thus requires the attention of all disciplines to help fight it.

The Fourth Republic is important in the history of Ghana because it marks the longest period of constitutional rule in Ghana after independence. Despite the position of the constitution on corruption, the phenomenon is still prevalent in Ghana (Sarfo-Kantankah & Arko, 2019). Ghana ranked 73 out of 180 countries with a score of 48%, as reported by the Corruption Perception Index in 2021. The country’s ranking continues to get worse each year despite its anti-corruption attempts

through policy and promises by successive governments in the Fourth Republic (Sarfo-Kantankah, 2018; Sarfo-Kantankah & Arko, 2019). Very often, institutions, individuals, and organizations such as the police, judiciary, politicians, and media practitioners are identified and perceived as corrupt by the general populace (Amankwah et al., 2017). The nature of corruption in Ghana differs from one context to the other even though there is a general view that it involves using public office for private needs (Werlin, 1994a). The 1992 constitution of Ghana and Transparency International agree to the fact that the abuse of public office for personal gain constitutes corruption. Major dimensions of corruption such as its causes, modus operandi, effects on the economy, general consequences on society, and solutions have received much attention from disciplines such as economics, sociology, political sciences, law, and history (Hasty, 2005). While various presidents of the Fourth Republic devote much space in their presidential speeches to address corruption, there is a dearth of knowledge in terms of linguistic analyses that rely on principled methods to study what these speeches reveal about the cultural practices of the people of Ghana and their understanding of what corruption is.

Language is known to go beyond conventional signs to being laden with several layers of meanings. A lexical item such as ‘corruption’ does not only describe situations; underneath it lies semantic and pragmatic meanings that can be understood by uncovering the norms, beliefs, customs, and traditional values (Ansah, 2017) that influence its conceptualisation. The historical, ideological, and cultural background of a speaker are some of the factors that influence the meanings that underlie language use. There is, therefore, a lot to uncover in terms of influences on linguistic choices such as the cultural context and its influence on the choice of metaphors in talking about corruption. The existing literature on corruption in Ghana which applies linguistic frameworks (Sarfo-Kantankah & Arko, 2019, etc.) applies Frame theory. In (Agbota et al., 2015),

verbal operant used to conceptualise corruption are examined by applying Avoidance theory and Amankwah et al., (2017) examines judicial corruption from ethical and theological perspectives. These studies employ theories and approaches that do not consider the sociocultural setting as a significant contributor to the understanding of corruption.

Ghana practices modern democracy through constitutional rule as spelt out by the 1992 Constitution of Ghana while combining traditional governance systems. Traditional norms and practices which project and uphold the culture, values and integrity of the people are recognised by the constitution. The two governance systems eschew corruption. Yet, scholars have described Ghanaian society as endemic with corruption (Hasty, 2005; Werlin, 1972; Yeboah-Assiamah, 2016) often attributing the causes of corruption to the culture of the people. While kinship terms such as, 'parent' 'father' and 'children' may appear to have near universal definitions, findings from several studies (Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2021; Ogunmuyiwa & Antia 2020; Ansah, 2017) suggest that different sociocultural groups filter, construe and represent their cultural understanding of concepts including corruption differently. Sociocultural groups describe concepts in ways that reflect their worldview. Though corruption does not have a fixed definition in indigenous Ghanaian cultures (Hasty, 2005; Yeboah Assiamah, 2016), it is described as unacceptable by all.

It is against this background that this study draws on the discourse dynamics approach to metaphor, as well as the cultural schema and cultural model approach to examine the language choices and the use of metaphors by the presidents of Ghana's Fourth Republic in talking about corruption in their presidential speeches to the people of Ghana and what these choices reveal about the understanding of the people of Ghana in terms of corruption. The focus is on what the linguistic choices reveal about the cultural orientation of the people in relation to corruption.

### 1.1.3.1 Cultural framing of CORRUPTION IN AKAN

Corruption is culturally constructed to represent the moral, and communal worldview of the people. In Akan, metaphoric conceptualisations are used to describe corrupt practices. Common metaphors that relate to rot, (*prɔye*, the rotten) and shame (*ketesehye*, putting under a mat) (Yankah, 1989; Addo, 2002; Author, 2017; Agyekum, 2018) dirt and eating (*sika die basabasa*-gluttonous eating) are often employed in conceptualizing corruption. Eating here represents the misuse of public funds or abuse of entrusted power. Another lexical concept that is used to describe corruption is *dwirim*. *Dwiri* which is the root morpheme refers to collapse/crumble. This metaphor is extended to explain how corruption can collapse a nation. Cultural conceptualization of corruption as SHAME and ROT align with findings from other African countries such as Nigeria, (Ogunmuyiwa & Antia 2020) and Cameroon, Sierra Leone and Nigeria (Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2021) whose studies show that corruption is undesirable.

Members of the Akan community are expected to strive to excel in life and leaders who engage in corrupt practices are seen as violating communal ethics (Wiredu, 1992; Yankah, 1992). The Akan idea of *abusua* (family/extended family/kin) encourages cultural practices that promote interdependence, communal living and support for family (Agyekum, 2017). Though this practice may appear to promote corrupt practice, and may be similar to Western definition of nepotism, favouritism, and patronage, in Akan culture these practices are seen as ways of upholding communal values.

The present study explores Akan, a popular language/culture in Ghana (Wiredu, 1995; Agyekum, 2017; Ansah, 2017; Population and Housing Census, 2021) to discuss cultural nuances such as the Ghanaian culture of ‘family first’, gift-giving as a sign of gratitude and reciprocity, traditional leaders/ elders as parents and the moral obligation to save the face of family and community at all

times irrespective of the situation, to explore cultural practices that shape the worldview of Ghanaians on corruption. Ghanaian interpretations and understandings of corruption, appears to be embedded in their communal, obligation to kin and kith, worldview of sociocultural relations. This appears significantly in conflict with Western societies which are mostly described as individualistic (Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2021) with strict view of rule of law when it comes to interpreting what constitutes corruption.

### *1.1.3.2 Ghanaian concept of corruption pitched against Western ideas*

Traditional societies in Ghana generally eschew corruption and uphold high moral standards such as integrity, honesty and accountability (Gyekye, 1992a; Addo, 2002; Ansah & Osam, 2004; Obeng, 1996). To these scholars, the Akan view on corruption is shaped by a rich cultural and moral framework rooted in traditional beliefs, and a strong sense of justice and accountability describing the concept as rot, shameful and despicable. Traditionally, corruption is seen as a violation of moral and social norms and it is believed to have consequences (in the form of curses/misfortune) on the individual who is also representative of family/lineage and community as espoused by (Wiredu, 1992; Gyekye, 1992).

The coexistence of constitutional and traditional systems reflects not only a duality in the governance system of the country, but also the potential for conflict in the understandings of what constitutes corruption. The discursive construction of corruption appears to emanate from the systems distinct linguistic frameworks and sociocultural understandings and interpretation of what corrupt practice may be. The different conceptualisations potentially complicate anti-corruption efforts.

Several Ghanaian cultural norms and practices seem to account for Ghana's peculiarity in the conceptualisation of corruption.

Firstly, communal living and extended family ties are upheld and rooted in our cultural practices. A family member in a privileged position may feel obliged to use this position and its resources to help other family members. This act may be considered nepotism, or abuse of office as may be defined in the case of Constitutional Law. In a cultural view, this is an act of fulfilling an obligation to family and community.

Secondly, gift-giving is a sign of respect and an expression of loyalty. This may be described outside of the sociocultural context as inducements or bribes or an attempt to influence a decision.

Thirdly, respect for elders and authority is an obligation. The discharge of this obligation may discourage questioning authority in the face of wrongdoing. In cultural view, elders are beyond reproach while in legal terms all person must be accountable. Thus, whistle blowing may be compromised while corruption goes unchallenged.

Hasty (2005) investigates the Ghanaian media space and finds out that the consumption (eating metaphor) is common in media reportage on corruption. Corruption is metaphorically described as eating what belongs to all by greedy individuals. This corroborates what Gyekye and Wiredu discuss on Akan concept of communal living and the individual's obligation to share with community. Eating voraciously while others look on with hunger is despicable in Akan culture, on the other hand, once the individual shares what is available with family and community, one may get away with even 'stolen food'.

The sentiment of gratitude and reciprocity are obligations in Ghanaian sociocultural practice (Yeboah-Assiamah et al. (2016). They explain that these acts may appear as favouritism and

bribery when described outside of the Ghanaian sociocultural worldview. Agyekum (2021), explains that gifts and gift-giving are expressions of gratitude and are a means of building social bonds. The refusal to take a gift can be interpreted as disrespect or arrogance. Given the apparent coexistence of a dual system of governance in Ghana –comprising both traditional political structures and modern democratic systems- the divergent ways in which corruption is viewed, understood and interpreted within each framework, it becomes imperative to examine how corruption is conceptualised in these two distinct yet interrelated contexts.

This study explores the varying perceptions, interpretations and cultural understandings of corruption within these contexts, shedding light on sociocultural practices that potentially shape societal attitudes and understandings of corruption in Ghana.

#### 1.1.4 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The 1992 Constitution describes corruption emphasising the use of a public office for personal gain. The definition of corruption appears to have been over-simplified in the constitution of Ghana. This is because the definition emanates from Western perspectives. These Western definitions are universalist with little or no focus on context-specific issues and their nuances. Even though the term ‘corruption’ may seem to have a universal meaning, there are differences in its understanding across cultures. In Gelbrich et al. (2016), it is argued that the inconsistencies in the definition of corruption come from how corruption is conceptualised in different cultures. I find the lack of a single acceptable definition of corruption as a problem since this leaves room for several meanings, and interpretations of What constitutes corruption.

One definition that has gained popularity with many researchers on corruption is the perception of corruption as the use of what is public for private gain. What is public as against what is private in the African cultural model, as proposed by Sharifian (2003), is difficult to define. He explains that the difficulty emanates from the collectivist culture practised by Africans. Indeed, the sociocultural practices among the people of Ghana are primarily communal in their outlook (Dzobo, 2010; Wiredu, 1992) as opposed to Western cultural practices which are mostly individualistic (Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2021).

Notwithstanding this important view of corruption as culture-specific (Jing-Schmidt & Peng 2017; Bratu & Kažoka 2018; Pan 2020), studies which investigate corruption in Ghana (Sarfo-Kantanka & Arko, 2019) have paid little attention to this important fact about corruption. These studies understate the position that culture plays a role in how the people of Ghana conceptualise corruption. Different sociocultural settings have different conceptualisations. As the review of literature will show in the next chapter, studies in Africa which investigate corruption from a culture-specific context (Ekpenyong & Bassey, 2014; Ogunmuyiwa, 2015; Ogunmuyiwa & Antia, 2020; Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2021) exist but are few. Though they observe that political speeches such as presidential speeches deploy metaphors to communicate face-threatening subjects such as corruption, their studies have not approached the concept of corruption with critical attention to cultural peculiarities.

Linguistic approaches have been applied to conduct research using CMT which focuses on predetermined metaphor domains. Earlier studies on corruption which involved linguistic analysis (Ogunmuyiwa, 2015; Ogunmuyiwa & Antia, 2020; Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2021; Sarfo-Kantankah & Arko, 2019) have, to a large extent, relied on Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), analysis, and Filmore's frame theory to investigate how corruption is

conceptualised in Ghana. These theories have either been criticised for their inability to fully explicate metaphor and its complexities or for their lack of rigorous methodological procedures. For instance, Charteris-Black (2005a) makes a cogent argument that the pragmatic function of metaphor is not fully captured by CMT since CMT emphasises the conceptual function of metaphor over its persuasive, evaluative and ideological functions. Using CMT for uncovering the cultural conceptualisation of corruption as seen in earlier studies (such as Negro, 2015; Pan, 2020; Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2021) then means that several layers of meaning are lost in the analysis of these studies. Additionally, CMT focuses on metaphor in relation to whole speech communities and this is done at the conceptual level while giving little attention to the complex dynamics or real-world language use in social situations as observed in Cameron et al. (2009). Though the present study acknowledges the important contributions CMT has made to metaphor research, it only borrows ideas from it for analysing aspects of the data. Corruption metaphors, as examined in this study, go beyond the conceptual structure to examine the socio-cultural experiences (contexts) within which the discourse on corruption in Ghana occurs and aspects of CMT are useful in that regard.

The study of corruption in relation to the fundamental values of the people of Ghana has not been approached from a discourse dynamics perspective. The present work investigates the metaphors used to conceptualise corruption and how they relate to the fundamental values and belief systems (cultural models) as represented in the culture of Ghana. The current study employs the discourse dynamics approach to metaphor and cultural model and schema theories to analyse linguistic metaphors that are deployed in SONAs in the Fourth Republic of Ghana. This is done to unearth the potential cultural understanding that gives rise to how we talk about and behave towards what is defined in Ghana's 1992 Constitution as corruption.

Corruption in Western cultures and in the Constitution of Ghana appear to be understood in relation practices such as collusion, clientelism, favouritism, patronage, bribery and many others. In most cultures in Ghana, for example Akan, Ewe and Gonja, corruption is conceptualised as rottenness, shameful and something to be hidden. The collectivist outlook of these Ghanaian cultures obliges members of a community to show solidarity, build family ties, show hospitality and to use privileged position to support all. These obligations may appear to foster favouritism, nepotism and conflict of interest.

Understanding and fighting corruption must be done in tandem with the specific culture and context. It is against this background that the current study investigates corruption from language and culture using DDM and Sharifian's cultural model and schema framework. To understand these disparities in meaning as regards the choice of metaphors for talking about corruption, there is the need for an encompassing theoretical framework such as the discourse dynamics of metaphors model which focuses on metaphors in the discourse event. In the discourse dynamics approach to metaphor, it is further posited that both universal and culture-specific cognition exist in the use of metaphors. More importantly, a discourse-specific cognition needs to be investigated to fully capture the sociocultural, historical and ideological nuances that universal or exclusively cultural cognition fail(s) to unravel. The choice of the discourse dynamics to metaphor model (Cameron, 2007; Cameron et al., 2009a) and its related cultural model and schema theories (Kövecses, 2008; Sharifian, 2017) form the theoretical underpinnings of this research, thereby filling the gap of the several layers of meaning that earlier studies have not unravelled.

Corruption, as noted early on, has been studied within various disciplines (Bayley, 1966; Werlin, 1972), in literature (Adjei, 2015), within the police service (Tankebe, 2010), as a political science

topic (Heidenheimer & Johnston, 2011) and, most recently in a social science study, it has been described as endemic (Brierley, 2020).

### 1.1.5 OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

#### Overarching goal

The overarching goal of this research was to explore how the presidents of the Fourth Republic of Ghana use language to encode corruption. It also investigates how the socio-cultural practices and norms in Ghana contribute to and reflect the presidents' understanding of corruption. It is argued in this study that there is a need to consider the cultural understanding of a people in defining corruption.

The specific objectives of this research are to:

1. identify the linguistic metaphors that the presidents of Ghana use to talk about corruption in the SONAs from 1993 to 2023 and what the metaphor choices reveal about their understanding of the sociocultural and political context of period in relation to corruption.
2. determine how the presidents' metaphor choices potentially reflect the culture of the people in terms of their collective understanding, experiences, and practices in relation to corruption.
3. determine how the presidents' metaphor choices potentially reflect their individual attitudes, values, beliefs, and political posturing towards corruption.



To achieve these objectives, the research sought to answer the following questions.

#### 1.1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What linguistic metaphors do Ghanaian presidents use to talk about corruption in the SONAs from 1993 to 2023 and what do their metaphors choices reveal about their understanding of corruption in relation to the sociocultural and political context of the period?
2. How do these metaphors reflect the culture of the people of Ghana, and their understanding of corruption?
3. What do the metaphors used by the presidents reflect about their individual attitudes, beliefs, and values towards corruption?

#### 1.1.7 SCOPE AND DELIMITATIONS

Though there may be other presidential speeches which address the issue of corruption in Ghana, this research limited its study of corruption to selected presidential speeches delivered from 1993 to 2023 in the Fourth Republic of Ghana only. This was done for two main reasons. The first reason was to help focus the study so that an in-depth analysis of the phenomenon could be carried out. The Fourth Republic marks a period in which Ghana has a clear definition of corruption provided in the constitution. The second reason for working within the Fourth Republic is that it is a period which marks the longest democratic rule in Ghana. Although this time frame cuts off some corruption issues that might have happened before the selected period or even after the

selected period, it fully recognises these others. A detailed justification for limiting the data is discussed in chapter four.

The study investigated metaphor choices and cultural conceptualisations used to frame corruption in the selected SONAs in terms of the ontological interest of this research. This was, however, coupled with the sociocultural practices, beliefs and values of the people of Ghana, using the Akan philosophy of community and personhood as a basis. The scope of the research approach in terms of design is mainly qualitative though I count, tabulate, and describe the metaphor choices. The study's theoretical and methodological frameworks are Lynne Cameron's discourse dynamics of metaphor and Fazard Sharifian's cultural model and schema approaches.

The nature of corruption and how it is conceptualised require a lot of contextual knowledge and so this research relies mainly on manual coding and analysis to be able to capture all the nuances that a corpus tool may not be able to fully offer. The application of a corpus tool could be of help, but it would require several layers of coding and then manual analysis to be able to unravel the embedded meanings that lie underneath the linguistic choices made by the presidents in talking about corruption. By toeing such a line of enquiry, valuable information may be lost as metaphor spans a single lexical item through a phrase to a clause, and even to whole texts. Metaphors on other concepts are not analysed since they are not the focus of this study. For credibility and reliability in this research, an intercoder mechanism was employed. This ensured that issues of subjectivity were reduced to the least. This research looks only at the cultural conceptualisations of corruption in Ghana. It focuses mainly on comments on corruption that have been gleaned from selected presidential speeches from 1993 to date. This was done to limit the data to a workable piece and for in-depth analysis.

### 1.1.8 THE USE OF DISCOURSE DYNAMICS AND CULTURAL MODELS APPROACH

As has already been declared, this research draws on Lynne Cameron's discourse dynamics approach to metaphor analysis, and the cultural model as theoretical and analytical frameworks. The Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP), as proposed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007), was used to identify metaphors in the data. Unlike Conceptual Metaphor Theory which looks at metaphor at the conceptual level by focusing on whole discourse communities, the discourse dynamics approach to metaphor focuses on the complex ways in which language is used in given situations. The methodological procedures of CMT which focus on the strict mapping of a target domain onto a source domain and the use of generated models for analysis cause much to be lost in terms of what the sociocultural context contributes to meaning (Ansah, 2017; Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2021). The fundamental assumption of CMT is that culture is in the minds of individuals, and this limits CMT's research methods to introspection. These limitations, as observed by Negro (2015) and Semino (2021), prevent an in-depth analysis of metaphor as a linguistic tool which has multiple layers of meaning depending on the context of usage. Cienki (2008) (as cited in Jing-Schmidt & Peng, 2017) remarks that CMT is concerned with metaphor as part of linguistic knowledge or competence rather than the way metaphor is used in communication. The use of the discourse dynamics approach (Cameron, 2007; Cameron et al., 2009a; Cameron & Deignan, 2003), therefore, enables me to unravel Ghanaians' understanding of corruption. In this way, complexities spanning social to cultural underpinnings can all be looked at on a continuum. The discourse dynamic approach to metaphor analysis perspective changes how we see metaphor: "it is no longer a static, fixed mapping, but a temporary stability emerging from the activity of

interconnecting systems of socially situated language use and cognitive activity” (Cameron et al., 2009, p. 63).

The argument in this study is that there are semantic and pragmatic meanings that are concealed in the cultural conceptualisations of corruption and so there is the need for an approach which recognises metaphors as conceptual, embodied, culture-specific and, more importantly, discourse-specific. In other words, neglecting the cultural experiences and practices of a people in conceptualising social phenomena, such as aspects of corruption, leaves the yardsticks (universal definitions) with which international bodies measure all countries inadequate. What is understood as corruption, and by which Ghana is ranked by the afro barometer, may not be representative of corrupt practices in the Ghanaian culture. As has already been stated, there are other cultural nuances that influence the definition, perception, and conceptualisation of corruption in the Ghanaian socio-cultural context.

#### 1.1.6 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY

The research is motivated largely by the fact that corruption is a major issue discussed worldwide and that it is central in discussions in Ghana (Sarfo-Kantankah, 2018). It is particularly motivated by the fact that corruption continues to directly affect the people of Ghana (Hasty, 2005). Though much research has been done in the social sciences (Yu, 2008), the negative impact of corruption continues to be felt in the socio-political, economic, and cultural lives of the people of Ghana. Despite the plethora of research on the phenomenon in various disciplines, the scholarship on corruption mostly investigated corruption from Western and “universal” perspectives with little attention to the fact that corruption does not have a universal outlook (Ansah, 2017). Earlier

research in the social sciences has relied on a simple definition, namely ‘the misuse of public office for private gain’ while ignoring the sociocultural nuances that could influence its practice (Hasty, 2005). What scholarship in the study of corruption has failed to recognise is that there are forms of sociocultural structures and practices that underlie ‘corruption’ and that these go beyond the use of public resources for private gain. The need to satisfy social, cultural, and political responsibilities to gain legitimacy and solidarity as well as personhood in a community are important factors to consider in corruption scholarship. For the purposes of this study, the concept of community and personhood are drawn from relevant aspects of Akan philosophy. Legitimacy in this context is gained by one’s conformity to the norms, rules, and regulations of the (Akan) community (Gyekye, 1992). In the Akan community, one gains legitimacy by contributing to and participating in all community activities. These activities range from birth rites, through marriage, to funerals. The Akan cultural model and its relevance to this study are discussed in chapter six.

Apart from literature on the causes and consequences of corruption (Heidenheimer & Johnston, 2011), there is a dearth of knowledge on the relationship between language, culture, and power dynamics, especially in studies on corruption in Ghana and its local contexts. Since language cannot be separated from a people’s culture, in the study of corruption, it is important to investigate this phenomenon from a language and culture perspective to fully understand its conceptualisation. Investigating corruption from Ghanaian cultural cognition helps us to understand corruption from a broader perspective while we move away from Western-based universal definitions to culture-specific ones (Sharifian, 2017). For the purposes of this research, and as discussed in earlier sections, corruption may, therefore, be described as any form of unacceptable behaviour, wrongdoing, in all settings, which seek to give undue benefit to the perpetrators. To understand corruption in the context of Ghana, one needs to understand the African community model. I adapt

this model to my study and discuss community and individual responsibility, personhood, and respect for leadership with the Akan philosophy as a guiding model. This is discussed in chapters 3 and 6.

Ghana as the context for this research provides rich data for the analysis. The Fourth Republic serves as the longest period of democratic rule with a well-defined constitutional act on what constitutes corruption. Despite this clearly defined law, the country has consistently performed poorly on the Transparency International annual report on the Corruption Perception Index. What particularly makes it important to investigate corruption in the Fourth Republic from a linguistic perspective is that the core tenets of the constitution which are built on justice, probity and accountability are written in the English language and so potentially built on Western values which are universalist instead of context based. The constitution largely views corruption from a universal lens which enjoins Ghanaians to be fair in all dealings. However, this is far from the reality. Almost all the SONAs report on corruption and its devastating effects on the economy and the people of Ghana at large. Thus, a major focus of this research was to investigate the linguistic metaphors used in conceptualising corruption in the selected SONAs and what they potentially reveal about the culture of the people and the values, beliefs and attitudes of the presidents of the Fourth Republic towards corruption.

In chapter two of this dissertation, to further understand the issues of corruption, there is a critical review of studies from other disciplines which have investigated corruption in relation to society and the people who are affected by corruption. These studies have mostly focused on the definition of corruption (Heidenheimer & Johnston, 2011; Rose-Ackerman, 1999), economics (Jain, 2001), and political science (Senior, 2006) approaches to solving the issue of corruption.

I further investigated corruption in the context of language and linguistics. It was found that studies in this area have investigated corruption by employing linguistic tools such as CMT, CDA and SFL (Ogunmuyiwa, 2015; Ogunmuyiwa & Antia, 2020), Cultural Linguistics (Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2021) and metaphor (Musolff & Wang, 2020). In Ghana, it is observable that very little research on the language used in conceptualising corruption exist. The exceptions are Sarfo-Kantankah (2018) and Sarfo-Kantankah & Arko (2019), who employ Filmore's Frame Theory and the notion of *Othering* in their exploration of the subject. It was further observed that the studies are not only very few in relation to Ghana as a context, but that these studies also do not apply linguistic tools such as discourse dynamics to metaphor and the cultural model to fully understand a universal phenomenon within a local context with a focus on language and culture. The focus here is to draw attention to the need to understand corruption from the context of the participants (Ghanaians).

Following the above, studying corruption from a linguistic perspective through applying linguistic tools to analyse presidential speeches in Ghana is limited. Knowledge on how the presidents, and by extension Ghanaians, understand corruption is very limited. There are several layers of meaning that underlie the language used in conceptualising corruption, its causes and effects and the commitment to fighting it in society but these have not been critically studied.

The SONAs were examined with a focus on the language used to talk about corruption from 1993 to 2023. Analytical and theoretical tools provided by the discourse dynamics of metaphor and the cultural model and schema approaches were employed. I particularly focused on identifying the metaphorical conceptualisations that have been employed by the presidents of the Fourth Republic in conceptualising corruption. In doing metaphor identification and a metaphor-led discourse analysis, the cultural model and schema and the sociocultural underpinnings of the discourse

dynamics approaches helped me to understand the presidents' cultural conceptualisation of corruption and, by extension, the Ghanaian's understanding of corruption. The discourse dynamics approach to metaphor and its analytical procedures enabled me to identify the underlying systematic metaphors that have emerged in the discourse of each president's term of office and in the period under investigation.

The cultural model and schema approach offered interpretative tools to help unravel the sociocultural and cultural cognition of the people of Ghana which influence their framing of corruption. These were further situated in the Akan philosophy of personhood and community and respect for elders and leaders (Gyekye, 1992; Wiredu, 1992) to provide the philosophical foundations for the Ghanaian understanding of corruption, as already stated.

#### 1.1.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The study mainly deals with data that is readily available to the public. Human subjects are not involved, and the analysis does not involve any procedures that require the participation of human subjects and so no ethical clearance was required. The data retrieved were analysed mainly for academic purposes.

#### 1.1.8 OVERVIEW OF THE CHAPTERS

The first chapter, as seen herein, presents the background to the study with a focus on an overview of corruption, and the objectives and justification for this research. The second chapter conducts a review of the relevant literature that set the grounds for this dissertation. It also looks at corruption and what it is, its causes, how some Ghanaian sociocultural groups view it and the conceptualisation of corruption in language studies and particularly in discourse analysis. The

second chapter, therefore, provides a review of related literature to help establish the gap in the area. The third chapter focuses on a discussion of the theoretical frameworks that guide this study, namely the discourse dynamics approach to metaphor and the cultural model. These two theories complement each other as they both place emphasis on language and how it enables us to socially construct a phenomenon. This makes the theories useful tools for studying the cultural conceptualisation of corruption as it applies to the context of Ghana as the site for this research. Chapter three thus further provides a background to chapter four, where the methodology is discussed. In chapter four, I describe the research paradigm, the data for the research, which is made up of selected speeches by the presidents of the Fourth Republic of Ghana, the justification for my choice of the data, the method applied for the analysis of data which includes the metaphor identification procedure employed to extract the metaphors and the lexical units that have been used metaphorically. The fourth chapter, therefore, provides a fitting context for the focal analysis of identified metaphor choices as found in Chapter 5.

The fifth chapter answers the first research question and objective one by presenting an overview of metaphors used in the period under study. It also provides a brief background of each of the presidents to help contextualise the metaphors that they employ in the selected speeches. The metaphor choices identified in chapter five are discussed within the tenets of the cultural model and cultural schema approaches. These metaphorical conceptualisations are in many ways linked to the Akan philosophy of personhood, community, and individual responsibility. Chapter 6 answers research question 2 by identifying the patterns that emerge from the linguistic choices of the presidents and their use of metaphors to talk about corruption. The seventh chapter answers research question 3 of the study. It discusses what the cultural conceptualisations as identified in Chapter 6 reveal about the attitudes, values, and beliefs of the individual presidents and their

potential ideological positions on corruption. The eighth chapter presents my major findings and contributions to metaphor studies and corruption as a social problem a general conclusion, and recommendations for future research as well as some limitations of the present research.

### 1.1.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has provided an overview of the study to contextualise it. It provided the background to the study — corruption as a social phenomenon — by exploring the various definitions and the fact that they are largely Western in their outlook. Also, the chapter provided a brief overview of the Ghanaian society and corruption, followed by a statement of the problem that made this study necessary, the objectives of the study, and the research questions. The chapter, in addition, introduced the theoretical frameworks and the scope of the study. Finally, the chapter closed with the ethical status of the study, and an overview of the eight chapters which constitute the whole dissertation.



## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an overview of related literature to firm up the basis for the present study. There are three main sections to the chapter. The first major section reviews literature on the issue of corruption and how it has been defined, with a subsection on how corruption has been conceptualised in other disciplines. The second major section discusses corruption as it pertains to the Ghanaian context. The third major section provides an empirical review of related literature in language to serve as a foundation for the current research. In this third section, therefore, studies which investigate corruption from a linguistic perspective are reviewed with a focus on their set objectives, their theoretical and methodological approaches. An important objective of this chapter is also to discuss the primacy of place accorded the role of language in conceptualising corruption. The chapter, therefore, begins with an overview of corruption from a social science perspective and proceeds to the political viewpoint and finally to a linguistic approach to give a fuller understanding of the phenomenon. For the purpose of this research, the focus is on how language is used to talk about corruption as a social phenomenon using metaphorical conceptualisations. The theoretical and analytical frameworks of this study are discussed in chapters three and four.

#### 2.1.2 DEFINITIONS OF CORRUPTION: AN OVERVIEW

Defining corruption and bounding it for the purposes of this research has been very challenging considering the fluidity of the phenomenon (Adjei, 2015; Brierley, 2020; Gyimah-Boadi et al., 2014; Hasty, 2005; Sarfo-Kantankah & Arko, 2019; Werlin, 1972, 1994b). This study borrows

from the general definition of ‘giving to someone in order to influence’ a public officer or “the use of public office for private gain” as the definition of corruption while striving to contextualise this definition to suit the research purposes of this study.

As Farrales (2005) rightly observes, corruption exists in different forms and in different contexts and it is “cross cultural, cross systemic and a cultural phenomenon” (p. 3). It should, therefore, be studied within governments, countries, states, and organisations to fully appreciate how it is practiced in these settings. There is no single accepted definition of corruption (Brierley, 2020; Gyimah-Boadi, 2002; Werlin, 1972a, 1994b). The phenomenon of corruption and its effects have been viewed differently following Heidenheimer’s seminal work on corruption in 1970 which proposed a distinction between corruption based on public opinion, public office, and public interest. Studies have since engaged in discipline-based studies of the phenomenon. Heidenheimer’s study is the most cited typology of the different definitions of corruption (Farrales, 2005, p. 1). However, little progress has been made since Heidenheimer’s study (Kurer, 2005). Some of the definitions that have since been proposed include those that conceptualise corruption as political (Nielsen, 2003), as public (Gyimah-Boadi et al., 2014), and as social and cultural (Agbota et al., 2015; Sparling, 2018). The etymology of 'corruption' goes back to Latin 'rumpere', which means 'to break'. Older uses in English refer to defiling somebody and to physically breaking down or spoiling something. The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) defines corruption as understood in this study as "Perversion or destruction of integrity in the discharge of public duties by bribery or favour".

Heidenheimer’s seminal work on defining corruption through categorisation provides the foundation for various definitions. From a social science perspective, researchers have largely focused on the use of that which is public for private gain as foundational to all definitions. Some

of the different definitions of corruption from this perspective include: “the misuse of public office for private gain” (Rose-Ackerman, 1999); “the use of public office for private needs” (Werlin, 1994a); and “abuse of public roles and resources for personal gain” (Blackburn et al., 2005). Other social science researchers have viewed corruption as an act of deviating from the formal duties of a person who occupies a public role. Notwithstanding the efforts made in defining corruption as a social phenomenon, there appears to be a challenge with separating what is private from what is public. These definitions fail to pin down what public or private really means as it is a fluid reality. In fact, what may be considered public in one context may pass as private in another, and in the African setting, it is difficult to separate the two (Sharifian, 2003). This is largely true. For example, in Ghana and other African countries such as Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Cameroon, the culture is communal as observed by (Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2021). There are differences that exist in the beliefs and practices of the various cultures of the world.

One definition of corruption which is well known in the literature and focuses on using what is public for private gain is McMullan’s (1961) definition

A public official is corrupt if he accepts money or money’s worth for doing something that he is under duty to do anyway, that he is under duty not to do, or to exercise a legitimate discretion for improper reasons (McMullan, 1961, pp. 183-184).

McMullan’s definition of corruption has been modified as “the acceptance of money or money’s worth by a public official for misusing official powers of office” (Heidenheimer & Johnston, 2011). The two definitions form the major coordinates from which many other definitions have been formed, including those of Transparency International and the Constitution of Ghana. Public office is occupied by individuals who operate outside of the office in their individual and private capacities. This leaves us with the question of what is private and what is public.

Nye (1967), from a public sector view, provides what looks like an encompassing definition of corruption, describing the act as:

behaviour which deviates from the normal duties of a public role because of private-regarding (family, close private clique), pecuniary or status gains; or violates rules against the exercise of certain types of private-regarding influence. This includes such behaviour as bribery (use of reward to pervert the judgement of a person in a position of trust); nepotism (bestowal of patronage by reason of ascriptive relationship rather than merit); and misappropriation (illegal appropriation of public resources for private-regarding uses) (Nye, 1967, p. 417).

Nye's definition sounds encompassing as it tries to describe what is referred to as private as opposed to public. However, this definition does not tell us whether the use of discretionary powers in responding to community responsibilities amounts to corruption. The question also remains whether giving gifts or showing solidarity always amounts to corruption. This gap leaves Nye's definition incomplete and scholarship on corruption continues to find a more encompassing definition.

To Werlin (1972), corruption is "the misuse of public office for private gain". Other definitions include "the use of public office for private needs" and "illegal, or unauthorized, profiteering by officials who exploit their positions for personal gain" (Blackburn et al., 2005); "the sale by government officials of government property for personal gain" (Shleifer & Vishy, 1993, p. 417); "the abuse of public roles and resources for private benefit" (as cited in Ogunmuyiwa, 2015). These definitions fail to consider issues such as embezzlement and situations where private individuals who do not occupy public offices are involved. The definitions have mainly focused on the public officer to the neglect of private individuals. Relying on these definitions, therefore, leaves many

actors outside of the net and thereby makes it difficult to deal with corruption in a given context. There are also cultural practices which in themselves are not acts of corruption but may seem so when viewed through a universal lens (Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2021).

The cultural cognition of the individual or a group that shares a cultural schema is guided by a shared understanding (Sharifian, 2003) and this must be given attention in a definition of corruption to help separate legitimate practices from acts of corruption. Rose-Ackerman (1999) gives the classical example of whether a Jew who had bribed their way out of a concentration camp could be considered corrupt. Though it may appear that the bribed guard is corrupt, to this hypothetical question, she answers in the negative. There are cultural and moral undertones which make the definition of corruption more complicated.

In trying to address the role of culture in the conceptualisation of corruption, Gelbrich et al. (2016) investigate the difference between cultural values and practices and how these relate to corruption by introducing cultural discrepancy as a construct. They find from an ethical philosophy perspective that how corruption is perceived and measured is one of the main sources of the discrepancies in the definition of corruption. Their study suggests that the cultural values and practices of a people should be considered in defining corruption. However, language, which forms an important part of the culture of a people, has been neglected in their study. In their study, they define corruption as a “broad concept that may refer to any kind of dishonest, illegal, or unethical behaviour such as bribery, extortion, buying influence, nepotism, favouritism, fraud and embezzlement”. This definition looks broader than those cited earlier though it is deficient as it fails to consider context, a major factor which influences how people understand and conceptualise corruption (Ansah, 2017).

As a social and cultural phenomenon, the clandestine nature of corruption makes it difficult to measure (Agbota et al. 2015), and much of this nature is shrouded in the sociocultural practices of the people. They mostly rely on the universal definition of corruption which views the social phenomenon as an act that involves “the abuse of public office for private gain” (Rose-Ackerman, 1999) while neglecting the many situations of corruption where a public official may not be involved though it may include family and friends giving undue favours to their own. The definition seems to imply that in private settings, corruption does not occur. It, however, offers an important dimension to investigating corruption, a concept which is concealed and needs to be unravelled. Unravelling it may then include investigating the language used to form the concept.

In Agbota et al. (2015), the researchers apply positive and avoidance contingencies as tools to analyse their data, and they conclude that though formally the language of corruption may be similar to other verbal utterances, it is functionally different when understood in context. Their study considers Ghana as a context; however, they focus on giving and soliciting of bribes only. Their recommendations firm up the main arguments of the present study that “if we view corruption as a cultural phenomenon, we have to probe the contingencies governing the interaction between officials and clients, and the cultural contingencies that encourage and maintain the practice in a verbal community” (Agbota et al., 2015, p.158). Findings from the study indicate that parties to corrupt acts employ metaphors to cover their shame. Their methodological procedure of collecting and explaining the use of metaphors in conceptualising the giving and taking of bribes without considering the cultural underpinnings of these activities renders their research not fully representative of the issue of corruption in Ghana. Corruption has culture-specific underpinnings (Jing-Schmidt & Peng, 2017; Pan, 2020), and these cannot be unpacked without investigating the sociocultural values and practices of the actors.

From a political science perspective, Sparling (2018) rightly argues for a cross-cultural and social scientific research into finding an appropriate definition for corruption. His study observes that what constitutes corruption is subject to what is dictated by social values and definitions that are largely universal. Sparling's call, which is in sync with the current study, is that sociocultural nuances should be closely investigated to bring a context-based analysis and understanding to the scholarship on corruption. The fundamental values of a people are linked to their culture, and these form their schema which, in turn, informs the choices that they make when they use language to conceptualise the world around them (Sharifian, 2003; 2014). It is observed that though the above studies focus on how corruption is conceptualised, most of them do not consider the linguistic choices that are made when talking about corruption. In addition to this, the studies do not look at the cultural values and practices of the people and how these influence the linguistic choices that are used to conceptualise corruption in their communication on the phenomenon.

There is very little variation in the definitions proposed by various scholars on what should be an acceptable definition for corruption. Kurer (2005) argues that the best approach to defining the concept of corruption is to consider non-discriminatory norms across cultures and time. He is also of the view that it is unrealistic to expect everyone to agree on the exact nature of corruption since its attributes are not the same in every context. This observation concurs with Sparling's (2018). The issue of cultural difference and practices runs top in arguments on what constitutes corruption. Kurer, therefore, does not provide an exact definition of corruption, but he makes the proposition for scholars in the area to consider the fact that the philosophical underpinnings of the cultural practices of a people make them unique, hence there is little utility in adopting a one-definition-fits-all stance.

To Farrales (2005), what politicians and bureaucrats do to favour their families can be considered corruption. Farrales argues that the question of what constitutes corruption has “no clear and easy answer” and that “the most enduring aspect of the literature has been the continued difficulty in defining and conceptualizing corruption” (Farrales, 2005, p. 1). The main argument of his study is that “a one-line definition of corruption is impossible” (Farrales, 2005, p. 1). This means that all the existing definitions of corruption have their limitations and so probably a context-based definition will suffice and hence a context like Ghana with its cultural nuances will require attention in defining corruption. This is because cross-cultural definitions could suffer from definitions that do not cater for the latent meanings that underlie the conceptualisation of corruption.

From the foregoing, it is confirmed that there are many different definitions for corruption and that there is no single definition for corruption (Kurer, 2005). What we know about corruption is that its perception may be more than its reality. However, we do not know to what extent the language and culture of a people, and for that matter the people of Ghana, affect the way in which they conceptualise corruption and what this reveals about their understanding, ideas, and values on corruption and their attitude to it. What is also certain is that corruption is shameful; hence, actors resort to metaphors, and euphemistic language to conceal its practice (Agbota et al., 2015; Hasty, 2005; Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2021). To fully understand corruption and other phenomena, therefore, requires a critical investigation of the language and sociocultural practices of the people based on the philosophical underpinnings of their values and practices, as proposed by Gyekye (1992) and Wiredu (1992).

The context of Africa and, for that matter Ghana, and the people’s understanding of concepts such as family, community and leadership are different from that of “Western” cultures (Gyekye, 1992;

Wiredu, 1992b) and their understanding of such concepts (Sharifian, 2003). In an attempt to provide a more encompassing definition for corruption, Farrales (2005) identifies cultural discrepancies as major factors in defining corruption. We elaborate on this argument in Chapter 6 to provide strong philosophical foundations for the need to view corruption from the cultural context of the participants.

. What may be considered in one setting as corruption might not be thus considered in another setting. The literature on what constitutes corruption continues to be strongly contested because most definitions use “vague criteria, and inappropriate perspectives which distort, exaggerate or otherwise oversimplify explanations of corruption” (Heidenheimer & Johnston, 2011, p. 6). The present study shares similar views on the inadequacy of the definition of corruption, especially as presented in the constitution of Ghana and scholarship on corruption. In the section that follows, I review literature on corruption in general.

I operationalised the definition of corruption to both acknowledge universal definitions such as the “the abuse of what is public for private gain” (Rose-Ackerman, 1999) and to also account for context specific interpretation, understanding and linguistic framing of the phenomenon.

I, therefore, define corruption for the purposes of this study to say that corruption is the perceived or actual misuse of entrusted power, authority or resource for private gain in ways that are illegal, or unethical.



### 2.1.3 EMPIRICAL LITERATURE REVIEW ON CORRUPTION

Corruption is a major issue that affects the world in many negative ways, and it has been described as the greatest challenge by Transparency International (2010). It is a worrying issue that is found everywhere in the world (Senior, 2006; Yeboah-Assiamah et al., 2014) and no government is immune to corruption (Farrales, 2005; McMullan, 1961). It also exists in all public services of all countries (Adjei, 2015). The cultural and social perspectives that underpin the practices that are described as ‘corruption’ in relation to the constitution of Ghana are viewed critically.

Corruption takes different forms, and these include bribery, embezzlement, abuse of power, cronyism, favouritism, nepotism, extortion, clientelism and patronage, electoral malpractice, and manipulation of regulations among others (Amundsen, 1999). Corruption is a common problem in Ghana (Sarfo-Kantankah & Arko, 2019). What we know about corruption is that it is measured on perception. In addition, we do not know to what extent the language and culture of a people, and for that matter the people of Ghana, affect the way in which they talk about corruption, especially in presidential speeches, and what these (language and culture) reveal about ideas, values, and attitudes towards corruption in the country. Corruption is a major theme that continues to recur in the political discourse of Ghana. In the parliament of Ghana, corruption is pervasive (Sarfo-Kantankah & Arko, 2019), as it is in the body politic (Adjei, 2015). The efforts of the presidents of the Fourth Republic at fighting corruption, as it may be reflected in their speeches, need to be investigated to find out how they talk about corruption and what it reveals about the norms, beliefs, customs and cultural values of Ghanaians towards this social phenomenon. What we do not know is the extent to which practices that may be described as cultural contribute to the practice of corruption in Ghana. There are illicit practices, such as paying bribes, which are shrouded in linguistic expressions such as “giving cola” or “gift giving” which are used to describe legitimate

practices which are customary (Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2021) and have nothing to do with the giving and receiving of bribes. The current study investigates how English spoken in Ghana is used to encode corruption and thereby reveal Ghanaians' understanding of corruption.

This research is urgent in order to unpack the several layers of meaning that underlie the metaphorical conceptualisations of the presidents of the Fourth Republic. Conceptualisations are believed to be underpinned by cultural practices, and, in Africa, they are linked to the African cultural model of community (Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2021). In Ghana, the concept of community is guided by practices such as gift giving, collective responsibility, support for family and friends, respect for older persons, leadership and authority and these together help an individual to achieve personhood (being recognised as a person). Some of these practices may be construed as corruption in Western contexts.

Recent studies (Sarfo-Kantankah, 2018; Sarfo-Kantankah & Arko, 2019) have shown that corruption is pervasive and that there is a discursive construction of the conceptualisation of corruption in political discourse. In Sarfo-Kantankah (2018), data from parliamentary discourse on debates on the floor of Parliament between 2005 and 2016 are examined using Filmore's Frame theory and corpus-assisted discourse studies. The study finds out that parliamentarians discursively construct corruption. The study does not consider the metaphors used and the layers of meaning that underlie metaphor in the use of language to conceptualise a phenomenon such as corruption. Sarfo-Kantankah and Arko (2019) apply content analysis and find out that evaluative language characterises the language used by parliamentarians. Their data is limited to parliamentary committee reports on Anti-Corruption Action Plan, a plan instituted by the government of Ghana to fight corruption. The cultural practices of Ghanaians which could be a major influence in the cultural conceptualisation of corruption does not enjoy a place in their study, thereby making it

inadequate for making generalisations on how corruption is conceptualised in Ghana. The linguistic study of the cultural conceptualisation of corruption in countries such as Liberia, Cameroon, and Nigeria has been conducted by Ogunmuyiwa and Antia (2020) and Polzenhagen and Wolf (2021). These studies find it necessary to mention Ghana, but they do this in passing. While Ogunmuyiwa and Atia describe Ghana as less corrupt than Nigeria, with reference to the CPI and World Bank reports, Polzenhagen and Wolf mention Ghana in relation to legitimate cultural practices that may be considered as corrupt acts in Western conceptualisations. Though these studies provide the present study literature to be able to analyse corruption from the context of Ghana, they do not address the important issue of what the 1992 Constitution defines as corruption as opposed to cultural practices that define the Ghanaian's worldview in terms of corruption.

#### 2.1.4 TYPES AND FORMS OF CORRUPTION

There are different types of corruption. However, in this section, I briefly discuss only three of them (political, bureaucratic, and elite corruption) to help situate the study. Like corruption itself, political corruption does not have a single universally accepted definition. Some well-known definitions such as Carl Friedrich's (year, page) definition of political corruption (as cited in Heidenheimer & Johnston, 2011) describes political corruption as, "a deviant behaviour associated with a particular motivation, namely that of private gain at public expense". Heidenheimer and Johnston further agree with Friedrich and add that:

Corruption exists wherever a powerholder who is charged with doing certain things, that is a responsible functionary or office holder, is by monetary or other rewards, such as the

expectation of a job in future, induced to take actions which favour whoever, provides the reward and therefore damage the group organization (Heidenheimer & Johnston, 2011, p. 4).

The issue of the individual and their responsibility towards family and friends and the expectations of community towards the individual as a community member or particularly as a political leader are completely ignored. This is discussed in detail in chapter 6. Heidenheimer and Johnson particularly believe that corruption is endemic in all governments. In a study by Philip (2002), he points out that we can recognise political corruption when a public official violates the trust reposed in them in a way that offends public interest or deliberately engages in a behaviour which exploits their office for their personal gain or conduct themselves in a way that goes contrary to laid down rules of their public office for the benefit of another person.

Lewis (2021) investigates the causes of widespread protests in Africa and finds out that what he calls elite corruption or political corruption is largely responsible for contentions on the African continent. To Lewis (2021), “[e]lite corruption is defined as consisting of corruption practiced by political elites, such as the president and cabinet members, and is used to refer mainly to forms of elite capture, theft, and electoral fraud” (p, 227).

On the other hand, Sparling (2018) describes political corruption as “the breach of the norm of impartiality” (p. 376). People generally belong to families and communities, and it is part of the cultural model of the African community for people to provide support for one another especially when they belong to the same family or community. It is the same with political elites. They are born into families and communities, and these families have expectations of these political elites in the form of support which, in turn, motivates the community to give their political support to these elites.

Notwithstanding the fact that Africa is notorious for corruption, African societies are known to hold contradictory views when it comes to defining corruption. While there may be practices such as the obligation to carry a ‘gift’ to the chief on visiting the chief for whatever reason, which often translates into the relationship between political elites and their electorate, these are viewed as means to achieving personhood and not corruption. This is elaborated in Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

Bureaucratic corruption occurs at places such as schools, police stations, government agencies, ministries and departments, hospitals and in activities which involve daily encounters (Lewis, 2021; Ogunmuyiwa, 2015). What Lewis, and Ogunmuyiwa have done is mainly to conceptualise corruption as an act and explain the role of the actors. How actors who are generally political leaders use language to conceptualise corruption has not been investigated. Political leaders and actors use language as the message tool to reach their audiences, which means that the language that they use to talk about corruption is a rich source of data for analysts to investigate how corruption is conceptualised.

There are moral rules that define what is ethical and/or morally acceptable in every society. Moral corruption, therefore, refers to behaviours that are considered unacceptable because they go against these ethical rules. McQueen (2020) agrees with Kant that moral judgements are easily manipulated and so they cannot be relied upon. The tendency to use inclinations to make judgements stands in the way of understanding and properly defining corruption. While I do not join in the debates on the various conceptualisations of corruption, I draw on these insights to explain how Ghanaians conceptualise corruption. I look at these types of corruption and their respective definitions in relation to what the constitution of Ghana identifies as corruption to be concerns that urgently need attention to reach the root of corruption. In my view, what is moral

should be viewed from the perspective of the participants and these, I say, are largely rooted in the philosophical views of the people concerned.

West African countries, such as Nigeria, are known for issues of massive corruption (Ogunmuyiwa, 2015; Smith, 2014). While Nigeria's woes are blamed on corruption by international observers, Nigerians themselves often do not see it as such. It is observed in Smith (2014) that, despite what is described as an almost universal perception of corruption, the understanding of Nigerians in relation to what constitutes corruption is often different from Western views. It is more complicated across West African countries since in certain moments we subscribe to international and donor definitions while in others, when it suits us, we fall on African philosophies such as a collectivist culture and communal living. These erase the fine lines between private and public practices such as favouritism, which may be considered as a means to building family solidarity in the African cultural model. Sharifian (2017), for instance states that it is difficult to distinguish what is private from what is public in the African cultural model. The different conceptualisation of corruption explained with the help of the African cultural model is further explained in chapter six.

It is difficult to tell how old corruption is in human society and for scholars such as Farrales (2005) and Ogunmuyiwa (2015), it is as old as human society and continues to exist in all societies as a social malaise (Ogunmuyiwa, 2015). Corruption existed as early as 350 BC, as reported by Kautilya (1992, pp. 350-275) and its existence and practice were prevalent among the people. He reports that:

Imported goods shall be sold in as many places as possible... [and] local merchants who bring in foreign goods by caravan or by water routes shall enjoy exemption from taxes, so that they can make a profit. The King shall protect trade routes from harassment by

courtiers, state officials, thieves and frontier guards... [and] frontier officers shall make good what is lost... Just as it is impossible not to taste honey or poison that one may find at the tip of one's tongue, so it is impossible for a government servant not to eat up at least a bit of the King's revenue... And there are about forty ways of embezzlement by the government servant (Kautilya, *The Arthashastra*, 1992, p. 281).

Ancient Rome Empire and Greece also experienced massive corruption, and it contributed to the fall of the two empires (McMullan, 1961). The effect is that corruption continues to rob nations worldwide of many things, including peace. The devastating effects of corruption are felt in all sectors of various countries including Ghana.

#### 2.1.5 CAUSES OF CORRUPTION

The causes of corruption are as complex as corruption itself (Rothstein & Teorell, 2014). To understand the causes of corruption demands that we either view corruption as a universal phenomenon or examine the causes while reminding ourselves that it is a problem that is culturally specific, as pointed out by Rothstein and Teorell (2014). While corruption has been generally seen as a phenomenon which causes mass protests in Africa (Lewis, 2021), a study by Pertiwi (2020) argues that corruption has positive effects which make the politicians find it attractive to practise. Through a discourse analysis of responses from informants of interviews conducted, Pertiwi argues that corruption assists governments to run and support members of society who are marginalised. He rightly observes that corruption also helps politicians to realise their set goals as governments in power. The causes of corruption are inexhaustive (Ogunmuyiwa, 2015) and it is difficult to assign a particular reason to its perpetration. While some of the causes are due to personal greed,

others also include the lack of the will to denounce corruption, and the cultural environment (Agbota et al., 2015). Ogunmuyiwa (2015) further observes that the various causes of corruption can be traced to individuals, organisations, public and private institutions, and the sociocultural values of a society. What these studies do not categorically tell us is what the language used to conceptualise corruption in these settings reveal about the philosophical underpinnings of attitudes, values, beliefs, and practices that are considered corrupt.

According to Rose-Ackerman (1999), corruption is viewed as pervasive, and democracy is not a cure for it. She further points out that:

There are three dimensions that are central in determining the incidence of political corruption. They affect politicians' willingness to accept bribes and illegal campaign financing, voters' toleration of such payoffs, and the willingness to pay off wealthy groups. The first dimension is the existence of narrowly focused favours available for distribution by politicians. The second is the ability of wealthy groups to obtain these benefits legally. Third is the temporal stability of political alliances (Rose-Ackerman, 1999, p. 372).

Corruption is viewed and treated differently in different parts of the world (McMullan, 1961). To McMullan, “There is...a tendency to treat corruption in the more developed parts of the world as incidental, as at worst a few rotten apples – not like the structural and widespread corruption in less developed parts of the world” (as cited in Ogunmuyiwa, 2015).

Not only do I propose that there are moral responsibilities that guide certain practices among Ghanaians, but I also draw on the philosophies of the people to reveal their understanding of corruption.

### 2.1.6 LINGUISTIC STUDIES OF CORRUPTION

This section examines literature on corruption from a linguistic perspective. I begin with some studies from across the world, followed by studies from Africa and finally studies from Ghana. I also review the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of these studies to help establish the need for the approaches adopted for the current research.

Drawing on a cultural linguistic perspective (Sharifian, 2017) and the respective findings from Ansah (2017), Jing-Schmidt and Peng (2017) and Polzenhagen and Wolf (2021), I observe that there are cultural underpinnings that guide the use of language, and, for that matter, the metaphorical conceptualisations used to talk about corruption. In a study conducted by Jing-Schmidt and Peng (2017) on the use of metaphors to frame corruption in China's anti-corruption campaign discourse, they employ corpus analysis to analyse data drawn from presidential speeches and newspapers to unravel how corruption is conceptualised and its influence on public perception. Their analyses draw on Lakoff and Johnson's CMT and Filmore's Frame theory as theoretical underpinnings for their study. They linguistically analysed the choice of metaphors used in a corpus from special webpage entitled "Study and Implement the spirit of General Secretary Xi's Speeches" and they found out that the strategic use of metaphors by the speakers communicate knowledge based on their sociocultural context. They point out that metaphors such as DISEASE and VERMIN and TIGER are used to profile corruption. They investigate the cultural relevance and political functions of the metaphors used and find out that embodied experience and cultural models both constitute metaphoric vehicles for talking about different aspects of corruption and that the choice of metaphor use is sensitive to the sociocultural context and the knowledge base of the people. Their research y contributes to the present study regarding the ability of the sociocultural context and metaphor as sensitive tools to unravelling the manipulative nature of

metaphors. Though their study emphasises how culture shapes the way individuals conceptualise the world, they mainly focus on the conceptualisations in the mind without further investigating how these culture-specific conceptualisations influence the understanding of phenomena such as corruption through a people's use of language. The present study fills this gap by focusing on how cultural practices influence how corruption is understood and expressed through language.

Another study from China that examines the use of metaphors in conceptualising corruption through a linguistic approach is Pan (2020). His study investigates how Chinese cultural systems shape their choice of metaphors in conceptualising corruption in China English through a CMT approach. Using issues of corruption as criteria, he selected news articles from three widely read news media that report in English in China and analysed these reports both qualitatively and quantitatively. From his study, corruption is a social phenomenon and an abstract concept that is common in news reporting and scholarly discussions worldwide (Pan, 2020, p. 2). The studies looked at earlier in this chapter (Jing-Schmidt & Peng, 2017; Negro, 2015; Pan, 2020; Pertiwi, 2020) mainly focus on corruption and how it is conceptualised through CMT and discourse analysis with little attention given to the sociocultural context and how the fundamental values of the people influence these metaphor choices that are made by politicians in their political speeches on corruption. CMT is concerned with metaphor as part of the linguistic knowledge and competence rather than its usage in communication (Jing-Schmidt & Peng, 2017; Cienki, 2008) and its research focus is limited to the conceptual and cognitive functions of language. The top-to-bottom approach which traditional conceptual metaphor theory proposes has been mostly criticised by other metaphor theorists (Cameron, 2003; Kövecses, 2003) who rather find a bottom-up approach more appropriate. The top-to-bottom approach is criticised for its failure to recognise that “metaphorical expressions have often emerged from and have been shaped by certain culture-

specific factors and influences and, therefore, they cannot be explained by larger often universal metaphors” (Kövecses, 2011, p. 28). These need to be remedied; hence, the more pragmatic approach proposed by Cameron (2007, 2010a) complimented with ideas from CMT was employed in this study.

In another study, Negro (2015) shows how metaphors play a pragmatic function in discourse. Drawing from CMT, the conceptualisation of metaphor is explored through a linguistic and verbal analysis of the Barcenas case in the Spanish press as data, and it is revealed that the choice of metaphors employed carry a negative evaluation of political discourse. Negro’s approach to this local problem is quasi-universal by its application of CMT. Thus, though it sought to understand corruption in a local context, as done in the present study, it viewed a local problem through a universal lens.

Studies that have focused on corruption as a local problem and approached it in culture-specific contexts have similar findings although there are some differences. To understand corruption through a linguistic metaphors approach with a view to combatting it, Bangura (2007) examined speech practices in Sierra Leone and discovered that the use of a legal approach to fighting corruption ought to be complemented with traditional ethical practices. Bangura’s study is similar to those of Jing-Schmidt Peng (2017) and Pan (2020) in terms of recommendations, having found that the culture and values of the Chinese people are a means to resist corrupt practices. The present study, on the other hand, considers culture and fundamental values as practices that need to be carefully reviewed in each context to find out how coherent they are with the culture of the people. These fundamental values and practices which are found in the culture of the people can then be separated from what are illicit practices and what is culturally acceptable. Separating illicit

practices from practices that are culturally acceptable will make it possible for one to deal with corruption as a sociocultural phenomenon.

Musolff and Wang (2020) investigated the conceptualisation of the NATION AS A BODY/ PERSON with a focus on how the nation is conceptualised in relation to corruption. They compared responses from Chinese and English and found that sarcasm plays an important role in such conceptualisations. Musolff and Wang's study provide insights into metaphor and the conceptualisation of corruption in terms understanding corruption and its conceptualisation in relation to other figurative uses of language such as sarcasm and irony.

The language of corruption and anti-corruption in Nigeria has been studied by Ekpenyong and Bassey (2014). In their study, they draw data from written popular and creative sources to investigate how Nigerians use language to talk about corruption and anti-corruption. The study was conducted employing a lexico-semantic approach and it revealed that gradable synonyms, collocates and metaphors as well as clichés and coinages were common in the selected data. They conclude that these lexical choices are made to help the speaker to deal with corruption. Even though their study investigates metaphors as part of the language choices made to talk about corruption in Nigeria, it fails to examine how coherent these metaphors are with the fundamental values in the given context as investigated in the current study. They, however, provide the present study with insights into how metaphor is explored to conceal corruption, which is a major finding in the current study.

Corruption conceptualised as concealment in metaphor analysis is common in most analyses that focus on African countries. An example can be found in the metaphor of 'eating', which is explored in Agbiboa (2022).

One of the most cited studies on culture-specific conceptualisation of corruption is Polzenhagen and Wolf (2021). They conducted an analysis of African English expression in Nigeria, Cameroon and Sierra Leone, through a cultural linguistic survey and corpus linguistic methods and found that there is an African model common to the three countries that influences how corruption is conceptualised. They further observe that there are a set of underlying conceptual metaphors that influence the language choices used to talk about corruption. Their findings show that these influences come from cultural practices such as gift giving, negotiating and favouritism. They conclude that while these cultural practices may be legal, they are exploited by individuals for carrying out illicit practices such as corruption. Though their study touches on Ghana and provides the present study with a background for its investigations, their study is limited in its scope as they particularly focus on food and gift giving metaphors to the neglect of customs, values, and norms

Corruption is a social phenomenon frequently evoked in the Ghanaian media, scholarly writings and in political discourse, especially political speeches by Ghanaian presidents. Corruption as a social phenomenon has been dominantly associated with using public property for private gain especially in ways that breach the laws of a society (Kurer, 2005). Presidential speeches in Ghana have often presented corruption by using metaphorical language (Sarfo-Kantankah, 2018). Earlier studies such as Agyekum (2004a), Hasty (2005), and Obeng (1997) align with the view that political discourse in Ghana is inundated with cultural conceptualisations represented through linguistic choices such metaphors, proverbs, and other communicative strategies such as indirectness and circumlocution.

Hasty (2005) problematizes the definition of corruption by investigating discourses on corruption through interviews and conversations with Ghanaians and he declares that actors of corruption euphemize corruption by using cultural models and historical reference to conceal and negotiate

their way out of corruption. From a media report writer's point of view, Ghanaians make discourse choices in conceptualising perpetrators of corruption as grand or petty corrupt people. Hasty observes that, "[a]lthough these cultural frames are specifically local ways of understanding the problem of corruption, the problem they frame is not specifically local itself, and Ghanaians do not see it as such" (2005, p. 279).

Thus, despite the seemingly universal understanding of the term corruption, there are cultural underpinnings to how the term is viewed and understood in different cultural contexts (Ansah, 2017; Jing-Schmidt & Peng, 2017a; Ogunmuyiwa & Antia, 2020; Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2021). The metaphorical conceptualisation of corruption differs across nations (Jing-Schmidt & Peng, 2017, p. 2) and it is usually "coherent with the fundamental values of the given culture" (Ansah, 2017, 378). The present study agrees with this observation and then further argues that unfortunately, corruption has been viewed as a universal phenomenon and compared across countries and regions by international bodies mainly through a Western lens. Though Hasty has tried to look at the nuances in the context of Ghana, her findings describe the culture of the people as a deliberate means of practising corruption, instead of focusing on what the cultural practices reveal about the peoples' understanding of the phenomenon of corruption. Thus, for a deeper and rigorous understanding of what corruption is and how and why it is found in every country, the sociocultural factors of a given country should be carefully studied and analysed.

Within Africa and the context of Ghana, recent studies (Sarfo-Kantankah & Arko, 2019; Sarfo Kantankah, 2018) have shown that corruption is pervasive and that there is a discursive construction of the conceptualisation of corruption in political discourse. Sarfo-Kantankah and Arko (2019) have pointed out that there is evidence of othering in how corruption is conceptualised in the Parliament of Ghana, and. this compounds the way Ghanaians view the issue of corruption.

Through a corpus analysis method, Sarfo-Kantankah focuses on the discursive construction of corruption by Ghanaian parliamentarians. The study did not employ a bottom-up approach to examine metaphors underlie the linguistic elements studied. There is the need to adopt a more (objective) approach to the data to be able to account for the intuitive analysis which brings out clearly the meanings that underlie metaphors. Without paying attention to those who wield executive power, namely the presidents of Ghana, one will miss out on a vital source of information when it comes to the conceptualisation of corruption. These presidents are a repository of knowledge in terms of culture since they come from indigenous ethnic groups which hold culture in high esteem. The outputs of a linguistic study of corruption in other countries such as Liberia, Cameroon, and Nigeria respectively corroborate such findings that culture is culture and context specific (Ogunmuyiwa & Antia, 2020; Ogunmuyiwa, 2015; Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2021).

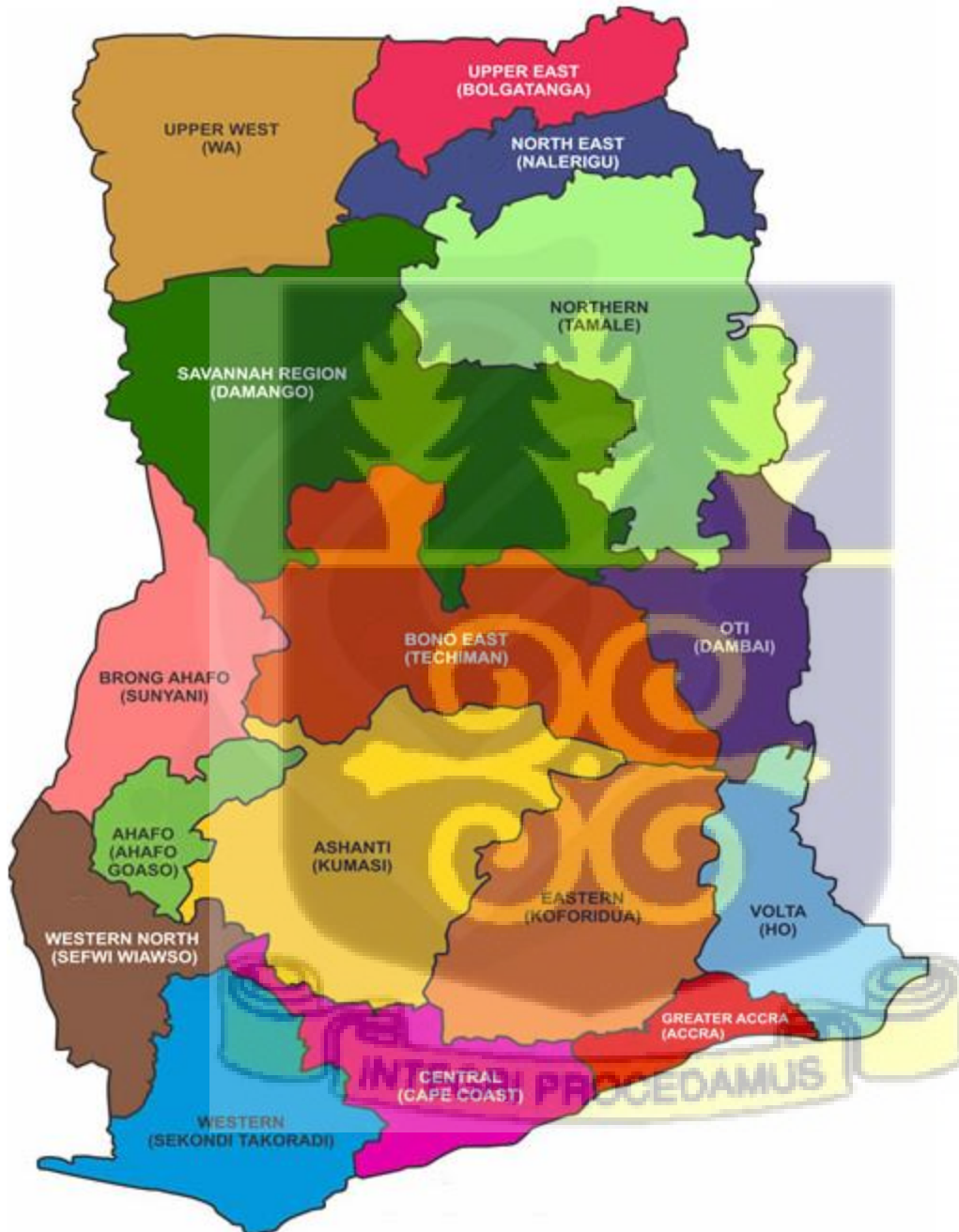
Many researchers have examined the use of metaphors in conceptualising corruption in political speeches in different cultural contexts (Jing-Schmidt & Peng, 2017; Negro, 2015; Ogunmuyiwa & Antia, 2020; Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2021). Studying how corruption is conceptualised in three African countries — Sierra Leone, Cameroon and Nigeria — through the lens of cultural models and cultural schemas (Sharifian 2017), Polzenhagen and Wolf (2021) found that several conceptual metaphors are used in talking about corruption. However, there is a dearth of knowledge on how these discursive constructions represent the linguistic context as well as the cultural implications of these conceptualisations of corruption as far as cultural nuances such as ‘gift-giving’, ‘family first’, ‘the community as family’ and how they shape the Ghanaians worldview of corruption. This research augments studies on cultural conceptualisations on corruption through linguistic analyses and helps to identify the role of a people’s cultural schema in their attitudes towards corruption. Metaphorical conceptualisations used to talk about corruption in the SONAs from 1993 to date

may be more culturally bound to the context of Ghana. These metaphorical conceptualisations used to talk about corruption reveal the attitudes of the selected presidents to the phenomenon and these should be interpreted within the sociocultural practices of the people of Ghana. The metaphorical conceptualisations used in the SONAs are examined to find out how they reflect salient cultural practices which emanate from the cultural schema of the presidents and how these, in turn, help to conceal illicit practices as it may be observed in the language choices of the presidents. Polzenhagen and Wolf (2021) observe in their study that euphemistic metaphors, when selected by a speaker in talking about corruption as a social phenomenon, are often aimed at conceptualising corruption in such a way that illicit practices are concealed. The studies on corruption outlined above mainly focus on the discursive nature of corruption, how it is conceptualised in various disciplines, its causes, effects, and solutions; there is little attention paid to actors such as political leaders and particularly the executive who form a strong leadership arm of government.

From the foregoing discussion, none of the works reviewed employs the use of the discourse dynamics approach to metaphor in investigating the language used to conceptualise corruption. These studies, again, do not focus on Ghana as the context for their investigations. There is, therefore, a dearth of knowledge that warrants an investigation of how corruption is conceptualised in Ghana. It is against this background of how corruption could mean different things to different people depending on their worldview of the concept of corruption that it has become necessary to investigate the language choices of the presidents of the Fourth Republic of Ghana in talking about corruption and what it reveals about their understanding, beliefs, values, and attitudes toward the phenomenon of corruption. The current study investigates corruption within a well-defined

geographical area. The area both represents the diversity and unity of Ghanaians in terms of culture and language.

The map gives us an idea of the geographical area ruled by the presidents of Ghana. The country is united by the diversity of the different cultures of the different regions.



**FIGURE 1: A MAP OF THE 16 REGIONS OF GHANA**

2.1.7 THE NEED FOR THE PRESENT STUDY

Recent studies (Sarfo-Kantankah, 2018; Sarfo-Kantankah & Arko, 2019) have shown that corruption is pervasive and that there is a discursive construction of the conceptualisation of corruption in political discourse. Speakers draw on their schema to speak about concepts. While doing this however, they often become innovative in how they draw on this existing knowledge. In Sarfo-Kantankah (2018), data from parliamentary discourse, in particular debates on the floor of Parliament between 2005 and 2016, are examined using Filmore's Frame theory and corpus-assisted discourse studies. The study finds out that parliamentarians discursively construct corruption but does not consider the metaphors used and the layers of meaning that underlie metaphor in the use of language to conceptualise a phenomenon such as corruption. Sarfo-Kantankah and Arko (2019) apply content analysis and find out that evaluative language characterises the language used by parliamentarians. Their data is limited to parliamentary committee reports on Anti-Corruption Action Plan, a plan instituted by the government of Ghana to fight corruption. The cultural practices of Ghanaians which could be a major influence in the cultural conceptualisation of corruption do not enjoy a place in their study, thereby making it inadequate for making generalisations on how corruption is conceptualised in Ghana. A linguistic study of the cultural conceptualisation of corruption in countries such as Liberia, Cameroon, and Nigeria has been conducted by Ogunmuyiwa and Antia (2020) and Polzenhagen and Wolf (2021). These studies find it necessary to mention Ghana, but they do this in passing. While Ogunmuyiwa and Antia describe Ghana as less corrupt than Nigeria, with reference to the CPI and World Bank reports, Polzenhagen and Wolf mention Ghana in relation to legitimate cultural practices that may be considered as corrupt acts in Western conceptualisations. Though these studies provide the

present study with literature to be able to analyse corruption from the context of Ghana, they do not address the important issue of what the 1992 Constitution defines as corruption as opposed to cultural practices that define Ghanaians' worldview in terms of corruption.

This research augments studies on cultural conceptualisations of corruption through linguistic analysis and helps to identify the role of a people's cultural schema in their attitudes towards corruption. The research draws on the hypothesis that the linguistic behaviour of the presidents of the Fourth Republic in relation to corruption is tied to cultural practices, their attitudes, values, and beliefs in terms of corruption as a social problem

Cameron (2007) argues for the use of discourse dynamics approach to metaphor analysis as it allows the researcher to analyse real-life data as it occurs in speech in contrast to what Conceptual Metaphor Theory analysts such as Demjén and Semino (2016), Su et al. (2021) and Wang et al. (2019) have proposed. This does not really show what the conceptualisations reveal about the influence of cultural practices on the choice of metaphors for conceptualising corruption. A discourse-oriented approach to metaphor is proposed in this study.

My study seeks to contribute to the literature on metaphor and corruption analysed from the perspective of context and the role of language and culture using Cameron's discourse dynamic approach to metaphor analysis (Cameron, 2007) and the cultural model and schema theories as proposed by Cameron (2010).

Conceptualised conventionally, corruption is a broad concept that may refer to any kind of dishonest, illegal, or unethical behaviour such as bribery, extortion, buying influence, nepotism, favouritism, fraud and embezzlement (Nielsen, 2003). The Transparency International Report

(2010) defines corruption as “the misuse of public power for private benefit which involves applying illegal and/or unethical behaviours”.

Adjei (2015), from the view of a literary analyst critiquing Amu Djoeto’s *Money Galore*, laments that “Ghana's corruption, it appears, is rooted in the body politic, and the people's body language does not appear to be anti-corruption. The structures that foster corruption appear to be ingrained in the national psyche” (Adjei, 2015, p.100). Corruption is conceptualised differently in different settings (Gelbrich et al., 2016). This makes corruption an issue to be investigated from all angles of society, some of which are political and administrative (Werlin, 1994b), cultural (Brierley, 2020) and linguistic. Though corruption has been studied from a linguistic perspective (Bassey et al., 2013; Ogunmuyiwa & Antia, 2020; Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2021; Sarfo-Kantankah, 2018; Sarfo-Kantankah & Arko, 2019), the case of a discourse dynamic approach which offers analysis into how the practice is talked about is yet to be considered in the study of corruption.

There is little research on how the issue of corruption is discussed (Sarfo-Kantankah & Arko, 2019). On the issue of othering, Sarfo-Kantankah and Arko, (2019) and Sarfo-Kantankah (2018) point out that the Parliament of Ghana, the institution set up to ensure that Ministries, Departments and Agencies discharge their duties diligently without engaging in corruption, see themselves as absolved from corruption while the other, the rest of the nation, is viewed as corrupt. Using an interpretative content analysis approach to study parliamentary reports on National Anti-Corruption Action Plan NACAP), Sarfo-Kantankah and Arko (2019) observe that certain cultural practices and the issue of othering mitigate the efforts of Parliament in the discharge of its duty in ensuring that it performs better on the league table of Transparency International. In a similar study, Sarfo-Kantankah (2018) indicates that corruption is a big issue that needs urgent attention. In both studies, however, the language and especially metaphors used to encode corruption have

not been studied and this makes the present study an urgent one if the issues of corruption are to be analysed and properly addressed within the given context.

Different metaphors have been used to conceptualise corruption in various studies. In Ogunmuyiwa and Antia (2020), it is pointed out that strong metaphors have been employed in describing corruption in Nigeria. Corruption has been described as ‘endemic’ (Ogunmuyiwa & Antia, 2020), as ‘a deadly virus’, as a ‘cancerworm’” (as cited in Ogunmuyiwa, 2015). Amankwah et al. (2017) on the other hand focus on the Judiciary of Ghana and their involvement in corruption in Ghana and reveal that allegations against the Judiciary in terms of corruption are unfortunately true and the institution needs to be condemned since it leads to the denial of justice to the right people.

The commitment of the government of Ghana to fight corruption has led to the establishment of institutions such as NACAP and the Economic and Organised Crime Office. Corruption is a major theme that continues to recur in discussions in the Parliament and political discourse of Ghana (Sarfo-Kantankah & Arko, 2019), and the phenomenon of corruption in Ghana is criminalised through the Criminal Code. It criminalises corruption in the form of active and passive bribery, extortion, wilful exploitation of public office, use of public office for private gain and bribery of foreign public officials. The use of metaphors and/or euphemistic language helps the actors of corruption to legitimise corrupt behaviour, to tackle insecurity and to normalise corruption (Agbota et al., 2015). There is, therefore, an urgent need to investigate the language of presidents, who have the mandate to ensure that corruption is made unacceptable and frowned on in all its forms. The existing literature (Agbota et al., 2015; Hasty, 2005; Ogunmuyiwa & Antia, 2020; Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2021; Sarfo-Kantankah, 2018; Sarfo-Kantankah & Arko, 2019) does not focus on the cultural conceptualisation of corruption within the Fourth Republic.

Cameron et al. (2009) assert that “metaphor can be used to uncover peoples’ ideas, attitudes and values through analysing discourse and collecting data” (p.64). A review of studies on corruption shows that there is a dearth of knowledge on the language used to conceptualise corruption in the discourse of the Parliament of Ghana and what the linguistic choices reveal about the speakers’ attitudes, ideas and values in terms of corruption in Ghana. The application of cultural model will further strengthen the research underpinnings of this study.

#### 2.1.8 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have reviewed of literature related to corruption from different disciplines. First, a review of related literature on the definition of corruption was done. The literature showed that corruption has been with human society for a very long time and that it is a phenomenon which is difficult to define. The simple definition which focuses on the use of public office for private gain is viewed as inadequate to fully capture the cultural and contextual nuances that characterise the language used to conceptualise corruption. This was then followed by a review of literature on the different types of corruption. The chapter also discusses corruption within Ghana as the context of our investigations. Finally, language-related studies on corruption have been reviewed to help place the present study in proper perspective.

The relevance of the study is clearly seen in the literature reviewed in this chapter. To begin with, the study contributes empirically to the investigation of corruption by using linguistic analysis with a focus on metaphor analysis to unravel the underlying meanings encoded in language used to conceptualise corruption. Again, investigating corruption from the perspective of language through the discourse dynamics approach to metaphor and the cultural model and schema is novel.

These two theoretical frameworks helped to unpack several layers of meaning in the use of metaphor to talk about corruption. Also, to the best of my knowledge, the investigation of the selected presidential speeches with the aim of revealing how the presidents of the Fourth Republic of Ghana understand corruption is new. The present study can thus be said to be distinct from studies in the reviewed extant literature.



## CHAPTER THREE

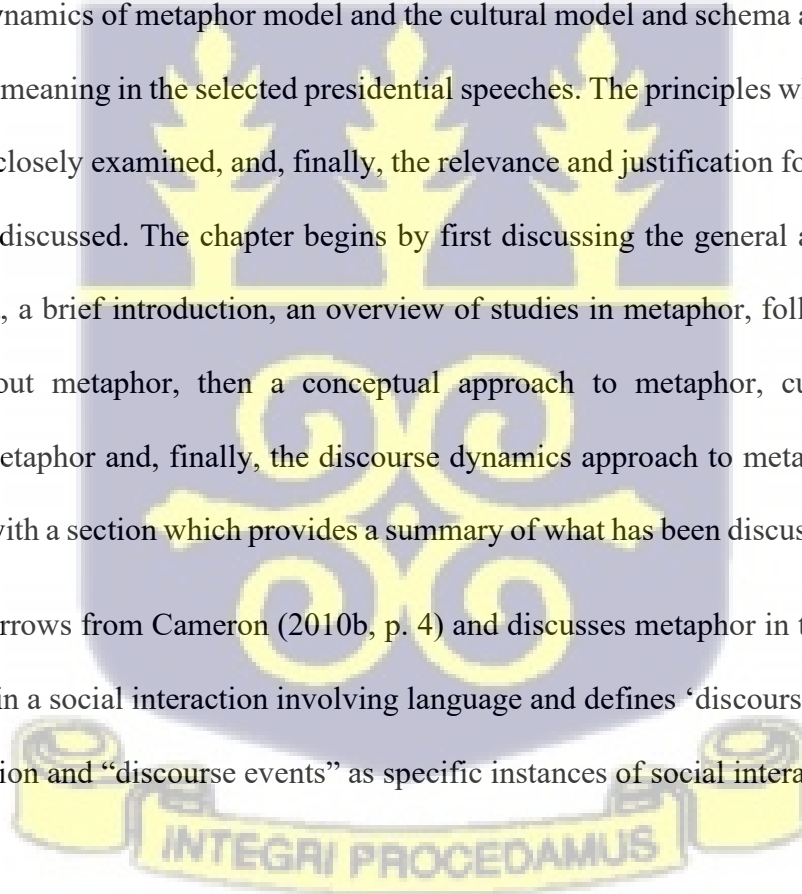
### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 3.1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the two theoretical frameworks which form the foundation on which this research is built. The research work mainly relies on the discourse dynamics approach to metaphor (Cameron, 2003,2007; Cameron et al., 2009; Cameron & Deignan, 2003) and Sharifian's (2003, 2017) cultural model and schema for its analysis. These theoretical frameworks serve the purpose of this research.

The discourse dynamics of metaphor model and the cultural model and schema are used to unpack several layers of meaning in the selected presidential speeches. The principles which guide the two frameworks are closely examined, and, finally, the relevance and justification for the choice of the frameworks are discussed. The chapter begins by first discussing the general architecture of the theories selected, a brief introduction, an overview of studies in metaphor, followed by classical assumptions about metaphor, then a conceptual approach to metaphor, cultural conceptual approaches to metaphor and, finally, the discourse dynamics approach to metaphor. The chapter then concludes with a section which provides a summary of what has been discussed in the chapter.

This research borrows from Cameron (2010b, p. 4) and discusses metaphor in terms of its use by people engaged in a social interaction involving language and defines 'discourse' as language use in social interaction and "discourse events" as specific instances of social interaction.



### 3.1.2 AN OVERVIEW OF STUDIES IN METAPHOR

This section presents an overview of studies on metaphors, the different positions that have characterised metaphor studies, the arguments therein and the current argument in the field of metaphor studies. The subsections discuss classical approaches, conceptual approaches, and, lastly, a cultural perspective to metaphor studies. I briefly look at metaphor to establish its place in this study. There are different perspectives to metaphor— (cultural, linguistic, cognitive, discourse, or sociocultural) and this influence how metaphor is filtered, understood and interpreted. The classical approaches to metaphor have been questioned in terms of their definition of metaphor. One such group comprises the conceptual metaphor theorists.

Cultural linguists view metaphor in relation to conceptualisations. For example, Sharifian (2013) in the framework of Cultural Linguistics, defines cultural metaphors as cognitive structures that allow us to understand one conceptual domain in terms of another” (p.1591). This means ones understanding of metaphor is shaped by their culture.

Cameron (2013)’s DDM approach to metaphor draws on Burke’s (1945)’s definition of metaphor as “seeing one thing in terms of something else” (p.503) to say that “in its linguistic manifestation, a metaphor is produced by a linguistic item that have an interpretation which is incongruous with the discourse context or with the meaning created by its co-text” (Cameron, 3003, p.9). To Cameron, metaphor is linguistic, embodied, cognitive, affective, cultural, dynamic and context specific. One can say that linguistic metaphors are metaphors as used in online (text/speech) while conceptual metaphors are metaphors that communicate our thoughts. The two types of metaphors influence each other, and they both draw from our embodied experiences.

### 3.1.3 CLASSICAL APPROACHES TO METAPHOR STUDIES

Classical metaphor theorists such as Aristotle consider metaphor as an artistic device in speech and in writing. It is thus considered as a literary device employed for creativity. Lakoff (1993) observes that classical theorists since Aristotle have referred to metaphor as instances of novel poetic language in which words are not used in their everyday senses and that metaphors are a figure of language, not a matter of thought. This is to say that metaphorical expressions in the classical approaches were considered metaphors as language used outside the realms of ordinary conventional language. Literal language was, therefore, regarded as default language and metaphors were analysed against this “default means of communication”. The classical theorists thus defined metaphor as “novel or poetic linguistic expression where one or more words for a concept are used outside of its normal conventional meaning to express a ‘similar’ concept” (Lakoff, 1993, p. 1).

### 3.1.4 CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES TO METAPHOR STUDIES

To conceptual metaphor theorists such as Lakoff, “the locus of metaphor is not in language at all but in thought” (Lakoff, 1993, p. 1). Metaphor is about the way we conceptualise one mental domain in terms of another. There are cross domain mappings that help to map everyday abstract concepts such as love, time and change to concrete domains for a better understanding. By this argument, conceptual metaphor theorists subsume classical metaphor theory under conceptual metaphor.

Conceptual Metaphor Theory began with Lakoff and Johnson's 1980 book, *Metaphors We Live By* and it has mainly been described as a universalist approach to metaphor studies (Deignan & Semino, 2010; Kövecses, 2011). The word 'metaphor' in conceptual metaphor theory means a cross-conceptual domain mapping in the conceptual system (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) while metaphorical expressions refer to that realise conceptual metaphor. Conceptual metaphors have source and target domains. While the source domain is usually concrete and mostly physical, the target domain, on the other hand, is usually abstract. Studies by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have shown that metaphor is part of the ordinary conventional way of talking about and conceptualising the world. For instance, Gibbs (1999) argues that the way we behave every day reflects our metaphorical understanding. This means there is a cyclical relationship between the way we think and the linguistic choices we make when we talk and vice versa. To scholars of CMT, metaphor is embodied, and embodiment of meaning is perhaps the central idea of a cognitive linguistic view of metaphor and meaning (Kövecses, 2011). The experiences of an individual are reflected in their choices of metaphors. Human cognition is emphasised, and these are largely described as universals.

Conceptual metaphor has had its fair share of criticisms for overemphasising the universal nature of metaphors. Most of these criticisms have come from cultural conceptual scholars such as Deignan (2003), who argues that metaphor goes beyond novel usages and universal human cognition to culture-specific cognition. As rightly observed by Sharifian (2003, 2015), the concept of cultural embodiment contributes to how one understands metaphors. Though metaphors may be grounded in embodiment and so found across different cultures as indicated by Lakoff (1993), different cultures understand vehicle terms differently, as has been rightly observed by Deignan

(2003) and Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2013). This is to say that there is more to investigate about culture in relation to metaphorical conceptualisations and how they are understood in given contexts.

### 3.1.6 CULTURAL LINGUISTICS AS AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The existing literature on metaphor shows that ‘culture’ is a difficult term to define (Deignan, 2003). The current study does not join in the different positions on metaphor and culture; it borrows ideas from CMT and adds these ideas to those of DDM to analyse the data. However, I am convinced that language, culture and metaphor influence each other in context. Also, the sociocultural nuances that underlie metaphorical conceptualisations are inexhaustible and that we can only look at these interesting differences in a context-based analysis. Cultural conceptual approaches do not reject the conceptual metaphor approach but expand its argument to say that though conceptual cognition exists, there is also culture-specific cognition.

I operationalised the definition of culture guided by Kramsch (1998) to say that it is a complex and dynamic system of shared beliefs, values, norms, and practices, that shape the way a group of people behave, communicate, and give themselves identity. It evolves and it is transmitted through the language, institutions, traditions and practices of the people across generations. I look at culture as embedded in discourse and contributing to the meaning making process within a sociocultural context.

Cognitive Cultural Linguistics “explores the relationship between language and cultural conceptualisations” (Sharifian, 2017, p. 2) in specific contexts. Though Sharifian describes it as a recent approach, he acknowledges that the term “cultural linguistics” is discussed in Palmer (1996) (Sharifian, 2014). The major assumption of Cultural Linguistics is that human language has

features which encode cultural conceptualisations. These features, according to Sharifian, can be examined by employing such analytical tools as notions of cultural schema, cultural categories, and cultural metaphor. Gibbs (1999) reveals that our bodily experience are largely filtered through our cultural experiences, and it is through these cultural experiences that we can understand the physical world.

One of the tenets of Cultural Linguistics is to offer theoretical and analytical tools for investigating cultural conceptualisations that form part of languages that are used by humans in the communication of their attitudes, values, beliefs and, potentially, their political ideologies towards corruption.

**FIGURE 2: SYNOPSIS OF THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF CULTURAL LINGUISTICS**



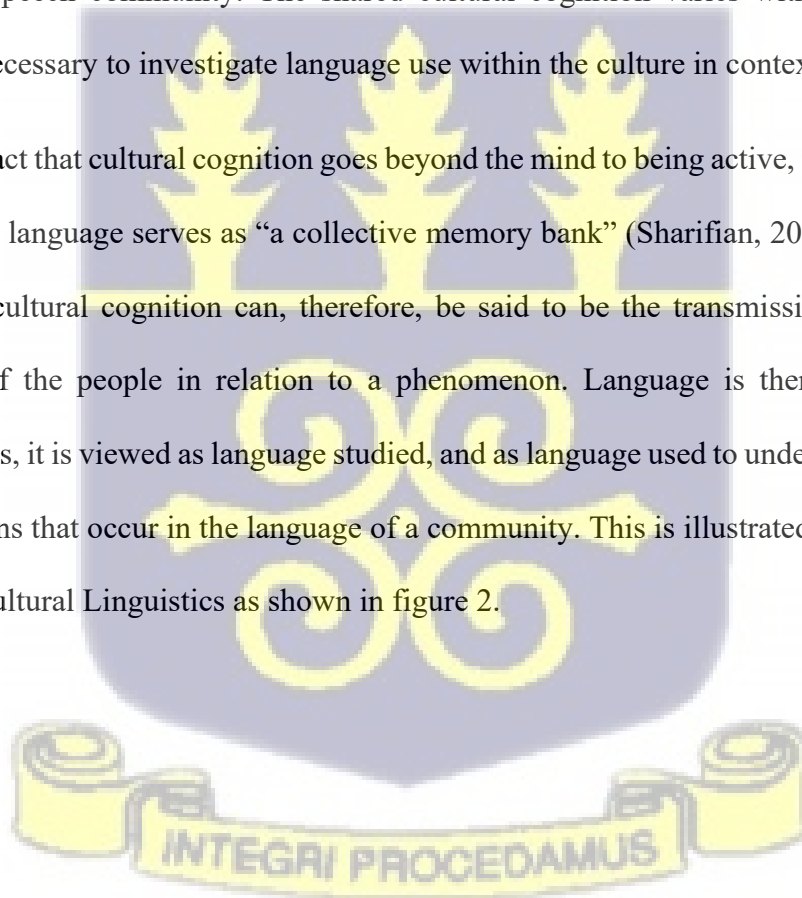
(Sharifian, 2017: 3).

From *figure 1*, the framework relies on cultural schemas, cultural categories, and cultural metaphor in analysing cultural conceptualisations, and on meaning (semantic / pragmatic), discourse for

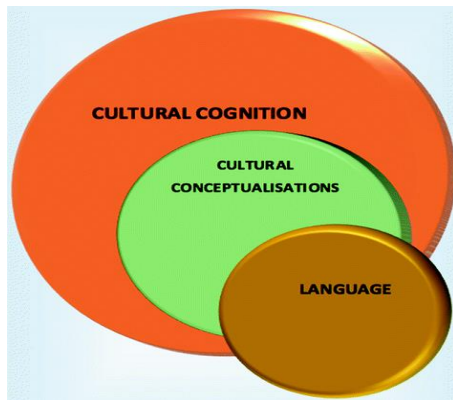
language analysis. For the purposes of this study, I rely on cultural schemas, cultural categories, and cultural metaphor as analytical tools to examine the cultural conceptualisation of corruption.

Cultural cognition forms the core of Cultural Linguistics. Cultural cognition is viewed as that which “affords an integrated understanding of the notion of cognition and culture” (Sharifian, 2017, p. 3). This type of cognition in Cultural Linguistics is viewed as a cognition which comes to play when there is an interaction between people and time and space. This cognition goes beyond the mind to action through the interaction between language and what is social. It is important to state that cultural cognition in this framework is considered dynamic. It changes with the individual as well as the speech community. The shared cultural cognition varies with time and space; therefore, it is necessary to investigate language use within the culture in context.

Apart from the fact that cultural cognition goes beyond the mind to being active, it is also important to recognise that language serves as “a collective memory bank” (Sharifian, 2017, p. 5). The role of language in cultural cognition can, therefore, be said to be the transmission of the cultural understanding of the people in relation to a phenomenon. Language is then viewed as two-dimensional: thus, it is viewed as language studied, and as language used to understand the cultural conceptualisations that occur in the language of a community. This is illustrated in the theoretical framework of Cultural Linguistics as shown in figure 2.



**FIGURE 3: THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF CULTURAL LINGUISTICS (SHARIFIAN 2017, P.6)**



Cultural Linguistics treats cultural cognition, cultural conceptualisations, and language as related, and they work together to achieve in-depth analysis when seeking meaning to how phenomena are conceptualised and understood in given cultures and contexts.

### 3.1.8 THE CULTURAL MODEL / CULTURAL SCHEMA

The fundamental assumption of Cultural Linguistics is that human language encodes cultural conceptualisations and so the analytical framework makes it possible for analyses to be carried out to examine the relationship between language and cultural conceptualisation (Sharifian, 2017, p. 7). Though conceptualisations may be examined at the individual level, they are often distributed and, therefore, they may also be studied at the group level. Cultural schemas and cultural categories together form what Sharifian refers to as a cultural conceptualisation. The conceptualisations are usually not static. The same element may change with the cultural group over time and space. One cannot reach a full understanding of the interactions that go on in a group that shares a cultural schema without first investigating the cultural values, beliefs and attitudes that embody the culture. What Sharifian does not tell us is how these conceptualisations become a part of an individual's cultural schema.

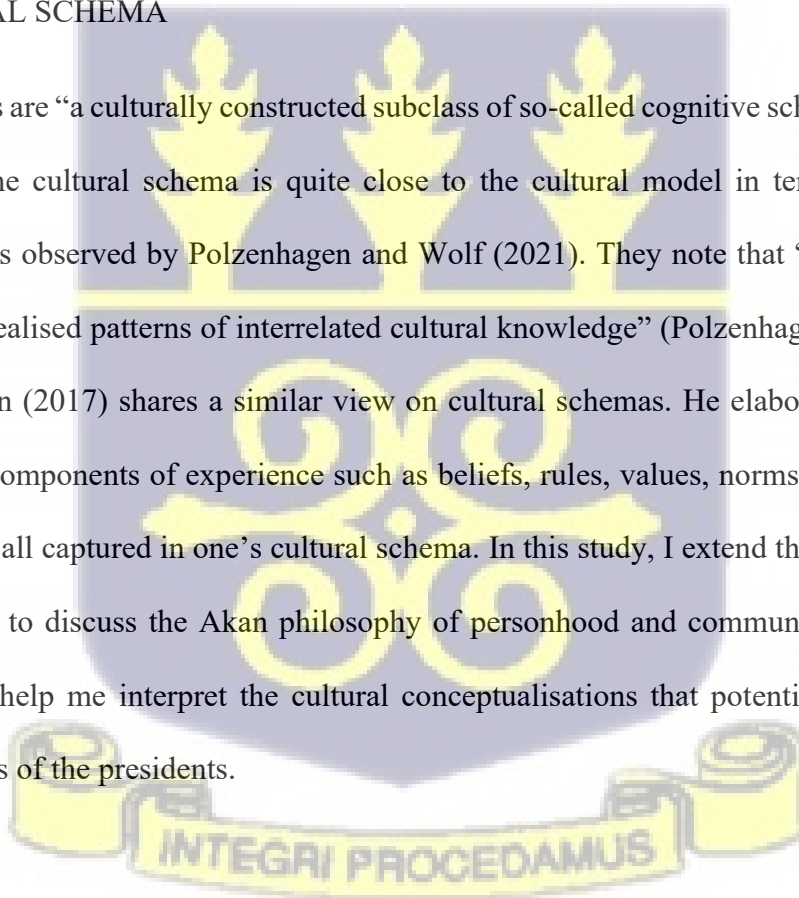
Cultural conceptualisations are represented in the minds of a cultural group of people in a distributed fashion which enables them “to think in one mind” (Sharifian, 2003). This is to say that people of the same cultural background have some shared knowledge which influences the way they interact. Schematisation and categorisation form the two fundamental categories which constitute conceptualisation, and both refer to processes though they are different in their selection. While schematisation involves a systematic selection of certain aspects of the scene referred to, categorisation, on the other hand, refers to a process of creating distinct entities (Sharifian, 2003). Sharifian (2011) describes scenes as contextualised mental representations of situations that people who share a culture draw upon in communication. They are therefore shared mental representations in the sociocultural practices of the people. A scene involves participants. To Sharifian, people draw on the cultural schema and share the elements in it when interacting. Even when they do not share one schema, they may share another; thus, they can be described as members of the same cultural schema. The present study adopts a general approach to conceptualisation and adopts Sharifian’s approach to cultural conceptualisation to study cultural conceptualisations in the discourse events of the SONAs. The connections are shared across a group to form the cultural schema. Therefore, connections and networks which form the schema in the discourse of the individuals are of great interest to this study.

Cultural schemas with their subschemas represent the encyclopaedic meaning that is culturally constructed and realised through language use in context. “Cultural schemas capture the pools of knowledge that provide the basis for a significant portion of encyclopaedic and pragmatic meanings in human languages and a substantial foundation for the ‘common ground’ (Sharifian, 2014, as cited in Sharifian, 2017, p. 14). These schemas help us to make inferences while relying

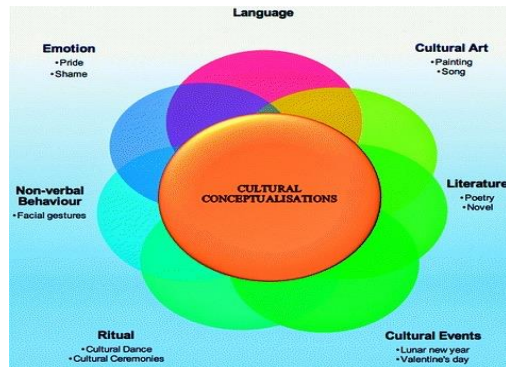
on the assumption that knowledge is encyclopaedic and pragmatic. Hence, when a president makes a statement such as, “where in these parts of the world does a sitting president submit himself to enquiry?” (JAK SONA, 2006), it can be inferred from the cultural schema that respect for elders makes it unacceptable for an older person to yield to someone of lower authority. Older persons or elders double as leaders in the Ghanaian cultural schema, and it is expected of people of the community to accord these older people respect by submitting to their authority. This cultural schema is discussed in detail in chapter six.

### 3.1.9 CULTURAL SCHEMA

Cultural schemas are “a culturally constructed subclass of so-called cognitive schemas” (Sharifian, 2017, p. 11). The cultural schema is quite close to the cultural model in terms of theoretical underpinnings, as observed by Polzenhagen and Wolf (2021). They note that “Cultural schemas are viewed as idealised patterns of interrelated cultural knowledge” (Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2021, p. 364). Sharifian (2017) shares a similar view on cultural schemas. He elaborates this view by explaining that components of experience such as beliefs, rules, values, norms, and expectations of behaviour are all captured in one’s cultural schema. In this study, I extend this view posited by Sharifian (2017) to discuss the Akan philosophy of personhood and community in chapter six. This is done to help me interpret the cultural conceptualisations that potentially influence the metaphor choices of the presidents.



**FIGURE 4: THE RELEVANCE OF CULTURAL CONCEPTUALISATIONS TO THE OTHER DISCIPLINES AND DOMAINS**



*(Copied from Sharifian 2017, p. 6)*

The present study agrees with Polzenhagen and Wolf (2021) and adopts a maximally narrow sense of the expression ‘cultural schema’. It is used to help us understand representations that are not complex in terms of degree, and to also unravel meaning in highly abstract representations about corruption. In its application to the data in this study, one sees how basic sociocultural experiences such as ‘gift giving’ and cultural obligations towards authority and elders influence one’s understanding of corruption. According to Sharifian’s (2003) framework, our understanding of various scenarios is highly culture-specific and thus he adopts the label “event schema” for conceptualisations that fall under such categories of events. In Cultural Linguistics, Sharifian (2017) refers to scenarios as collective cultural cognition. They draw on cultural schemas and scenes to form coherent narratives that reflect the worldview of the specific culture. They guide behaviour and encode communal values. Cultural scenarios may include family, and leadership/authority. They are communal values that guide expected conduct where one finds themselves in these two situations. Events such as visits to the chief’s palace and visits to high profile authorities such as political leaders like presidents come with a certain cultural demand. It is not the view of

the present study that corrupt practices are condoned by traditional African culture. This current research takes no such position. However, it is the intention of this study to identify cultural schemas that play a role in how corruption is conceptualised as well as show what these schemas reveal about how Ghanaians understand corruption.

There are different types of image schemas. I discuss these briefly. Image schemas are schemas which provide structures for certain conceptualisations. These image schemas are described as “schemas of intermediate abstractions”. This is to say that they fall between what is embodied and experiences that relate to the social. The example: “...the canker spares no country” (JDM SONA, 2016) evokes the image of the country as a “body” and this is similar to Musolff’s (2010) conceptualisation of A COUNTRY IS BODY METAPHOR. Understanding the image schema makes it possible to investigate how metaphors are used in conceptualising corruption.

Another type of schema is the event schema. According to Sharifian (2003), “the event schemas are abstracted from our experience of certain events” (p. 194). Sharifian gives the example of weddings and funeral in his study of the Aborigines of Australia. The event schema is very important to the present study in the sense that it helps to explain the cultural understanding of the people of Ghana in events such as visits to the chief’s palace and the cultural schema of gift-giving. For instance, the Ghanaian cultural schema of gift-giving is evoked when President J.D. Mahama conceptualises bribes as illegal ‘tips’ and ‘charges’ (JDM SONA, 2015). Charges are not gifts but when a person is under charged what the difference of the correct charge is considered a gift, and this may be illegal and thereby deserve some sanctions. The Ghanaian cultural schema of gift-giving and collectivist culture must be evoked in the context to be able to understand the conceptualisation of corruption as illegal ‘tips’ and ‘charges. Sharifian concludes that, “cultural conceptualisations are viewed to be representations that are distributed across the minds in a

cultural group ... and they emerge from interactions within the cultural group ...and are negotiated and renegotiated across generations” (Sharifian, 2003, p. 204).

These are abstractions that specify “concepts and the relations which hold between them” (Sharifian, 2017, p. 196). These may include concepts like marriage and family. In Sharifian’s example of FAMILIES SHARE FOOD WITHOUT EXPECTATION OF RETURN, it is realised that the patterns that emerge from these proposition schemas provide a basis for arguing that people from different sociocultural backgrounds reason differently across cultures and hence the need to consider how corruption is viewed and understood in the Ghanaian context is urgent.

From the schemas discussed above, it is observed that certain schemas may be static in a particular cultural group, yet there are many other cultural conceptualisations which point to the fact that different degrees of knowledge about a particular culture may be available to different people. People of the same sociocultural settings may conceptualise the same event or phenomenon differently, depending on how much they know of the given culture. The conceptualisation of the NATION AS FAMILY and LEADERS AS PARENTS as shown in the SONAs can be understood by evoking a shared cultural schema of parents and their role in the community.

Another form of conceptualisation in Cultural Linguistics is cultural categories. Cultural categories, unlike cultural schemas, refer to the culturally constructed metaphorical categories such as attributes, kinship terms, colours, events and many more. These categorisations may begin early in life and serve as source domains the categories may change. While some may remain the same as the children begin to understand and appreciate the environment in which they grow, others may change as the children grow. The categorisations develop along the lines of culture, so they are embedded with social and cultural nuances. These help in the categorisation of the cultural conceptualisations of corruptions and the instances of corruption in the data. For instance, while,

on the one hand, we may refer to FATHER as a kinship term for leaders when talking about the phenomenon of corruption, we may refer to good leaders as a subcategory of FATHERS.

The last category of conceptualisation that is discussed briefly is cultural metaphor. It is similar to what Cognitive Linguists refer to as Conceptual Metaphor. Cultural metaphor and Conceptual Metaphor work across domains (source domain and target domain). We can, therefore, say that cultural metaphors are “a form of cross-domain conceptualisations” (Sharifian, 2017, p. 18). Sharifian adds that cultural metaphors are cross-domain conceptualisations grounded in cultural traditions such as folk medicine, world view, or a spiritual belief system.

### 3.2.1 HOW TO IDENTIFY CULTURAL CONCEPTUALISATIONS

An important tenet of Cultural Linguistics is for the analyst to stay close to the discourse when identifying cultural conceptualisations. Sharifian proposes an ethnographic approach to the discourse. This is aimed at identifying cultural conceptualisations that might be culture specific. Sharifian points out that an emic approach is required so that the interpretation of data comes from one who can explain conceptualisations that are culture specific. Where marked elements are identified, an etic approach could be adopted to enable people outside of the given culture to be able to understand. As he goes on to propose, that a thorough investigation through identifying conceptualisations at different levels with individuals and discourses should always be carried out to help reveal the meaning of culture-specific conceptualisations. These cultural conceptualisations sometimes lie underneath the discourse and will have to be unravelled through several means such as seeking insider explanations where the analyst is not a member of the sociocultural group or where the analyst is not familiar with the sociocultural context. This brings validity to the

interpretations.

There are instances where more than one interpretation could be assigned to identified metaphors. In such situations, Sharifian suggests the use of several insider interpretations which are to be unravelled through what he calls “distributed metaphors”.

**FIGURE 5: THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK OF CULTURAL LINGUISTICS**

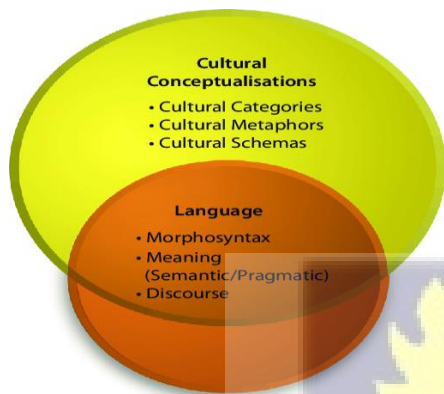


Figure 4 represents the analytical framework of Cultural Linguistics. The main categories to investigate under Cultural Linguistics, as already stated above, are the cultural categories, cultural metaphors, and cultural schemas. These can be investigated at different levels such as the morphosyntactic, semantic and pragmatic levels and at the discourse level. The ability of the framework to combine different levels of investigation enables us to study the three main categories (cultural schema, cultural metaphor, and cultural categories) at the discourse level for meaning. Thus, we apply these tools to help us unravel the cultural conceptualisations as they occur in the data on corruption.

As it has been unveiled above, Cultural Linguistics offers a theoretical and analytical framework for analysing language in relation to cultural cognition. Not only is this useful for the current research, but it also combines well with the discourse dynamics approach to metaphor to investigate interactions between people and their sociocultural environment. For the purposes of

this research, therefore, I combined Cultural Linguistics with the discourse dynamics approach to metaphor to help me to critically investigate the metaphorical conceptualisations of corruption. In the section that follows, I discuss the discourse dynamics approach to metaphor model while trying to show how it helped to achieve the set objectives for this study.

### 3.2.2 DISCOURSE DYNAMICS APPROACH TO METAPHOR

The discourse dynamics framework (henceforth DDM), as proposed by Lynne Cameron, analyses metaphor in language in social interactions. It also accounts for actual discourse (Cameron et al., 2009a; Cameron & Maslen, 2010). Actual discourse in this context refers to texts (spoken and written). The framework brings together a range of fields in framing its methodological and analytical tools. The DDM approach is particularly significant to the present study because it provides procedures that help to investigate linguistic constituents (words, phrases, sentences, and even whole passages) to identify metaphors and how they are used to talk about social phenomena, which, in this study, is corruption.

The approach draws from Burke's (1945)'s definition of metaphor as "seeing one thing in terms of something else" (p.503) to say that "in its linguistic manifestation, a metaphor is produced by a linguistic item that can have an interpretation which is incongruous with the discourse context or with the meaning created by its co-text" (Cameron, 3003, p.9). To Cameron, metaphor is linguistic, embodied, cognitive, affective, socio-cultural, dynamic and context specific.

DDM's inductive approach systematically, examines the interconnectedness of the dimensions of metaphor. It views the various dimensions of metaphor use in discourse such as linguistic, cognitive, embodied and sociocultural as interconnected (Cameron, 2010). A basic assumption of

DDM is that; “linguistic metaphors in discourse can tell us something about how people are thinking, can indicate sociocultural conventions that people are tied into, or that they may be rejecting, and can reveal something of speakers’ emotions, attitudes and values” (Cameron & Maslen, 2009, 6-7) In DDM, “a group of semantically related vehicle terms are systematic metaphors, and these operate at the conceptual level, revealing attitudes, values, and ideas of discourse participants” (Cameron, 2010: 147). Systematic metaphors are compared to metaphor scenarios (mini figurative narratives) similar to Musolff (2017)’s metaphor scenarios. These carry evaluative perspectives on complex issues. They provide insights that are not accessible at face value and so are analysed within the sociocultural setting of the discourse.

I discuss key elements to consider under the DDM and their relevance to the present study. The following sections, therefore, discuss various aspects of the theory which are relevant and equally significant to this study. This study emphasises the semantic and pragmatic dimensions to studying language and its relation to culture as proposed in Cameron (2007, 2010b) and Cameron et al. (2009a).

It draws and expands on the definition of “Metaphor is a device for seeing one thing in terms of something else” (Burke, 1945, p. 503, as cited in Cameron, 2010a, p. 3) for its discussions. This definition is quite general and though it forms the foundation on which most definitions of metaphor, including that of Lynne Cameron’s discourse dynamics to metaphor are built, it does not fully satisfy the purpose of this research. It is important to have an operational definition so that there will be consistency in the analysis as to what qualifies as metaphor and what does not qualify. By clearly defining what constitutes metaphor, most biases of the researcher are removed and, in their stead, theoretical knowledge and awareness of the data are provided for data analysis to be done. For the purposes of this study, I investigated linguistic metaphors by identifying words

or phrases that show incongruity in the discourse. For a word or phrase to be incongruous, the meaning as used in the discourse text in context would be different from its basic meaning (the dictionary meaning). The incongruous word or phrase should necessarily carry a meaning in its context of usage that is different from its basic meaning. What is identified in addition to the incongruity in meaning is that the incongruous element should be able to transfer the meaning it carries in its basic form to the context in which it has been used (Cameron & Deignan, 2003; Pragglejaz Group, 2007).

As investigated by Cameron, “metaphorically used words or phrases must not only be semantically incongruent with the topic of the discourse at that point but must also support a transfer of meaning so that sense can be made of the word or phrase in context” (Cameron, 2010b, p. 102). The words and phrases identified at this point are only described as “potentially metaphorical”. The word or phrase identified as metaphorically used is called “a vehicle term”. In the example: “Corruption is a canker” (JDM SONA, 2016), the word ‘canker’ is identified as a vehicle term because it has a more concrete meaning of a disease such as a sore that spreads, which is different from its contextual meaning, talking about the dangerous effects of “corruption”. The basic meaning contributes to the contextual meaning of emphasising the effects of corruption. To identify metaphoric lexis, I need to identify both the contextual and the basic meaning. The vehicle terms identified are coded in Microsoft Excel Spreadsheet as described in Cameron and Maslen (2010).

Unlike vehicle terms which are evident in the discourse event (for this study, SONAs), which are usually easy to identify and recorded in the exact words as used in the text, metaphor topics are not explicitly stated in the text, and they may only be inferred. From the example in the paragraph above, the metaphor topic is the effects of corruption, and this can be inferred from the vehicle term ‘canker’ and its meaning in context. Cameron et al. (2009) note that, to mitigate the issue of

absence of a topic, key discourse topics should be created as a guide. For this research, therefore, the study is guided by what corruption is, its causes, effects, and measures to curb it. These guide us in identifying and interpreting systemic metaphors.

Systemic metaphors are sets of metaphors that are connected and used across several discourse events, and they form framing metaphors. It can, therefore, be said that framing metaphors are systematic metaphors which link important ideas in the discourse event. For example, I found out that the vehicle terms *the canker of corruption*, *the canker spares no one*, and *it exacerbates poverty* in three clauses in JDM SONA, 2016 form the systematic metaphor CORRUPTION IS A DISEASE THAT CAN WORSEN POVERTY. The canker metaphor is put in the metaphor grouping called DISEASE and it potentially activates a negative attitude towards corruption. One could identify the systematic metaphor CORRUPTION IS A DISEASE THAT WORSENS POVERTY. It is important to note that systematic metaphors, according to Cameron (2010a), in the discourse dynamic framework are written in small capitals, which differentiates it from metaphor in CMT. For the current research, however, I wish to state that though I apply the discourse dynamic framework to my study, I write metaphors and metaphorical conceptualisations in regular capitals for easy identification.

Again, the traditional use of A is B in terms of metaphor mapping as seen in CMT does not apply in the present research. As proposed in the current research, I am guided by Cameron and Maslen's (2010) approach to analysing metaphor, and I write metaphor and systematic metaphor as A as B. For instance, in the canker metaphor above, this is written as CORRUPTION AS A DISEASE, instead of CORRUPTION IS AS A DISEASE as present in CMT, or CORRUPTION AS A DISEASE as in discourse dynamics to metaphor.

Metaphors which are described as conventional and those which are linguistic are both captured during the metaphor identification process. The cultural models that are indicated by the identified conventional metaphors are of great interest to the present research. These are also operationalised and used in identifying the use of metaphors in the data

The discourse dynamics to metaphor presents an inductive approach which offers insights into various individuals and sociocultural groups and their specific feelings and experiences in given contexts. It exposes issues about the social influence of groups such as the media, and individuals such as politicians on phenomena such as corruption.

The role of metaphor in meaning making at text level has received a lot of attention and this attention ranges from a systematic identification of metaphor (Cameron, 2010a; Cameron et al., 2009; Cameron & Deignan, 2003) and the application of metaphor identification tools (Cameron et al., 2009; Deignan & Semino, 2010; Pragglejaz Group, 2007) to meaning conceptualisation. The identified metaphors are tied to the context of the texts in a discourse

“Underpinning the discourse dynamics framework is the assumption of interconnectedness of the dimensions of metaphor in use (linguistic, cognitive, affective, physical, cultural)” and that language, thought and culture are interconnected (Cameron, 2010a, p. 78). The discourse dynamics framework, therefore, sees linguistic, cognitive, and affective processes as a continuum and interconnected; Cameron calls this *talking-and-thinking* processes. Complex dynamic systems are, therefore, evoked when using the framework to unravel the interconnectedness of the various dimensions of metaphor.

Metaphors in DDM are viewed across single or multiple discourse events to draw information about people’s ideas, values and understanding of a phenomenon. The current study relied on this

tenet of DDM to examine metaphorical conceptualisation in the data for this study to reveal the attitudes, values and beliefs of the presidents toward corruption. When a president, for instance, conceptualises CORRUPTION AS A LEGACY, one is able to infer from this conceptualisation in relation to multiple discourse events in the past in relation to the present to say that the president displays a negative attitude towards the phenomenon while blaming it on previous governments. This inference, as it is required in DMM, is made without extracting the metaphorical conceptualisation but by investigating it within the context of the discourse.

Discourse is used in the sense of language used in social interactions and these may be talk or text. DDM's basic assumption about the connection between metaphor and the discourse context is that "metaphor cannot be separated from the discourse context without becoming something different" (Cameron, 2010a, p. 79). Its methodological procedures, therefore, require that descriptions and explanations to metaphor should be done mainly by looking at the connections between the discourse context and metaphor used. "At the heart of the discourse dynamic framework lies an understanding of linguistic and cognitive phenomenon as processes, flows or movement rather than objects as viewed in CMT" (Cameron et al., 2009, p. 89).

This research examines metaphor as used in specific social interactions involving language. Language used in social interactions is considered as 'discourse' in DDM while specific events which involve language use are called "discourse events". There are situations of metaphorical thinking, but these do not constitute metaphor in the present study. In DDM, it is not about what is conceptualised in the mind of the speaker but what is realised in discourse or in active language use that is considered as metaphor. In the current study, DDM is applied to explain the choice of metaphors in the selected SONAs that form the main source of data for this research.

The sociocultural nature of metaphors points to how linguistic metaphors are chosen and used by speakers in an interaction. The choices are influenced by the shared background knowledge of the speakers, and this may emerge because of long periods of engagement in a particular speech community over time. Thus, knowledge about the sociocultural setting determines how much underlying meanings can be unravelled. This tenet of DDM helped us to unravel what potentially influences the metaphor choices of the presidents while drawing inferences from the sociocultural backgrounds of the presidents.

It is important to note that there are no fixed source and target domain mappings, and this is very important to the present study. The study relies on the discourse events to identify metaphorical conceptualisations that relate to the discourse context. Linguistic metaphors in the discourse dynamics framework are not regarded as manifestations of conceptual metaphor as usually seen in conceptual metaphor theory where these are described with highly generalised labels. Metaphors are viewed across a discourse event, and they are accounted for by closely looking at the interconnectedness used in the text or discourse event. This is illustrated in the excerpt below.

a. Madam Speaker, one governance issue that will forever remain in my heart is the fight against corruption.

b. “Madam Speaker, Regarding the Judiciary, we will ensure adequate collaboration without sacrificing the independence of the Judiciary and encourage their work such as to assure expeditious dispensing of justice to all” (JEAM SONA, 2009).

c. “In this vein, Government will support such developmental projects, law reform and anticorruption initiatives, as will promote the dignity of our Judiciary” (JEAM SONA, 2009).

The excerpts (a, b, and c) belong to a single discourse event, i.e. a speech. While in (a) the linguistic metaphor ‘fight’ is easy to identify, as it directly addresses the discourse topic of corruption, we cannot do the same with (b) and (c). We need to trace the connections between and across the discourse context to be able to tell that “Sacrificing the independence of the judiciary” is linked to corruption and that is why there is the need to “promote the dignity of our Judiciary”. The emergent systematic pattern is that the JUDICIARY HAS LOST ITS DIGNITY TO CORRUPTION. “Systematic metaphors are sets of semantically connected linguistic metaphor, collected together from transcripts or texts across one or more discourse events and labelled” (Cameron et al., 2009, p. 92).

The emergent systemic patterns are viewed against “metaphors more widely used in society and over time” (Cameron, 2010a, p. 79). The theory places great emphasis on interconnectedness by focusing on:

- connections across and between the linguistic, embodied, cognitive, affective, and sociocultural dimensions of metaphor.
- connections between metaphors and the discourse context where they are used.
- connections across metaphors in a particular discourse event.
- connections between metaphors used in a particular discourse event and metaphors more broadly across society and over time (Cameron, 2010, p. 79)) and connections between metaphors across discourse events.

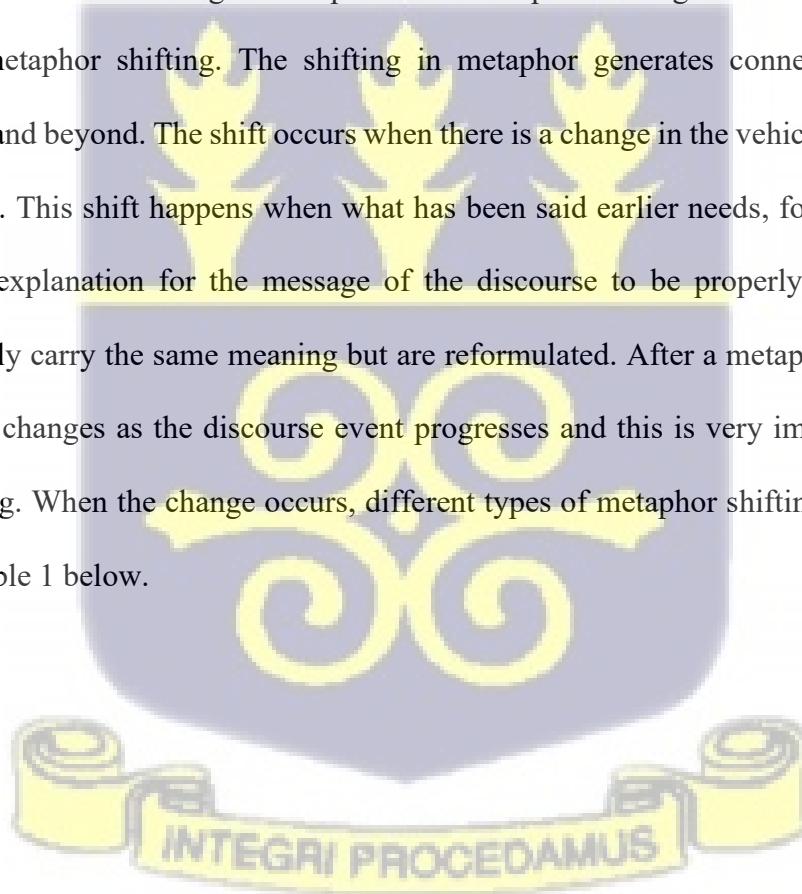
There are empirical imperatives in the application of the discourse dynamics framework. The trajectory of the discourse event is viewed over two levels which are also known as scales. These are the time scale and the scale of social organisation. While the time scale looks at the discourse event as something that can be influenced by what has happened to the speaker recently or much

earlier, the social organisation looks at possible groups such as family, friends, social groups, communities and even nations and their influence on the discourse event. This is relevant for the current study, and I examine the changes that occur in the trajectory of the discourse topic of corruption in the period under study in Chapter 5. Guided by the imperatives of the discourse dynamics to metaphor framework, I was able to draw inferences from what happened within the discourse event to what happened much earlier and the sociocultural context within which the discourse event occurred. This helped me to identify the metaphors used by the presidents in the period under study. In the selected presidential speeches, metaphors are studied across the two scales or levels: at the time scale, within the speech and diachronically across speeches, the metaphor choices of each president were examined, and systematic metaphors were extracted. At the social organisational scale, the systematic metaphors that emerged from the time scale were examined against possible groups such as sociocultural, family, and nation to find out how these groups possibly influenced the presidents' metaphor choices. In the speeches and within the network of relationships as revealed by the metaphors used in conceptualising corruption, I was thus able to trace the metaphorical conceptualisations within the period under study to find patterns which guided me in my interpretations of changes or otherwise in the way corruption has been conceptualised in the Fourth Republic. To identify these patterns, my interest was in metaphor as a linguistic element without focusing on pre-existing domains.

“Linguistic metaphor” refers to metaphors that are found in active language use ... and the linguistic metaphor is signalled by the arrival of “something else” as pointed out by Burke. He describes this “something as a word or phrase which contrasts with the meaning of the discourse at that point” (Cameron & Maslen, 2010, p. 4).

It is this word or phrase that DDM refers to as vehicle term or as incongruous in the context in which it is used. Metaphor is not only linguistic but also embodied. It is, however, the linguistic metaphors that are obvious in social interactions; therefore, such metaphors are analysed in the present research with DDM as a framework. I investigated the vehicle terms for evaluations, attitudes, beliefs, and values as displayed or concealed by the speakers through their metaphorical conceptualisations. I was guided by the assumption that people choose “something else” to enable them express how they feel about a concept such as corruption. In chapter 7, these metaphorical conceptualisations are discussed in detail.

One of the key mechanisms through which patterns in metaphors emerge in the discourse dynamics framework is metaphor shifting. The shifting in metaphor generates connections within the discourse event and beyond. The shift occurs when there is a change in the vehicle of the metaphor after its first use. This shift happens when what has been said earlier needs, for instance, further clarification or explanation for the message of the discourse to be properly appreciated. The metaphors usually carry the same meaning but are reformulated. After a metaphor has been used the first time, it changes as the discourse event progresses and this is very important to note in metaphor shifting. When the change occurs, different types of metaphor shifting occur and these are shown in Table 1 below.



**TABLE 1: TYPES OF VEHICLE DEVELOPMENT**

Vehicle development	Description
Vehicle repetition	The vehicle is repeated in identical or transformed form
Vehicle relexicalization	A near synonym or equivalent is used
Vehicle explication	Expansion, elaboration, or exemplification of the form
Vehicle contrast	Antonymic or contrasting term is used

Source: *Cameron et al. (2010, p. 89)*

I am guided by vehicle development in Chapter 5 to identify metaphors used to conceptualise corruption by the presidents. Continuity occurs in both the vehicle term and the topic. For instance, in Chapter 5, it is observed that a president may in their first year in office conceptualise corruption using WAR metaphors but by their second term in office, they relexicalize to use a word that is similar in meaning; for example, FIGHT. By their final year in office, depending on other factors such as their desire for a second term in office, they may employ metaphor choices that appeal to the sympathy of the electorate. We see vehicle elaboration where they begin to explain or elaborate the form of the metaphor choice and may conceptualise corruption as a CONCERN. Though this appears as a seemingly neutral word, it carries evaluative and ideological value in the context of use.

Table 2 shows the possibilities of vehicle development and some of the outcomes of the various types of metaphor shifting.

**TABLE 2: TYPES OF METAPHOR SHIFTING**

Metaphor Shifting	Vehicle	Topic	Discourse outcomes
Vehicle redeployment	The same or semantically connected lexical item is reused with a different topic	Changes	Include: Metaphor appropriation; puns; text cohesion
Vehicle deployment	Vehicle term is <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• repeated</li> <li>• relexicalized</li> <li>• explicated</li> <li>• contrasted</li> </ul>	Remains the same Moves to connected topics	Extended Metaphor
Vehicle literalisation	Vehicle is used non-metaphorically in reference to topic	Merges with vehicle: can become metonymic	Symbolization of topic

Source: *Cameron et al. (2010, p. 90).*

While vehicle development and metaphor shifting are important to the present study, I do not employ all subcategories under the two. I particularly find vehicle literalisation, which is the shift between metaphorical and literal uses of the same word or phrase, useful in Chapter 5. Systematicity is especially important to this study in the sense that it makes it possible to study related linguistic metaphors in the discourse within a semantic context. Systematicity is especially relevant to our study in the sense that linguistic expressions used in addressing corruption vary and so the vehicle terms used in the discourse event must be studied closely to find emerging patterns. These systemic metaphors emerge as a result of analysis and interpretation, and they help to condense the data as presented in Chapter 5. I further build on these in Chapter 7 to discuss the

sociocultural contexts within which they are used to help unpack their underlying meanings. “A systematic metaphor is seen as a kind of temporary stabilisation in the dynamics of thinking-and-talking which has the possibility of further evolution as discourse continues” (Cameron, 2010a, p. 92). A systematic metaphor may reflect patterns of metaphorical thinking, but it does not claim to have the ability to have prior existence as happens in conceptual metaphors.

The aim of metaphor studies is to uncover peoples’ ideas, attitudes, and values and this can be achieved through analysing data (Cameron et al., 2009). Though Cameron’s approach puts emphasis on spoken data, this approach is modified to be able to analyse written political speeches. It is important to note that these speeches are written to be delivered to a live audience, and these audiences are considered in the delivery of the speeches. Cameron’s (2003, 2007) methodological and systemic approach to metaphor identification and analysis was adopted for the purposes of this research.

In the discourse dynamics of metaphor framework, metaphors do not pre-exist, unlike in conceptual metaphor theory, where metaphors are considered prior to language in thought, prior to individuals as in across speech communities and, finally, in general forms, they are seen as prior to specific instantiations. Instantiations refer to metaphor use in discourse. Despite these differences, it is important to note that both conceptual metaphor and systemic metaphors rely on connected patterns of metaphors as tools for understanding and talking or writing.

In this study, the focus is also on strings of connected metaphors as they are used to speak about a topic. The use of these strings reveals patterns that carry meanings, and how these meanings are of relevance to the topic being discussed by the participants in a conversation or as the writer will want to communicate to their audiences. The discourse dynamic approach to metaphor, as proposed by Cameron, focuses mainly on strings of connected metaphors and the patterns of

meaning that emanate, or are reflected in them and what these patterns tell us about the people who use them (Cameron, 2010b). The use of isolated linguistic metaphors is, therefore, not the objective of my research; however, they serve as a useful source for determining strings of connected metaphors for analysis. The strings, patterns, why and when they occur in the discourse or text are carefully investigated and interpreted in relation to the discourse context.

### 3.2.4 APPLICATION OF DDM TO TEXTS

Metaphor analysis is often used alongside content analysis. The application of the discourse dynamic approach to metaphor provides a systematic approach which clearly outlines what the discourse context presents for the use of metaphors in an interaction. The approach emphasises context and participants. Discourse does not occur in a vacuum but requires the presence of certain facts for its complete realisation. The focus of DDM is on the specifics of the language using situation; it is not so much about thought. An important question in the application of DDM is: What metaphors are employed and what influences the choice of these metaphors in particular domains and situations? DDM also considers situations where there is a shift in the use of metaphors and what possibly influences the shift in the speaker's choices. In the SONAs, for instance, we see shifts in metaphor choices across the speeches. The WAR metaphor, captured in verbs such as 'fight', 'mobilise', and 'combat', may shift to the DISEASE metaphor which is conveyed by nouns such as 'canker' and 'plague'. The direction of the shift and how often this shift occurs in context is also relevant to Cameron's approach. It, therefore, categorically lists different levels through which the use of metaphor occurs. Hence, in the analyses, these are given proper attention.

At one level is the people interacting and at the other level is the social and cultural context of the interaction. It is, therefore, important to provide a background of the people talking and to situate the interaction in a context so that the choices the people make in terms of metaphors can be understood. The second level looks at the interaction itself, the continuum of ‘talking-thinking’ and talking all happening almost simultaneously. The socio-cultural context of an interaction plays an important role in the choice of metaphor, and this is very relevant to this study. The idea of analysing metaphor choices at two levels sets DDM apart from other approaches to metaphor analysis such as CMT which we have already discussed.

The two levels of interaction (dealt with in Chapter 5) help us to provide a background to the presidents to help situate the speeches under study within the appropriate context. The discourse dynamic model of metaphor views language as a very complex dynamic system. This labyrinthine system is made up of different elements such as people, bodies, minds, language resources, histories, etcetera, and these are then described as dynamic as they continue to change over time and space. People may begin to use similar metaphors over a period and may also begin to use metaphors and share metaphors to communicate their ideas on specific topics. There is, therefore, the need to investigate metaphor diachronically as done with the selected presidential speeches of the Fourth Republic of Ghana, which spans a period of 30 years.

### 3.2.1.1 Manual for DDM Analysis

The approach proposed by Cameron’s metaphor analysis demands careful manual analysis; hence there is a crucial need for one to be familiar with the data to be analysed. This is an outline for

metaphor analysis proposed by Cameron and Maslen (2010) and there are three main processes involved. These are:

1. Identifying the metaphor (MIP / MIPVU)
2. Finding Systematicity in the Metaphor Use
3. Metaphor in Discourse Activity

### ***1. Identifying Metaphor***

1. Familiarise yourself with the discourse data, read through it.
2. Prepare the data for the analysis (e.g., choose type of transcription method (intonation units or segment of written text), decide upon the software (transcription software, Atlas or Excel), transcribe audio into text, add information about the discourse context; are gestures important? Decide whether a multimodal analysis is necessary,
3. Work through the data, looking for possible metaphors, lexical units (more than one word, according to the dictionary head words).
4. Checking each possible metaphor:
  - a. its meaning in the context
  - b. a more basic meaning
  - c. transfer the basic meaning to the contextual meaning, to see whether there is an incongruity between the basic meaning and the contextual meaning
5. Underline and list identified metaphors (vehicle terms)

## ***2 Finding Systematicity in Metaphor Use***

1. Grouping metaphor vehicles (could be grouped into two different vehicle groups, working through the data by splitting, combining, and renaming)
2. Labelling groupings (labels should be taken from the transcript)
3. Systematic metaphors: Finding the topics of the vehicle groupings

## ***3 Metaphors in Discourse Activity***

1. Identification of discourse topics and themes and documentation of the evolution of the topics in the text.
2. Primary discourse activity of the speaker: what is the speaker doing here? (like greeting of the audience) (Establish segments and smaller subsegments in the text)
3. Map the metaphor analysis to the discourse segments.

(Cameron and Maslen, 2010)

The procedure makes it possible to identify metaphor as revealing people's attitudes, evaluations, values, perspectives, and beliefs. The choices that a speaker makes in selecting one linguistic metaphor over the other to talk about something in terms of something else reveals their own attitudes and beliefs about the topic being discussed in a particular context. This can be assessed through analysing metaphors in each text, paying attention to how the metaphorical conceptualisations have been used to talk about the given topic. This way, the attitudes and perspectives of individuals in context can be studied based on their choices of linguistic metaphors. The approach, in subtle ways, reveals the ideologies of the speakers as it draws attention to

variables such as the vehicle terms, the systematic metaphor and the discourse topic in relation to the sociocultural context.

Additionally, in this approach, the discourse analysis is fashioned to cater for the culture at the same level of language. This makes the approach tie in neatly with Cultural Linguistics as a complementing approach to metaphor analysis in this study. The two approaches thus provide strong methodological and analytical frameworks which make them the most appropriate for analysing the dynamic nature of metaphor as a linguistic tool.

Metaphor is dynamic (Cameron, 2009; Cameron, 2003; Cameron & Maslen, 2010). The dynamic nature of linguistic metaphors lies in the way text and talk progress while linguistic metaphors are selected, adapted, and built upon preceding metaphors. “Metaphor dynamics may result from the process of interaction, as one participant in a conversation responds to another, or from the development of ideas, as a speaker or writer builds an argument, clarifies a position or constructs a description” (Cameron & Maslen, 2010, p. 6).

The ability of metaphor to reveal a lot about the speaker is the attraction of this research. It offers this research a tool for identifying peoples’ beliefs, values, attitudes, and perspectives on corruption as a phenomenon in sociocultural settings. The multifaceted nature of linguistic metaphors makes it possible to identify whether they are accepting or rejecting corruption or even what they think about corruption potentially and by inference. This is investigated by identifying linguistic metaphors in the relevant discourse text with a close lens on why particular metaphors are preferred over others, who is speaking and to whom, and in what sociocultural settings and in which points in the discourse more metaphors are used. These analytical procedures are particularly relevant to Chapter 7 of the current study, where I evaluate the metaphor choices of

the presidents and what these choices potentially reveal about their values, attitudes, beliefs and political posturing to corruption.

### 3.2.1.2 The Process of Metaphor Analysis

Cameron’s discourse dynamics approach to metaphor proposes a heuristic approach to the discovery of the metaphors as used in a particular discourse.

**FIGURE 6: METAPHOR-LED DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

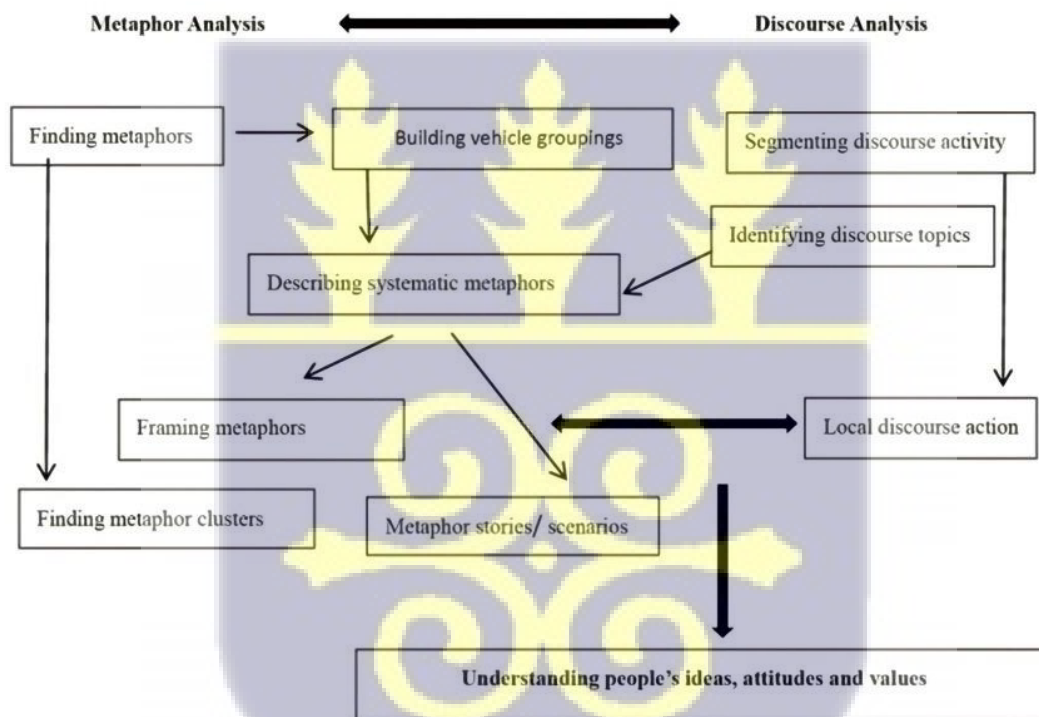


Figure 1. Metaphor-led discourse analysis (Cameron, 2010, p.147)

The metaphor analysis process helps in tracking metaphors in a discourse. It also helps in identifying how the metaphors as they appear in the discourse shift and help to create meaning while revealing the ideas and attitudes of the speaker. The patterns of metaphors and the way they shift throughout the discourse or speech, as is the case in this research, bring out the role of

metaphors in conceptualising a phenomenon. “The discourse function of metaphor is examined on several interconnecting timescales” (Cameron, 2010a, p. 11). These include what Cameron calls a ‘local discourse level’ where metaphors are negotiated, and the level of episode and talk where patterns emerge, and the discourse event where a trace of patterns of use and shift in metaphor choice between interactants reveal speakers’ ideas and attitudes towards a phenomenon over a selected period.

A close study of the vehicle terms identified will reveal some systematic metaphors. Cameron (2010a) and Maslen (2010) describe systematic metaphors as metaphors which describe patterns of metaphors across a discourse event by generalising. To make such generalisations, vehicle groupings across the text are searched to identify vehicle terms that are connected to the same discourse topic. A chain of metaphors that are related are found and they are interpreted together when doing the analysis. In the current study, this approach was employed, and a report on it is presented in Chapter 4. The resulting chain of metaphors are tabulated in Chapter 5. The interest of the present study is in metaphors that are used in conceptualising corruption; because of this, a chain of metaphors relating to corruption in each selected speech is identified in the discourse event.

In identifying linguistic metaphors and a cluster of metaphors, Cameron (2010b) points out that they are not easy to find, and they are not evenly distributed across text and talk. However, when they are identified, they are meritorious since carrying out a discourse analysis requires that they are carefully and closely studied. While they may be heavily clustered at some points of the discourse event, they may also be absent at some point(s) in the discourse event. This creates what Cameron calls metaphor absence (Cameron, 2010b, p. 19). In what can be described as highly charged moments in the discourse event, there are likely to be heavy clusters of metaphors. Some

metaphors may be easy to identify and put into clusters where necessary, but in other cases, the vehicle terms are not so vivid and may be described as conventionalised ways of speaking. Metaphor clusters, as described by Cameron, are very important to the current study. For example, it is observed that there are clusters in speeches of presidents who seek a second term, and these help us to make inferences as regards the choice of metaphors and their relation to the speaker's values and attitude towards corruption and their strategic use of metaphor for re-election purposes. Metaphor may be viewed as linguistic, cognitive, embodied, affective or sociocultural (Cameron, 2010b, p. 23) and all these may be analysed together in one dataset, or they could be analysed separately, depending on the research questions to be answered. In the current study, we applied all the different ways in which metaphor is viewed because of our application of the discourse dynamics to metaphor and cultural model approaches to the data for this study. This gives us a fuller picture of the metaphorical conceptualisations of corruption.

Concluding the discussion in this section, I would like to state that the discourse dynamics to metaphor model offers tools for studying how individuals construct and conceptualise the social world through their use of metaphors, the patterns that emerge, the systematicity of the metaphors in the discourse and the context of the instantiation. It is very relevant to our study as discussed above and as Cameron (2010a) rightly observes, metaphors are not embellishments in texts.

Metaphors can best be understood by considering the context in which they appear, including not only the immediate passage, the surrounding words and phrases, but also the cultural and relational context, the situation of the writer, or speaker with respect to readers or hearers and the apparent relational and interactive objectives of the writer or speaker (Cameron, 2010a, p. 59).

### 3.2.5 STUDIES THAT APPLY DDM IN STUDYING SOCIAL PHENOMENON

The discourse dynamics approach to metaphor analysis has been proven to be a useful tool in studying social phenomena (Cameron et al., 2014) and it offers a new approach to metaphor analysis in political discourse (Huang, 2022). For instance, in a contrastive study, Cameron et al. (2014) successfully show that the framework is a useful tool for studying violence in urban areas. In investigating living with uncertainty caused by violence in Brazil and the UK, they found major differences in response to violence. While participants from the UK showed a feeling of powerlessness through their metaphor choices, the Brazilian participants used their metaphor choices to emphasise constraints caused by urban violence. Indeed, the discourse dynamics to metaphor approach helps researchers to identify the different values, attitudes, and ideas people have towards phenomena through the metaphor vehicles they employ in their interactions with other people. Discourses in the health domain have received some attention by discourse analysts using the theory. DDM and metaphor-led discourse dynamics have been employed by Knapton and Rundblad (2018) to written descriptions of mental health problems in mental-health context to investigate how metaphors emerge and relate in such contexts. Du Plessis and Bui (2023), in South Africa, used DDM to analyse how senior members use metaphors during students protests. Their study identified metaphor in crisis management.

In a more recent study, Huang (2022) applies discourse dynamics to metaphor analysis in studying a speech on Covid-19 made by Xi Jinping, the President of China, and reveals the political ideas and attitudes of the Chinese government to the fight against Covid-19. The framework has also been applied to metaphorical framing of frame conflicts (Ritchie & Cameron, 2014; Semino et al., 2014). Despite the framework's efficiency, it has not been applied to discourse on corruption; this

is a problem that has received a lot of attention in political discourse all over the world and especially in Ghana.

### 3.2.6 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE CHOICE OF THE THEORY

There are several reasons that make the choice of DDM good theory to apply to the data.

. we may consider the various perspectives that were put together to analyse the data in this thesis as potentially constituting a single framework for the following reasons:

Firstly, the Cultural Model and DDM subsume the broad tenets of cognitive linguistics.

Secondly, while DDM addresses a weakness in general cognitive linguistic theory - it tends to focus on conventional (ised) metaphors and pays less attention to online and innovative metaphors. DDM addresses this weakness by providing a more systematic approach to identifying and classifying online metaphors (as they occur in specific discourse situations). However, DDM does not provide a systematic approach to using socio-cultural knowledge in interpreting socio-culturally constructed metaphors. Cultural Model addresses this weakness. Thus, the framework I adopted may be described as the Discourse Dynamic and Cultural Model Approach to metaphor.

In addition, the framework “describes carefully and logically, checking descriptions for adequacy against empirical evidence, and offers explanations of the phenomenon and how it came to be and function as it does” (Cameron & Maslen, 2010, p. 77). The phenomenon under investigation in this research (corruption) is studied in terms of “metaphor in discourse as a social interaction”, which is different from metaphor in isolation as often investigated by CMT. The aim of DDM is mainly to investigate metaphor as it occurs in social interaction; this makes it an appropriate

investigative framework for this study. The focus of CMT has been on concepts and cognition and this makes it inadequate for a study that is concerned with metaphor in discourse. Corruption as a social phenomenon is complex so it is very necessary to apply theoretical and analytical frameworks that are discourse-based to be able to fully unravel the perceptual aspects of metaphor in the discourse on corruption in Ghana.

Also, DDM makes a strong case for cultural influences to be given a place in metaphor analysis. The language of a people and their worldview on phenomena are largely influenced by their culture and so any linguistic analysis of a social phenomenon, as argued strongly by Gibbs (1999) and Kövecses (2008), should be looked at closely. There are alternative explanations to metaphor when cultural influences are carefully considered in the analysis of its nature. This means that identifying nuances in meaning of metaphor choices goes beyond cognitive response and linguistic descriptions. Potential underlying meaning is best invoked through studying sequences of figurative meaning with relevance to shared cultural knowledge.

The discourse dynamics framework, though inspired by CMT, rejects its methodological and theoretical assumptions to metaphor analysis. It particularly questions CMT's assumption that metaphors are encoded in words and that these pre-exist. An understanding of the linguistic resources of the discourse dynamics approach to metaphor can help us to investigate and answer critical questions on how metaphors as linguistic tools are exploited to talk about corruption. The linguistic tools are also able to inform us on aspects of the culture of Ghanaians and how it contributes to their understanding of corruption and how they view corruption in society.

The way people understand corruption partly depends on how language is used to talk about it. People engage language in special ways to be able to perform this function of conveying meaning from the speaker to the listener in interactions about corruption. At different levels of language

use, the discourse dynamics framework is used to identify metaphorically used words or phrases, and these are referred to as metaphor vehicles. They occur at the level of language use in text and talk and so the theory largely departs from the views of conceptual metaphor theorists. This, however, does not mean that DDM theorists doubt the existence of conceptual metaphors but that they do not link metaphorically used expressions to what goes on in the mind and that these can then be mapped onto some fixed domain (source and target). Texts such as presidential speeches, as used in this study, are set within situational and cultural contexts and these contribute to one's understanding of corruption. Corruption as a social phenomenon may be fully understood through investigating the linguistic metaphors used within a context in talking about it instead of mainly looking at it as an abstraction.

### 3.2.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have discussed the two main theories on which this research is built — discourse dynamics to metaphor and the cultural model and schema to metaphor analysis. Firstly, the chapter discussed the discourse dynamics to metaphor framework as a theory formulated for research in the social sciences. It particularly goes beyond the cognitive view of earlier researchers in relation to metaphor to a consideration of metaphor as a continuum of cognitive, embodied and linguistic elements. It also sees metaphor beyond single words to phrases and sentences and whole texts. The sociocultural context within which metaphors are used in texts — spoken or written — is very important in its application to data. The chapter also discussed the analytical procedures of the discourse dynamics to metaphor model, the use of the Metaphor Identification Procedure as proposed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007), and the procedure for identifying patterns and systematicity in the use of metaphor in the data.

Also, the chapter discussed the cultural model and schema model to metaphor analysis. They are related in that they both examine patterns of interrelated cultural knowledge. Cultural conceptualisations and how they inform one's metaphor choices within a given context are also discussed. The different types of schemas and how they are influenced by knowledge of the given culture have been looked at under each type.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### METHODOLOGY

#### 4.1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the methodology for the study. The chapter maps out how the research was carried out from the beginning to the end. The background to the research in terms of methodological underpinnings, the justification of choice of data, design, and the approach to the data analysis are also described. This chapter, therefore, aims at putting the whole research in perspective.

#### 4.1.2 RESEARCH APPROACHES

This study adopts a qualitative research paradigm. It is inductive in its outlook and investigates a phenomenon to identify beliefs, values, and attitudes towards the given phenomenon. It applies qualitative approaches to the data collection and analysis to unravel meanings, interpretations and understandings that relate to the concept of the social phenomenon. The data collection method is eclectic. The study analysis both primary data (SONAs), and secondary data (proverbs and scholarly works on Akan Philosophy). Qualitative design in research method is an approach to research in which the investigator gathers qualitative data, and draws interpretations based on the data (Creswell, 2015).

The qualitative approach provided an encompassing tool as it made it possible to conduct a comprehensive study which benefited from the more time-consuming insights of qualitative research (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Creswell, 2015). The choice of the qualitative approach helped the researcher to conduct in-depth analysis of the data (Guetterman et al., 2015). This way, the

issue of subjectivity which I must deal with as a social science researcher was reduced to the barest minimum.

Again, a qualitative approach to data analysis enabled me to study the social and cultural issues that sit in the domain of language studies, particularly the conceptualisation of corruption in selected presidential speeches. The SONAs are data for the analysis. However, some quantitative analysis of the data was done through basic statistics such as counting, tabulating, and describing to help me to identify patterns in the data and to further strengthen the findings that came out of the qualitative analysis. This, however, is not enough to describe my approach in this study as a mixed method as the ontological objects I investigate are essentially qualitative; likewise, the data and the epistemological tools I rely on are also qualitative. The basic statistics aspect of the quantitative approach I employed to supplement my data analysis enabled me to identify the frequency of occurrence of words, phrases and sentences that talk about corruption and the metaphors used in them.

The discourse dynamics to metaphor, and the cultural model and cultural schema approaches, which fall under the broad area of Cultural Linguistics, were employed as theoretical frameworks to find out how language is used to encode corruption in Ghana within the cultural settings of the people. The two frameworks are mainly qualitative in their approach to data. This was done to give a general idea of the amount of space dedicated to discussing corruption by the presidents in the selected speeches.

The qualitative approach works well with this study since the method allows the use of different and many sources as well as the use of several theories to be able to fully account for the details of the data.

A close reading of the data was first done to identify the discourse topic (corruption). The datasets were read three times, and each time, vehicle terms which were used to talk about corruption as a discourse topic were identified and manually coded in Microsoft Excel for easy analysis. A reason for the manual approach to the data analysis was to give it a detailed qualitative and in-depth analysis. It offered me the opportunity to identify both linguistic and contextual explanation for the choice of metaphors employed by the speakers. The datasets were analysed qualitatively. For easy categorisation, an annotation of the data was carried out to help identify key words and expressions. They were then put into semantic groupings for further analysis into what may be described as key semantic fields.

#### 4.1.4 RESEARCH DESIGN AND JUSTIFICATION

Social and cultural issues form a good source of qualitative research since they usually involve the use of language to encode phenomena. Qualitative methods are, therefore, best applied to such data, as these mainly rely on words, phrases, sentences, and whole discourse units as units of analysis. In-depth analyses of social phenomena are best done by employing qualitative approaches. However, there is sometimes the need for quantitative approaches to research in the social sciences and the humanities. This kind of approach is basically suitable for large data or corpora, and it is suitable for making conclusions based on numerical measurement.

The qualitative approach provided an encompassing tool as it made it possible to conduct a comprehensive study which benefited from the more time-consuming insights of qualitative research (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Creswell, 2015). The choice of the qualitative approach helped the researcher to conduct in-depth analysis of the data (Guetterman et al., 2015). This way, the

issue of subjectivity which I must deal with as a social science researcher was reduced to the barest minimum. The approach to metaphor is mainly a qualitative, and this makes it possible for the current study to combine two theoretical frameworks — the discourse dynamics to metaphor and the cultural model and schema frameworks as proposed in Chapter 3. To be able to do in depth analysis with the theories selected I explained what constitutes corruption in Ghanaian traditional cultures and in Western traditions and connected the latter to corruption as defined in the 1992 Constitution of Ghana.

#### 4.1.5 DATA TYPE AND SOURCES

This research adopts a qualitative design. As observed by Creswell and Poth (2018) and Creswell (2015). Creswell and Poth are of the view that a study is qualitative when it analysis linguistic elements and meanings that are identified in a data set within a sociocultural context with the aim of reaching an in-depth understanding of a concept or phenomenon. Linguistic patterns identified in the data are analysed through engaging the data and interpreting the linguistic elements based on their context of use. The data were from selected speeches made by presidents of the Fourth Republic of Ghana from 1993 to 2023. Each of these presidents was democratically elected for, at least, a term (of 4 years) in office. This period (1993-2023) also marks the longest period of constitutional rule in Ghana since independence. The period was selected because it also marked a time in the history of Ghana during which every citizen, including the presidents, enjoyed what has been generally described as “a period of freedom of speech”. The presidents, therefore, presented these speeches under no duress or any kind of fear of being prosecuted or punished in any form.

A total of 15 datasets were drawn from the official website of the Parliament of Ghana and the Daily Graphic online portal for our analysis of metaphors used in conceptualising corruption. These data were selected based on corruption as a discourse topic. Three sets of speeches were selected as data for analysing the metaphor choices of each of the five presidents. These are speeches delivered annually by the presidents to Parliament at the beginning of the opening of Parliament as required by Article 67 of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana. They are referred to as the State of the Nation Address (SONA).

The SONAs are speeches delivered on the state of the nation while the presidents are still in office. The SONAs frame national issues, present party viewpoints and discuss national policies on various sectors of government. The speeches contain a thematic focus on corruption in particular sections and these formed the targeted sections for identifying vehicle terms. Though not all the presidents have equal terms of office, the first SONA and any two known speeches of the given president which were representative of the data required for this research were selected. Each president's first SONA was selected because the first SONAs are usually delivered at the time of assuming power and each president in the period under study had a first term in office. The presidents, however, have different durations in office. It was, therefore, expected that the first SONA of each president would be a well-thought-through speech that helps the presidents to officially address the nation as leaders of government and not flagbearers of any political party. All other SONAs, like the first one delivered, are used as an opportunity to inform the nation about new policies to be implemented and other plans that the incoming president and his government intend to put in place to make the lives of the people better than they experienced under the previous government. They are also sometimes used as an opportunity to plead with the people for their support and cooperation for a successful term of office. The SONAs are also used to inform

the nation on issues concerning the social, economic, and political state of the nation. Corruption as a topical issue is, therefore, discussed in almost all the SONAs of the Fourth Republic.

Apart from one president, John Evans Atta Mills, who did not complete his term of office since he died in the third year of his first term, all the other presidents, at least, completed a term of office (four years). Mills's known last SONA is what he presented during the third year. By the requirements of the constitution of Ghana, John Mahama, the then vice president, took over immediately as president and completed the fourth year of his predecessor John Evans Atta Mills.

The speeches were gleaned from the official Ghanaian parliamentary online website <http://ir.parliament.gh/> which is the Parliament of Ghana Library Repository. All the SONAs delivered during the period under study were carefully read and those that contained the highest number of corruption-related clauses were selected. The data were then cleaned to exclude stretches of texts which did not relate to the issue of corruption as concerns the current study. The speeches are delivered to a perceived audience, thereby making them a data source reliable for this kind of research. The 1992 Constitution remains the main document that regulates behaviour and spells out punishment for all forms of wrongdoing including corruption.

There have been five presidents in the Fourth Republic of Ghana. The presidents of the Fourth Republic in the order of their terms of office are: Jerry John Rawlings (JJR), John Agyekum Kufour (JAK), John Evans Atta Mills (JEAM), John Dramani Mahama (JDM), and Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo (NADAA). The following table describes their terms of office and the dates they delivered their speeches.

**TABLE 3: THE PRESIDENTS OF THE FOURTH REPUBLIC AND THEIR TERMS OF OFFICE**

Name	Year(s) elected	Term of Office			Inaugural Speech	Selected SONA(s)
		Took office	Left Office	Duration		
JJR	1992/ 1996	7 <sup>th</sup> Jan, 1993	7 <sup>th</sup> Jan 2001	8yrs 2 Terms	7 <sup>th</sup> Jan 1993	1993 1999 2000
JAK	2000/ 2004	7 <sup>th</sup> Jan, 2001	7 <sup>th</sup> Jan 2009	8yrs 2 Terms	7 <sup>th</sup> Jan, 2001	2001 2006 2008
JEAM	2008	7 <sup>th</sup> Jan 2009	7 <sup>th</sup> Jan 2012	3yrs (died in office before the 1 <sup>st</sup> term ended)	7 <sup>th</sup> Jan 2009	2009 2011 2012
JDM	2012	24 <sup>th</sup> July 2012	7 <sup>th</sup> July 2017	4yrs 1Term +199days	24 <sup>th</sup> July 2017	2013 2015 2016
NADAA	2017 2020	7 <sup>th</sup> Jan 2017	Incumbent	7yrs 11/2 Terms	7 <sup>th</sup> Jan 2017	2018 2020 2021

Table 3 presents the presidents of the Fourth Republic and their terms of office. It shows the year they were elected, the year they left office, the duration of their stay in office, and the date of the selected SONAs.

#### 4.1.6 DATA PREPARATION

##### 4.1.6.1 *Labelling of Texts*

For easy identification of the speeches, they were labelled with the initials of each president plus a number. The number *1* is used to represent the first SONA of each president while the numbers *2* and *3* are used to represent any other two SONAs that give the highest number of corruption-related clauses. For example, the first selected speech of President Jerry John Rawlings is labelled with his initials plus the SONA and the year the speech was delivered. Thus, we will have his first selected speech labelled as JJR 1993. It is important to state that in the two terms of office of J. J. Rawlings as President of Ghana, these annual addresses to Parliament were called Sectional Addresses. For this research, however, they have been labelled SONAs since they are also presented in compliance with Article 67 of the 1992 Constitution. This Act imposes on the president of Ghana to deliver an annual address to the Parliament of Ghana on the economic, social, and financial state of the nation. A sample data from the SONAs of President Rawlings, for instance, are labelled JJR SONA 1993; JJR SONA, 1999; and JJR SONA, 2000. All the selected speeches are analysed from the earliest to the latest for the term of office of each president. This is done to help trace the trajectory of the metaphor choices employed by the presidents.

## METAPHOR IDENTIFICATION IN THE DISCOURSE DYNAMICS TO METAPHOR FRAMEWORK

This subsection describes the metaphor identification procedure in DDM and its application to texts. Metaphor identification is not new (Shutova et al., 2016). However, there is the systematicity that needs to be identified in metaphors (Cameron et al., 2009; Cameron, 2007). The argument over what qualifies to be called a metaphor is inevitable (Cameron, 2007) since what may appear to be a metaphor in one context may not be a metaphor in another context. A defined metaphor identification procedure is, therefore, required, and this should be supported with a dictionary which says precisely what the word is and what the same word means in context. This current study relies on the Oxford English Dictionary for the basic meaning of words to help reduce solely relying on author intuition and thereby reduce coding errors to the barest minimum.

Determining what constitutes a metaphor has been a subject of debate, and the complex nature of metaphor partly accounts for this (Cameron et al., 2009a). The Pragglejaz Group's (2007) Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) and the Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universitet (MIPVU) continue to be two major accepted procedures for identifying metaphors in language and in various domains. Despite the wide use of these two procedures for the identification of metaphors, many controversies still exist about the validity and reliability of the metaphors and their use in speech and in writing. The MIP is explored for metaphor identification in the current study. The speeches analysed in this research point to patterns in the metaphor choices of the presidents used in talking about corruption, hence the relevance of the MIP to the present study. Tracing these patterns helped me to make inferences about the attitudes, values, and beliefs of the presidents towards corruption.

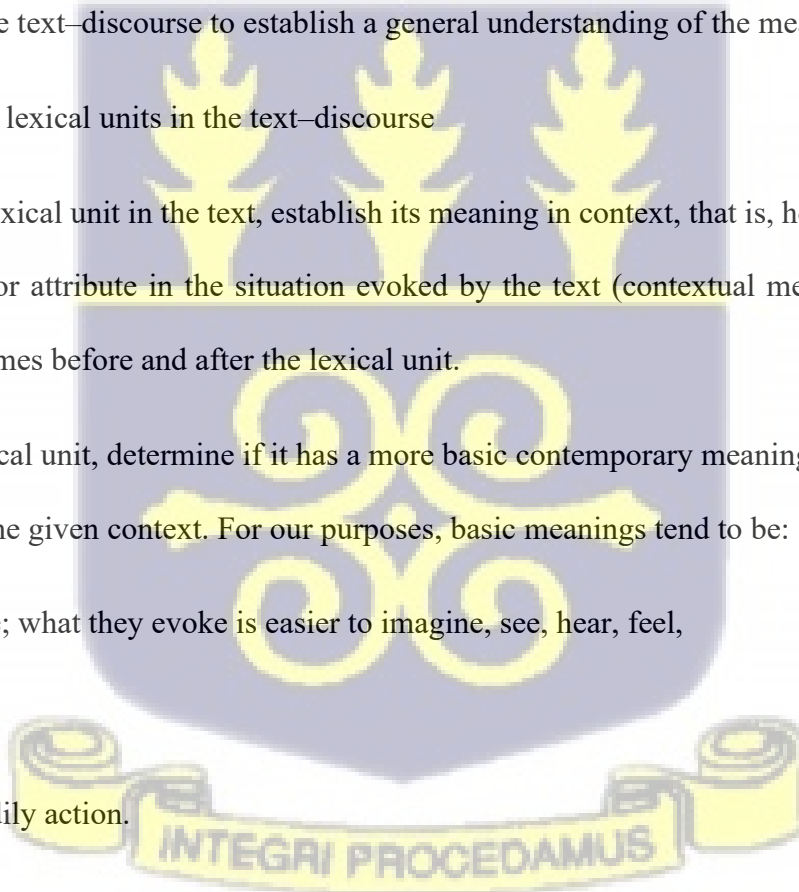
The discourse dynamic approach takes into consideration the complexities that play a role in the use of metaphor in particular contexts. These contexts are investigated guided by the cultural model and cultural schema to find out how language is used to encode corruption in Ghana.

### 3.2.4. The Pragglejaz Group's Metaphor Identification Procedure (Adapted from the Pragglejaz Group 2007:3)

#### PROCEDURE AND EXPLICATION

The MIP is as follows:

1. Read the entire text–discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
2. Determine the lexical units in the text–discourse
3. (a) For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.  
  
(b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be:
  - More concrete; what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell and taste.
  - Related to bodily action.
  - More precise (as opposed to vague)
  - Historically older.



Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.

(c) If the lexical unit has a more basic current–contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.

4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical.

The Pragglejaz Group procedure is systematic and provides a set of steps to metaphor identification and thereby helps to isolate the lexical units which have a contextual meaning that is different from their basic meaning.

The process involves:

4. Transcription (where necessary)
5. Metaphor identification (Pragglejaz Group, 2007)
6. Coding metaphors
7. Using software
8. Finding patterns of metaphor use in coded data

The linguistic context within which these choices are made is important to the analysis, as pointed out by Cameron (2007), Cameron et al. (2009) and Wu (2012), and the devices used to foreground or background the content of the message are equally important to the analysis and interpretation (Cameron, 2007).



#### *4.1.6.2 Reading and Marking up (Metaphor Identification)*

In the manual search for the vehicle terms, as described in Cameron et al. (2009), I took incongruity in the use of words and phrases as the basis for my selection of the vehicle terms. I applied the Metaphor Identification Procedure as proposed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007) and used the dictionary (Oxford English Dictionary) to provide a fixed source of reliable information to back intuitions. This helped to identify the basic meaning from the context meaning of each of the vehicle terms. I was thus able to identify both conventional and novel metaphorical expressions and metaphorising in the selected speeches. Cameron et al. (2009) point out that the discourse dynamics approach holds that “metaphoricity depends on the evolving discourse context” (Cameron et. al 2009, p. 71), and that we can only understand metaphor in discourse by examining how it works in the flow of talk (or text).

To further deal with chances of error, we applied Cameron’s manual to metaphor identification as discussed in Chapter 3. The vehicle terms that were identified related to corruption and the units of analysis ranged from the phrase to a complete clause. Each of the speeches was read for a general understanding of the speech. As stated earlier, the speeches were cleaned to exclude stretches of texts which did not deal directly with the topic of corruption. Therefore, it was only sections of the speeches which corresponded to the focus of this research that were closely examined. These identified sections were read the second time to extract sentences that were corruption-related.

The discourse dynamics to metaphor framework does not define a clause. For the purposes of this study, I relied on Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), to mark out the clauses. To them a clause is the largest grammatical unit expresses a process and the participants and circumstances involved in the process. The third stage of reading was then done

to identify words, phrases, and sentences that contained metaphors used to conceptualise corruption. These were then underlined for easy identification. The identified corruption-related clauses were extracted and then transferred onto Microsoft Excel Spreadsheet with labelling for further close reading to identify the vehicle term, the theme, basic meaning, context meaning, the discourse topic and the metaphoric grounds of corruption. This provided raw data for analysis. Excel was chosen over other programs such as Atlas.ti because it is easy to access, easy to use and more reliable.

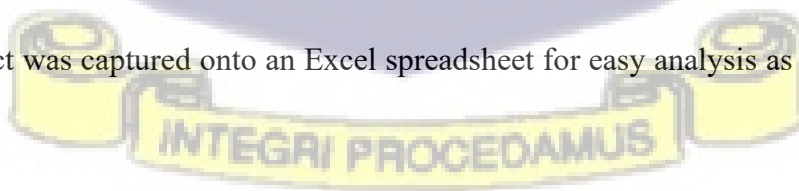
It is important to note that though these clauses were extracted for close textual analysis, the vehicle terms identified were interpreted with reference to the context within which they were employed. Thus, throughout the analysis, the metaphor vehicle terms remained attached to the full discourse context in which they were used. This was done in accordance with the tenets of the frameworks for this study to allow us to infer a contextual meaning that shows the attitudes, values, and ideas of the presidents about corruption. This process was guided by the MIP and Cameron's manual for metaphor identification. About 80 percent of the metaphors identified were non-controversial. This is to say that it was easy to tell whether the metaphors were conventional or novel creations. Example, it was easy to identify FIGHT as a metaphor while LEGACY required a some more investigation of the context of use. A discussion my advisors on the remainder further increased the percentage to 95 percent. The 5 percent remainder were examined against the sociocultural setting since the dynamics and context of the language also determine what is or is not to be counted as metaphor, as pointed out by Cameron (2007) and Cameron et al. (2009a). Metaphor vehicles were grouped to efficiently move from metaphor vehicles to systematic or framing metaphors as observed in Cameron (2010a).

The text below is extracted from a SONA to help us to describe how the datasets were coded.

*“Mr. Speaker we will aggressively continue the fight against corruption. Corruption erodes national resources and deprives Government of the capacity to invest in our people. I wish to restate my unwavering commitment to continue an unrelenting battle against corruption. We will fight this battle on two fronts. Firstly, to put in place the measures to prevent corruption, and secondly to pursue and punish corruption wherever it occurs. Mr. Speaker, in the past year our commitment to the fight against corruption has been manifested in the actions we have taken. We set up the Sole Commissioner office to investigate cases of Judgement debt. We eagerly await his report and would work with it to ensure that we get rid of this huge drain on our public resources. While we await the completion of work by the Sole Commissioner for further action, I have asked the Attorney General to vigorously defend all actions brought against the state. In this regard, Government has successfully defended claims filed against the government both within and outside Ghana, thereby halting payment of sums in excess of GH¢1 billion” (Extract: JDM SONA, 2014).*

In annotating the data, I identified elements of WAR as a discourse group by first selecting and grouping all those metaphorical expressions that relate to war such as *battle, fight, enemy, combat, front, pursue, and destroy* under WAR imagery. Based on these groupings and following how the elements are perceived in context, metaphor groupings were formed for further analysis to identify a systematic metaphor for a categorisation in culture-specific conceptualisations.

The above extract was captured onto an Excel spreadsheet for easy analysis as shown in Table 4. below.

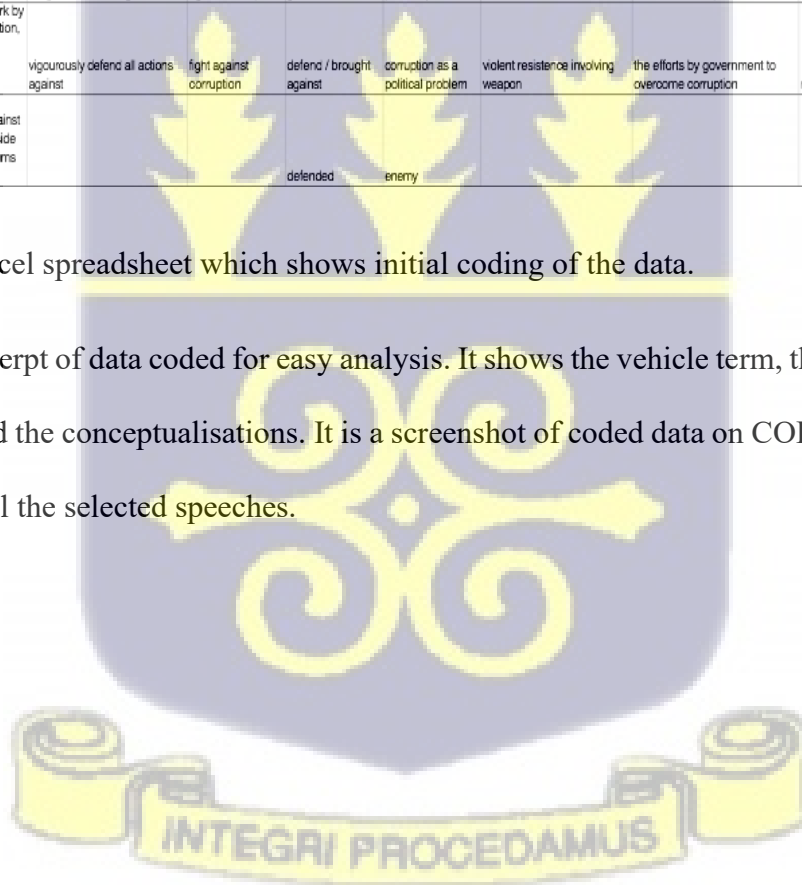


**TABLE 4: DATA IN EXCEL SPREADSHEET A**

SN	Clause	Metaphor vehicle term	Theme	Process / Verb	Discourse Topic	Basic meaning	Context meaning	What is the speaker doing	Metaphoric grounds of corruption	Comments
1	Mr speaker we will aggressively continue the fight against corruption.	aggressively continue the fight against corruption	actions to take in the face of corruption	to fight	corruption as a political problem	physical / violent resistance	a show of strong dislike for corruption	Greeting and addressing the issue of corruption	fight / military	
2	Corruption erodes national resources and deprives Government of the capacity to invest in our people.	1. corruption erodes national resources and 2. deprives Government 3. to invest in people	the consequences of corruption	1.erodes 2.deprives 3. invest	Effects of corruption	1.wash away the surface 2. put (money) into schemes or a business	the destructive nature of corruption	expressing concerns about corruption	erodes (nature) social deprivation	
3	I wish to restate my unwavering commitment to continue an unrelenting battle against corruption.	1. unwavering commitment 2.an unrelenting battle against corruption	actions to take against corruption	1. to restate 2. to continue a battle	the persistence of corruption	1. steady 2.not yielding	the persistent nature of corruption	making a promise	fight	
4	We will fight this battle on two fronts.	fight this battle on two fronts	Actions to take against corruption	to fight	corruption as a political problem	violent resistance involving weapon	the struggle to overcome corruption	making a promise	military	
5	Firstly to put in place the measures to prevent corruption, and secondly to pursue and punish corruption wherever it occurs	2. to prevent corruption 3. to pursue 4. punish corruption	actions to take against corruption	1. to put in place 2. to prevent 3. to pursue 4. to punish	corruption as political problem	position, stop from happening, chase	the efforts by government to overcome corruption	making a promise	enemy (military)	corruption is humanized
6	Mr. Speaker, in the past year our commitment to the fight against corruption has been manifested in the actions we have taken	1. the fight against corruption 2. actions we have taken	solutions to corruption	1.to fight 2. have taken	corruption as a political problem	violent resistance involving weapon	the efforts by government to overcome corruption	making a statement	fight	
7	We set up the Sole Commissioner office to investigate cases of Judgement debt.									
8	We eagerly await his report and would work with it to ensure that we get rid of this huge drain on our public resources.	we get rid of this huge drain	actions to take against corruption	get rid of	corruption as a political problem	free	the efforts by government to overcome corruption	making a promise	corruption as a disease	disease
9	While we await the completion of work by the Sole Commissioner for further action, I have asked the Attorney General to vigorously defend all actions brought against the state.	vigorously defend all actions against	fight against corruption	defend / brought against	corruption as a political problem	violent resistance involving weapon	the efforts by government to overcome corruption	making a statement	enemy (military)	K13
10	In this regard, Government has successfully defended claims filed against the government both within and outside Ghana, thereby halting payment of sums in excess of GHC1 billion			defended	enemy					

Table 4. is an excel spreadsheet which shows initial coding of the data.

Table 5 is an excerpt of data coded for easy analysis. It shows the vehicle term, the discourse topic, the metaphor and the conceptualisations. It is a screenshot of coded data on CORRUPTION AS A FIGHT across all the selected speeches.



**TABLE 5: DATA IN EXCEL SPREADSHEET B**

Prez/Year	Clause	Vehicle term	Discourse Topic	Metaphor	verb / process	conceptualization	systematic
1 JEAM-2012	Let me state here and now that I remain undaunted by attempts to thwart the fight against corruption by legal and technical means	attempts to thwart the fight against corruption	actions taken against corruption	fight against corruption	fight	war / enemy	
2 JEAM-2012	I do not care whose ox is gored when it comes to the fight against corruption and neither will I be off-tracked by all the sideline comments that are being made to befuddle the hardcore issues. (p.20, paragraph 8-9)	the fight against corruption	actions taken against corruption	fight against corruption	fight	war / enemy	
2 JDM-2013	We will give impetus to the fight against corruption by strengthening the anti-corruption agencies and sanctioning culpable persons to serve as a deterrent to others.	give impetus to the fight against corruption		fight against corruption	fight	war / enemy	
6 JDM-2013	Our commitment to the fight against corruption remains unshakable	Our commitment to the fight against corruption remains unshakable	commitment to the fight against corruption	fight against corruption	fight	war / enemy	
1 JDM-2014	Mr speaker we will aggressively continue the fight against corruption.	will aggressively continue the fight against corruption	continue fight against corruption	fight against corruption	fight	war / enemy	
4 JDM-2014	We will fight this battle on two fronts.	will fight this battle on two fronts	fight corruption	battle / fight corruption	fight	battle/military	
6 JDM-2014	Mr. Speaker, in the past year our commitment to the fight against corruption has been manifested in the actions we have taken	our commitment to the fight against corruption	actions taken against corruption	the fight against corruption	fight	war / enemy	
25 JDM-2014	It hurts society as a whole, so must fight it as a whole.	it (corruption) hurts society as a whole / so must fight it (corruption)	the effects of corruption on society / measures to be taken against corruption	it hurts society / must fight it (corruption)	fight	war / enemy / damage	

There are sub-headings under which the datasets were studied. These subheadings guided me in connecting the extracted vehicle terms to the entire discourse event so that systematic metaphors could be identified. An example is the conceptualisation of corruption as FIGHT, as seen in the Excel spreadsheet B above.

*4.1.6.3 Determining corruption-related clauses*

We relied on our operational definition of corruption in identifying the corruption-related clauses or sentences. We were guided by the various conceptualisations of corruption as were identified in the speeches while considering their contexts of usage. Ghana as a context was also considered in deciding what qualified to be labelled as a corruption-related clause or a vehicle term that is related to corruption. As pointed out by Polzenhagen and Wolf (2021), it is difficult to decide what qualifies as metaphorical or non-metaphorical in non-Western contexts of the use of English. Rightly so therefore, we borrow from Polzenhagen and Wolf (2021) to speak of metaphoric and non-metaphoric conceptualisations in the context of the selected speeches. The clauses were

identified first by looking out for the word ‘corruption’ itself, and other words that are either direct synonyms or refer to anything that relates to the operationalised definition of corruption such as embezzlement, bribe, misappropriation and other seemingly neutral linguistic expressions such as enemy, disease and war (violence). The selected clauses had to refer to corruption as a sociocultural phenomenon. In some cases, inferences were made, yet the identification had to be within what is decided on as corruption. The vehicle terms as stated earlier may be just single words, phrases or whole sentences and these must occur in the clause as a grammatical unit. The following is an example:

1. Politicians in power talking about corruption such as: “*Corruption is a disease, which left unchecked can choke and kill a nation. It is an enemy of progress and development and a threat to peace and security. It is therefore an obligation on all of us to mobilize our efforts in the fight to eradicate corruption*”. (Extract: JDM SONA: 2016) (judging corruption e.g., corruption is eating up our country; corruption is humanised).

In the extract, corruption is mentioned only twice but there are other references that the writer relies on to make further references to corruption. Implied forms used in the extract are also considered and used to identify corruption-related clauses as it can be seen in, “It is an enemy of progress and development and a threat to peace and security,” as identified in the extract JDM SONA, 2016 above. Though corruption is not mentioned in this sentence, the reference to *an enemy to peace and national security* also speaks about corruption. In this case, one can infer from the earlier discourse context that the president is referring to the effects of corruption on the nation. The pronoun *it* anaphorically refers to corruption. In Chapter 7, I build on the metaphorical conceptualisations identified in Chapter 5.

#### 4.1.7 DATA RELIABILITY

##### 4.1.7.1 *Coding the Data*

Two experienced coders coded the data and ran checks to be sure that the identified metaphors were similar or the same across the coders. Two individuals with expertise in metaphor analysis and language studies in Ghana were briefed and then engaged to code samples of the data. Discussions and cross checks with colleagues also brought rigour to the vehicle grouping. Despite all that though, it is quite a hermeneutic process, and this is generally unavoidable when grouping the vehicle terms. The MIP as applied in this study, however, brought a good amount of consistency across the coding process. I coded the data thematically by identifying vehicle terms. For example, “We must combat corruption” was coded under WAR/ VIOLENCE. DDM presents multiple levels of coding. I first coded linguistic metaphors (words/phrases), second, systematic metaphors (recurrent patterns), third, dynamic metaphors (emerging shifting meanings) and finally, discourse metaphors (wider narratives)

I also did conceptualisation coding. For example, “As President...I was willing to submit myself to be investigated for corruption”, was coded under the cultural category of AUTHORITY and respect for elders. The coded data further grouped metaphors under cultural schemas, cultural metaphors and cultural categories using Sharifian (2003/ 2017).

The groupings are clearly defined from the beginning of the research as the study sought to focus mainly on metaphors relating to corruption—what constitutes corruption, its effects and measures employed to curb it. The groupings that emerge further are those that identify the different kinds of metaphors that relate to corruption. This is mainly a process that works between the data and the identified categories.

#### 4.8 DATA ANALYSIS

The first research question is, “What metaphors have been used to conceptualise corruption over the period under study by the presidents in the selected speeches?” The linguistic metaphor or vehicle term which form the basic unit of analysis was first identified. Clauses that contained vehicle terms were then identified in each speech. These were coded in an Excel spreadsheet. They were further grouped and regrouped into systematic metaphors. This was done by labelling the groupings with words that had been picked directly from the data. Picking words directly from the data helped to avoid generalisations and to find patterns. This was done so that periods in which metaphors were most frequently used, as opposed to periods when metaphors were used sparingly to talk about corruption in the history of Ghana, could be traced and identified. The regrouping was done to help identify the different types of corruption that were referred to in the speeches of the presidents. Also, this was done so that I could find out how much space was dedicated by each president to talking about corruption. This then helped to infer the extent to which corruption has been a major or minor issue diachronically. Systematicity in the choice of metaphors by the various presidents over the period was also identified. I also considered the interconnections between the metaphors, how they are relexicalized, and the patterns that emerge to give me the systematic metaphors that I discuss in answering research questions two and three.

The second research question sought an answer to how the metaphor choices made by the presidents reflect the culture of the people of Ghana and their understanding of corruption. To answer this question, I tried to link the conceptualisations / metaphors to some common customs, traditions / practices and values or belief systems that motivate them. This I did by relying on the Akan philosophy of ‘personhood’ and ‘community’, the individual and responsibility towards the community, and respect for elders as practices that guide the sociocultural practices of the people

of Ghana and their understanding of corruption. I fully discuss the choice of Akan philosophy of person in chapter 6 where I answer this research question. The choice of Akan philosophy as representative of Ghanaian practices is because it does not only represent the largest ethnic group, but it is the most widely spoken language among the people of Ghana (2021 Population and Housing Census). Further justification on this choice is provided in Chapter 6. While a rigorous, reliable definition of these metaphorical conceptualisations may be difficult or almost impossible to achieve, tying these metaphorical choices to the philosophical understanding of the people enables us to make inferences.

The discourse dynamics approach to metaphor kept me in touch with the data and so the vehicle terms were first identified, and these were then studied to find out the systematic metaphors and how the speakers' (presidents') sociocultural and political backgrounds influenced their choices and use of metaphor. These were examined against the background and context of the speeches and the situations in which these occurred while also comparing how the speakers used these systematic metaphors and what it reveals about their understanding of corruption. This was done with the help of the theoretical frameworks which maintain that people conceptualise metaphors about their culturally determined experiences.

The third question was on what the metaphors used by the presidents reflect about their attitudes, beliefs and values on corruption. To answer this question, we visited research question one where coding started and then looked for evidence of metaphor patterns and systematic metaphors that emerged in the discourse event. Further patterns were searched for to find out to what extent these could be used as justification to make generalisations. The patterns that emerged were studied against the historical and sociocultural backgrounds of the speeches. Inferences were then made,

and interpretations were done accordingly. It is generally a back-and-forth process between the texts (speeches) and the Excel spreadsheets.

The issue of who is speaker and addressee was closely looked at as it turned out to reveal how and to what extent corruption was masked either in political or social discourses. The semantics at play was investigated by identifying ways in which people engage in corrupt acts, judge it and/or condemn it.

The context and scenario in which these practices and expressions occur and what they reveal about the people involved were carefully studied. Also, I looked out for the bridges which Cameron talks about in her approach to metaphor analysis and found out how clusters are built to help discuss uncomfortable topics such as corruption. Again, I examined the data for metaphors that the presidents used in hiding or concealing, and defamiliarising the topic of corruption for a comfortable discussion.

#### 4.1.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The approach to the study has been carefully described in this chapter. The qualitative approach adopted in this study and the sources of the data as well as the data collection processes have been described. The chapter also described the data and how they were used to answer the research questions of this study. The data were analysed to find out the metaphors that were used to talk about corruption in such formal settings and to discover the systematicity of the use of the metaphors as it occurs in the data.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### METAPHOR CHOICES AND THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF CORRUPTION

#### 5.1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter seeks to respond to the first research question. It responds to the question: what metaphors have been used to conceptualise corruption over the period (1993 to 2023) in the selected presidential speeches? It first examines the metaphor choices that have been used by the presidents in the period under review by identifying corruption-related clauses used in each speech. This is followed by a brief background to the period of rule of each president to help create the situational and social context relevant to the given speech. It also identifies corruption-related clauses, the themes that emerge, and the different metaphors that have been used from 1993 to 2023. The chapter also examines issues of corruption that have been raised in the selected speeches and the types of corruption that the president's address in their speeches.

#### 5.1.2 METAPHOR CHOICES OF THE PRESIDENTS

As it was discussed in Chapter 3, the discourse dynamics to metaphor model requires that the complexities in the discourse event and the sociocultural context be examined to help isolate the lexical units which form vehicle terms. To be able to achieve the objective of this chapter, therefore, I first present an overview of the corruption-related clauses and then from these clauses, I identify the metaphors used to conceptualise corruption in the selected presidential speeches. The table below presents an overview of the corruption-related clauses. The names of the presidents, their abbreviations as discussed in Chapter 4, the tag of the speeches and the total number of

clauses as against the number of corruption-related clauses are presented. A percentage representation is also presented to help point out the amount of space dedicated to talking about this important phenomenon.

**TABLE 6: CORRUPTION-RELATED CLAUSES IN THE SPEECHES**

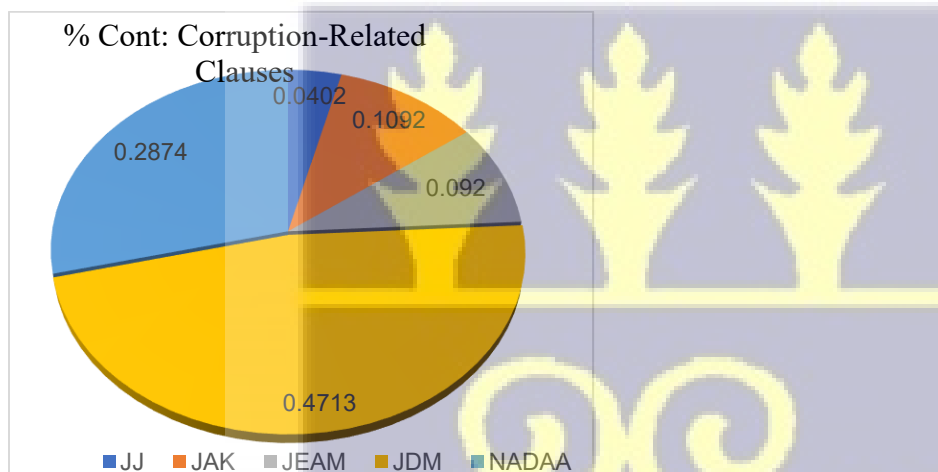
S/N	Name	Speech Tags	Speech Date	Total number of clauses	Corruption-related clauses	Percentage (%) per speech
1	JJ	JJ1	29-04-1993	209	0	0%
		JJ2	14-01-1999	379	3	1%
		JJ3	13-01-2000	421	4	1%
2	JAK	JAK1	15-02-2001	191	7	4%
		JAK2	31-01-2006	180	7	4%
		JAK3	14-02-2008	293	5	2%
3	JEAM	JEAM1	-2011	294	3	1%
		JEAM2	17-02-2011	237	10	4%
		JEAM3	16-02-2012	255	3	1%
4	JDM	JDM1	21-02-2013	434	7	2%
		JDM2	26-02-2015	632	53	8%
		JDM3	25-02-2016	902	22	2%
5	NADAA	NADAA1	2017	271	19	7%
		NADAA2	20-02-2020	379	22	6%
		NADAA3	30-03-2021	280	9	3%

Source: Author, 2023

From Table 6. I am able to quantitatively describe how much corruption has been a topic in the selected speeches. We see, per volume, that the clauses which discuss corruption or contain corruption-related ideas are more frequent at certain times than at other times in the period under study. As a social phenomenon, corruption has been discussed by each president of the Fourth Republic, but the number of corruption-related clauses used by each president varies. The highest

number of corruption-related clauses was in the period 2013 to 2016 under the rule of JDM with the highest score of 47%, and this is followed by that of NADAA with 28.7%; JAK had 10.9% of his speech dedicated to talking about corruption while JEAM recorded 9.2% and, finally, JJ had the least number of corruption-related clauses with a 4.0% score. The year 2015, under the rule of JDM, saw the highest number of corruption-related clauses recorded. The least number of corruption-related clauses was recorded in the years 1999, 2009 and 2012.

Figure 8: (Percentage of corruption-related clauses for each president)



The amount of attention given to this social phenomenon and an account of when it began to be an issue of concern are captured in the table 5.1 above. We can see from this table that corruption dates to the first president of the Fourth Republic, President J.J. Rawlings, and it has remained a consistent topic throughout the period under review. It rose gradually from the first president of the Fourth Republic to 10.92% during the term of President J.A. Kufuor but dropped by the tenure of the third president, President J.E.A. Mills to 9.2% by one percent. The rate rose again from the

tenure of the fourth president, President J.D. Mahama, and hit its highest within the period under review during his tenure of office by receiving the most attention in the selected speeches with a percentage increase of 37.93% from the time of his predecessor, J.E.A. Mills. It has received comparably little attention from the fifth president of the Fourth Republic, President Nana Addo, with a percentage drop of 18.39%, though comparatively higher than that of the first three presidents.

It is important to point out that these presentations may seem to point to the amount of corruption within each president's tenure of office, but this is not a complete picture. Some background information is provided below to help in the interpretation of these graphic representations of the corruption-related clauses. The volumes as discussed may, however, be mirrors of the rate of the prevalence of corruption and the amount of attention paid to this social phenomenon. There are other social, cultural, and political factors that may influence the prevalence of metaphor-related clauses. Again, what is said may be an equal volume of what is left unsaid; therefore, it is important to understand the sociocultural and discourse contexts within which these metaphorical choices are made in conceptualising corruption.

#### 5.1.2.1 *Jerry John Rawlings (1993-2000)*

This period represents the first eight years of the Fourth Republic, and it was headed by President Jerry John Rawlings. It was the period when Ghana had returned to constitutional rule after ten years of military rule under the same man. His first military coup in 1979 and his return in 1982 marked periods in which individuals and organisations and businesses that were accused of various corrupt practices were beaten, dispossessed, jailed, or even killed (Ganaah et al., 2023). It was a period of shortage of goods, and many human rights abuses in the name of “cleaning the system”.

The judicial killings which saw the murder of high court judges, and the disappearance of certain individuals left the country unsafe, and many people lived in great fear during the period of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) with President J.J. Rawlings as leader. Three High Court judges were killed for overturning a ruling which found some persons guilty of charges of corruption (Gyimah-Boadi & Rothchild, 2021). President J.J. Rawlings went on to rule under the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), an offshoot of the AFRC. The PNDC metamorphosed into the National Democratic Congress (NDC).

From 1992 to 2000, he led the NDC and won the 1992 elections as a democratically elected president. The major message of his different periods of rule has been to rid the nation of corruption. As the first president of the Fourth Republic, therefore, this may explain why we do not find many corruption-related clauses in his speeches. In what became known as the June Fourth Speeches by President J.J. Rawlings while addressing corruption as a major reason for toppling two separate governments in the past, Rawlings, in his 1993 June 4 speech, justified his reasons for his first coup in the following words. He states:

*“The events of June 4, 1979, were a reaction against the failure of those who at that time, were the mature leaders in government, in the military, in positions of influence and power, to address the concerns of the common people. What took place on that day, and the following three months was a great cry of anger against those individuals and institutions which had failed to stem the tide of all-pervading corruption, ineptitude and injustice which was steadily strangling our people, or had pretended, from their secure and comfortable vantage-points, that it did not exist.”* (June 4<sup>th</sup>, 1993, speech by Jerry John Rawlings)

Under his leadership, the country returned to constitutional rule with the 1992 Constitution formulated. The fundamental principles of the Constitution are probity, accountability, and justice

for all. This is the constitution that continues to govern Ghana’s democracy to date. Comparatively, the period under the rule of President J.J. Rawlings has very few corruption-related clauses. (There is only a subtle mention of corruption in the 1999 SONA.) These are not explicit, but they are in synonyms that mitigate a vicious attack on corruption. The expressions are scattered across the speech, and they do not allow one to be able to say categorically that President J.J. Rawlings dedicates a section of his speeches to addressing the issue of corruption.

**TABLE 7: JJR METAPHOR CHOICES**

Year	President	Metaphors	frequency
2000	JJR	FIGHT	1
		CASE	2
		DISEASE	1
			Total=4

President Rawlings used three different metaphors in the selected presidential speeches. A total of four metaphors were used, and all these occurred in his SONA of 2000. There is no categorical mention of corruption as a social phenomenon in the other two selected speeches. Corruption is referred to in other ways such as embezzlement, fraud and misappropriation in his 1999 Sectional Address to Parliament. The metaphorical conceptualisations used by President J.J. Rawlings to talk about corruption include corruption as a FIGHT, CASE, DISEASE, and an ENEMY. President J.J. Rawlings seems to have conceptualised corruption as AN UNKNWON DISEASE

and Ghana as A NATION INFECTED BY AN UNKNOWN DISEASE THAT NEEDS TO BE DIAGNOSED.

Some illustrative examples of the choice of metaphors used to conceptualise CORRUPTION are provided below.

1. “In our fight against corruption and protection of public and private property and lawful investment, the Serious Fraud Office in 1999 extended its search light to a number of institutions in the country” (JJR SONA, 2000).

The metaphor FIGHT is used to conceptualise corruption as an ENEMY; the public and private property and lawful investment are said to need protection, which means they are viewed as vulnerable. Corruption appears to be humanized, and the Serious Fraud Office is personified as one that carries a searchlight to identify corrupt institutions.

2. Government on its part has extended an invitation to the World Bank to collaborate in conducting a diagnostic study on corruption in Ghana and how this can be mitigated, if not eradicated (JJR SONA, 2000).

CORRUPTION is talked about as a disease and the nation is conceptualised as suffering from a DISEASE that needs to be diagnosed so that the disease can be “mitigated or eradicated”. The call on the World Bank is equally metaphoric since the core mandate of the World Bank is to provide financial aid and not healthcare.



### 5.1.2.2 *John Agyekum Kufuor (2000-2008)*

This period marked the rule of President John Agyekum Kufuor. He headed the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and had two terms of office — 2001 to 2004 and 2005 to 2008, spending eight (8) years in power. This was the first time in the Fourth Republic when an opposition party was handed power through multi-party elections. President J.A. Kufuor in his first SONA describes how the people of Ghana chose “after 43 years of national independence to use the ballot box to effect change of government, and to replace one democratically elected government with another” (JAK SONA, 2001). The NPP came to power campaigning against mass looting, corruption, and poor economic governance of the previous administration under President Jerry John Rawlings. Under the campaign message of POSITIVE CHANGE, Ghana was said to have been so poorly managed that debt relief interventions had to be taken to make the economy vibrant. President Kufuor in his first SONA points out that:

3. “The legacy we have inherited on the economic front is daunting. Mismanagement, mass unemployment, low wages, high cost of living, a rapidly depreciating currency, a colossal national debt, high dependency on foreign aid, as well as declining educational and health opportunities, extensive corruption in public life, a cowed and demoralized private sector, hopelessness, and despair — this is the legacy of the last two decades” (JAK SONA, 2001).

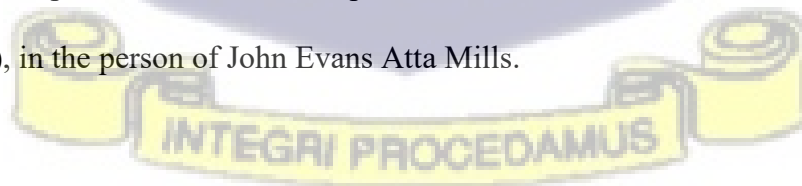
Immediately after coming into power, President Kufuor took Ghana to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), signed the Highly Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) fund, and sought debt cancellation for Ghana. In his SONAs for the years 2002, 2003, and 2007, there are no corruption-related clauses and in his 2005 SONA, there is only one instance when corruption is mentioned. It is well known that in President Kufuor’s interview on corruption, he openly accepts that corruption exists and that “it is as old as Adam”. In 2006 when he began his second term of office, he talked about

corruption when he stated that “Mr. Speaker, I am not about to forget the subject of corruption and the perception that government is not doing enough to fight it” (JAK SONA, 2006). The orientational and size metaphors in example 3 give us an idea about the size depth of corruption. He then went on to defend himself against accusations of having misused state funds, and, in response to such charges, he stated that:

4. “As president, I was willing to appear before CHRAJ on the charge that I had applied state funds to effect adjustments to my private residence. My attorneys worked on my behalf to respond to the charge” (JAK SONA, 2006).

He considers it unheard of for a president to do such a thing when he asks the rhetorical question, “Where does it happen in these parts that a sitting President so readily submits to investigation?” (JAK SONA, 2006). The verb “submit” according to the Miriam Webster Dictionary, refers to yielding oneself to authority. The President coming from a background where the cultural schema sees leaders as people beyond reproach, President J. A. Kufour finds it unacceptable to be questioned even when it has to do with state funds. The rhetorical question posed immediately after his complaint points out his displeasure at those whom he claims have falsely accused him of using state funds to renovate his private residence.

In 2008 when, constitutionally, President J.A. Kufuor could no longer vie for the position of president of the Republic of Ghana, the presidential candidate for the National Democratic Congress (NDC), in the person of John Evans Atta Mills.



**TABLE 8: JAK METAPHOR CHOICE**

Year	President	Metaphor	Metaphor Grouping	Frequency
2001	JAK	FRONT	WAR	1
		LEGACY	LEGACY	1
		LEGACY	CRIME	1
		CONFRONT	FIGHT	1
				Total=4
2006	JAK	FIGHT	FIGHT	1
		PROSECUTE/ CHARGES ALLEGATIONS	CRIME	5
		CONCERNS	CONCERNS	1
		STORIES	STORIES	1
				Total =8
2008	JAK	FIGHT	WAR	1
		ALLY	ENEMY	1
		REVELATIONS	CONCEALED	1
		CONCERNS	CONCERNS	1
		MERE CONCOMPLAIN T S	MERE CONCERNS	1
		PROSECUTE CASES	CRIMINAL	1
				Total = 6

Table 8 gives an overview of the choice of metaphors used by President John Agyekum Kufour. From the table, we see that metaphors that conceptualise CORRUPTION as a WAR/ ENEMY, LEGACY, CRIME, FIGHT, CONCERNS, STORIES, and CONCEALED are used. The most preferred conceptualisation is CORRUPTION AS A CRIME. This occurred once in 2001, 5 times in 2006 and once in 2008. The second most frequent conceptualisation is CORRUPTION AS SOMETHING TO FIGHT. This was used once in each of the three years, 2001, 2006, and 2008. CORRUPTION is also conceptualised as CONCERNS and this was used 2 times, once in 2006 and another in 2008. The rest of the conceptualisations occurred once.

Some illustrative examples of systematic metaphors in J.A. Kuffour's SONAs include:

#### CORRUPTION AS AN ENEMY

5. Mr. Speaker, I am not about to forget the subject of corruption and the perception that government is not doing enough to fight it (JAK SONA, 2006).
6. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to report that the fight against corruption, which is an affront to good governance, has found a new ally in Parliament (JAK SONA, 2008).

#### CORRUPTION AS A LEGACY

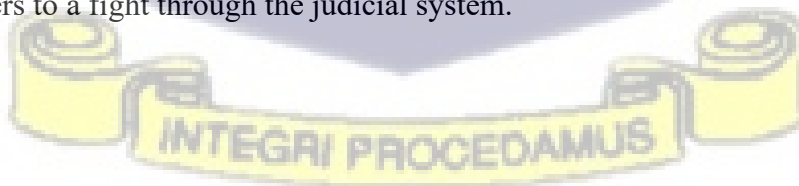
The legacy we have inherited on the economic front is daunting. Mismanagement, mass unemployment, low wages, high cost of living, a rapidly depreciating currency, a colossal national debt, high dependency on foreign aid, as well as declining educational and health opportunities, extensive corruption in public life, a cowed and demoralized private sector, hopelessness, and despair — this is the legacy of the last ten years (JAK SONA, 2001).

The framing of corruption as a LEGACY points to the fact that corruption has been with the people of Ghana for generations. Unlike the basic meaning of legacy which refers to something good or positive passed down from a person or a generation to another, corruption which is something negative is described as a legacy.

#### CORRUPTION AS A PERSON

7. Budgetary allocations to the state institutions with responsibility to investigate and prosecute corruption here quadrupled since 2001 (JAK SONA, 2006).
8. But it is also fair that when there is an allegation of corruption made against people in government, media people should go directly to the police, not the president (JAK SONA, 2008).
9. The Attorney-General's Department has set up an Anti-Corruption Unit to study the recommendations, to prosecute cases that need to be prosecuted (JAK SONA, 2008).

Corruption is conceptualised as a PERSON WHO IS CULPABLE and therefore needs the attention of the legal system. To fully explicate this conceptualisation, I had to evoke the discourse dynamics to metaphor to enable me to trace the trail of the metaphor. In doing this, I realised that the FIGHT metaphor was first employed by the president to help him to conceptualise measures that he intended to take against corruption. It can thus be inferred that the president's use of the vehicle term FIGHT refers to a fight through the judicial system.



### 5.1.2.3 John Evans Atta Mills (2009-2012)

This period is very important in the overview of corruption in the Fourth Republic of Ghana. From Table 5.1, we see that this was the period when corruption-related clauses dropped as compared to his predecessor, J.A. Kufuor. Much of the period of John Evans Atta Mills's rule is known to have been dedicated to eradicating corruption. As stated in a speech delivered by the award-winning journalist, Manasseh Azure Awuni, who is known for his campaigns against corruption. This period saw the president fund private investigations by BBC award-winning investigative journalist, Anas Aremeyaw Anas, into state institutions such as the Tema Port, the Customs Service, and the Judiciary. The president is known to have visited such institutions unannounced and to sometimes, as said in his own words, express his "revulsion and disgust" at such dealings involving public officials. In his 2009 SONA, he outlines such measures as:

- Ensuring the passage of the Freedom of Information Act
- Expediting the passing of a National Broadcasting Law
- Elaboration of a Code of Conduct in Government that includes key information disclosure, ethics and anti-corruption measures.

In his 2011 and 2012 SONAs, John Evans Atta Mills treated the issue of corruption robustly and dedicated a subsection to corruption in each of the two speeches. In the 2011 SONA, he described corruption as an issue close to his heart. In an outburst in his 2011 SONA, he draws the nation's attention to something most people might have watched on national television concerning corruption.

*"About a fortnight ago, Ghanaians watched a shocking exposé of corrupt activities and practices involving revenue collection at the Tema Port.*

*Last year, there was a similar exposé on cocoa smuggling along the country's borders.*

*I expect the Ghana Revenue Authority to relentlessly pursue people who fail to or under-declare incomes simply to avoid paying taxes because the principle of equity demands that the burden of tax should be shared among all citizens.”*

The JEAM SONA, 2011, outlines measures and actions to be taken to stop corruption. The MOVEMENT metaphor—PURSUE is used to describe actions by the legal system against persons who engage in corrupt practices. In a video which went viral when the president visited the Tema Port, though the president expressed his revulsion and total disagreement with the conduct of the Ghana Revenue Authority, he acknowledged that the country has a culture of gift-giving. This, however, according to him should be separated from illicit practices such as demanding bribes before offering a service. The sharp increase in corruption-related clauses could be because of the Anas investigative reports that caught on camera many government officials who engaged in various bribery and corruption practices. In President J.E.A. Mills's voice:

10. “Let me state here and now that I remain undaunted by attempts to thwart the fight against corruption by legal and technical means. I do not care whose ox is gored when it comes to the fight against corruption and neither will I off-tracked by all the sideline comments that are being made to befuddle the hardcore issues (JEAM 2012 SONA).

Unfortunately, this period saw the first time in the history of the Fourth Republic when a sitting president died in office a few months before elections. John Dramani Mahama, the then vice president to John Atta Mills, was sworn in as president in accordance with the 1992 Constitution of Ghana. John Dramani Mahama later won the next elections in December 2012, riding on the back of the strong campaign of his predecessor, John Evans Atta Mills, a man taunted for his

humility and dedication though criticised as weak. Awuni (2023) exults President JEA Mills thus, “In our recent history, many Ghanaians will agree that President John Evans Atta Mills was not a thief. He had no appetite for our money, but he was too weak to stop the stealing in his administration” (Awuni, 2023, para. 44).

**TABLE 9: JEAM METAPHOR CHOICES**

Year	President	Metaphor	Metaphor Grouping	Frequency
2009	<i>JEAM</i>	<i>FIGHT</i>	<i>FIGHT</i>	1
2011	<i>JEAM</i>	<i>FIGHT</i>	<i>FIGHT</i>	2
		<i>EXPOSE</i>	<i>CONCEALED</i>	3
		<i>WAR</i>	<i>WAR / ENEMY</i>	1
2012	<i>JEAM</i>	<i>FIGHT</i>	<i>FIGHT</i>	2

Table 9 above presents dominant metaphors employed by President J.E.A. Mills in conceptualising corruption. The metaphors used by JEAM to conceptualise CORRUPTION include FIGHT, WAR, DIRTY, and SOMETHING CONCEALED. The dominant metaphors are FIGHT and CONCEALED. These metaphors have been used to conceptualise CORRUPTION as:

**CORRUPTION AS A FIGHT**

12. Madam Speaker, one governance issue that will forever remain close to my heart, is the fight against corruption.

13. Transparency in government and the fight against corruption are cardinal for sustainable development (JEAM SONA, 2009).

14. As a way of strengthening institutions of state for the fight against corruption and provide [sic] the needed teeth to bite, the Serious Fraud Office (SFO) has been reengineered and named the Economic and Organised Crime Office (EOCO) with prosecutorial powers (JEAM SONA, 2011).

#### CORRUPTION AS AN ENEMY

15. Madam Speaker, we will continue to cooperate with civil society and anti-corruption agencies to continue to wage a concerted war against corruption (JEAM SONA, 2011).

16. Let me state here and now that I remain undaunted by attempts to thwart the fight against corruption by legal and technical means (JEAM SONA, 2011).

17. I do not care whose ox is gored when it comes to the fight against corruption and neither will I be off-tracked by all the sideline comments that are being made to befuddle the hardcore issues (JEAM SONA, 2011).

#### CORRUPTION AS SOMETHING CONCEALED

18. During this administration, we will address transparency through a three-dimensional approach (JEAM SONA, 2009).

19. About a fortnight ago, Ghanaians watched a shocking exposé of corrupt activities and practices involving revenue collection at the Tema Port (JEAM SONA, 2011).

Corruption is conceptualised as something that is concealed. Indeed, corruption is known to be carried out in secret. The call for transparency corroborates an earlier call by his predecessor, President J.J. Rawlings in 2000, for the Serious Fraud Office to extend its search light to find corrupt persons and institutions in the country. The MOVEMENT metaphor off-tracked in example 17 explored by the president to emphasise his resolution to FIGHT corruption.

#### THE LEGAL SYSTEM AS A PERSON

20. In this vein Government will support such developmental projects, law reform and anticorruption initiatives, as will promote the dignity of our Judiciary (JEAM SONA, 2009).

21. Madam Speaker, in many of these matters that reflect negatively on governance, the Judiciary as the institution of state with the mandate to dispense justice, and the Executive with the mandate to implement the law, must act as partners engaged in a collective effort to rid the country of corruption, drugs and other harmful activities (JEAM SONA, 2012).

The metaphors selected by J.E.A. Mills are ‘fight’, ‘wage’, ‘investigate’ and ‘war’. The verb forms of the words are used to express a force that should be employed to overcome corruption. FIGHT as a metaphor conceptualises CORRUPTION by evoking an image of a concerted effort to get something done, and the schema of war is evoked. In the examples, FIGHT describes the concern institutions need to address to deal with corruption. On the other hand, in examples 15, 16, and 17, FIGHT, WAGE and WAR carry a militaristic force that conceptualises corruption as an ENEMY that is a strong force to reckon with. It can be inferred that the nation is thus conceptualised as a war front, and the people of Ghana as SOLDIERS who should be fully engaged in this WAR against CORRUPTION. State institutions like the judiciary are conceptualised as a person. It has to investigate and RID the nation of crime. Though JEAM did not send real troops to fight, these

are examples of exaggerated language that is used to depict how corruption should be viewed and confronted.

Corruption as something that is concealed and needs to be investigated is a second means through which JEAM believes corruption as a social phenomenon can be addressed. Therefore, “a shocking exposé on corruption” and the need for a “Government that includes key information disclosure, ethics and anti-corruption measures” both help to conceptualise CORRUPTION as something that is CONCEALED.

#### THE JUDICIARY AS A PERSON

22. Regarding the Judiciary, we will ensure adequate collaboration without sacrificing the independence of the Judiciary and encourage their work such as to assure expeditious dispensing of justice to all (JEAM SONA, 2009).

23. In this vein the Government will support such developmental projects, law reform and anticorruption initiatives, as will promote the dignity of our Judiciary (JEAM SONA, 2009).

To unpack the meaning that underlies the President’s conceptualisation of the Judiciary as an institution that needs to have its independence and its dignity restored for efficiency, we need to trace the discourse on corruption back to President J.J. Rawlings and the infamous judicial killings. As proposed in the framework of discourse dynamics to metaphor, such complexities can only be unravelled through interrogating the sociocultural context and the discourse context itself. The progressive form of the verb—SACRIFICING appears to refer to diligence that will be applied in cleaning up the judiciary of corruption.

#### 5.1.2.4 John Dramani Mahama (2013-2017)

This period, as shown in Table 5.1, recorded the highest number of corruption-related clauses. Corruption-related clauses increased by 37.9% between President J.D. Mahama and his predecessor J.E.A. Mills as reported in this chapter. When President J.D. Mahama became president after winning the 2012 elections, he metaphorically conceptualised corruption as an unacceptable phenomenon that his government needed to ‘combat’ or ‘fight’. It is important to note that these significant increases in the corruption-related clauses do not transform into a drop in corruption in the system. Manasseh Azure reported in his lecture on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2023 at the University of Ghana that the Mahama administration stole double of what was looted under President J.A. Kufuor. The president’s brother was accused of stealing government funds for personal use.

#### CORRUPTION AS AN ENEMY

24. We will give impetus to the fight against corruption by strengthening the anti-corruption agencies and sanctioning culpable persons to serve as a deterrent to others (JDM SONA, 2013).

25. The work of the Sole Commissioner into judgement debts will help us bring to order an unacceptable phenomenon that has become a huge charge on the public debt (JDM SONA, 2013).

There is a sharp increase in the number of corruption-related clauses as presented in Table 5.1. There are as many as 57 corruption-related clauses and this number is higher than all the corruption-related clauses in the three administrations before him. The number of the clauses rose so significantly that it marks the highest ever recorded in the period under review. 2016 was an

election year and it was a period for the then President, J.D. Mahama, to either win and get a second term of office or lose the election and be the first incumbent in the Fourth Republic not to have a second term of office.

He makes a stronger commitment in 2015 and gave the title “Combating Corruption” to a section of his speech.

26. “Corruption is a canker that continues to plague our society” (JDM SONA, 2015).

By this statement, we get the impression that though the then government had not given up on the fight against corruption, the president acknowledges that it is “a canker”, incurable and can only be managed while we wait for it to finally consume the whole society as it has already started. He points out that:

27. “In every facet of life, we encounter corruption, at the ports when business people under-declare the value of goods to avoid paying the right duties to the state, draining fuel from Government vehicles, some officers taking bribes from motorists for traffic infractions, and I could go on with several other examples” (SONA, 26 February, 2016).

By 2016, there was a slight drop in the number of corruption-related clauses. The administration of President John Mahama was said to have found some solution to “the canker”. He emphatically states in his SONA of 2016 that:

28. “The indifference of the past has given way to a refreshing blast of sunlight, a proven potent and enduring disinfectant for the canker” (JDM SONA, 2016).

The drop in the number of clauses does not reflect a drop in corruption cases. The media continued to hold the government accountable for massive corruption in various institutions and departments.

Much of the speech is dedicated to outlining measures being put in place to fight corruption:

The country is doing its best to combat money laundering and terrorist financing after establishing the required legislative framework. Three (3) successful convictions involving money laundering have been secured following continuous analysis of intelligence of over 200 Suspicious Transaction Reports (STRs) (JDM SONA, 2016).

The metaphors in President John Dramani Mahama's speeches are presented in the table below.



**TABLE 10: JDM METAPHOR CHOICES**

President	Year	Metaphor	Metaphor Grouping
JDM	2013	combat	WAR
		fight	FIGHT
		unacceptable phenomenon	UNACCEPTABLE PHENOMENON
		rot	DIRTY
JDM	2015	fight	FIGHT
		combat	WAR
		canker	DISEASE
		plague	DISEASE
		“tips and charges”	“TIPS and CHARGES”
		wanton misappropriation	SYSTEM
		encounter	PREVALENT
		bleeding	ANIMATE
		sit up	SYSTEM
		allegations	CRIME
		investigations	CRIME

		investigate	CRIME
		matters	CRIME
		expose	CONCEALED
		war	WAR
		high-risk activities	CRIME
		menace	DISEASE
		fight	FIGHT
		investigate	CRIME
		misappropriation	SYSTEM
		eliminate	SYSTEM
JDM	2016	illicit enrichment	SYSTEM
		canker	DISEASE
		disease	DISEASE
		enemy	WAR
		fight	FIGHT
		mobilise	WAR
		systemic indiscipline	SYSTEM
		tackle	SPORT
		fraudulent enterprise	SYSTEM

J. D. Mahama uses metaphors such as WAR, FIGHT, COMBAT, ENEMY, MOBILISE, CANKER, DISEASE, PLAGUE, MENACE, ILLICIT ENRICHMENT, SYSTEMIC INDISCIPLINE, FRAUDULENT ENTERPRISE, MISAPPROPRIATION, HIGH RISK ACTIVITY, CRIMINAL SYSTEM, and LEGAL SYSTEM. These identified linguistic metaphors evoke different images and schema. The metaphors are not evenly distributed although they occur across the speeches. In 2013, JDM used fewer metaphors as compared to 2015 and 2016. The use of the metaphors WAR, COMBAT and FIGHT create an image of the VIOLENCE and the fact that there is some destruction involved. These create the image of a situation where the destruction is human-created and inflicted. A similar destructive imagery is created in the use of ENEMY, MOBILISE and FIGHT as they occur in the 2016 SONA.

Other metaphor choices such as CANKER, DISEASE, and PLAGUE also conceptualise CORRUPTION as destructive but this time the destruction comes through a natural occurrence such as DISEASE. The disease, though natural, has devastating effects, as it has no cure, as in a CANKER, and it is widespread, as in a PLAGUE.

Other conceptualisations of corruption also include CORRUPTION AS ILLICIT ENRICHMENT, SYSTEMIC INDISCIPLINE, MISAPPROPRIATION, and FRAUDULENT ENTERPRISE. These metaphors conceptualise corruption as unacceptable behaviours in society and though these may be negative, they are not as destructive as the DISEASE and WAR metaphors. They are seemingly neutral linguistic expressions, but they carry evaluative value. The metaphors used by JDM in 2015 largely conceptualise CORRUPTION AS A CULPABLE PERSON and, therefore, it needs to be investigated and punished through the judicial system. In this case, corruption is conceptualised as A CRIME. Corruption is also considered as an issue that survives because of the SYSTEM. There are either no systems, or the systems are too weak to check CORRUPTION, and

where the legal system and other systems are available, they are not strong enough to deal with corruption.

#### CORRUPTION AS A FIGHT

29. We will give impetus to the fight against corruption by strengthening the anti-corruption agencies and sanctioning culpable persons to serve as a deterrent to others (JDM SONA, 2013).

30. Our commitment to the fight against corruption remains unshakable (JDM SONA, 2013).

31. Mr. Speaker, Good governance, transparency and the fight against corruption form an integral part of the Agenda for Transformation (JDM SONA, 2015).

32. This firm position and commitment have heightened public hope and confidence that the fight against corruption is winnable (JDM SONA, 2016).

The metaphorical conceptualisation of corruption as a fight, when traced in the discourse event, produces the string: the fight against corruption—the fight against corruption—

the fight against corruption is winnable. The string though appears to conventionalise CORRUPTION AS AN ENEMY, its repetitive nature creates the idea CORRUPTION AS SOMETHING CYCLICAL IN GHANA.

The FIGHT metaphor is used to conceptualise CORRUPTION from 2013 through to 2016 under the rule of President J.D. Mahama. The repeated use of the metaphor FIGHT gives it the metaphorical conceptualisation of dealing with corruption as a physical fight. By 2016, he describes “the fight against corruption” as ‘winnable’.

#### CORRUPTION AS A WAR

33. It is therefore an obligation on all of us to mobilise our efforts in the fight to eradicate corruption (JDM SONA, 2016).34. This firm position and commitment have heightened public hope and confidence that the fight against corruption is winnable (JDM SOAN, 2016).

35. It is the overarching plan to combat corruption in the country and must be implemented (JDM SONA, 2016).

'Eradicate' is an etymological metaphor as it derives from the Latin word for removing the root and JDM explores this metaphor to emphasise his radical approach to curbing corruption.

#### CORRUPTION AS AN ENEMY

Corruption as a phenomenon is described as an 'enemy' that should be fought. This conceptualisation further defamiliarises corruption which is already an abstract entity. The actors of corruption are obscured, and this is done through personifying the abstract entity CORRUPTION.

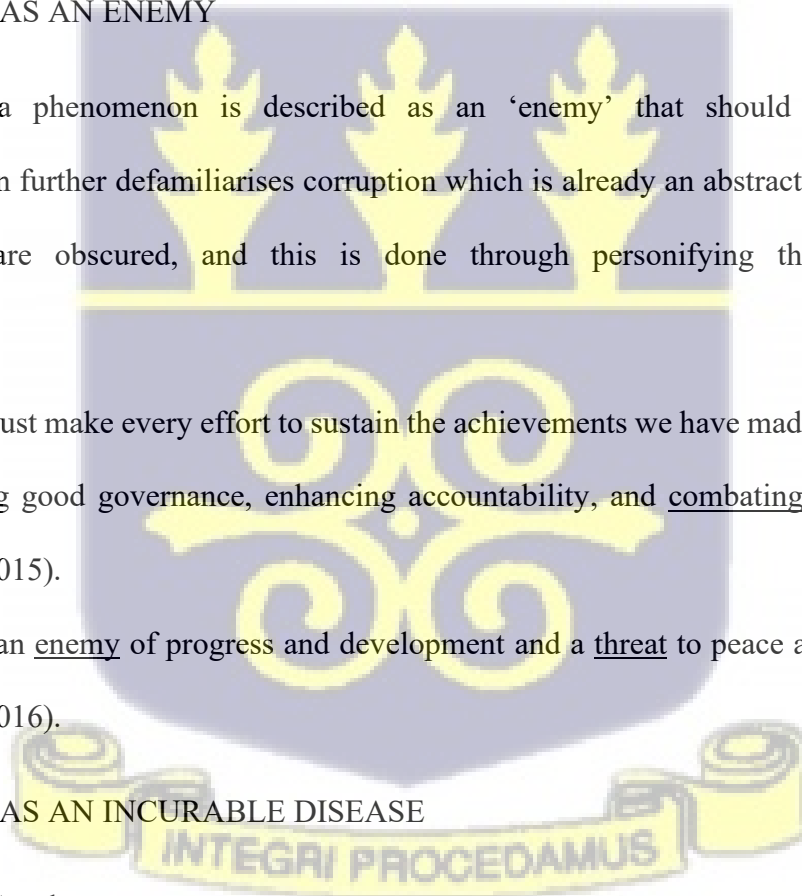
36. We must make every effort to sustain the achievements we have made over the years in promoting good governance, enhancing accountability, and combating corruption (JDM SONA, 2015).

37. It is an enemy of progress and development and a threat to peace and security (JDM SONA, 2016).

#### CORRUPTION AS AN INCURABLE DISEASE

38. Mr. Speaker,

The canker of corruption and its negative impact on development is well known (JDM SONA, 2016).



39. While the canker spares no country, its effects are felt more in developing and poor countries as it exacerbates poverty and hinders development (JDM SONA, 2016).

40. Corruption is a disease, which left unchecked, can choke and kill a nation (JDM SONA, 2016).

President J.D. Mahama conceptualises the effects of corruption as a disease that has an invasive effect. The imagery created is one of a country that is sick. The period under President J.D. Mahama, as already pointed out, was characterised by massive corruption (Awuni, 2023).

#### CORRUPTION AS A PERSON TO CORRECTED AND MOULDED THROUGH STRONG INSTITUTIONS AND SYSTEMS

As seen in the speeches of the first three presidents of the Fourth Republic, we again see the issue of the need for strong institutions to help fight corruption. The excerpts in this section present corruption as an issue that the existing institutions have failed to address properly.

41. Mr. Speaker, we are proposing to revise the Criminal Offences Act to redefine corruption to include the more expansive definition covered in the UN Convention Against Corruption and the AU Convention on Prevention and Combating Corruption (JDM SONA, 2013).

42. We would push for critical reforms in the AGs department. (JDM SONA, 2013)

43. The investigations revealed an organised system of misappropriating government funds through the insertion of ghost service personnel. Investigators have so far retrieved over GH¢20 million (JDM SONA, 2015).

44. We have tackled corruption with determination and fortitude in an effort to stamp out systemic indiscipline in the fabric of public and social service (JDM SONA, 2016).

45. We decided in 2009 that a ten-year action plan that addresses corruption in a more strategic, scientific and sustainable manner is the right way to go and that the plan should be integrated into national development planning (JDM SONA, 2016).

One major reason for the failure of these institutions as identified by the president is the issue of the definition of corruption. This is important to the current study, and the study shows how all the presidents explore these weak systems to their advantage.

#### CORRUPTION AS A PROBLEM TO BE SOLVED BY INSTITUTIONS

46. Mr. Speaker, let us make our institutions work and let us work together to create the framework to deal with this menace swiftly, impartially, and fairly (JDM SONA, 2015).

47. The process of investigation and prosecution of allegations of corruption, economic crimes and mismanagement by the EOCO and the AG's Department have been subject to delay and have been unable to fulfil their mandate (JDM SONA, 2015).

48. The institutions of State that are responsible for the task of investigating corruption must be strengthened legally and institutionally and I would like to invite Parliament to review the legal and institutional framework that supports the work of the investigative and prosecutorial agencies in order to enable them to live up to the expectations of an expectant and exasperated nation (JDM SONA, 2015).

Corruption is conceptualised as a problem to be solved by institutions, but these institutions are conceptualised as weak. The institutions and arms of government put in place to fight corruption are considered corrupt themselves as reported in the section on President J.E.A. Mills. Rightly so, the 2022 Afro Barometer Survey reports that judges and magistrates rank third in terms of corruption, after the other two arms of government (the executive and the legislative) with the police topping the list.

#### CORRUPTION AS CONCEALMENT

49. I have as President made strenuous efforts to expose, investigate and deal with matters of corruption within the constraints of the law (JDM SONA, 2015).

50. Our efforts at exposing corruption may result in an erroneous belief that the practice is more pervasive now than before when in fact the reverse is the case as evidenced in our performance in recent TI reports (JDM SONA, 2015).

#### CORRUPTION AS SOMETHING NORMAL

The President acknowledges the prevalence of corruption and thus conceptualises it as something so common that is encountered everywhere and every day.

51 With the significant improvement in salaries occasioned by the SSSS, there can be no justification for the continued bribes demanded from members of the public before they access social services, or the wanton misappropriation and theft of public resources (JDM SONA, 2015).

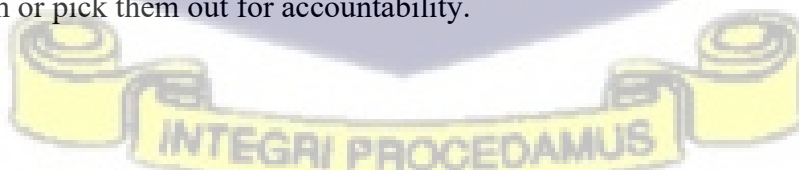
52. In every facet of life, we encounter corruption, at the ports when business people under-declare the value of goods to avoid paying the right duties to the state, draining fuel from Government vehicles, some officers taking bribes from motorists for traffic infractions, and I could go on with several other examples (JDM SONA, 2015).

Corruption is portrayed as common and as a near normal practice and this raises a lot of concern for the president.

THE NATION AS HUMAN

53. Corruption is a disease, which left unchecked can choke and kill a nation (JDM SONA, 2016).

Corruption as a social phenomenon has been conceptualised in different ways by JDM throughout his tenure of office. His metaphor choices include corruption as A DISEASE, AN ENEMY, A FIGHT, A WAR. The President devotes more space to conceptualising what corruption is and its effects than he commits to solutions. The actors of corruption are concealed as the president does not mention them or pick them out for accountability.



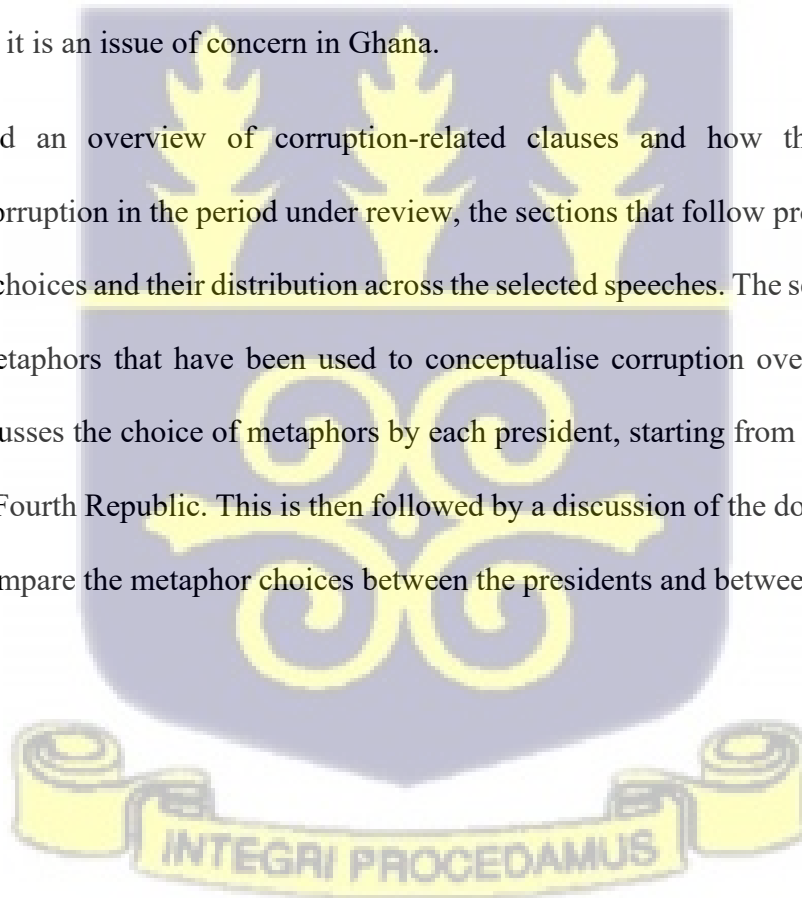
5.1.2.5 Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo (2017-2023)

In Table 5.1, this period indicates the second highest number of corruption-related cases as used in the selected presidential speeches. President Nana Addo's campaign in 2016 was characterised by accusations of wanton corruption by the Mahama-led administration. This campaign was so strong that President Mahama, the then sitting president, lost the elections and thereby made history as the first president in the Fourth Republic to have lost a second term in office. Thus, President Nana Addo was sworn in in 2017, taking power with a strong message of leading Ghana out of the economic crisis created by the Mahama government. President Nana Addo, almost immediately after taking office, instituted the office of the Special Prosecutor, an office that was supposed to be non-partisan and aimed at bringing to book, without fear or favour, all manner of persons or organizations who by any means caused financial loss to the country or defrauded the country. This dream was short-lived though as the Special Prosecutor soon fell out with the President who appointed him and started writing a series of letters which became known as the Martin Amidu Chronicles. Martin Amidu, the then Special Prosecutor, called the president the "mother serpent of corruption" and tendered a resignation with the accusation that the president was so corrupt that he, Martin Amidu, could not work with him. Awuni (2023) describes President Nana Addo as one who has quadrupled President JDM's record in terms of corruption. Azure thus paints the president as the worst in terms of corruption in the Fourth Republic. Though the corruption-related clauses may have dropped a little after President Mahama's rule, as shown in Table 5.1, it does not reflect a drop in the number of corruption cases under the administration of Nana Addo.

This section provides a background and a sociopolitical context to the speeches selected and their discussion of the issue of corruption. It is aimed at situating the analysis in such a way that the data as presented in the tables 5.1 and 5.2 may make meaning. Firstly, what we can infer from table 5.2

is that the issue of corruption dates to the first government of the Fourth Republic and that it has continued to be discussed by all presidents of the period under review. Secondly, it has also been given the highest attention in presidential speeches by the Mahama administration, followed by the Nana Addo administration, then the Atta Mills government, the Kufour government and then the least attention by the J.J. Rawlings administration. Thus, salience in the speeches vary from one president to the other. Thirdly, we can infer that the issue of corruption is a complex one and that its volume in a particular presidential speech may not be reflective of the actual practice in the society. Though corruption may be an issue of national concern, the level of corruption may not be fully captured in these speeches. However, the amount of space dedicated to corruption-related cases shows that it is an issue of concern in Ghana.

Having provided an overview of corruption-related clauses and how they contribute to understanding corruption in the period under review, the sections that follow provide an overview of the metaphor choices and their distribution across the selected speeches. The section that follows discusses the metaphors that have been used to conceptualise corruption over the period. This section first discusses the choice of metaphors by each president, starting from the first to the last president of the Fourth Republic. This is then followed by a discussion of the dominant metaphors and, finally, I compare the metaphor choices between the presidents and between the two political parties.



**TABLE 11: NADAA METAPHOR CHOICES**

President	Year	Metaphor	Metaphor Grouping	Frequency
NADAA	2018			
		fictitious claims	FICTITIOUS	1
		acts	ACTS	4
		allegations	ALLEGATIONS	2
NADAA	2020	fight	FIGHT	2
		charges	CHARGES	1
		curb	CURB	2
		engulf	ENGULF	1
NADAA	2021	opportunities	OPPORTUNITIES	1
		fight	FIGHT	1

Source: Author, 2023

President Nana Addo, until he became president of Ghana in 2016, was known in private life as an astute private legal practitioner. This potentially explains his metaphorical choices in conceptualising corruption. The choices relate to legal language. The metaphor choices of NADAA in conceptualising CORRUPTION in the selected presidential speeches include CASE, ACTS, ALLEGATIONS, FIGHT, and CHARGES. Metaphors are used in all the speeches of NADAA to conceptualise CORRUPTION. Most of these metaphors relate to CORRUPTION and the legal system or the court. These help him to conceptualise corruption as a criminal activity that needs to be solved in the law court. Systematic metaphors that emerge in NADAA's speeches, therefore, include conceptualising corruption as a FIGHT, CASE, ALLEGATION, ACTS, CHARGES and FICTITIOUS CLAIMS.

#### CORRUPTION AS A FIGHT

54. Mr. Speaker, we have made significant strides over the last three years in our fight against corruption, despite the scepticism of people with questionable records (NADAA SONA, 2018).

55. We have strengthened the legal framework to fight corruption, with the help of this House, by passing into law the Witness Protection Act, 2018 (Act 959), the Office of the Special Prosecutor Act, 2018 (Act 959) (NADAA SONA, 2020).

56. Mr. Speaker, whilst on the subject of law enforcement, the passage of the Right to Information Act, the Witness Protection Act, the amendment of the Criminal Offences Act, and other laws have enhanced significantly the capacity of the State in the fight against corruption (NADAA SONA, 2020).

The FIGHT metaphor is prevalent in the discourse of President Akufo Addo and that of his predecessors in conceptualising corruption. The FIGHT metaphor appears as a conventional metaphor. However, analysing it through the discourse dynamics to metaphor reveal different systematic metaphors which are relevant to the current study. I, therefore, draw on the sociocultural context provided in section 5.6 of this chapter to demonstrate that while the FIGHT metaphor may be used to create the impression that the government is against the perpetration of corruption, we do not see this translate into the prosecution of actors of corruption. Once again, we see the FIGHT against corruption, fought through the Judiciary. The systematic metaphor that emerges is CORRUPTION AS A PERSON FOUND CULPABLE. The Judiciary is conceptualised as efficient by the amount of money retrieved from corrupt individuals. While the president can disclose the amount retrieved as shown below, he is unable to name the perpetrator(s) he employs the metonymy “grand cases”.

57. The Auditor-General's Report on MDA liabilities on 31st December, 2016, makes truly alarming reading. I make reference to the fact that a staggering amount of GH5.4 billion has been identified as constituting fictitious claims (NADAA SONA, 2018).

58. It is often full of grand cases of corruption in public services (NADAA SONA, 2018).

#### CORRUPTION AS A CRIME

59. It is important to note that in my first year of office, despite having a clear parliamentary majority, two separate bi-partisan probes in Parliament have been established to inquire into allegations of corruption against zero in recent years, notwithstanding the persistent calls by the then Minority over several allegations (NADAA SONA, 2018).

60. Some forty (40) or more high profile personalities are currently before the courts on various corruption charges, and more are in the pipeline (NADAA SONA, 2020).

Corruption is conceptualised as a CRIME and once again the Judiciary has a major role in dealing with this menace. Again, the actors are concealed and only described as “some forty (40) high profile personalities”. This corroborates the findings of Sarfo-Kantankah and Arko (2019) that people in political leadership protect their own.

### CORRUPTION AS ALLEGATIONS

It has been observed that President Akufo Addo conceptualises corruption as acts and allegations. He also uses the SPORT metaphor by conceptualising corruption as a player who should be tackled. The solution to corruption is squarely placed on the Judiciary while the people of Ghana have the responsibility to prove these acts and allegations in court. The SPORT metaphor frames opponents but not enemies as it was earlier seen in the use of FIGHT. Fights and competitive sports are conceptually related Koller (2004). The idea of teamwork and the idea of “we win or lose together” in providing measures to solving corruption is evoked.

61. Every citizen is affected by acts of corruption, and we should all work to tackle them. (NADAA SONA, 2018)

62. 62. In furtherance of these principles, I have made it publicly known that anyone, who has information about acts of corruption by any of my appointees, should bring it forward, and should be prepared to back it up with evidence, for I will have it investigated (NADAA SONA, 2018).

63. So far, every single alleged act of corruption levelled against any of my appointees has been investigated by independent bodies, and, in some cases, by Parliament, itself, and the findings made public (NADAA SONA, 2018).

64. From the allegations against the Minister-Designate for Energy at his Parliamentary confirmation hearings, to that against the CEO of BOST; to those against the two deputy Chiefs of Staff; to the conflict of interest allegations against the Minister for Finance; and most recently, to the claims of extortion against the Trade and Industry Minister — they have all been investigated, and no evidence has been adduced to suggest any act of corruption, conflict of interest or wrongdoing (NADAA SONA, 2020).

#### CORRUPTION AS SOMETHING THAT IS WIDESPREAD

65. It was with considerable reluctance that Government had to intervene in the administration of football, when we decided to dissolve the old GFA because of the bribery and corruption that engulfed its operation (NADAA SONA, 2020).

66. This process of digitisation is also helping to curb corruption (NADAA SONA, 2020).

Having presented the metaphorical expressions that reflect the conceptualisation of CORRUPTION by the various presidents, the next section presents the dominant metaphors that have been used by the presidents in the period under review.

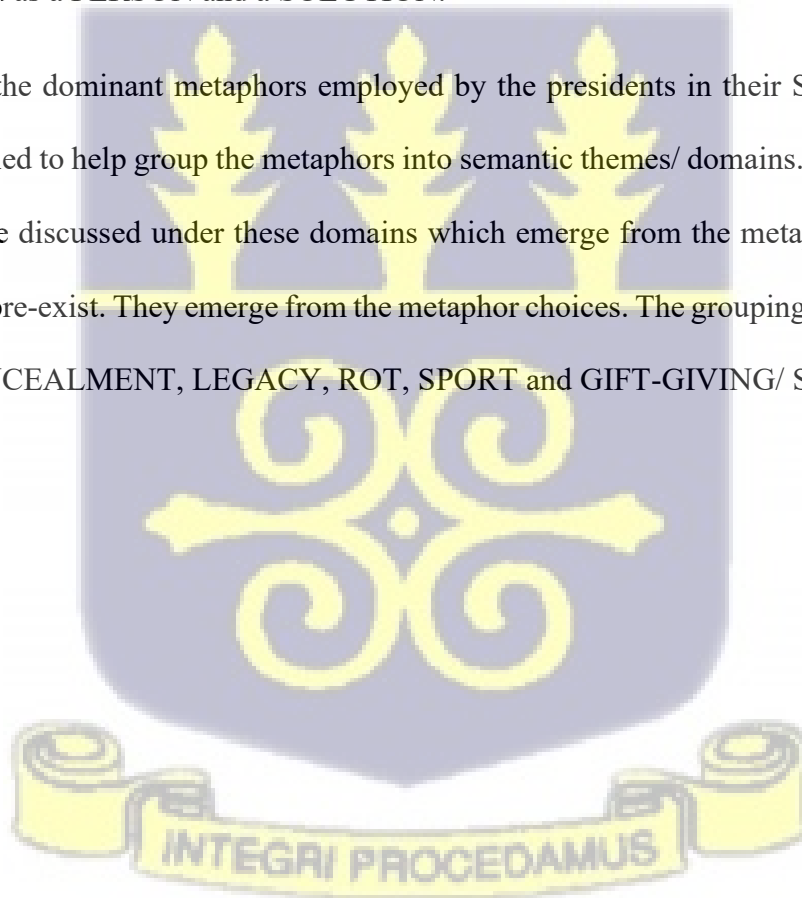
#### 5.3 METAPHOR GROUPING OF DOMINANT METAPHORS ACROSS THE SPEECHES

Many different metaphors have been used in the selected speeches to conceptualise corruption. Through metaphor grouping, the dominant metaphor choices across the speeches are grouped under semantic themes for easy analysis. Table 5.2 illustrates the different metaphors and their

distribution across the speeches in the period under review. The choices of metaphors by the presidents of the Fourth Republic of Ghana seem to conceptualise corruption in a couple of different ways.

Regarding the type of metaphors used by President Kufuor in the selected presidential speeches, many of the vehicle terms are nouns that map the vehicle term onto the vehicle grouping. Corruption is, for instance, viewed as an enemy, the nation as a war front, and some members of parliament as allies. But the government will choose to find a solution to these through the legal system and so the image schema of CORRUPTION as a PERSON is evoked while the legal system is conceptualised as a PERSON and a SOLUTION.

Table 12 shows the dominant metaphors employed by the presidents in their SONAs. Metaphor grouping is applied to help group the metaphors into semantic themes/ domains. The metaphors or vehicle terms are discussed under these domains which emerge from the metaphor choices. The domains do not pre-exist. They emerge from the metaphor choices. The groupings are MILITARY, DISEASE, CONCEALMENT, LEGACY, ROT, SPORT and GIFT-GIVING/ SOLIDARITY.



**TABLE 12: DOMINANT METAPHOR CHOICES MADE BY THE PRESIDENTS**

Metaphor Grouping	Metaphor	Frequency	
VIOLENCE	<i>fight</i>	16	
	<i>war</i>	8	
	<i>combat</i>	3	
	<i>enemy</i>	2	
DISEASE	<i>disease</i>	6	
	<i>canker</i>	3	
	<i>plague</i>	1	
	<i>crime</i>	14	
	<i>case</i>	7	
	<i>allegations</i>	6	
	<i>charges</i>	3	
	<i>complaints</i>	3	
	ACTS	<i>acts</i>	4
		<i>concerns</i>	4
CONCEALED	<i>something concealed</i>	4	
	<i>revelations</i>	2	
	<i>stories</i>	2	
	<i>embezzlement</i>	1	
	<i>misappropriation</i>	1	
	<i>misuse</i>	1	
LEGACY	<i>legacy</i>	2	
SYSTEM	<i>system</i>	8	
ROT	<i>rot</i>	1	
GIFT-GIVING	<i>gift-giving / solidarity</i>	1	

Source: Author, 2023

Table 12 above shows metaphors that have been used in the period under review. These have further been grouped into semantic categories for easy interpretation. From the table, the most frequent choice of metaphor is CORRUPTION as a FIGHT, followed by WAR, DISEASE, SYSTEM, CASE, ALLEGATIONS, CONCERNS, ACTS, SOMETHING CONCEALED, COMPLAINTS, CHARGES, COMBAT, ENEMY, STORIES, REVELATIONS, EMBEZZLEMENTS, MISAPPROPRIATION, MISUSE, ROT, SPORT and ‘TIPS and CHARGES’.

The groupings show those metaphors that conceptualise CORRUPTION as militaristic and something that is destructive using violence or brutal force. These metaphors include FIGHT, WAR, COMBAT, and ENEMY. They conceptualise CORRUPTION as an ENEMY invading the nation and the nation needs to fight back. The second semantic category is the conceptualisation of CORRUPTION as a DISEASE. Examples under this grouping include DISEASE, PLAGUE, and CANCER. The disease metaphor conceptualises corruption as destructive and the nation as the sufferer of the effects of this disease. Another category is the conceptualisation of CORRUPTION as a LEGAL ISSUE. The choice of metaphors includes INVESTIGATE, CHARGES, CASES, COMPLAINTS, and CRIMINAL. CORRUPTION is also conceptualised as not so serious an issue and so the phenomenon is conceptualised as CONCERNS, STORIES, and a SPORT. There are also metaphorical expressions which do not mention corruption directly, such as EMBEZZLEMENTS, MISAPPROPRIATIONS, and MISUSE. CORRUPTION in most speeches is also considered as a problem with the SYSTEM. Other conceptualisations include LEGACY, SYSTEM, SPORT, ROT and illegal “TIPS and CHARGES”.

Having presented the dominant choices of metaphors used by the presidents to conceptualise corruption in the period under review, the section that follows compares metaphor choices across the speeches.

#### 5.1.4 COMPARING METAPHOR CHOICES AMONG THE PRESIDENTS ACROSS SPEECHES

In this section, the metaphor choices are grouped into semantic themes to help in comparing the metaphor choices used by the individual presidents. The selected metaphor choices are the dominant metaphors employed by the individual presidents in the selected speeches.



**TABLE 13: COMPARING METAPHOR CHOICES ACROSS SPEECHES**

President	Period	Dominant Metaphor Conceptualisations	Frequency
JJ	1992 - 2000	FIGHT	1
		CASE	2
		DISEASE	1
JAK	2001- 2008	FIGHT	2
		WAR	2
		CONCERN	4
		CRIMINAL	8
		STORIES	1
		ENEMY	1
		LEGACY	1
		CONCEALED	1
		JEAM	2009 - 2012
WAR	1		
CONCEALED	3		
CRIMINAL	1		
JDM	2013 - 2016	FIGHT	5
		WAR	5
		SYSTEM	7
		CRIMINAL	6
		DISEASE	5
		SPORT	1

		CONCEALED	1
NADAA	2017 - 2021	FIGHT	4
		ACTS	3
		ALLEGATIONS	2
		CASE	2
		FLOOD	2
		CHARGES	2

Source: Author, 2023

Table 5.6 demonstrates the most frequent metaphor groupings used to conceptualise corruption across the selected speeches. The datasets reveal that the keyword CORRUPTION was conceptualised as a FIGHT by all the presidents in the speeches from 2000 to 2021. The ‘war’ metaphor was used by three out of the five presidents, and it was used from 2001 to 2016. CORRUPTION is CONCEALED also dominates the speeches of 2001 to 2016. CORRUPTION IS A DISEASE only occurs in 2000 and in 2013-2016. Apart from these similarities, the speeches do not differ so much in their conceptualisation of CORRUPTION. In the period spanning 2001-2008, other conceptualisations include LEGACY, STORIES and CONCERNS. These may be described as metaphors that tone down the threatening effects of corruption as in WAR, FIGHT, CRIMINAL and DISEASE.

#### 5.1.5 COMPARING METAPHOR CHOICES ACROSS POLITICAL PARTIES

In table 5.7 below, the metaphor choices used by presidents of the two political parties, NDC and NPP, are compared. This is done to investigate the metaphor choices in terms of how each political party conceptualises corruption.

**TABLE 14: METAPHOR CHOICES COMPARED BETWEEN NDC AND NPP PRESIDENTS**

NDC		NPP	
President	Metaphors	President	Metaphors
JJR	FIGHT	JAK	FIGHT
	CASE		WAR
	DISEASE		CONCERN
			CRIME
			STORIES
			ENEMY
			LEGACY
			CONCEALED
JEAM	FIGHT	NADAA	FIGHT
	WAR		ACTS
	CONCEALED		ALLEGATIONS
	CRIME		CASE
			FLOOD
			CHARGES
JDM	FIGHT		
	WAR		
	SYSTEM		
	CRIME		
	DISEASE		
	SPORT		
	CONCEALED		

Source: Author, 2023

I observed that the FIGHT and WAR metaphors were used by both political parties in conceptualising corruption. The DISEASE metaphor was, however, used by only presidents from the NDC. While the NDC use metaphors that convey strong imagery such as WAR, DISEASE, and FIGHT, the presidents from the NPP use less picturesque and affective imagery by conceptualising corruption as MERE CONCERNS, ALLEGATIONS, CASES STORIES and LEGACY. Though these metaphor choices in themselves do not reveal the underlying meanings that they convey, the dynamic collection of these metaphors over the discourse event and time points to a trajectory. The metaphor choices traced over time helps us to uncover how the presidents present their personal sociocultural attitudes towards corruption.

Having presented the choice of metaphors used to conceptualise CORRUPTION in the selected presidential speeches of the Fourth Republic, the next chapter, in answer to research question two, discusses the ways in which the Ghanaian culture shapes these metaphors.

#### 5.1.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, I tried to answer research question one. The chapter examined the metaphor choices used by the individual presidents. This was done by first identifying corruption-related clauses in all the selected speeches and the themes that emerge thereof. The chapter also provided a brief background to the period of rule of the individual presidents to help situate their metaphor choices in context. Finally, metaphor choices across the speeches were compared and this revealed the amount of attention given to corruption by the individual presidents. It was found that President John Mahama had the greatest number of corruption-related clauses and President Rawlings had the least. Also, it was revealed that the NDC presidents had a higher number of corruption-related

clauses as compared to the NPP. A major theme that emerged was that corruption is an enemy that should be fought. It was, however, discovered that the quantity of corruption-related clauses and metaphor choices did not fully reveal the determination of the presidents in fighting corruption but that there could always be certain sociocultural factors that influence the amount of attention paid to corruption. In the next chapter, I discuss the Ghanaian's sociocultural understanding of corruption to answer research question two.



## CHAPTER SIX

### THE GHANAIAN SOCIOCULTURAL UNDERSTANDING OF CORRUPTION

#### 6.1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter answers the second research question: “How do the metaphors of corruption reflect the culture (values, belief systems and traditional practices) of the people of Ghana?” The chapter explores the theoretical assumption that cultural conceptualisations and language are a part of the cultural cognition of a people; and that (metaphorical) language encodes and reflects cultural cognition, including cultural conceptualisations. Particular attention is paid to cultural models, cultural categories and cultural schemas and how they contribute to or potentially shape Ghanaians’ understanding of corruption. Following Polzenhagen and Wolf (2021) and Sharifian (2003), the term “cultural conceptualisations” is used broadly to describe more encompassing conceptualisations that are either metaphoric or non-metaphoric, and metonymic within a context or a group. I draw from Sharifian (2003, 2011) to operationalise culture to refer to a complex system of shared conceptualisations that are distributed across the minds of a group of people and embedded in their language and communication. In short, culture is a dynamic system of shared conceptualisations.

The chapter is developed on the assumption of Cultural Linguistics that political discourse is not free from cultural conceptualisations (Sharifian, 2017). It is argued in this chapter that, what is described as endemic corruption in Ghana may be due to some inherent disparities between what is socioculturally conceptualised as corruption in Ghana on the one hand, and sociocultural conceptualisations that underlie the Western-based definition of the concept, on the other. Western-based conceptualisations are based on Western culture, and the West sometimes view

phenomena and concepts from their worldview, and they may try to superimpose them on all other cultures.

Issues of corruption inundate social and political discourse in Ghana today (Awuni, 2023) and it is common in the body politic of Ghanaians and, therefore, needs to be examined closely in relation to the culture. In the view of Sharifian (2003), “different socio-cultural groups filter the conceptualisations of concepts to reflect their understanding of social phenomena and construals are specific and salient to a particular socio-cultural group” (Ansah, 2017, p. 362). The arguments are built by relying on the Akan philosophy of “personhood” and “community” as discussed by Wiredu (1992) and Gyekye (1992) to discuss cultural conceptualisations. My analysis is based on the assumptions of Cultural Linguistics exemplified through the theoretical arguments of these two Ghanaian philosophers — Kwame Gyekye and Kwasi Wiredu — on the Akan culture.

The Akan, as it has already been indicated in Chapters 4 and 5, form about 49% of the Ghanaian population and most of the remaining indigenous people of Ghana speak the Akan language (Population and Housing Census of Ghana – 2021). Again, out of the five presidents of the Fourth Republic, three — President J.A. Kufuor, President J.E.A. Mills, and President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo — are ethnically Akan. The remaining two, President J.J. Rawlings, and President John Dramani Mahama are married to Akan women even though they themselves are non-Akan. President Jerry John Rawlings, for instance, was married to Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings, a known royal of the Asante kingdom, a major Akan group. It is important to note that these presidents have contributed and shaped political discourse in Ghana. Each of these presidents have ever addressed the nation in Akan which reflects their fair knowledge of Akan.

Akan is also a major medium of expression for Ghanaian popular culture. In music, for instance, both the traditional highlife, which is unique to Ghana and has put Ghana on the world map, and

contemporary rap and hiplife, which contribute immensely to the music industry in Ghana, are mostly produced in the Akan language. The artistes are also often ethnic Akan. The local Akan-based movie industry can also be mentioned with examples in what has grown and developed to be called 'Kumawood'. Local and international news are broadcast in Akan on hundreds of radio and television stations across the country. It is thus my strong view that the cultural conceptualisations, as identified in the speeches of the presidents, are fair representations of the cultural cognition of the people of Ghana and their understanding of corruption as a social phenomenon. I, therefore, draw on this background knowledge to the cultural cognition of the people to help explain how the presidents and by extension the Akan perceive the values, belief systems and traditional practices of their culture, and how these perceptions may have helped to shape and influence their understanding of corruption as a universal phenomenon in a local context. I then rely on these to point out the different ways in which the cultural cognition of the people is explored by the presidents of the Fourth Republic in their speeches to communicate their views on corruption.

It is important to state that I do not seek to examine Akan (language and culture) but to apply notions of the culture that appear to cut across many Ghanaian cultures including Gonja and Ewe. These notions include cultural understandings of kinship terms like *father* which means more than a biological relationship and notions such as 'respect for elders/authority', 'family first', 'gift-giving' and other cultural nuances which appear to shape the worldview of the presidents about corruption.

The chapter addresses the issue of the cyclical relation between discourse on corruption and how it shapes ones understanding of what constitutes corrupt practices and how the presidents talk about it. For example, nepotism, clientelism, favouritism, and bribery, which are considered as

corrupt practices by the 1992 Constitution of Ghana, appear to be absent in the cultural schema of the Ghanaian. Corruption is conceptualised as ROTTENNESS, SOMETHING TO HIDDEN and SOMETHING SHAMEFUL. Cultural notions such hospitality and family first, which define Ghanaian communal living may pass as collusion and clientelism by the Constitution and Western cultures. The chapter also discusses prevailing cultural practices and attitudes and how these potentially shape the presidents' worldview and how they reflect or challenge the concept over the period understudy.

#### 6.1.2 THE GHANAIAN PHILOSOPHY OF PERSON AND COMMUNITY (INSIGHTS FROM AKAN)

The focus in this section is to explicate and contextualise the Akan philosophy of personhood and community. It is important to state that while I do not join in the debate between Kwasi Wiredu and Kwame Gyekye, two renowned Ghanaian philosophers, on the Akan philosophy of person, I rely on their arguments to state that the Akan philosophy of person, to a very large extent, underlies the social practices, and moral conceptions, of the people of Ghana. The concept of person in this context is borrowed from these two Akan philosophers to say that social institutions, traditional practices and moral responsibilities towards community help to define personhood; it is not so much about being biologically human. These social practices, as argued by Gyekye (1992), have far-reaching consequences on the norms and values which guide their institutions and their understanding of concepts.

According to Gyekye (1992), the concepts of person and community shape the way the Akan view a person and their relationship with society, and their responsibility towards their community. The social structure that governs the community is thus guided by the understanding of the general

relationship between a person and their community and the philosophical principles of the society (Gyekye, 1992).

Values help to shape and support the highly communal Akan social structure, and these values are viewed in relation to the Akan notion of personhood (Wingo, 2017). Underneath these values are emphases on trust and common responsibility for ensuring that the community thrives and survives while pursuing ways of “realising a communalistic way of life” (Wingo, 2017). It is inferred that the idea of common good, as proposed by Gyekye, is a value against which the Akan measure moral behaviour. This is also the case for many collectivist cultures in many African, and Asian milieux. In East Africa and southern African cultures, there is the Ubuntu concept (I am because we are). This is a concept that helps them to see and consider themselves as one. Similarly, what is valued in Akan society, as observed by Gyekye and Wiredu, is that the individual belongs to a community and not just a ‘family’ and that the individual owes the community responsibilities. It is these expectations and the response of the individual to the expectations of the community that I draw on to help explain how corruption is conceptualised and understood among the people.

According to Gyekye (1992), the Akan notion of personhood and community and the Ghanaian cultural context by extension have expectations of every individual. To be recognised as a person, therefore, goes beyond being born a human being to being an achiever of status in society. In expanding on this argument, Wiredu (1992), for instance, asserts that personhood is a quality of the human individual, and it has to be achieved. A person is rated high depending on the credit assigned by society to the individual. Thus, the value society places on a person depends on his or her achievements in terms of social status. To Wiredu, being human is a given to all persons but achieving personhood is conferred on one by society. What Wiredu does not elaborate on is the value that society places on the means to achieving such highly recognised social status. As cited

in Wingo (2017), Wiredu concludes his arguments on personhood by stating that, from a general point of view, “an individual who through mature reflection and action has both flourished economically and succeeded in meeting the (weighty) responsibilities to their family and community” can be said to have achieved personhood. Wiredu’s views about personhood have been strongly countered by Gyekye. The argument Gyekye makes is that the basic requirement to personhood is the ability to reason. To him, all other things such as social status and physical looks are accidental. What Gyekye does not tell us is the place of the one who throws reason away and acts unreasonably by, for instance, deliberately breaking societal norms or causing society and individuals undesirable pain through acts such as corruption.

### 6.1.3 THE NOTION OF PERSONHOOD AND THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF CORRUPTION

In this subsection, I discuss the individual and the community to help me explicate what the Ghanaian’s understanding and expectations are of the individual as a member of the society. In, Akan philosophy, the individual and community are treated as interwoven. Values, practices, and belief systems of the people are embodied in their history, and the individual is seen as a part of this system (Gyekye, 1992). Thus, the individual’s aspirations are tied to these so that they can be part of achieving these goals. The free will to evaluate society and adjust to the demands of the community is given to the individual to decide and this, according to Gyekye, gives the individual the opportunity to conform and adjust. Free will and responsibility are thus considered similar to each other but not distinct (Wingo, 2017).

I investigate the identified metaphor choices to draw attention to how this notion of community and personhood and the common good underlie the metaphor choices and what they potentially

reveal about the Ghanaian's cultural understanding of corruption. Based on the above discussion on the Akan philosophy, I analysed the selected presidential speeches to find out how the notion of personhood and community responsibility help the presidents to negotiate personhood and win legitimacy through their metaphor choices in the presidential speeches.

#### 6.1.4 GHANAIAN DOMINANT CULTURE AND CORRUPTION

Having explicated the Akan notions of personhood and community and the responsibility of the individual to the community, in this section, I draw on these notions to discuss the metaphors employed by the presidents in conceptualising corruption. I rely on the identified metaphor choices to explain the presidents' understanding and, by extension, the understanding of the people of Ghana that people who are in political leadership must achieve personhood to be accepted in society. The need for legitimacy is key in achieving personhood. The view of this study then is that personhood, as observed in most Ghanaian cultural contexts and in the views of Wiredu and Gyekye (1992), is achieved through a combination of, being biologically human and to achieve status in the community.

Again, based on the Akan notion of communal living, the wellbeing of the extended family is a responsibility of the individuals; failure to meet the needs of one's kith and kin on time could mean failure in personhood. Though such an individual will continue to maintain his/her basic status as an individual who is alive, the person does not receive personhood (Wiredu 1992). What Wiredu and Gyekye both agree on in terms of personhood is that personhood can reach a full potential and be realised in the community, and that it cannot be acquired but must be conferred on a person. In

the section that follows, I proceed to discuss the individual and the community to show how the Ghanaian construes the relationship between the two.

Drawing on the Akan philosophy of personhood, the presidents of the period under study, as leaders of the people, are perceived to have the responsibility to achieve personhood. This means apart from creating a personal identity, they owe it to the people of Ghana to be responsible for their needs. This is the surest way through which personhood can be achieved by the presidents. In conceptualising corruption, leaders devise ways to achieve personhood through metaphorical representations. In order to show that they are accountable to the people, they resort to metaphorical conceptualisations of measures aimed at fighting corruption, as illustrated below:

67. Mr. Speaker, I am not about to forget the subject of corruption and the perception that government is not doing enough to fight it (JAK SONA, 2006).

68. Let me reiterate what government has been doing. Budgetary allocations to the state institutions with responsibility to investigate and prosecute corruption here quadrupled since 2001 (JAK SONA, 2006).

69. Madam Speaker, one governance issue that will forever remain close to my heart, is the fight against corruption (JEAM SONA, 2011).

70. In our fight against corruption and protection of public and private property and lawful investment, the Serious Fraud Office in 1999 extended its search light to a number of institutions in the country (JJ SONA, 2000).

71. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to report that the fight against corruption, which is an affront to good governance, has found a new ally in Parliament (JAK SONA, 2008).

The identified metaphorical conceptualisations of corruption create the impression that the various presidents find corruption to be negative and that it affects the nation. They rely on the concept of a collectivist culture to call all to join in the fight while frowning on those who have formed an ‘alliance’ against this common fight for a common good.

While the individual has the free will to make decisions, the community expects them to be of a certain behaviour that conforms with societal norms. Deviant behaviour is questioned and corrected, and the individual is judged based on the free will and responsibility put on a person by the community (Wiredu, 1992). The impression created through the metaphor choices of each of the presidents, as seen above, is that they do not condone corruption and that they are determined to ‘fight’ corruption. This approach helps them to both solicit legitimacy and consolidate their power as they create the impression that they are concerned about the problem that corruption poses and so they need the support of the people. “The notion of kinship support ... is of the highest importance in the Akan communal set-up, for it is the basis of the sense of belonging which gives the individual much of his psychological stability” (Wiredu, 1992, p. 223).

From discussions in this chapter, it is observed that the Akan notion of personhood is built around the communal understanding that by innate characteristics, one is considered a human being (*nipa*) but that it is the social achievements, personal relationship and responsibility towards kith and kin and the society at large that determine personhood (*ɔye nipa*) in the Akan community and, by extension, the Ghanaian community. Strategies such as making corruption faceless and shifting blame help the presidents to navigate their way into acceptance by the community through their linguistic choices in the SONAs. Their social achievements are measured against those of their opponents and thus they are seen to be doing better and thus rated high as being responsible. The

following excerpts illustrate the Ghanaian cultural model of community in the speeches of the presidents.

72. In our fight against corruption and protection of public and private property and lawful investment, the Serious Fraud Office in 1999 extended its search light to a number of institutions in the country” (JJR SONA, 2000).

73. “Every citizen is affected by acts of corruption, and we should all work to tackle them” (NADAA SONA, 2018).

74. “Government has an obligation to treat the Auditor-General's Report seriously and work to retrieve illegally acquired monies from those who would impoverish us all” (NADAA SONA, 2018).

75. “Clearly, the institutions that should have acted as watchdogs to confront the problems of inefficiency and corruption as they arose, failed catastrophically” (JAK SONA, 2001).

The pronouns ‘we’, ‘us’ and create a sense of community. The distal deixis ‘those ’ on the other hand points far away and hence not part of the in-group/community. The President appears to draw on the collectivist culture to separate the anti-communal group from the rest. They point to a collective understanding that what belongs to the nation equally belongs to the individual and should be protected as such. The pronoun choices also point to the fact that every member of the community has some entitlement to national property, and they must “work to tackle” ‘those’ unscrupulous persons who will “impoverish us all”. In the choice of ‘us’ as used in 72 above, we infer that the presidents see themselves as part of the victims of corrupt acts but never as culprits.

The metaphor choices made, as indicated above, conceal the role of those who potentially must have caused the corruption. The social actors involved in acts of corruption are not mentioned. The

social actors who have “illegally acquired monies” and whose actions “would impoverish us all” are concealed and underspecified through the conceptualisations employed. This potentially is aimed at protecting the face of the actors who are leaders in various positions. The community understands that a president does not need to openly name these perpetrators who may be people in top government positions. The cultural metaphor is that they are LEADERS/PEOPLE IN AUTHORITY AND SO THEY ARE BEYOND REPROACH. The cultural category seems to point to RESPECT FOR AUTHORITY.

Acts such as embezzlements, and misappropriations which are crimes in the constitution appear to be shielded by cultural understanding of the people. The reaction to corruption as wrongdoing is not as strong as expected. Also, the law on corruption as stated in the constitution is clearly not enforced and so punishment for actors of corruption is not categorically mentioned by the presidents. Rather, we see what Wiredu (1992) describes as the tendency to seek compensation or reconciliation instead of being brutal with the law. He points out that the Akan reaction to wrongdoing could be retributive, and he goes on to add that:

Though the retributive spirit is not totally absent from reactions, especially at the state level, to some forms of wrongdoing, the predominant tendency is to seek compensation or reconciliation or, in cases where extra-human forces are thought to be estranged, purification (Wiredu, 1992, p. 205).

While the current study does not state for a fact that President J.J. Rawlings carried some kind of purification, it is possible to refer to an extended metaphor to find out how this idea of purification speaks to President J.J. Rawlings’s “cleansing of the nation” in the late 1970s and early 1980s as mentioned in Chapter 5.

It is observed that Wiredu (1992a) avoids the use of the word ‘punishment’. The Akan philosophy does not forbid punishment for wrongdoing. However, when it involves leadership, some restraint and circumspection are required, as punishment meted out to individuals in high status often affects ‘family’ and the community at large. The presidents explore this notion of family and community to speak and negotiate their personhood, and that of the ‘family’ by employing metaphorical representations that underspecify the culprits of corruption. The presidents socioculturally conceptualise CORRUPTION AS A PROBLEM OF VARIOUS INSTITUTIONS. This obviously shields individuals from being singled out for appropriate punishment. The president does not mention the people “who would impoverish us all”; they are only implied because these are people whose faces must be saved. Though the cultural practice of collective responsibility is good since the common good is projected above the individual good, it appears to be exploited for irresponsible behaviour and for shifting blame. While studies such as that by Transparency International (2022) have pointed out that the general society of Ghana is corrupt, Sarfo-Kantankah and Arko (2019) observe that parliamentarians see the voting public as corrupt while exonerating themselves of corruption. It can, therefore, be inferred from the above that the presidents are trying to save the face of other politicians and themselves. While they do this, we also see their effort to show how responsible they are in terms of the “fight against corruption”.

Again, it is observed that President J.A. Kufuor does not refer to the people who should be caught by the ‘watchdogs’ as ‘thieves’, nor does he refer to the money lost by the nation as “stolen”; rather, he refers to the money as “illegally acquired money”, thereby conceptualising the act of corruption in a way that does not attack the face of the offenders.

Responsibility is marked by the opportunity given to the individual to perform above ordinary good (Wiredu, 1992) which is expected of every person. These opportunities include roles in

leadership positions. What society measures a person against is the individual's social status as conferred on him/her and not so much about the mere existence of the person as human. The role as president, therefore, enjoins the person to match up to this expectation. We, therefore, see what seems like a determination to eliminate corruption.

76. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to report that the fight against corruption, which is an affront to good governance, has found a new ally in Parliament (JAK SONA, 2008).

77. Transparency in government and the fight against corruption are cardinal for sustainable development (JEAM SONA, 2009).

The presidents continue to employ vivid pictures of the effects of corruption and the great efforts they are putting in place to save the nation. Legitimacy in this context refers to gaining acceptance by the people through one's conformity to the sociocultural norm which guide them as community. The presidents present a positive evaluation of their work in metaphorical representations. While on the one hand the notion of personhood may put pressure on leaders to devise various means, including employing metaphors, to create the idea that they are being responsible and so have achieved enough to ascend to personhood, on the other hand, the same notion of personhood can arrogate excessive power to the person who achieves personhood. One may want to consider the metaphorical conceptualisations of the presidents as intentional strategies which allow them to win favour with their audiences.



#### 6.1.5 PERSONHOOD AND THE COMMUNITY

Cultural schemas are culturally shaped mental frameworks which include beliefs, norms, rules expectations of behaviour are illustrated in Wingo (2017). He is of the view that the Akan notion

of personhood, as presented by Wiredu (1992), includes moral, social, and cultural responsibilities. These, he points out, include the instinct to care for kith and kin and feel responsible for others outside of our family. This includes people who owe us some reciprocal relationships. This kind of support is also expected to be extended to the people outside of one's kinship circle. Wiredu and Gyekye (1992) observe that such support, in whatever form, when given to people of the extended family, scores the individual (benefactor) high points on the scoresheet of personhood.

The ability to be responsible for the needs of the community also grants persons in leadership positions immunity from being publicly criticised. According to Agyekum (2004), Ghanaians emphasise politeness in all discourse situations. Showing responsibility to community then enables one to win favour with the people and thereby score high points on the personhood sheet. Political discourse that contains invectives or insults in Ghanaian tradition is culturally unacceptable because it may defile the face of leadership. It is, therefore, expected of leaders to ensure that they present themselves in ways that do not attract critical evaluation from the public. Polite and decorous language aimed at promoting peaceful co-existence is required in political discourse.

Wingo (2017) points out that there are standards against which the Akan society measures personhood and one of them is culture. Culture plays a significant role in political discourse, and it reflects cultural conceptualisations which determine salient cultural practices of the given people (Ansah, 2017; Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2021; Sharifian, 2017; Sharifian, 2003). Ghanaians practise a culture of collective responsibility which forms part of what is described as the African Community Model (Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2021). According to Agyekum (2021), communal and societal needs form the foundation on which the African concept of face is built: "They do not consider only the speaker and the addressee as highlighted in Brown and Levinson's model" (Agyekum, 2021, p. 9). Agyekum explains that the African face concept includes a folk audience

that shares responsibility for the act of an individual. This is to say that the consequences of the act of an individual are borne by the whole society. The individual, therefore, bears the responsibility to save their face and that of the community. The speech of the president is expected to both protect the face of the president, his political party and the nation at large. There is a cultural etiquette for speaking which conveys the sociocultural norms, values, and ethics. Though these may be seen as culturally universal, they are tied to culture-specific norms to ensure harmony in the society. For Ghana, there is the responsibility to protect the face of the ‘family’ or political party or the country or even opposition before that of the individual. Openly criticising political leadership is considered a show of ‘rudeness’ (Agyekum, 2004, 2021). The schema of RESPECT FOR AUTHORITY, SENIORITY, AND LEADERS AS PERSONS BEYOND REPROACH are illustrated in the discussion of examples 78 and 79.

78. “As president, I was willing to appear before CHRAJ on the charge that I had applied state funds to effect adjustments to my private residence” (JAK SONA, 2006).

79. “Where does it happen in these parts that a sitting President so readily submits to investigation?” (JAK SONA, 2006).

The use of the verb phrase, “submits to” by President J.A. Kufuor in a rhetorical question, creates the impression that he finds it ridiculous to be questioned by people he considers as lower authority. The authority of the president, as discussed earlier, is one which makes him see himself as FATHER OF THE NATION; hence he is beyond reproach. It is significant to note that the President J. A. Kufuor is Akan and that his reaction may be influenced by how Akan react to wrongdoing. “Though the retributive spirit is not totally absent from reactions, especially at the state level to some forms of wrongdoing, the predominant tendency is to seek compensation or

reconciliation” (Wiredu, 1992, p. 225). Wrongdoings which involve authority are addressed outside of public view.

In the excerpts above, President J.A. Kufuor applies both the Ghanaian cultural schema of PRESIDENT AS FATHER OF THE NATION, and the Ghanaian cultural model of respect for authority. It appears that the President draws on the Akan notion of respect for leadership to express his displeasure at those who accuse him of applying state funds to adjusting his private residence. He also applies Ghanaian cultural values of not openly criticising leaders since they double as providers for the nation. The President relies on this shared knowledge of LEADERSHIP IS BEYOND REPROACH to say that it is ridiculous to be summoned. As Wingo (2017) points out, “the whole gamut of values and practices in which the individual is necessarily embedded is a creation of cultural community and is part of his history”. Thus, President Kufuor sees it culturally expedient to protect himself and his community (Ghana) by defending himself.

To him, as sitting president, the fact that he was willing to subject himself to scrutiny was a favour done to the nation. The cultural metaphor that emerges conceptualises THE NATION AS FAMILY, POLITICAL LEADERS AS PARENTS and RESPECT FOR SENIORITY. According to the family concept of Akan, where kinship extends to the community in general and factors such as respect for age and authority, especially for persons in leadership positions, exist, leaders are given the role to nurture and protect the entire community. When Gyekye discusses the ethics of common good among the Akan, he emphasises the fact that people who have been placed in leadership positions are seen as people responsible for the wellbeing of all, both kin and other members of the community. President J.A. Kufuor with this background knowledge seems to suggest that in his capacity as head, he is the custodian of all resources, and he uses these resources not for his personal gain but for the community thus, he sees the NATION AS FAMILY. The strife

for personhood as enshrined in the Akan philosophy leaves the president with no choice but to put up self-defence in the name of protecting the image of the community. Wiredu states that “the communalistic orientation of the society in question means that an individual’s image will depend rather crucially upon the extent to which his or her actions benefit others than himself (Wiredu 1992, p. 221).

There is, therefore, the cultural schema that what belongs to the community must benefit all. The country has a COMMUNAL economy. This communal inheritance is viewed as property, and this includes the natural and human resources that form the wealth of the community. While these may be the community’s understanding of authority and individual responsibility towards community, the 1992 Constitution identifies such as abuse of authority, misuse of power, misappropriations and embezzlements. These are crimes by the dictates of the Constitution.

#### 6.1.5.1 *The “family and friends” metaphor: Community responsibility or favouritism?*

There is a wide network of interrelations among Ghanaians, and this comes with a shared concept of solidarity. Individuals in the position to give support to ‘FAMILY’ members and people of less privileged positions see it as a moral responsibility on their part to assist others. The less privileged, on their part, also consider it a right to receive such assistance from those who are more privileged in society. This solidarity network, which is based on the kinship community model (Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2021), makes it difficult to directly confront Western-based concepts of corruption. A cultural metaphor that emerges in such situations when talking about corruption is to see FAVOURITISM AS SOLIDARITY and FAVOURITISM AS A MEANS OF BUILDING FAMILY TIES and FAVOURITISM AS A MEANS OF GAINING LEGITIMACY.

Practices such as collusion, patronage and nepotism which are described as crimes by the 1992 Constitution, appear to mean different things in the cultural schema of the people.

Circumlocution is applied in speaking about such acts since this concept of gift-giving and community solidarity has been abused in most situations. Using circumlocution does not mean that the presidents endorse corruption; rather, it points out the fine line that lies between the Ghanaian solidarity model and favouritism, which, from a Western worldview, is illegal. The excerpts below are examples of different ways in which various presidents comment on acts of corruption which consider FAVOURITISM AS SOLIDARITY:

80. As a way of strengthening institutions of state for the fight against corruption and providing the needed teeth to bite, the Serious Fraud Office (SFO) has been reengineered and named the Economic and Organised Crime Office (EOCO) with prosecutorial powers (JEAM SONA, 2011).

81. Former President Kufuor once said, “Government pretends to pay workers, and workers pretend to work” (JDM SONA, 2015).

82. “It is obvious at the time that many public sector workers made up their paltry incomes by taking illegal “tips” and “charges” from members of the public” (JDM SONA, 2015).

Anti-corruption campaign efforts by the various presidents — whether in ensuring that there are “less opportunities for corruption”, or “providing the needed teeth to bite” or preventing the taking of illegal “tips” and “charges” — may be difficult to implement since the people see FAVOURITISM AS SOLIDARITY. The linguistic expression “paltry incomes” appears to suggest that the president sympathises with the perpetrators of the crime. The cultural category of

SENIORITY is evoked since people who are senior (by age or status) are expected to help those below them. Anti-corruption efforts in the 1992 Constitution appear to conflict with the cultural model which conceptualises corruption as a way of expressing solidarity.

Polzenhagen and Wolf (2021) note that corruption is indeed perceived as a violation of the African community model and hard work is the right means to achieving greatness (Wiredu, 1992). According to Polzenhagen and Wolf (2021), the dominant metaphors in the African anti-corruption discourse show evidence that corruption is unacceptable in the African community model. The idea of common good (Gyekye, 1992; Wiredu, 1992) calls for an unlimited impartiality to promoting the welfare of all members of society without considering any special ties to family and friends.

From the discussion on anti-corruption and the African community model above the cultural categories such as seniority, respect for authority are conceptualised and a communal economy is evoked in following: **THE RULING PARTY AS PROTECTIVE OF THE NATIONAL PURSE, THE PARTY LEADERS AS RESPONSIBLE, and THE PARTY AS TRUSTWORTHY OF NATIONAL ASSETS.** Some of these systematic metaphors may serve the purpose of building a positive ideological image of the political party (Ansah, 2017; Musolff, 2012; Pan, 2020). The ruling party is projected with a positive image and thereby appeals to the emotions of the voting public especially in an election year. The metaphorical conceptualisations and the systematic metaphors employed by the presidents help them to project themselves.

Apart from looking at **CORRUPTION AS A PROBLEM TO BE COLLECTIVELY SOLVED**, it is also conceptualised as a **PROBLEM OF THE SYSTEM**, which then makes one accept **ANTI-CORRUPTION AS JUST WAR**. The systematic metaphor that can be found in the metaphor **CORRUPTION AS AN ENEMY** is that **ANTI-CORRUPTION IS A JUST WAR**, and this

corroborates the findings of Pan (2020). The expressions “to fight corruption on all fronts” and “to combat corruption”, as used by President J.D. Mahama, have the meaning that it is justified to employ stringent anti-corruption campaigns. This can be found in President J.E.A. Mills’s SONA when he says that he “does not care whose horse is gored”. This is to say that though the measures to curb corruption may be metaphorically bloody, it is unavoidable, and if that is the only language society will understand regarding how to fight corruption, then so be it. The ideals of personhood require that community property is used for the common good.

#### 6.1.5.2 *Gift-giving as appreciation of others and affirmation of personhood*

In this section, we look at gift-giving as a traditional sociocultural practice in Ghana in relation to the acts that are described as corrupt in the constitution of Ghana, which, as it has already been established, has a Western tilt on the definition of corruption. This section shows that values that underpin the culture of gift-giving are clearly defined in the case of corruption, and this clearly points out the fact that the Ghanaian’s cultural schema of a gift and the principles that guide its operation are different from what unscrupulous people do.

As reported in Polzenhagen and Wolf (2021), the logic of gift-giving is universal to all cultures. However, in the Ghanaian culture, there is a varying degree in what qualifies as a gift, especially when it comes to visits to the chief’s palace where a compulsory symbolic gift is demanded. Although this is not unique to African cultures, as per the constitution, it is entirely unacceptable to “give gifts” to persons in authority before consulting them on issues.

83. “Mr Speaker, I have spoken on other occasions about the digitization of port operations or what we all now call the paperless port” (NADAA SONA, 2021).

84. “I am glad to say that the initial problems have largely been overcome, and we are witnessing the advantages in faster processes at the port and less opportunities for corruption with the reduction of human interface” (NADAA SONA, 2021).

The background to this statement concerns acts of corruption captured on camera which involved officers at the Customs Excise Duty Office at the Tema Port (Ghana’s largest shipping port). The cultural model of gift-giving probably influenced the president’s conceptualisation of this act as “a problem” without employing any Violence metaphors to show aggression towards the act. The “expression paperless port” points to efforts to remove human interferences in the collection of monies at the ports. The cultural schema of THE NATION AS FAMILY, puts an obligation on members of the community in privileged positions to sidestep rules and laws to put family first. ‘Family’ could thereby get away with under declaring taxes or avoiding taxes altogether. In one instance, investigative journalist, Anas Aremeyaw Anas, and his team captured a woman at the Tema Port taking a bribe and she describes it as a gift. These are captured by President J.E.A. Mills thus:

85. “About a fortnight ago, Ghanaians watched a shocking exposé of corrupt activities and practices involving revenue collection at the Tema Port” (JEAM SONA, 2011).

86. “I also expect the management of the Ghana Revenue Authority and Customs Excise and Preventive Services (CEPS) for that matter to act without delay to restore public confidence in the organisation” (JEAM SONA, 2011).

Gifts in the Ghanaian concept are a sign of appreciation. the cultural schema of EXPECTATIONS OF BEHAVIOUR requires the receiver to take the gift. In an instance where the giver is senior, the receiver is obliged to take the gift. Gift-giving also evokes schema of RECIPROCITY. Act of

kindness from clients are therefore not considered as ‘bribes’. This confirms Polzenhagen and Wolf’s (2021) argument that favouritism and clientelism may not be considered as illegitimate in the African context and, therefore, should be distinguished from corruption.

#### 6.1.6 ACHIEVING PERSONHOOD THROUGH BUYING LEGITIMACY

As observed in Agyekum (2021), indirectness in communicating on issues that could be considered as face-threatening should be encouraged for national cohesion. Indirectness is particularly important “especially if the act involves authority or leadership” (Sharifian 2017, p. 16). Lexical items are sometimes used to represent ways by which a group of people who are related through cultural ties construe situations (Ansah, 2017) and these conceptualisations are usually representative of the sociocultural practices of the people. The lexical items are chosen to appropriately represent the people’s worldview of a given concept or situation. Though the social phenomenon of corruption seems to have a universal definition in most Western-based cultures, studies from cross-cultural research (Ekpenyong & Bassey, 2014; Jing-Schmidt & Peng, 2017; Ogunmuyiwa & Antia, 2020; Pertiwi, 2020; Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2021) suggest that different socio-cultural groups draw from their socio-cultural background knowledge to describe such a phenomenon (corruption). One dares to say then that corruption as it is understood in Ghana is different from how other cultures construe the concept. The construal of the concept especially in cultures which rely on Western-based worldviews as a yardstick is different.

Political speeches such as SONAs are measured against the sociocultural norms that guide the delivery of ‘good’ oratory. Good oratory is a long tradition that continues to exist among the people of Ghana. Chiefs, political leaders, and even ordinary citizens are assessed on how well they

employ oratory skills, as in the case of traditional chiefs of Ghana. The Ghanaian cultural practice of ‘good’ oratory is characterised by oratory requirements such as politeness, indirectness, and euphemisms (Agyekum, 2021; Ansah, 2017; Yankah, 1989). Ansah (2017) reports that “the discourse norms of traditional political systems in Ghana require the constant need to save the face of discourse participants, and emphasise politeness and decorum, especially in public discourses” (p. 370). The excerpts below illustrate this fact:

87. In this vein Government will support such developmental projects, law reform and anticorruption initiatives, as will promote the dignity of our Judiciary (JEAM SONA, 2011).

88. I also expect the management of the Ghana Revenue Authority and Customs Excise and Preventive Services (CEPS) for that matter to act without delay to restore public confidence in the organisation (JEAM SONA, 2011).

89. It was with considerable reluctance that Government had to intervene in the administration of football, when we decided to dissolve the old GFA because of the bribery and corruption that engulfed its operation (NADAA SONA, 2020).

In these excerpts, the presidents seem to mitigate the seriousness of the issue of corruption by resorting to a cultural norm of using indirectness. The culprits are thus underspecified, and the act concealed. This show of interest by the presidents in fighting corruption is demonstrated in their metaphor choices such as “restore public confidence”, “promote the dignity of our judiciary”, “to intervene”, and “dissolve the GFA”. Indirectness in the discourse seem to be part of the cultural schema of RESPECT FOR AUTHORITY/LEADERS. Criticising an elder or someone in high office or “a person of high economic status with political authority” (Obeng, 1997, p. 64). The

sociocultural norms, values and cultural schema of the Ghanaian may play a major role in how corruption is conceptualised in communication, especially on political platforms (Sakyi et al., 2011).

#### 6.1.7 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRADITIONAL DISCOURSE AND CONCEPTS OF CORRUPTION

Ghanaians are traditionally socialised to respect leadership (Yankah, 1989) and particularly traditional leaders. The respect for elders and leaders is often encoded in many indigenous language forms such as proverbs and oratory. Based on this shared view of good orature of traditional chiefs who serve as leaders and models in their communities, there is the cultural schema of RESPECT FOR DECOROUS SPEECH.

A successful politician is an orator with political language full of varied and elaborate polite, persuasive, and rhetorical skills that are meant to paint a clear picture of the nation for the citizenry to see him as a competent ruler and lure potential voters (Agyekum, 2021, p. 18).

This argument presents a cultural schema against which good oration is measured, and this schema requires that the language used in conceptualising social phenomena should be sanitised in consonance with Ghanaian cultural norms, values, and practices. The use of evasion, proverbs, innuendos and circumlocution are all indirectness strategies for ensuring that the face is not threatened and that the negative impact of what is said is mitigated.

Proverbs form part of the speaking and thinking in the Ghanaian traditional society and they are used to express beliefs, values, and feelings. “Proverbs which are normally short and pithy sayings, are very popular devices used to state metaphorically certain general truths about life” (Dzobo, 2010, p. 94). They form part of the language and culture of an ethnic group, and they help us to understand the situations and the behaviour patterns of their users. I provide a few examples below to illustrate the concept of communal living and responsibility, personhood, gift-giving, and respect for leaders as discussed in this chapter.

### **Communal living and responsibility**

- a. Aninguase mfata Okaniba.

Translation: Disgrace does not fit the child of Akan.

Meaning: Honour is highly upheld in Akan culture. All members of the community are to avoid anything dishonourable since the shame that comes with dishonour affects the whole community.

- b. Dibi na me nni bi.

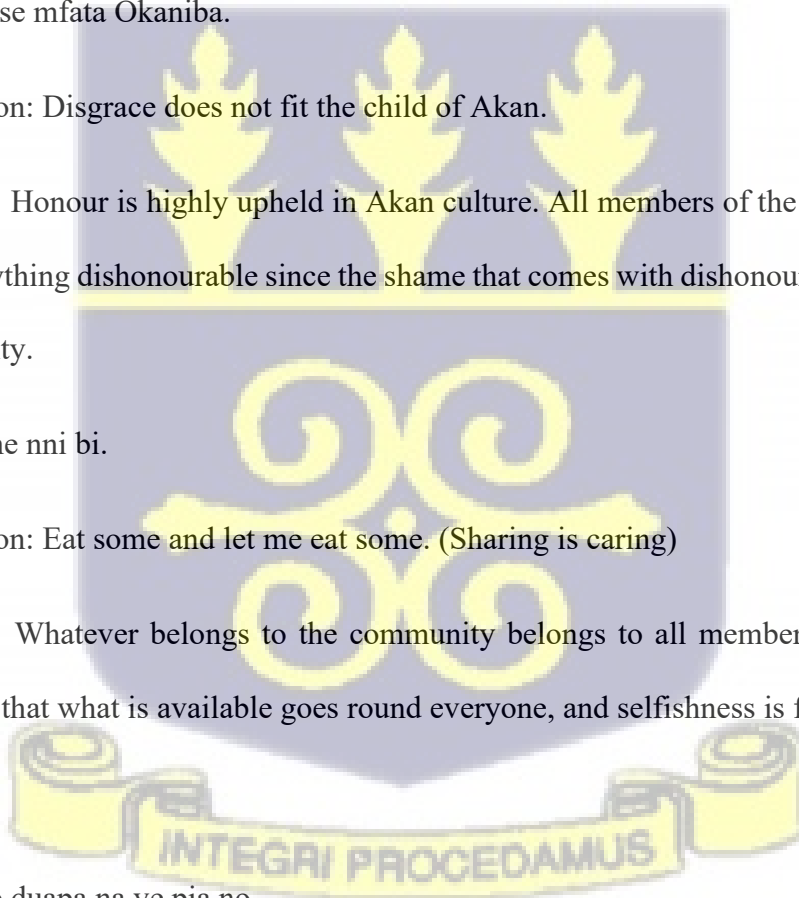
Translation: Eat some and let me eat some. (Sharing is caring)

Meaning: Whatever belongs to the community belongs to all members. It is, therefore, expected that what is available goes round everyone, and selfishness is frowned upon.

### **Personhood**

- c. Nea oforo duapa na ye pia no.

Translation: A person who climbs a good tree gets a push.



Meaning: It is expected that a person seeks the good of the community and it is only in so doing that the person gets the support of the community.

- d. Nea ɔpre adea kɔ Kotoko no, yen nnye no abrɔ.

Translation: One who fights for the good of Kotoko (Akan) should not be denied favour.

Meaning: Kotoko is the porcupine, and it is symbolic of unity and common good. It is, therefore, believed that one who seeks the common good of the Akan should be offered the needed favour and support.

### Gift-giving

- e. Yede nam na eyi nam.

Translation: A bait is used in catching fish.

Meaning: One can only expect to receive favour when one gives or learns to share what one has. The Akan community encourages sharing, no matter how small.

### Respect for elders and leadership

- f. Ye nfa nsa pan enko ahenfie.

Translation: One does not go to the chief palace with empty hands.

Meaning: It is a sign of honour and responsibility to give gifts, especially to persons of high status.

While the proverbs above may seem to condone favouritism and corruption, there are also Akan proverbs that condemn ill-gotten wealth or encourage persons of the community to acquire wealth through hard work or genuine means. The following are some examples.

g. Hwimhwim adeɔ kɔ srɔsrɔ.

Translation: Easy come, easy go.

Meaning: Things easily acquired, especially money, are easily spent or lost. The Akan, therefore, encourage the acquisition of wealth through genuine means.

In excerpt 90 below, not only does the President fail to mention those who have made allegations, but he also avoids mentioning categorically the names of supposed accusers. The President says:

90. “It appears, however, that some are determined to stick to their politically-motivated view that there has been corruption” (NADAA SONA, 2018).

91. Mr. Speaker, we have made significant strides over the last three years in our fight against corruption, despite the scepticism of people with questionable records (NADAA, 2020)

The culture of civil language permeates all levels of discourse in the Ghanaian culture. It is frowned upon among all the ethnic groups of Ghana to use insults or name-calling when opponents are engaged in a disagreement or a ‘fight.’ It is, therefore, considered culturally inappropriate language to use insults in any form of public discourse. This appears to be the reason why the present President Nana Addo only resorts to innuendos and circumvention without mentioning the names of those who perceive his government to be corrupt. The cultural schema of DECOROUS LANGUAGE and the use of indirectness may impede whistle blowing.

President J. J. Rawlings, for instance, is aware of the historical background to his fight against corruption during his term of office as a military leader, so he plays it safe by being evasive in talking about the issue of corruption in the excerpts below. This gives the impression that he tries

to achieve personhood and legitimacy. He does not mention ‘corruption,’ an act for which he had severely punished persons perceived to be involved during his early days as a military leader. The President relies on evasion by choosing expressions such as ‘fraud’, ‘embezzlement’, ‘tax evasion’ and ‘misappropriation’ rather than the term ‘corruption’ to both mitigate the impact of the hard truth and save his face and the face of the general populace. This is illustrated in excerpt 92 below:

92. 37 cases of serious fraud investigated by the SFO in the areas of contract fraud, embezzlement, tax evasion and misappropriation involved an amount of about ø [sic] 9.5 billion out of which about ø [sic] 2.2 billion has so far been recovered (JJR SONA, 2000).

93. Mismanagement, mass unemployment, low wages, high cost of living, a rapidly depreciating currency, a colossal national debt, high dependency on foreign aid, as well as declining educational and health opportunities, extensive corruption in public life, a cowed and demoralised private sector, hopelessness, and despair — this is the legacy of the last ten years (JAK, 2001).

In excerpt 93, President J. A. Kufuor uses circumlocution as an evasive tactic in talking about corruption. He lists the problems of the nation over decades, thereby conceptualising CORRUPTION AS AN OLD NATIONAL PROBLEM. In fact, he calls it a ‘legacy’ but evasively avoids naming whoever bequeathed this bad ‘legacy of the last ten decades’ to the nation. By drawing on the culture of communal inheritance, President J.A. Kufuor describes CORRUPTION AS A LEGACY, which has been passed down from the earlier governments. These governments are thus conceptualised as custodians of the community’s property and, by extension, the country’s money. The reference to CORRUPTION AS A LEGACY, therefore, seems to point to the understanding that this is a problem to be shared and that it requires a shared responsibility to resolve. Again, in subtle ways, the inheriting government is distancing itself from any blame or of

having contributed to the country's present state in terms of its poor performance in relation to corruption. The systematic metaphor emerges, and it evokes the understanding that PAST GOVERNMENTS ARE CUSTODIANS OF CORRUPTION and PRESENT GOVERNMENTS ARE HEIRS TO CORRUPTION.

94. "I have made it publicly known that anyone, who has information about acts of corruption by any of my appointees, should bring it forward, and should be prepared to back it up with evidence, for I will have it investigated" (NADAA SONA, 2018).

In excerpt 94 however, the President appears to be influenced by the Ghanaian culture of protecting one's own, and the culture of not publicly ridiculing the elderly or leadership. President Nana Addo by this, decides to dare the people of Ghana to name people of his government who have been accused of acts of corruption. This appears to be an evasive strategy employed by the President. In 94, the speaker refers to nominalised actions ('acts of corruption') rather than actors.

It is observed that the inability of successive governments "in the fight against corruption" results from Ghanaian cultural and social systems, where familial relationships, social ties, class, status, and organisational positions have huge negative influences on the rule of law (Sarfo-Kantankah & Arko, 2019, p. 63). Though the President identifies corruption as a criminal or legal issue that needs to be investigated, he also plays the moral card of the Ghanaian culture which calls on people to show solidarity. The President justifies this call by pointing out that his appointees who have been accused of corruption have been investigated by Parliament, by saying:

95. "Every single alleged act of corruption levelled against any of my appointees has been investigated by independent bodies, and, in some cases, by Parliament, itself, and the findings made public" (NADAA, 2018).

This confirms the findings made by Sarfo-Kantankah and Arko (2019) that Ghanaian MPs' debating strategies hinder the fight against corruption in Ghana. Instead of collectively agreeing that they have to fight corruption together and work towards that, the MPs are preoccupied with indicating which of them (the majority or the minority) are more corrupt than the other (Sarfo-Kantankah & Arko, 2019, p. 63). This argument is shown in the President's statement about issues of corruption and conflict of interest in the following excerpt:

96. "From the allegations against the Minister-Designate for Energy at his Parliamentary confirmation hearings, to that against the CEO of BOST; to those against the two deputy Chiefs of Staff; to the conflict of interest allegations against the Minister for Finance; and most recently, to the claims of extortion against the Trade and Industry Minister — they have all been investigated, and no evidence has been adduced to suggest any act of corruption, conflict of interest or wrongdoing" (NADAA SONA, 2018).

As many as five (5) consecutive paragraphs in President Nana Addo's SONA, 2020 are dedicated to defending his ministers against matters arising on the floor of Parliament concerning corruption-related cases raised by the opposition in Parliament. This is demonstrated in the excerpts below:

97. "we have made significant strides over the last three years in our fight against corruption, despite the scepticism of people with questionable records" (NADAA SONA, 2020).

98. "Some forty (40) or more high-profile personalities are currently before the courts on various corruption charges, and more are in the pipeline" (NADAA SONA, 2020).

The cultural metaphor that emerges in the above excerpts point to POLITICAL OPPONENTS AS CORRUPT and the RULING GOVERNMENT AS FIGHTER OF CORRUPTION. The President

conceptualises corruption as the problem of the other (Othering) and achieves communicative immunity by using indirection. In the Ghanaian culture, this is a familiar way of speaking and so the political opponents being referred to as well as the public being addressed are aware of who is being referred to.

99. We have refused to bury our heads in the sand like the ostrich or to adopt a defensive posture (JDM SONA, 2016).

This proverb in extract 99 does not mention the opposition party that, in all situations, usually looks forward to winning power, but we are able to infer that the President is referring to his opponents because of the context and the issue being discussed (corruption). This agrees with Charteris-Black's (2005b) view that political speeches are also used to point out the fault of the opponent though they are meant to persuade listeners.

According to the traditional Ghanaian schemas of (IM)POLITENESS, any communicative act that is potentially face-threatening, especially if it involves authority or leadership, is expected to be mitigated using communicative strategies such as forms of indirectness (Agyekum 2004).

100. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to report that the fight against corruption, which is an affront to good governance, has found a new ally in Parliament (JAK SONA, 2008).

In excerpt 100, innuendos and circumlocution are employed in talking about people (especially parliamentarians), particularly those in opposition, who are against government's efforts in dealing with corruption. Another example of the use of innuendos is found in excerpt 101.

101. It was with considerable reluctance that Government had to intervene in the administration of football, when we decided to dissolve the old GFA because of the bribery and corruption that engulfed its operation (NADAA SONA, 2020).

Though the corruption scandal that hit the GFA was captured across the football fraternity the world over, the President was still circumspect in mentioning the people who were caught on camera by the award-winning investigative journalist, Anas Aremeyaw Anas. This helps a president to avoid being held directly accountable for his statements.

Proverbs are very much a part of the Ghanaian oratory. They are not only used to spice up a speech, but they are also strategies for avoiding confrontation, and for taking responsibility.

102. “Mr Speaker, with the greatest of respect, and in the words of the articulate Minister for Information, Mustapha Abdul-Hamid, no matter how long a toad stays under water, it will never become a crocodile” (NADAA SONA, 2018).

Though politeness is a universal cultural norm and virtue, in the Ghanaian’s cultural conceptualisation of politeness, the schema includes not confronting the truth directly or not saying the truth in plain language. Proverbial language and innuendos are often used to mitigate the intensity of the effect of the “ugly truth”. In that case, proverbs are resorted to as a form of indirection. “It is within the scope of dynamic discourse that a people’s cultural aesthetic or the aesthetic principles that govern their communicative habits can be best perceived” (Yankah, 1989, p. 327).

Agyekum (2021) and Obeng (2018) both point out that in Ghanaian political discourse, evasive language and innuendos are used to circumvent difficult topics. In the case of NADAA 2018, however, this type of language has been used to both avoid direct confrontations though they indirectly accuse the opposition of this act which the president describes as “an affront to government”. In fact, the President’s accusation is an affront to his opponents. Ansah describes

the increasing use of impolite language in Ghanaian political discourse as a “clash of cultural schemas” (2017, p. 376).

#### 6.1.8 CULTURAL COGNITION AND SOCIO-CULTURAL PRACTICES OF GHANAIS

As observed by Obeng (1997), the language and varying social conventions of the culture of Ghanaians and their sociocultural situation determine the choices that politicians in Ghana make when addressing their followers. Indirectness in the form of evasion and metaphors are used when talking about difficult topics. Obeng (1997) adds that culture-specific metaphors are used by politicians to communicate in contexts where the politicians share a culture. This is, however, debatable since, in some instances, this could lead to miscommunication.

Metaphors have also been explored to talk about familiar concepts such as has been as identified in political talk in Ghana. The metaphors are said to have a “heuristic and interactional function” (Obeng 1997, p. 58) which helps to ease possible friction between political opponents. In such situations, meanings can always be negotiated while leaving room for the protection of face. Agyekum (2004) and Obeng (1997) both agree that metaphors are used across cultures in Ghana to mitigate conflict. Issues of power, ideology, ethics, and political concepts are often communicated using metaphors. Obeng again points out that interactants in politics in Ghana engage in the use of innuendos to avoid open confrontations. This can be found in the language of President Kufuor as follows:

103. The legacy we have inherited on the economic front is daunting (JAK SONA, 2001).

104. “... extensive corruption in public life, a cowed and demoralised private sector, hopelessness and despair — this is the legacy of the last ten decades” (JAK SONA, 2001).

105. “...the subject of corruption and the perception that government is not doing enough to fight it (JAK SONA, 2006)

106. The state institutions with responsibility to investigate and prosecute corruption here quadrupled since 2001 (JDM SONA, 2015)

In excerpts 103-106, the institutions are given a collective responsibility to investigate and prosecute. responsibility to carry out this duty of investigating and prosecuting corruption. Again, in a culture where collective responsibility lies on members of a community to save the face of each other, individuals are shielded even when they are found culpable. In such cases, they conceptualise CORRUPTION AS HUMAN and no individual is mentioned as being responsible for such corrupt acts. Agyekum (2021) observes that political discourse in Ghana, and especially in the years after Rawlings, resorted to the use of indirectness. Obeng (1997, 2018) reports that acts such as directly mentioning or accusing individuals as being corrupt had led to the disappearance and brutal killing of ordinary civilians.

Ghana has experienced periods in her history where the “culture of silence” (Yankah, 2001) marked a period when people who openly criticised the then ruling AFRC, and PNDC government were picked up and punished severely. Yankah (2001) refers to the unsung-tale metaphor “as a hidden political text, and describes it as resilient, efficacious and a rallying force for protest in Ghana’s contemporary political history” (Ansah, 2017, p. 373). Yankah, in discussing the period of the “culture of silence”, also talks about “the unsung-tale”, a strategy adopted by some musicians and some political commentators who had to resort to the use of metaphors to subtly criticise the then ruling AFRC and PNDC government. Despite the repeal of the criminal libel law (a law which criminalised public criticism of government), many Ghanaians continued to live in fear of the law long after its repeal in 2001. What I seek to draw attention to is that Ghanaians’

understanding of corruption and how they refer to acts and perpetrators of corruption are guided by both the cultural practice of not speaking against authority and seeing leaders as infallible. It is the act that is attacked while the actor is omitted. While President Kufuor was in power, he talked about corruption in the following way:

107. “There’s no denying the media’s rights to publish stories of corruption” (JAK SONA, 2006).

108. “Mr. Speaker, whilst on the subject of law enforcement, the passage of the Right to Information Act, the Witness Protection Act, the amendment of the Criminal Offences Act, and other laws have enhanced significantly the capacity of the State in the fight against corruption” (NADAA SONA, 2021).

109. “Somehow, the person who laid the charge, an Honourable member of this House, just failed to prosecute the case and yet charges of that kind continue to be made” (JAK SONA, 2006).

Indirectness has been used in this extract. The President avoids mentioning the name of “the person who laid the charge”. The unwillingness of the President to name the person in question may be considered as a strategy to save the face of the person. Other forms of indirectness are employed using rhetorical questions. President J.A. Kufuor resorts to one of such indirectness strategies through questioning:

110. Where does it happen in these parts that a sitting President so readily submits to investigation? (JAK SONA, 2006).

111. The Attorney-General’s Department has set up an Anti-Corruption Unit to study the recommendations, to prosecute cases that need to be prosecuted (JAK SONA, 2008).

The Anti-Corruption Unit is conceptualised as a human with the ability to study recommendations and it has been given the judicial knowledge and power to prosecute cases (corruption). Here again, corruption is given human abilities to stand trial. The individuals involved in corruption once again are not mentioned, thereby giving them the opportunity to get away with their corrupt practices.

112. Those who feel they must come to the president may address their concerns to the office of Accountability which can be trusted to act independent of government (JAK SONA, 2006).

In the extract above, President J.A. Kufuor avoids mentioning the names of anyone though he gives the impression that he knows those he is referring to as people who accuse him and his government as being corrupt.

113. “Clearly, the institutions that should have acted as watchdogs to confront the problems of inefficiency and corruption as they arose, failed catastrophically” (JAK SONA, 2006).

Here again, the President does not name and shame the perpetrators of corruption but rather, he calls on institutions to act so that the country is freed from corruption. The institutions are seen as holding a collective responsibility given to them by the collective goal of the people to “confront” the issues of corruption. Thus, though corruption in all these instances is viewed as something criminal, the individuals involved are not confronted. It is the act that is made palpable.

These conceptualisations may be described as cultural metaphors of bribery and corruption in Ghana. Thus, they evoke the systematic metaphor of BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION AS ROTTENNESS AND CONCEALMENT. The cultural basis for these conceptualisations of bribery and corruption in Ghana is not only revealed in the Akan language. Indeed, “there are linguistic expressions in other major Ghanaian languages that suggest similar conceptualisations”

(Ansah 2017, p. 378). It is, therefore, assumed that the linguistic expressions used to conceptualise corruption in the selected SONAs do not merely reflect how corruption is conceptualised by Ghanaians; these conceptualisations are modelled on Ghanaians' understanding of corruption based on a shared cultural schema. The sociocultural practices and the fundamental values of the people of Ghana form the basic principles that guide the metaphors used to conceptualise corruption in Ghana. In describing CORRUPTION AS DIRTY, the speaker evokes the systematic metaphor of CORRUPTION AS SOMETHING THAT SHOULD BE CONCEALED. These systematic metaphors are culturally conceptualised, as shown in the excerpt below:

114. “We would streamline and root out the rot that has become associated with the alienation of public lands” (JDM SONA, 2015).

President JDM employs three metaphors in succession—streamline, root out, rot. While ‘streamline’ and root out’ describe measures to curb corruption, ROT is used to describe corruption. In the instances above, there is the Ghanaian cultural schema of corruption as something that is not only shameful and undesirable, but also it is a ‘rot’ that needs to be rooted out. Studies on the cultural conceptualisation of corruption in other cultures, such as in China (Pan, 2020), point out similar conceptualisations by describing corruption as something “‘having a bad smell, being dirty or rotten’”. Corruption is conceptualised as a “‘litter and rot, giving off a foul smell’” in a study of Spanish politics and the conceptualisation of corruption (Negro 2015, p. 221). In Pang’s study of the conceptualisation of corruption in Chinese English as spoken by L2 speakers, dirt metaphors present corruption as an unclean substance on the human body, resulting from unhygienic behaviour. In a similar study, Jing-Schmidt and Peng (2017) conceptualise corruption as dirt which threatens the health of a people and may lead to diseases. While these cultures conceptualise CORRUPTION AS DIRT in reference to the perpetrators, in Ghana, the

conceptualisation of corruption as DIRT is in reference to the concept. The perpetrators are presented as clean. This obscures the actors of corruption and somewhat frees them from punishment.

#### 6.1.9 COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY

The nation, in the sociocultural context of Africa, is metaphorically conceptualised as a family (Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2021) and the family is assigned a collective responsibility to ensure the safety of its members. This then arrogates to its president the power of a family head who should ensure the wellbeing of members of the family. The ‘family’ is then assigned moral codes that regulate its behaviour. The role as father, for instance, as shown in all the speeches, is assigned to each of the presidents. The culture of collective responsibility is used by the presidents to persuade the people to accept national policies aimed at dealing with a social phenomenon such as corruption, as shown below:

115. “In our fight against corruption and protection of public and private property and lawful investment, the Serious Fraud Office in 1999 extended its search light to a number of institutions in the country” (JJ SONA, 2000).

In this extract, the President calls it “our fight” and this gives us the impression that he sees the responsibility of dealing with corruption as a collective one. Though the expression may also refer to members of his political party, there is a collective understanding and a shared socio-political background knowledge about the call to fight corruption when it comes to President JJ Rawlings.

116. “We expect that the Serious Fraud Office will intensify its prosecution of the cases where they have recommended prosecution of alleged culprits” (JJ SONA, 2000).

The concept of INSTITUTIONS AS LEADERS is embedded in the Ghanaian cultural schema. Leaders are seen as PARENTS, and they are given the responsibility to protect family resources—what belongs to all. Rawlings thus earns for himself the strict father who has the responsibility to protect miscreants from looting the national coffers. As the first President of the Fourth Republic, and after many accusations of people suffering military injustices under the rule of President Rawlings, he draws on the country's strength of collective responsibility by his use of the personal pronouns 'our' and 'we' to help him persuade the people to accept the stringent measures that the institutions established to help curb corruption had put in place. This collective responsibility is also captured in speeches by the other three presidents (JEAM, JDM and NADAA) of the Fourth Republic.

117. This government is always ready to cooperate with the media, and recognizes their watchdog role over society (JAK, 2006).

118. We must all support the fight against corruption (JDM SONA, 2015).

119. While we expose and fight corruption, we also tighten systems to ensure that existing loopholes are sealed to avoid a recurrence (JDM SONA, 2015).

120. As a way of strengthening institutions of state for the fight against corruption and provide [sic] the needed teeth to bite, the Serious Fraud Office (SFO) has been reengineered and named the Economic and Organised Crime Office (EOCO) with prosecutorial powers. (JEAM SONA, 2011).

It is “our fight” and “we expect the Serious Fraud Office” to intensify its prosecution of the cases. In order to save the face of the “alleged culprits”, their names are not mentioned for the sake of the NATION AS FAMILY and the culture of collective responsibility. Once he addresses the

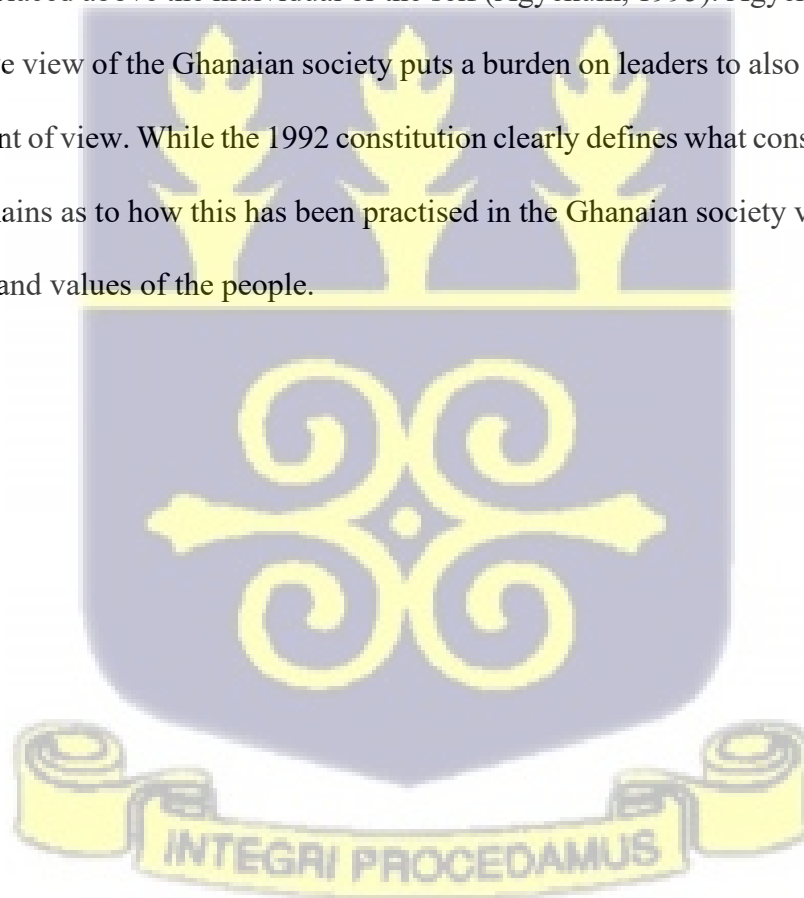
nation as family with a common goal, he automatically becomes the FATHER OF THE NATION, thereby arrogating to himself such powers and responsibilities. The choice of metaphors employed by the presidents enables them to persuade and mobilise potential voters. The above confirms the observations of Polzenhagen and Wolf (2021) that community members are viewed as kin while leaders are seen as parents. Within this NATION AS FAMILY, however, there are divisions in the fight against corruption. This notwithstanding, the metaphor may be extended as COMMUNITY AS FAMILY AGAINST POLITICAL OPPONENTS, THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION and CORRUPTION AS A COMMON ENEMY OF THE NATION.

### 6.2.1 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have looked at how the metaphorical conceptualisations employed by the presidents reflect the culture of the people of Ghana and their understanding of corruption. Firstly, it has been found that the presidents largely draw on the notions of personhood and community to talk about corruption. These notions are explored by the presidents to gain legitimacy and to achieve personhood. Secondly, it is observed that the Presidents do not only employ indirectness to save the face of the nation, the party and their personal faces, but they also anonymise the actors of corruption in order to mystify the persons involved. Obscurity is explored through the metaphorical conceptualisations to, perhaps, cover up persons who may be responsible for certain acts of corruption, the nation and themselves. Thirdly, it has been realised that the choices that the presidents employ in conceptualising corruption do not only depend on their cultural schemas but that these choices are made depending on the party in power and whether they took over from an opponent or it is the same party handing over power from one president to another. For instance, when President Agyekum Kufuor took power from Jerry John Rawlings, he described

CORRUPTION AS A LEGACY. This may be mainly because he took overpower from an opponent, the NDC government. I refer to this as a discourse strategy of power shift. When President J.D. Mahama took overpower from President J.E.A. Mills, he dominantly employed the DISEASE metaphor.

The linguistic labels used by the presidents of the Fourth Republic to conceptualise corruption may be pointing to cultural schemas that underpin their sociocultural understanding of the phenomenon. The concept of corruption as defined by the 1992 Constitution of Ghana appears to be inherently contradictory to the socio-cultural beliefs, values, and practices of Ghana, where the common good of the people is placed above the individual or the self (Agyekum, 1995). Agyekum (2004) argues that the collective view of the Ghanaian society puts a burden on leaders to also view and act from a collectivist point of view. While the 1992 constitution clearly defines what constitutes corruption, the question remains as to how this has been practised in the Ghanaian society vis-a-vis the socio-cultural beliefs, and values of the people.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### ATTITUDES, VALUES, BELIEFS AND POLITICAL STANCE IN THE SONAs

#### 7.1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter answers the third research question of this study: What do the metaphors used by presidents reflect about their attitudes, beliefs, and values on corruption? Its overarching goal, therefore, is to determine how the presidents' metaphorical conceptualisations of corruption potentially reflect their individual attitudes, values, beliefs, as well as their political stance on corruption. To enable me to realise this goal, I examined the metaphorical conceptualisations that were used by the presidents to conceptualise corruption, its causes, effects, and solutions. I focused on the metaphorical conceptualisations within the context and environment in which they were used. I did not uproot them for analysis from the context in which they were used in the speeches. Instead, the metaphors were examined in relation to the trajectory over the period under study and the shared background knowledge which the presidents relied on to make these metaphorical conceptualisations. Also, the metaphorical conceptualisations were graded into mild, medium, and strong (Hank, 2006; Muller & Tag, 2010), and they were investigated across the discourse events to help to further identify how they reflect the attitudes, values, and beliefs of the presidents within the period under study. A metaphor that evokes the domain of violence may be described as a strong while one that merely describes may be considered as medium or weak depending on the context of use.

To further strengthen the analysis in this chapter, I rely on the argument that “to understand metaphor, ...we need to understand it in language use” (Cameron, 2007, p. 109) and that “metaphor is dialogic and it is designed for others” (Bahktin, 1981, p. x). These ‘others’ may be

people who are co-present, as it occurs in a conversation, or people whom the writer intends to communicate with. The SONAs have an intended audience (the people of Ghana) and so they are analysed with these audiences and their shared background knowledge in mind. With this in mind, While doing this, I identified the patterns that emerged (the systematic metaphors) and how they have been used to describe corruption over the period under study. I concluded the chapter by comparing metaphorical conceptualisations used by presidents from the two political parties to project their party ideologies. Finally, the chapter is closed with a summary of findings.

#### 7.1.2 COMPLEX DYNAMIC SYSTEMS UNDERLYING METAPHORICAL CONCEPTUALISATIONS

To fully unravel the embodied dynamics of metaphor, Muller and Tag (2010) propose that there is the need to focus on the gradability of the metaphors not as lexical items or elements of thought but in the dynamic nature of the metaphors as they are situated in the cultural world of the speakers. Thus, my interest lies in the interactional goals that the presidents achieve with their metaphorical conceptualisations. I assume that as political leaders, there are hidden or undisclosed ideologies which influence their metaphor choices as observed in the preceding chapters. Attitudes towards corruption are revealed through the choice of metaphor since “metaphors may have an affective function” (Cameron et al., 2009, p. 235). I examined the metaphors from three theoretical perspectives on corruption. Firstly, I looked at how corruption as a phenomenon has been conceptualised; for example, “*corruption is a canker*”. To achieve this, the metaphorical conceptualisation of corruption was studied in relation to how the presidents react to corruption by examining the metaphors employed in their speeches. I also examined the metaphorical choices they make in their discussion of solutions to the problem of corruption; for example, “*We will*

*provide the necessary teeth to bite*". Secondly, we studied the metaphorical conceptualisation from the perspective of the metaphor choices employed by the presidents while grouping them to find patterns that emerge in the speeches of each president. Finally, I compared the choices according to the presidents and the political parties.

It is important to note that I have extracted the metaphors from the texts and arranged them in the order in which they occur in the speeches only to help me to trace their use in the selected speeches. Extracting the metaphors does not mean I take the metaphors and interpret them out of context. As required by DDM, which was discussed in Chapter 3, the metaphorical conceptualisations are constantly linked to the text and interpreted as such. This is to say that the first metaphor in the table occurred first. This is done in line with the methodological procedures of the metaphor-led discourse analysis as proposed by Cameron (2007).

A system is said to be a complex system if it has many different types of agents or elements which interact through different types of relations or connections (Cameron, 2007, p. 110). There is a dynamic process as the discourse event progresses. This is achieved by the speaker (presidents) through introducing metaphors while interpreting the words of other speakers and adapting their own words and ideas to suit their intentions and emotions as the discourse progresses. As pointed out by Cameron (2007), the metaphor choice that was made at the beginning of a speech may change, disappear or reappear at a latter part of the talk often in a slightly different form. The impact of metaphors in the discourse event can be tracked from the beginning of the talk "to know their past and their future, and beyond the talk into the on-going lives of the participants" (Cameron, 2007, p. x).

While the complexity lies in the different kinds of relations between the linguistic items or elements, the dynamic systems lie in the ever-changing elements and the relations that exist among

them. These elements include the linguistic elements: “in a human discourse system, elements might include language items that people use and the meanings they construct for them” (Cameron, 2007, p. 110).

It is important to refer to chapter 3 where I discuss the two theoretical frameworks that guide this study to state that I do not only look at metaphor as it is theorised in other frameworks such as CMT where metaphors are mappings from a source domain to a target domain. What discourse dynamics to metaphor analysis focuses on is to find conceptualisations of phenomena and how they change as a discourse event progresses. What may have started as a conventional metaphor may change by the end of the discourse. In some cases, the conceptualisations are described as metaphorical based on the context of usage, in terms of what might have been said earlier or later in the discourse. For instance, what a president calls a DISEASE in his/her first term of office may change to a seemingly neutral linguistic item like CONCERN with both metaphorical conceptualisations referring to the same phenomenon of corruption.

In the sections that follow, I discuss each president’s metaphorical conceptualisation of corruption in the period under study. I trace the conceptualisations in each speech vis-a-vis the president’s term of office. This helps me to unravel the complex dynamics that underlie the metaphorical conceptualisations.

### 7.1.3 CORRUPTION AS SEEN BY PRESIDENT J.J. RAWLINGS

To contextualise our discussion in this section, I refer to Chapter 5 where I provided a background to President J.J. Rawlings and his terms of office. President Rawlings came to the limelight of Ghanaian politics for the first time as an unsuccessful coup maker. He led a military coup against

the ruling government because of excessive corruption in all sectors of the country. People hailed him for his bravery in trying to liberate the people from a poverty which, he said, was caused by corrupt individuals. The ‘excesses’ of President J.J. Rawlings in cleaning the system are explained by him unapologetically in the following excerpt from his June 1993 speech to commemorate the June 4<sup>th</sup> celebrations. This annual celebration marks the military coup which President J.J. Rawlings led in 1979 to rid the nation of corrupt leaders and citizens.

*What took place on that day and the following three months was a great cry of anger against those individuals and institutions which had failed to stem the tide of all-pervading corruption, ineptitude and injustice which was steadily strangling our people, or had pretended, from their secure and comfortable vantage-points, that it did not exist.”* (June 4<sup>th</sup>, 1993; speech by Jerry John Rawlings)

I draw on this background knowledge to discuss and interpret President J.J. Rawlings’ metaphorical conceptualisation of corruption. Corruption as a phenomenon in the speeches of President J.J. Rawlings is largely conceptualised as a FIGHT and DISEASE, and referred to by euphemisms such as fraud, embezzlement, tax evasion, and misappropriation (see table 7.1).

**TABLE 157.1: PRESIDENT JERRY JOHN RAWLINGS'S METAPHORS**

Year	President	Metaphors	Frequency
2000	JJ	ALLEGATIONS	2
		FIGHT	1
		DISEASE	1

From Table 7.1, the topic of corruption is first conceptualised with the metaphor FIGHT. This creates the idea that the president has a lot of resentment for corruption. The dynamics of the President's point of view on the topic of corruption changes gradually as he moves on to describe the phenomenon as a CASE. This may be a signal to the toning down of his resentment for corruption as he switches from the earlier metaphor — FIGHT — by which he conceptualised corruption as an enemy, to using a neutral element such as CASE. The excerpts below illustrate this.

120. “In our fight against corruption and protection of public and private property and lawful investment, the Serious Fraud Office in 1999 extended its search light to a number of institutions in the country” (JJR SONA, 2000).

121. “We expect that the Serious Fraud Office will intensify its prosecution of the cases where they have recommended prosecution of alleged culprits” (JJR SONA, 2000).

Here, corruption is metaphorically understood as an issue to be solved through the legal system; hence, corruption is no longer an enemy. This reduces the effect of the first metaphor — FIGHT, which creates a strong image of the struggle to overcome corruption. Again, corruption is metaphorically conceptualised as something that is faceless, and the participants are not specified, and their guilt is implicitly questioned — “alleged culprits”.

As the discourse progresses, the President shifts from the first two metaphor (FIGHT) to use the DISEASE metaphor. Here, we are able to infer that he evokes this metaphor to help him to frame a national understanding that corruption makes the nation vulnerable. We may say that this posturing reveals an attitude of concern. He further changes the trajectory with the discourse dynamics when he describes corruption by using euphemisms such as MISAPPROPRIATIONS,

FRAUD, and EMBEZZLEMENT. The complex dynamic system lies in the shifts and changes that occur in choices of metaphor.

The DISEASE metaphor, as already discussed, puts the burden of victimhood on the nation. The attitude of President J.J. Rawlings to corruption seems to point to doubt in the national systems put in place to check corruption. The President shifts responsibility from himself as the President to assume an ordinary citizen's role in the choice of the pronoun 'we' which suggests an inclusivity and common responsibility towards fighting corruption. But again, he uses this pronoun 'we' in a way that puts him in the same situation as ordinary Ghanaians who suffer the effect of corruption daily. The President shifts the responsibility of fighting corruption to the Serious Fraud Office. The ideas of President J.J. Rawlings, which were raised in the earlier metaphors discussed, shift further to emphasise his attitude towards corruption. This attitude is no longer one of shifting responsibility but one that creates the impression that he has lost faith in the systems created by the constitution to check corruption. This includes institutions such as the Serious Fraud Office and others in the legal system — the courts and the judiciary. We see this in his conceptualisation of corruption as a DISEASE which cannot be diagnosed by the Ghana medical system but requires foreign intervention:

120. "Government on its part has extended an invitation to the World Bank to collaborate in conducting a diagnostic study on corruption in Ghana and how this can be mitigated, if not eradicated" (JJR SONA, 2000).

He believes that the nation is 'sick' with a kind of disease (corruption) that requires foreign intervention. It can be inferred from his use of the DISEASE metaphor that he finds the nation in a sick condition and, as an extended metaphor, the "health sector" in Ghana is itself considered not healthy enough to manage this critical situation. This is presented to Ghanaians as a situation

of hopelessness which, by extension, describes the negative attitude of the President towards corruption.

The speeches of President J.J. Rawlings reveal that he believes corruption is something caused by the lack of effectiveness in the systems that have been established to prevent it, as shown in excerpt 120 which reveal the President's negative attitude towards curbing corruption. I make this inference from the fact that I do not see the President emphasising measures that have been taken by his government to make individuals accountable to the people of Ghana. The persons involved are nameless and faceless. In instances where institutions are mentioned, they too are nameless, as in "the Serious Fraud Office in 1999 extended its search light to a number of institutions in the country" (JJR SONA, 2000).

This creates the impression that the President sees himself as part of the solution to corruption. This deduction is made from his choice of the pronoun 'our' in "our fight against corruption". Identifying with the solution helps him to sound persuasive. It also helps him to identify with the people and their challenges. What he believes in is a property-owning society though his party is, to a large extent, a socialist party. The responsibility to manage these properties, be they public or private, is shifted from government to the Serious Fraud Office (SFO). The SFO and the "cases" are metaphorically humanised. While the SFO is given the ability to carry a "searchlight" to reveal the hidden practices of persons involved in acts of corruption, the cases are treated as though they were humans who should stand trial for perpetrating corruption. Even though in legal discourse cases are brought against humans, the choice of CASES allows the President to reduce the emphasis on the persons involved in the corrupt acts, thereby shifting focus. Once again, corruption is conceptualised as something that is faceless, and the social actors are concealed. We see the persuasive effect of his metaphor choices, and this can be described as a strategy to deface the

persons involved and thereby reduce the guilt of the past, where persons who were accused of corruption suffered various degrees of brutality under the rule of President J.J. Rawlings.

The choice of the dynamic metaphor, ‘searchlight’, reveals the President’s understanding that corruption is a hidden act. The metaphor of CONCEALMENT is once again evoked here to tell us about the nature of corruption. The persons involved are later referred to as ‘ghost’ in JDM SONA, 2015.

Conceptualising corruption as a DISEASE tells us that President J.J. Rawlings sees corruption as an invasion of the “body of the nation.” The solution proffered by him to the nation is for foreign intervention from international bodies such as the “World Bank to collaborate in conducting a diagnostic study on corruption in Ghana” (JJ SONA, 2000). The solution to corruption is metaphorised, signalling the value placed on foreign intervention rather than looking within for solutions. The idea of seeking foreign interventions for local problems comes up strongly in this metaphor. The values, attitudes, and beliefs of President J.J. Rawlings, as reflected in his metaphor choices in conceptualising corruption, indicate that while he sees corruption as an ‘enemy’ of the nation, he does not demonstrate a strong will to deal with it. This is found in his use of euphemisms., Again, his choice of ‘case’ to describe corruption helps him to objectify corruption while the “alleged culprits” who are persons with identifiable names and positions are concealed. He uses euphemisms to conceptualise corruption as in “contract fraud, embezzlement, tax evasion, and misappropriation”, thereby trivialising this kind of corruption.

In this section, I conclude that President J.J. Rawlings’s metaphor choices potentially reflect his individual attitudes, values, beliefs, and political positioning towards corruption as both negative and weak in dealing with the phenomenon.

121. “37 cases of serious fraud investigated by the SFO in the areas of contract fraud, embezzlement, tax evasion and misappropriation involved an amount of about ø [sic]9.5 billion out of which about ø[sic] 2.2 billion has so far been recovered” (JJ SONA, 2000).

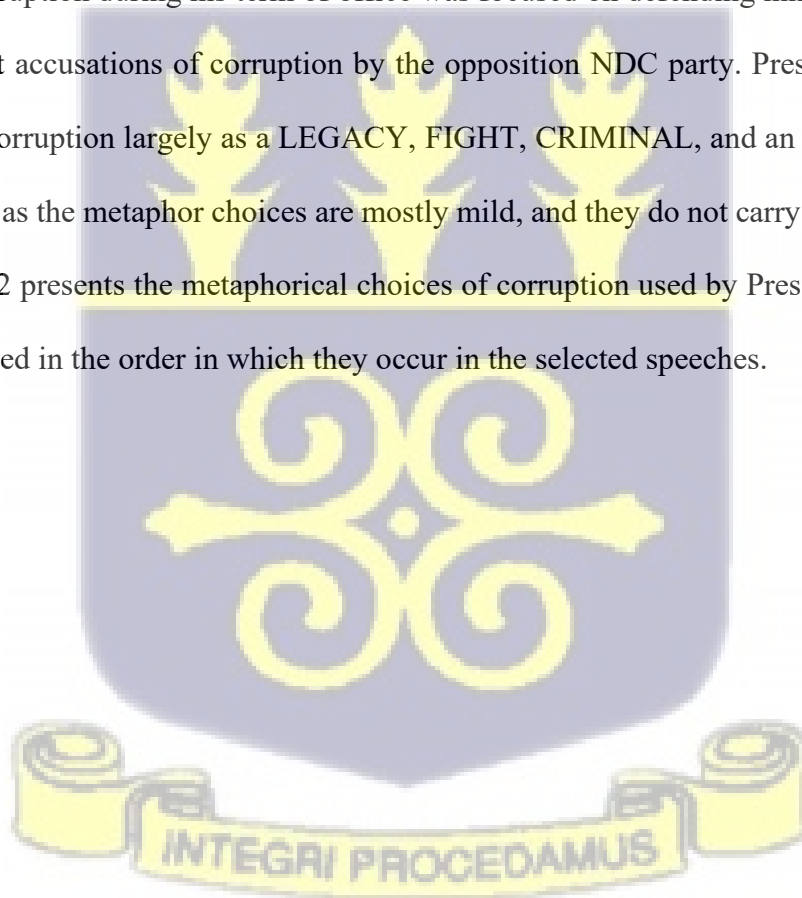
When we relate his metaphor choices over the period under study to the discourse topic of corruption as informed by the discourse dynamic approach to metaphors, it is revealed that he uses these metaphorical conceptualisations to positively project his image though we do not see much determination by him to win the metaphorical fight against corruption. He also develops an attitude of indifference and a semblance of tolerance over the period. A visualisation showing when in his term he used what metaphors would be helpful. The use of the term “recovered” once again points to the President’s attitude of considering the nation as ‘sick’ with corruption. This inference is made by linking this conceptualisation to his earlier call for a diagnosis for Ghana in relation to corruption. Also, the President dissociates himself completely from the problem and rather places the causes and effects squarely on the people of Ghana.

#### 7.1.4 CORRUPTION AS SEEN BY PRESIDENT JOHN AGYEKUM KUFUOR

President J.A. Kufuor, as discussed in the previous chapter, was the second president of the Fourth Republic, and he came to power as the first democratically elected opposition party leader. I refer to Chapter 5 once again to provide a background to his metaphorical choices used in conceptualising corruption. There seems to be a socio-cultural, political, historical, and ideological context which potentially influences his metaphorical choices. The circumstance that surrounded his election as president of Ghana included a vigorous political campaign, a revulsion for

corruption and his political posturing in terms of corruption, which showed that he tried to put in place systems to check corruption. In the earlier chapters, I gave a brief description of the person of President J.A. Kufuor to contextualise his metaphor choices in conceptualising corruption. In this chapter, I draw on the context provided earlier to analyse how President J.A. Kufuor's conceptualisation of corruption potentially reflects his attitude, values and beliefs and his political posturing towards corruption.

He uses various metaphor choices to conceptualise corruption; this points to his effort to defend his political campaign message which was popularly known as POSITIVE CHANGE. The discourse on corruption during his term of office was focused on defending himself and his party members against accusations of corruption by the opposition NDC party. President J.A. Kufuor conceptualises corruption largely as a LEGACY, FIGHT, CRIMINAL, and an ENEMY. He uses such metaphors, as the metaphor choices are mostly mild, and they do not carry much urgency for action. Table 7.2 presents the metaphorical choices of corruption used by President J.A. Kufuor. They are presented in the order in which they occur in the selected speeches.



**TABLE 167.2: METAPHOR CHOICES OF PRESIDENT J.A. KUFUOR ACROSS SPEECHES**

Year	President	Metaphor	Metaphor Grouping	Frequency
2001	JAK	<i>Economic FRONT</i>	<i>WAR TOPOGRAPHY</i>	1
		<i>LEGACY</i>	<i>LEGACY</i>	1
		<i>LEGACY</i>	<i>CRIMINAL</i>	1
		<i>CONFRONT</i>	<i>FIGHT</i>	1
				Total=4
2006	JAK	<i>FIGHT</i>	<i>FIGHT</i>	1
		<i>PROSECUTE/ CHARGES ALLEGATIONS</i>	<i>CRIMINAL</i>	5
		<i>CONCERNS</i>	<i>CONCERNS</i>	1
		<i>STORIES</i>	<i>STORIES</i>	1
				Total =8
2008	JAK	<i>FIGHT</i>	<i>WAR</i>	1
		<i>ALLY</i>	<i>ENEMY</i>	1
		<i>REVELATIONS</i>	<i>CONCEALED</i>	1
		<i>CONCERNS</i>	<i>CONCERNS</i>	1
		<i>MERE CONCERNS</i>	<i>MERE CONCERNS</i>	1
		<i>PROSECUTE CASES</i>	<i>CRIMINAL</i>	1
				Total = 6

Source: Author, 2023

The attitudinal force of the metaphor choices employed in the speeches in relation to corruption changes with the discourse activity over the years. President J.A. Kufuor, in his first term of office, frames corruption as a LEGACY and further elaborates this idea with metaphorical conceptualisations such as CRIMINAL and FIGHT. These metaphors potentially present the President's idea that corruption is a form of social injustice passed down from the previous government not only to him and his party as a new government but also to the nation. The disappointment of the situation is suggested in his metaphorical allusion to poor governance and mismanagement in the previous administration:

122. "The legacy we have inherited on the economic front is daunting" (JAK SONA, 2001).

In metaphorising the economic front as 'daunting', President J.A. Kufuor evaluates the fight against corruption as well as President J.J. Rawlings and his administration as unsuccessful. He uses the opportunity to suggest that his administration is beginning on the note of a national debt by emphatically metaphorising the inheritance of the nation as one that is negatively overwhelming. The basic meaning of 'legacy' as defined in the Oxford English Dictionary is, "money or property that is given by someone when they die". This gives us that impression that legacy connotes something positive. However, the president's use of the word 'LEGACY' could only be metaphorical considering the adjective 'daunting' which is used to qualify 'legacy'.

Similarly, the previous government, by this, is presented as having failed while the new administration is presented as hopeful or promising. The President promises to build the economy of Ghana from its foundations. The use of the word 'legacy' as a metaphor imposes on Ghanaians the task of evoking a shared background knowledge of the campaign message which President J.A. Kufuor used to win power. The message was a promise to build a vibrant economy.

In public political discourse, figurative expressions used by one participant are often followed up and ‘countered’ by other participants through ironical and/or sarcastic allusions or quotations, which are aimed at denouncing the preceding version and/or deriving a new, contrarian conclusion from it (Musolff, 2017, p. 95).

123. “Mismanagement, mass unemployment, low wages, high cost of living, a rapidly depreciating currency, a colossal national debt, high dependency on foreign aid, as well as declining educational and health opportunities, extensive corruption in public life, a cowed and demoralized private sector, hopelessness and despair — this is the legacy of the last ten decades” (JAK SONA, 2001).

124. “This is the legacy of the last ten decades” (JAK SONA, 2001).

The metaphor choices of the President in conceptualising corruption signal a negative othering while fronting his political party as one of hope-giving though subtly warning the populace not to expect much in terms of the economy because of the “embezzlement, tax evasion and misappropriation” alluded to by President J.J. Rawlings in his 2000 SONA. The statement, “-this is the legacy of the last ten decades” (JAK SONA, 2001), is very important to my analysis. Its short length clearly distinguishes it from the previous sentence. He makes an emphatic statement by exploring the use of metaphor and by using a declarative speech act. The use of both forms signals his aversion for corruption and helps him to appeal to the cultural schema of the people and their understanding of a legacy.

The idea of common resources of the nation that should be fairly distributed among the people is evoked. The previous government is thus metaphorically presented as “someone making use of the country as a trophy for feeding” (Bratu & Kažoka, 2018). The discourse dynamics to metaphor

enables me to make this trace of the discourse topic from the previous administration to the present one while trying to find the systematic metaphor. The notion of hope for the future is strengthened through strongly metaphorising this hope by framing it in the imagery of a vision. This vision was seen 40 years ago by one of the founding fathers of the New Patriotic Party (NPP).

124. Our Party's policy" he said, "is to liberate the energies of the people for the growth of a property-owning democracy in this land, with right to life, freedom and justice, as the principles to which the Government and laws should be dedicated, in order, specifically, to enrich life, property and liberty, of each and citizen (JAK SONA, 2001).

The values of the President at this point in the discourse is to seek the mandate of the people to liberate them from CORRUPTION AS A LEGACY. This metaphorical choice illuminates the nature of corruption and the fact that it affects whole nations. We also see that the President values individual wealth.

With this attitude of promising economic liberation for the people, he also explores a metaphor choice to conceptualise corruption as CONCEALED. This is metaphorised in the excerpt:

125. "Clearly, the institutions that should have acted as watchdogs to confront the problems of inefficiency and corruption as they arose, failed catastrophically" (JAK SONA, 2001).

Metaphorising with the vehicle term, 'acted as watchdogs' and evoking the aggression of the metaphor "confront" in combination with the deontic modality, used in this excerpt, helps the President to positively project himself as a good leader who has the well-being of the people at heart.

President J.A. Kufuor tries to present his point of view on the accusations levelled against his ministers and himself. He moves from corruption as a legal issue and returns to it only after

conceptualising it as cowardice on the part of journalists and other politicians who fail to directly confront him on the accusation of using government funds to maintain his private residence. Through the discourse dynamics to metaphor, one can identify a connected set of metaphors (WATCHDOGS, CONFRONT) and these metaphor choices prompt us to go back to the discourse event to closely examine how their discursive functions help the President to assert, resist, and negotiate the issue of corruption. He further tries to question the reasoning behind the attitude of his accusers and extends the metaphor further by drawing on the image of WAR with reference to the ECONOMIC FRONT as daunting.

126. “There’s no denying the media’s rights to publish stories of corruption” (JAK SONA, 2006).

127. “This government is always ready to cooperate with the media and recognizes their watchdog role over society” (JAK SONA, 2006).

The CONCERNS and STORIES conceptualisations appear to be powerless since they do not fully support his views and intentions about how corruption should be dealt with through the judicial system. The metaphorical use of “ally” immediately makes his political opponents’ enemies in the fight against corruption. The key discourse topic of corruption, as the President progresses in his speeches over the years, remains the same though it is conceptualised differently with different degrees of metaphors.

128. “I am happy to report that the fight against corruption, which is an affront to good governance, has found a new ally in Parliament” (JAK SONA, 2008).

By the end of JAK's first term of office, he had become less harsh in his address of the topic. He moves from the strongest WAR metaphors such as CONFRONT to other mild metaphor conceptualisations such as LEGACY, and CHARGES.

By 2006, the strong metaphor choices which were used to conceptualise corruption in President JAK's first term of office (2001-2004) had begun to give way to mild or medium metaphor choices. In JAK's 2006 SONA, corruption is conceptualised as a CHARGE, and we observe that there is a great shift in his attitude towards corruption. In this SONA, corruption is treated as a footnote though still conceptualised as something to fight.

. He states:

129. "Mr. Speaker, I am not about to forget the subject of corruption and the perception that government is not doing enough to fight it" (JAK SONA, 2006).

Immediately after this statement, agency is shifted from the self as President to focus on government as a body responsible for fighting corruption. The choice of CHARGES as metaphors to conceptualise corruption over other metaphor choices such as DISEASE and WAR, which are strong metaphor choices with the ability to highlight the attributes of the phenomenon, reveals that the President's values on corruption had dropped. The metaphor choices reveal the new attitude of the President towards corruption. The phenomenon is no longer life-threatening to the socio-economic development of the people and so there is no urgent need for interventions. Corruption in the new choices is not concretised but further abstracted or literalised, thereby mitigating the effect of the phenomenon. As seen in table 7.2 above, we realise that corruption is conceptualised as CHARGES, ALLEGATIONS, CONCERNS, STORIES and a SUBJECT.

130. Mr. Speaker, I am not about to forget the subject of corruption and the perception that government is not doing enough to fight it (JAK SONA, 2006).

131. “There’s no denying the media’s rights to publish stories of corruption” (JAK SONA, 2006).

132. “But it is also fair that when there is an allegation of corruption made against people in government...” (JAK SONA, 2006).

The discourse dynamic metaphor that emerges is CORRUPTION AS A PROBLEM OF THE JUDICIARY.

In excerpt 131 above, the FIGHT metaphor choice abruptly gives way to a reference to stories, which shifts the energy and force with which he framed corruption in the past. Agency is removed and we do not know who the culprits are. I infer from this that the President begins to develop cold feet about solving the problem of corruption. The framing that follows the sentences suggests some tolerance on the part of the President to corrupt practices and this is framed as only a SUBJECT OF ALLEGATIONS FOR THE JUDICIARY’S ATTENTION. The attitude of President J.A. Kufuor in his second term of office is similar to that of President J.J. Rawlings in his final term of office. President J.A. Kufuor, like his predecessor, President J.J. Rawlings, discursively metaphorises the causes of corruption as a weakness in the system. The values of President J.A. Kufuor in defending and liberating the nation from corruption shifts to defending himself from accusations of corruption from the populace. The most striking point here is that President J.A. Kufuor tries to get the people to think about corruption from the perspective of the accused while he forgets that he had himself accused other political leaders in the past. Metaphorically, corruption is conceptualised as (mis)application of state funds by J.A. Kufuor when says:

133. "... I had applied state funds to effect adjustments to my private residence" (JAK SONA, 2006).

In this speech, I observe that the President has the task of re-establishing his credibility with the people who voted for him to overthrow the previous government, which he had accused of leaving CORRUPTION AS A LEGACY. It is also a burden on him to convince the voting public in anticipation of national elections.

As the trajectory on corruption progresses in the discourse event, once again President J.A. Kufuor conceptualises the solution to corruption as a problem to be solved by the Judiciary. He achieves this through vehicle contrast, a feature of vehicle shifting. The vehicle term LEGACY is abandoned by the President and in its place the non-metaphoric concepts CONCERNS and CASES are used. Corruption is no longer portrayed as an aggressive invader but a victim who needs to be heard in court. The strong metaphor choices that portrayed a militaristic approach to solving corruption give way to metaphorising corruption in a way that the balance of powers shifts. The President, his political party and its leaders are presented as vulnerable agents whom society 'falsely' accuses. The president's attitudes, values, and beliefs change. Corruption is conceptualised with metaphors such as REVELATIONS are referred to as CASES and MERE CONCERNS as shown in the following excerpts.

134. "The Committee's proactive stance demonstrates appreciation that concerns about corruption are more helpful when they go beyond mere complaints". (JAK SONA, 2008)

In the final year of J.A. Kufuor's tenure of office in 2008, there is the mixture of all metaphors: weak, medium, and strong metaphors. The continuum of metaphor choices across the spectrum gives us the impression that the President values corruption differently and that the choices allow

him to present corruption in ways that neither exonerate nor implicate him and/or his government. The metaphor choices include WAR, CONCEALED, CONCERNS, MERE COMPLAINTS AND CRIMINAL.

135. “The Committee’s proactive stance demonstrates appreciation that concerns about corruption are more helpful when they go beyond mere complaints”. (JAK SONA, 2008)

136. “The Attorney-General’s Department has set up an Anti-Corruption Unit to study the recommendations, to prosecute cases that need to be prosecuted” (JAK SONA, 2008).

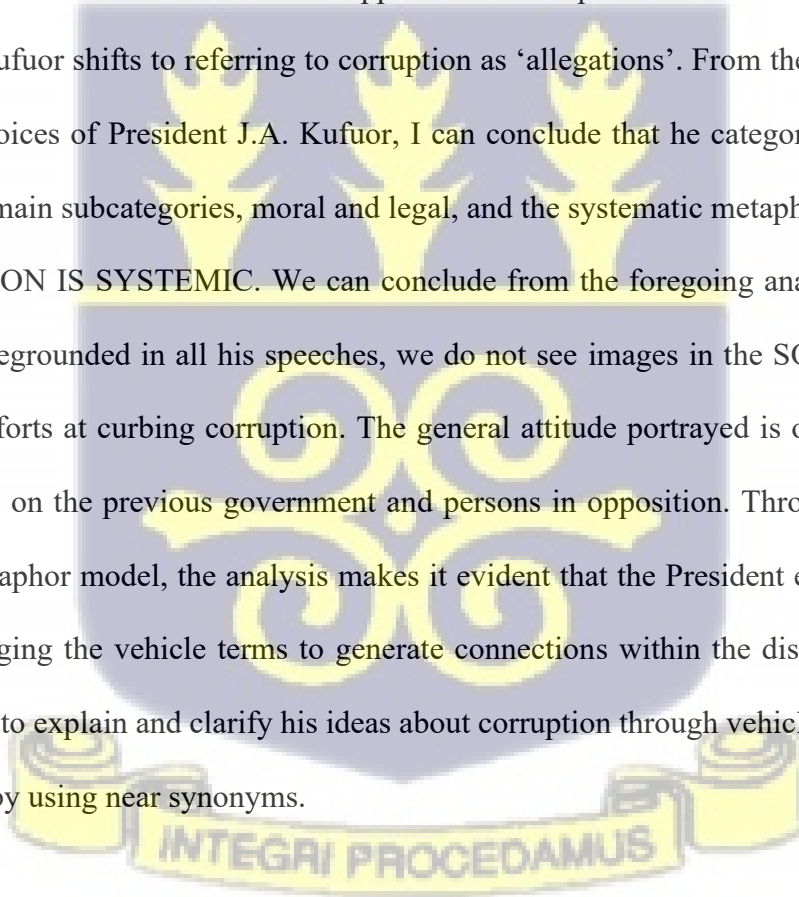
After evaluating J.A. Kufuor’s metaphor choices in conceptualising corruption, we found out that he presents himself and his political party as compassionate, caring, in touch with the feelings of the people and a repository of knowledge that should be tapped to solve the problem of corruption. His government is also presented as collectivist and as a government whose ideology is to promote a property-owning democracy. The populace and the economy, on the other hand, are framed as vulnerable, at risk of losing what rightfully belongs to them, and as neglected by the previous government. The previous government, from my analysis, is evaluated by JAK as looting, uncaring, individualistic, and neglecting the needs of the people. The opposition is described as “a new ally to corruption in parliament” (JAK SONA, 2008). In subtle ways, the President uses the metaphor to suggest that there are some persons who are supposedly powerful and lend support to persons found culpable in acts of corruption. The metaphors prefigure the President’s attitudes, beliefs, and values on corruption, as shown below:

136. “Clearly, the institutions that should have acted as watchdogs to confront the problems of inefficiency and corruption as they arose, failed catastrophically” (JAK SONA, 2001).

He also finds the mode of reporting on corruption both unprofessional and cowardly.

137. “But it is also fair that when there is an allegation of corruption made against people in government, media people should go directly to the police, not the president” (JAK SONA, 2006).

The mention of “watchdogs to confront the problems of inefficiency and corruption” and the immediately afterwards describing these ‘watchdogs’ as having failed catastrophically, creates the impression that there is a blame game which the President intends to play. He dismisses the ‘allegations. There is vehicle shifting such that the vehicle term WATCHDOGS which helps to frame corruption as something criminal, is relexicalized and literalised to ALLEGATION. The enthusiasm which characterised his earlier approach to corruption is seen to dwindle. By 2006, President J.A. Kufuor shifts to referring to corruption as ‘allegations’. From the analysis done on the metaphor choices of President J.A. Kufuor, I can conclude that he categorises corruption in Ghana into two main subcategories, moral and legal, and the systematic metaphor that emerges is that CORRUPTION IS SYSTEMIC. We can conclude from the foregoing analysis that, though corruption is foregrounded in all his speeches, we do not see images in the SONAs, pointing to governmental efforts at curbing corruption. The general attitude portrayed is one of a trajectory that shifts blame on the previous government and persons in opposition. Through the discourse dynamics to metaphor model, the analysis makes it evident that the President employs metaphor shifting by changing the vehicle terms to generate connections within the discourse event. The President is able to explain and clarify his ideas about corruption through vehicle relexicalization, and explication by using near synonyms.



### 7.1.5 CORRUPTION AS SEEN BY PRESIDENT JOHN EVANS ATTA MILLS

In earlier chapters, I gave a brief description of the person of President JEAM to contextualise his metaphor choices in conceptualising corruption. In this chapter, I draw on the context provided earlier to analyse how President J.E.A. Mills's conceptualisation of corruption potentially reflects his attitude, values and beliefs and his political posturing towards corruption.

President JEAM generally conceptualises corruption as a FIGHT, CONCEALMENT, WAR, and an ENEMY. He uses various metaphor choices to conceptualise corruption. Much of the discourse trajectory on corruption during his term of office was aimed at restoring dignity to the nation by ridding it of corruption through strong institutions. Corruption is conceptualised as SOMETHING THAT IS CONCEALED and, therefore, President J.E.A. Mills calls on various institutions to act fast.

138. "During this administration, we will address transparency through a three-dimensional approach." (source)

We can infer from excerpt 138 above that though the President does not categorically state that the previous administration concealed corruption, his reference to "this administration ... will address transparency" creates the impression that the previous government did not address the issue of corruption. Having been described largely in the Ghanaian media as 'Asomdwehene', which translates as "king of peace", we can state that he does not seek to be sarcastic but rather seeks to avoid confrontation by not directly mentioning the previous government as being inefficient in dealing with corruption.

Following President J.A. Kufuor's political posturing that corruption is systemic and that institutions have failed to check it, we can again infer that with President J.E.A. Mills's assumption

of power, he found it politically expedient to employ a metonymy to talk about government institutions and thereby give them the power to act. In excerpt 138, his concern about exposing corruption and the social actors of corruption further demonstrated an emphasis on “Transparency in government”.

139. “Transparency in government and the fight against corruption are cardinal for sustainable development” (JEAM SONA, 2009).

One is left with the impression that the President conceptualises anti-corruption as a tool for exposing corruption. The need to punish social actors of corruption is relegated to the background. The President conceptualises anti-corruption laws and guidelines as useful for sustainable development by saying that:

140. “Ensuring the passage of the Freedom of Information Act, Expediting the passing of a National Broadcasting Law, Elaboration of a Code of Conduct in Government that includes key information disclosure, ethics and anti-corruption measures” (JEAM SONA, 2009).

By 2011, the issue of corruption persisted, and we can infer from his metaphor choices in this context that stringent measures were put in place to “fight” corruption. The President, in 2011, demonstrates emotional attachment to the fight by describing it as “an issue close to [ his] heart”.

He says in his speech:

141. “Madam Speaker, one governance issue that will forever remain close to my heart, is the fight against corruption” (JEAM SONA, 2011).

Azure (2023) describes President JEAM as the least corrupt of the presidents of the Fourth Republic but also adds that President JEAM is the weakest in terms of the fight against corruption.

This is to say that though the President demonstrated a positive attitude to the “fight” against corruption, his metaphor choices only signalled an emotional fight instead of institutionalising anti-corruption measures.

142. Together these measures will enable both citizens and statutory Constitutional bodies to access the needed information to demand accountability from officeholders in the public and private sectors (JEAM SONA, 2009).

143. “As a way of strengthening institutions of state for the fight against corruption and provide[sic] the needed teeth to bite, the Serious Fraud Office (SFO) has been re-engineered and named the Economic and Organised Crime Office (EOCO) with prosecutorial powers” (JEAM SONA, 2011).

These anti-corruption measures are conceptualised as a means to revealing the concealed nature in which corruption has been practised in previous governments. Throughout the period under study, the metaphor choices used to conceptualise corruption is the WAR metaphor employed to call the nation to war against corruption. The President places a high value on anti-corruption and the role of civil society. He explores a collectivist approach as he makes it a national responsibility by including himself as President to say that:

144. “we will continue to cooperate with civil society and anti-corruption agencies to continue to wage a concerted war against corruption” (JEAM SONA, 2011).

The call to “wage a concerted war” on corruption signals the President’s desperate efforts at dealing with corruption to stop its effects on the nation. The President, by this call, positions himself as a war leader while the citizens are metaphorically conceptualised as soldiers. The nation becomes the battlefield with corruption as a common enemy to be exterminated. The anti-

corruption institutions become the war planners while their weapons for the war are the anti-corruption policies. Instead of individuation, which J.A. Kufuor explores to exclude himself and his party from blame and accusations of being corrupt, J.E.A. Mills identifies with the populace through an inclusive ‘we’ and calls for a “concerted war against corruption”.

Following the analysis of his 2012 speech, we realise that he softens his stance from the call to WAR to a call to “fight against corruption”. The vehicle term is shifted through relexicalization. Again, the President moves away from efforts to exposing corruption, to identifying institutions and their roles in the fight against corruption. This is achieved through vehicle literalisation, which means the metaphor choice FIGHT is used non-metaphorically in reference to the discourse topic, corruption. The phenomenon is thus made faceless, and the actors are not named nor shamed. There seem to be undertones of CONCEALMENT in how corruption is conceptualised. This concealment may have precedence in Akan language where corruption is described as *keteasihyɛ* — *The act of concealing things under the ‘mat’*.

144. Madam Speaker, one governance issue that will forever remain close to my heart, is the fight against corruption (JEAM SONA, 2011).

145. “the Judiciary as the institution of state with the mandate to dispense justice, and the Executive with the mandate to implement the law, must act as partners engaged in a collective effort to rid the country of corruption, drugs and other harmful activities” (JEAM SONA, 2012).

His zeal to solve the problem of corruption dwindles and gives way to an attitude of less determination to fight corruption. The President began with the metaphor FIGHT and then continued to WAGE WAR; he then returned to FIGHT and finally described his efforts at anti-

corruption campaign as an effort to “rid the country of corruption”. His attitude, beliefs, and values, like those of President J.J. Rawlings, and President J.A. Kufuor, changed as he travelled through the experience of being directly confronted with corruption. His metaphor choices are mainly focused on solutions to corruption (an anticorruption campaign) with little attention to what corruption is and its effects on society. He largely avoids a confrontational approach to the phenomenon of corruption. Though it does not seem there is a demand on President J.E.A. Mills to re-establish his credibility, there seems to be some pressure on him to protect and maintain his personal image and that of his political party, the NDC. We also find that the initial aversive attitude towards corruption gradually gives way to only making gentle appeals.

In building systematic metaphors for the vehicle terms selected by the President, we realised that the metaphor choices are structured in such a way that they do not attack individuals, who remain unnamed. Though President J.E.A. Mills took over from an opposition party, his metaphor choices focus on corruption as a negative phenomenon. The phenomenon is both objectified and humanised so that the President can hold institutions responsible for ensuring that corruption as a problem is solved. The President succeeds in creating resentment for corruption as an act. What one does not see is how his expression of resentment for corruption contributes to retrieving whatever the nation has lost since we do not receive reports on such transactions. This is quite different from his predecessor President J.A. Kufuor, who resorts to metaphor choices that subtly point at his opponents as corrupt while he exonerates his party fellows from corruption. Here, the President seems to suggest that corruption is an issue of othering (Sarfo-Kantankah & Arko, 2019) among parliamentarians in Ghana.

#### 7.1.6 CORRUPTION AS SEEN BY PRESIDENT JOHN DRAMANI MAHAMA (JDM)

President J.D. Mahama strove to dissociate himself from a predecessor who had been described as weak though peace-loving. He, as presented in Chapter 5, uses the highest number corruption-related clauses in his speeches. We see a highly emphatic turn in President J.D. Mahama's response to corruption as, unlike J.E.A. Mills in his later years, he describes corruption as a CANKER, a DISEASE, A ROTTEN THING and actions against it as a WAR. The imagery created using these metaphorical conceptualisations is typical of a crisis that calls for national concern.

The speeches of President JDM show his use of a lot more metaphorical conceptualisations as compared to his predecessors. The linguistic metaphors in President JDM's speeches are presented in the Table 7.4 below.



**TABLE 7.417: METAPHOR CHOICES OF PRESIDENT J.D. MAHAMA**

President	Year	Metaphor	Metaphor Grouping
JDM	2013	combat	WAR
		fight	FIGHT
		unacceptable phenomenon	UNACCEPTABLE PHENOMENON
		rot	DIRTY
JDM	2015	fight	FIGHT
		combat	WAR
		canker	DISEASE
		plague	DISEASE
		“tips and charges”	“TIPS and CHARGES”
		wanton misappropriation	SYSTEM
		encounter	PREVALENT
		bleeding	ANIMATE
		sit up	SYSTEM
		allegations	CRIMINAL
		investigations	CRIMINAL
		investigate	CRIMINAL
		matters	CRIMINAL

		expose	CONCEALED
		war	WAR
		high-risk activities	CRIMINAL
		menace	DISEASE
		fight	FIGHT
		investigate	CRIMINAL
		misappropriation	SYSTEM
		eliminate	SYSTEM
JDM	2016	illicit enrichment	SYSTEM
		canker	DISEASE
		disease	DISEASE
		enemy	WAR
		fight	FIGHT
		mobilise	WAR
		systemic indiscipline	SYSTEM
		tackle	SPORT
		fraudulent enterprise	SYSTEM

Source: Author, 2023

The analysis of the speeches of President JDM to know his attitudes, values, and beliefs towards corruption reveals that among the presidents of the Fourth Republic, he explores the dynamic potentialities of metaphor the most. He stretches and plays with metaphor choices to talk about the intricacies of corruption as a social phenomenon. He

metaphorically conceptualises corruption as a COMBAT which we group as WAR; he also uses FIGHT and ROT to conceptualise corruption in his first term of office. 146. “We would streamline and root out the rot that has become associated with the alienation of public lands” (JDM SONA, 2013).

It is observed that, like his predecessor, President J.E.A. Mills, JDM starts with the WAR metaphor and then meanders his way through the discourse event with the metaphorical conceptualisation of corruption as a FIGHT, A ROTTEN THING and UNACCEPTABLE BEHAVIOUR. These metaphorical conceptualisations also negatively evaluate the unhealthy situation of the nation and evokes the systematic metaphor of the NATION AS FILTHY WITH CORRUPTION. Framing CORRUPTION AS A ROTTEN THING is an effective imagery as most dominant languages in Ghana, particularly Akan, conceptualise corruption as such (Ansah, 2017). The use of the metaphor, A ROTTEN THING, resonates with “the rotten heart of Europe” (Musolff, 2017, p. 96) where Europe in the Brexit negotiations is conceptualised as irredeemably diseased. CORRUPTION AS A ROTTEN THING and as DIRT, as framed in JDM SONA, 2023 corroborates a similar metaphor framing as reported by Negro (2015) in the Spanish press reporting on corruption. However, in the case of Ghana, where the focus is on the act while the actors are defaced, in the Spanish situation, ROT describes the individual and the sordid nature of the act of corruption and not so much the sick condition of the nation. The powerful imagery evoked by the ROT/DIRT metaphor also stems from the Ghanaian cultural schema of daily sweeping, and cleaning of one’s compound, and surroundings and so the ROT metaphor potentially evokes the attitude of disgust and something totally unacceptable. Framing corruption as ROT by the President may also be influenced by the Akan conceptualisation where corruption is referred to as ROT (*prɔye*). SONA, 2013 is delivered as President Mahama’s first speech after

his predecessor, President J.E.A. Mills, passed on while serving his first term of office. The metaphor choices point to several things worth our attention. He evokes the FIGHT metaphor to try to explain how a metaphor that is used every day could be employed to draw attention to the need to cooperate as a nation in solving the problem of corruption.

147. “We will give impetus to the fight against corruption by strengthening the anti-corruption agencies and sanctioning culpable persons to serve as a deterrent to others” (JDM SONA, 2013).

148. “The work of the Sole Commissioner into judgement debts will help us bring to order an unacceptable phenomenon that has become a huge charge on the public debt” (JDM SONA, 2013).

In President JDM’s SONA of 2013, he had a huge task to establish his credibility with his party and the voting populace, having taken overpower after the sudden demise of his predecessor, President J.E.A. Mills. There was also an upcoming election at the time, which gives me the impression that his metaphor choices were potentially influenced by his political ambitions of winning the anticipated elections. The metaphorical conceptualisation of the measures to curb corruption as WAR (combat) invokes a militaristic approach to corruption although this metaphor choice in the discourse event is almost immediately followed by FIGHT, which evokes a less powerful image though it makes the phenomenon of corruption more real and less abstract to the people. The penchant for not specifying who the perpetrators of the acts of corruption really are can be observed in Mahama’s case too. These unidentified people are not made to respond to the law but rather the phenomenon is personified and “tackled”.

The President's metaphorical conceptualisations point to some persuasive strategies as the President at the time sought to be elected for a full term of office. Anti-corruption agencies and the Sole Commissioner are conceptualised as solutions to "a huge charge on the public". This thematic metaphor is repeated in a fuller way in the excerpts above in the work of the Sole Commissioner in relation to corruption as JUDGEMENT DEBTS and measures as BRING TO ORDER, and the whole idea of corruption reduced to an UNACCEPTABLE PHENOMENON with its effects only semantically framed as HUGE CHARGE ON THE PUBLIC DEBT. In the speech of President JDM in 2015 after winning the 2014 elections, he presents a strong and positive attitude towards exterminating corruption as a social phenomenon. Metaphorical conceptualisations such as FIGHT, WAR, DISEASE, CRIMINAL, and CONCEALED are used to frame corruption.

149. "Good governance, transparency and the fight against corruption form an integral part of the Agenda for Transformation" (JDM SONA, 2015).

150. "We must make every effort to sustain the achievements we have made over the years in promoting good governance, enhancing accountability and combating corruption" (JDM SONA, 2015).

A lexical chain or the systematic metaphor that emphasises the metaphorical conceptualisation of corruption as a physical fight can be identified in the following examples:

151. "...the fight against corruption by strengthening the anti-corruption agencies... the fight against corruption remains unshakable... combating corruption" (JDM SONA, 2015).

152. "We must all support the fight against corruption" (JDM SONA, 2015).

This short emphatic statement in 152 above, occurring in the middle of many long sentences, summarises the value which the President places on the need for a collectivist approach to “the fight against corruption”. We can infer at another metaphorical level that the President at this stage tries to shift from claiming to have the best solutions to the problem of corruption to empathising with Ghanaians, as we saw in his 2013 speech. The President’s desperate attitude to finding measures to stop corruption is expressed in his metaphorical conceptualisation, “Ghana is bleeding...” (JDM SONA, 2015). Though the imagery is powerful, its use by the President creates the impression that his government and the nation at large need urgent attention, thus creating the systematic metaphor CORRUPTION HAS PUT THE NATION IN NEED OF EMERGENCY CARE. This resonates with President Rawlings’s 2000 SONA in which the World Bank is invited to help diagnose Ghana in terms of its levels of corruption.

153. “Ghana is bleeding from all of these acts of mismanagement and malfeasance and leadership at all levels should take responsibility for their areas of oversight and will be made to do so” (JDM SONA, 2015).

We observe some level of persuasion aimed at winning the sympathy of the people of Ghana. This approach clearly contrasts the individualist approach as we find in:

155. “I have as President made strenuous efforts to expose, investigate and deal with matters of corruption within the constraints of the law” (JDM SONA, 2015).

The impression created here is that the President is arrogating to himself the singular effort at dealing with corruption, thereby endearing himself to the people by creating the image of a caring president who is ready to go to all lengths to provide solutions to corruption in the country. This

impression is contrasted with the sentence that follows almost immediately, which metaphorically conceptualises corruption as CONCEALED and as requiring a collective effort to expose it.

156. “Our efforts at exposing corruption may result in an erroneous belief that the practice is more pervasive now than before when in fact the reverse is the case as evidenced in our performance in recent TI reports” (JDM SONA, 2015).

In building metaphor groups, two fundamental messages can be created: CORRUPTION AS HIDDEN FROM THE LAW and characterises CORRUPTION AS SYSTEMATIC. The separate grouping is appropriate for revealing President J.D. Mahama’s attitude and values towards corruption. While the first one helps us to label the President as critically concerned about corruption and its effects on society, the second portrays the President as one who has almost given up on his ability to free the country from corruption. He appears to feel no differently about the institutions he presents in his 2013 and 2015 SONAs as capable of dealing with corruption since they have equally failed to deliver on their mandate to fight corruption.

As in:

157. “The institutions of State that are responsible for the task of investigating corruption must be strengthened legally and institutionally and I would like to invite Parliament to review the legal and institutional framework that supports the work of the investigative and prosecutorial agencies to enable them to live up to the expectations of an expectant and exasperated nation” (JDM SONA, 2015).

Corruption as a social phenomenon is abstracted throughout the speech without concretising it. By this, the President adopts a persuasive stance to win sympathy using metaphorical conceptualisations and deixis. This, according to Charteris-Black, is a strategy employed by

politicians to soften or strengthen their stance on an issue. He argues that “the choice of language in general and metaphor in particular is essential to their overall persuasiveness” (Charteris-Black, 2005, p. 2). In this case, I observe that the President softens his stance on the issue of corruption, thereby showing less value placed on the issue and depicting some tolerance to corruption. I also find out that he shifts to the Judiciary and puts the responsibility of dealing with corruption on the courts, thereby criminalising corruption. He appears to shift his initial focus from corruption as a moral issue to a criminal issue. The initial idea or stance which carried the idea that FIGHT meant a physical attack with its negative implications gives way to a new meaning which points to legally dealing with cases of corruption.

158. “Mr. Speaker, Last year I authorized the BNI to conduct investigations into allegations of fraud in the National Service Schemes pay roll” (JDM SONA, 2015).

159. “Let me take the opportunity again to urge all anti-graft institutions to promptly investigate allegations and take swift actions to protect the public purse” (JDM SONA, 2015).

The economy is metaphorically conceptualised as “public purse” while corruption is a “menace”. In President J.D. Mahama’s 2016 SONA, which doubles as his SONA in a crucial election year for him as he sought to win a second term in office, his metaphor choices focus on the nature and effects of corruption. The metaphorical conceptualisations of corruption are drawn from the DISEASE and WAR domains which aptly enable him to draw attention to the victimhood which the nation suffers when corruption is perpetuated. Agency is largely removed and so we are not told who the persons being investigated are and who is/are carrying out the investigation.

160. “The canker of corruption and its negative impact on development is well known” (JMD SONA, 2016).

161. “While the canker spares no country, its effects are felt more in developing and poor countries as it exacerbates poverty and hinders development” (JDM SONA, 2016).

162. “It eats into the moral fabric of society and undermines the foundations of democracy and good governance” (JDM SONA, 2016).

163. “Corruption is a disease, which left unchecked can choke and kill a nation” (JDM SONA, 2016).

164. It is an enemy of progress and development and a threat to peace and security (JDM SONA, 2016).

164. It is therefore an obligation on all of us to mobilise our efforts in the fight to eradicate corruption (JDM SONA, 2016).

165. “We have tackled corruption with determination and fortitude in an effort to stamp out systemic indiscipline in the fabric of public and social service” (JDM SONA, 2016).

The President’s attitude to corruption in this election year, as revealed through his metaphorical conceptualisation of corruption, suggests that it is one of desperation. The cluster of metaphorical conceptualisations all seem to point to this. We also see a persuasive strategy as he avoids talking about the causes of corruption which include the failure of government to identify and punish persons found culpable. The metaphors generally convey war imagery which draw attention to the solutions the government has put in place to check corruption. These metaphors are explored by the President to shift attention to the effects of corruption instead of the causes. The choice of

the sports metaphor in “We have tackled corruption” evokes the positive connotations of the SPORT/ GAME metaphor and its evaluative power to depict the efforts of the JDM administration in terms of putting in place measures to deal with corruption. The choice of the SPORT metaphor also creates the image of effort, skill, and tactics. It confirms one of the uses of the game metaphor as identified in Cameron et al. (2009) which says that in a certain sense, the game metaphor conveys a “sense of power and possibility of winning” (Cameron et al., 2009, p. 255).

“The more democratic societies become, the greater the onus on leaders to convince potential followers that they and their policies can be trusted” (Charteris-Black, 2005, p. 1) and this is what President JDM does to his advantage through his metaphor choices to depict CORRUPTION AS A DISEASE, CORRUPTION AS A WAR and CORRUPTION AS A FIGHT. The metaphor choices used provoke some sympathy and this seems to suggest his call for sympathy in the anticipated elections at the time.

In this discussion, we find out that President JDM demonstrates great skill at metaphor choices. The metaphor choices of President J.D. Mahama seem intentional, strategic, and aimed potentially at positioning himself in a way that he can win the sympathy of the voting public.

#### 7.1.7 CORRUPTION AS SEEN BY PRESIDENT NANA ADDO DANKWA AKUFFO-ADDO (NADAA)

I draw on my discussion of the person of President Nana Addo in Chapter 4 and the fact that he was the first president of the Fourth Republic to have democratically taken power from a sitting president who sought a second term in office. I also draw on insights from the background provided

in that chapter on his strong campaign message to liberate Ghana from the economic crisis of the time which he blamed on corruption. His appointment as the Special Prosecutor (an independent office to investigate corruption-related scandals) particularly point to his background as a legal practitioner and as one who sought redress through the legal system. In this chapter, I draw on this background provided earlier to analyse how President Nana Addo metaphorically conceptualises corruption and how this potentially reflects his values, attitudes, beliefs and his political posturing towards corruption.

As the fifth president of the Fourth Republic and the sitting president as of the time of this study, I have carefully analysed the metaphor choices of the President to trace his trajectory of metaphorical conceptualisations employed in framing corruption.

**TABLE 187.4: LINGUISTIC METAPHOR CHOICES OF PRESIDENT NANA ADDO ACROSS SPEECHES**

President	Year	Metaphor	Metaphor Grouping
NADAA	2018	case	CASE
		fictitious claims	FICTITIOUS
		acts	ACTS
		allegations	ALLEGATIONS
NADAA	2020	fight	FIGHT
		charges	CHARGES
		curb	CURB
		engulf	ENGULF
NADAA	2021	opportunities	OPPORTUNITIES
		fight	FIGHT

Source: Author, 2023

From table 7.4 above, the President uses words such as CASE, FICTITIOUS ACTS and ALLEGATIONS to metaphorically conceptualise corruption in his speeches. These dynamic conceptualisations convey a negative depiction or evaluation of the attitude of the President towards the phenomenon of corruption. President Nana Addo employs these choices as a strategy to project himself as the president who has the mandate to find solutions to the problem of corruption. The choices create the image of corruption as strictly a legal issue. This stance creates the impression that his predecessors applied the wrong measures in trying to curb corruption. The idea here is to serve as a positive self-representation as opposed to a negative other. Azure (2023), however, describes NADAA as the most corrupt of all presidents of the Fourth Republic. In the President's SONA of 2018, he refers to the Auditor-General's Report on MDA liabilities and says:

166. “It is often full of grand cases of corruption in public services” (NADAA SONA, 2018).

167. I make reference to the fact that a staggering amount of GH¢5.4 billion has been identified as constituting fictitious claims” (NADAA SONA, 2018).

168. “Government has an obligation to treat the Auditor-General's Report seriously and work to retrieve illegally acquired monies from those who would impoverish us all” (NADAA SONA, 2018).

By conceptualising corruption as “fictitious claims, and illegally acquired monies”, President Nana Addo constructs himself as a person who takes the problem of corruption mainly as a judicial issue and criminalises it. The persons and/or institutions involved in these corrupt acts that have cost the

nation the huge sum of GH¢5.4 billion are not named. Instead of naming and shaming the perpetrators, they are described as “those who will impoverish us all”. He only sends a gentle reminder about the effects of corruption. The various acts that he describes as ‘fictitious claims’ and ‘illegally acquired monies’ are also not named. The President, as observed in the examples above, avoids the word ‘corruption’ and resorts to descriptive expressions. I do not see any metaphoric or other conceptualisations that demonstrate his strong aversion for the act. This signals the President’s soft stance on issues of corruption. He does not employ any metaphorical imagery to provoke the people of Ghana to see the need to resist corruption but relies on his background as a legal practitioner to seek redress for the nation. Having taken overpower from the NDC, the President conceptualises corruption as criminal to be able to investigate the ‘allegations’ and let the law take its course. I make this deduction from his reference to corruption as reported by the Auditor-General in the excerpts above. The phenomenon, its causes, effects, and measures to deal with it are all conceptualised in terms of his intentions to prosecute ‘cases’. The president draws on the bureaucratic system of the courts and says:

169. “In furtherance of these principles, I have made it publicly known that whoever has information about acts of corruption by any of my appointees, should bring it forward, and should be prepared to back it up with evidence, for I will have it investigated” (NADAA SONA, 2018).

170. “So far, every single alleged act of corruption levelled against any of my appointees has been investigated by independent bodies, and, in some cases, by Parliament, itself, and the findings made public” (NADAA SONA, 2018).

Unlike his predecessor, President JDM, who had to repair his stance with the voting public to secure a second term in office, President Nana Addo approaches the issue with subtlety. Referring

to corruption as ‘alleged acts of corruption’ that need to be investigated by the Judiciary suggests that the President believes that without evidence, corruption does not exist.

From the analysis of these conceptualisations of corruption, President Nana Addo in 2018, appears to position himself as one who sees corruption as ALLEGATIONS, just like his party fellow, President J.A. Kufuor. To the two NPP presidents, CASES of corruption should be contested and attested to in court. It also helps him to present himself as a leader who is ready and can bring closure to these allegations. Articles 57 and 58 of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana provide a sitting president immunity from being sued. This may explain the President’s attitude of not being critical of trivialising accusations of corruption among members of his government.

Following his background as a lawyer, he says:

171. “It is important to note that in my first year of office, despite having a clear parliamentary majority, two separate bi-partisan probes in parliament have been established to inquire into allegations of corruption against zero in recent years, notwithstanding the persistent calls by the then Minority over several allegations” (NADAA SONA, 2018).

Here again, the actors of these corrupt behaviours are excluded. Where there seems to be the mention of these social actors of corruption, it is their roles that are mentioned. This soft stance as demonstrated in his choices potentially depicts an attitude of not caring very much about CORRUPTION AS A NATIONAL PROBLEM.

I observe from the data analysis that by 2020, President Nana Addo does not only conceptualise corruption as a legal issue, but he also positions himself as a successful leader in terms of ‘fighting’ corruption while comparing himself to his predecessors. We see generally a neutral attitude to corruption. He employs metaphor choices to position himself as such.

172. “Mr. Speaker, we have made significant strides over the last three years in our fight against corruption, despite the skepticism of people with questionable records” (NADAA SONA, 2020).

A subtle SPORT metaphor is employed in his choice of STRIDES as verb to describe his government’s achievements. He then adds that:

173. Before the end of this year, Ghana will have a fully working national ID system, which will be a game-changer for our nation.

The GAME metaphor is evoked to depict the President’s ability to win or defeat the opponent. Here, we see that President NADAA’s attitude to corruption is that he sees it as a game played by politicians. The Nation then is positioned as the audience or spectators who must watch and cheer on the winner. This contradicts the notion of CORRUPTION AS A NATIONAL PROBLEM TO BE SOLVED BY ALL with the framing of CORUPTION AS A POLITICAL GAME FOR VOTES.

In 2018, President Nana Addo proposed strongly to fight corruption through the courts. However, by 2021, this approach had given way to a new one and his new approach to the problem of corruption was the digitisation of various institutions. Corruption is thus conceptualised as a problem to be solved through digitisation. The President’s understanding of corruption appears to be that there are no good systems in place to prevent people from carrying out or perpetrating corruption.

174. “...other laws have enhanced significantly the capacity of the State in the fight against corruption” (NADAA SONA, 2021).

Though the President appeals to the cultural cognition of the people, he plays this shared knowledge to his advantage by conceptualising CORRUPTION AS ENDEMIC in the Ghanaian society and that the solution to this problem lies in digitising payments at key sectors of the country. It is suggestive of the President's choices that he gradually switched from arguing that corruption is non-existent among his party members to say that it is very much present in various sectors.

Having analysed the (metaphor) choices and what they potentially reveal about President Nana Addo in relation to his values, attitudes, beliefs and political posturing towards corruption, it appears the President does not demonstrate much enough effort to overcome corruption.

#### 7.1.7 CORRUPTION AND THE POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES OF THE NDC AND NPP

The presidents of the NPP generally employ the concept CORRUPTION AS A PROBLEM TO BE SOLVED THROUGH THE JUDICIARY to refer to corruption while presidents of the NDC conceptualise CORRUPTION AS A PROBLEM TO BE SOLVED THROUGH BRUTAL FORCE. Presidents of the NDC use such metaphors as CORRUPTION IS DESTRUCTIVE while the NPP conceptualise it in literal terms as a CRIME.

NPP presidents, on the one hand, tend to conceptualise corruption in ways that help them to project a positive self (by strongly defending themselves) and a negative other image (by blaming previous opposition governments). On the other hand, NDC presidents conceptualise corruption by calling for a mobilised front against corruption.

#### 7.1.8 POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES OF THE NDC AND THE NPP IN RELATION TO CORRUPTION

In responding to research question 3, I also sought to find out what these metaphorical conceptualisations potentially reveal about the presidents' political parties' posturing towards corruption. In this section, therefore, I try to examine the choices made by the presidents across the speeches. From the discussion so far, there is evidence that the presidents choose metaphorical conceptualisations that help them to express their feelings toward corruption. Charteris-Black (2005a) and Chilton (2004) maintain that political discourse is not free from ideology. The agenda to persuade, manipulate, define opponents, and identify allies guides their conceptualisation of a phenomenon such as corruption. They are also guided by their individual political party ideologies such as a capitalist ideology which drives the NPP and a socialist ideology which drives the agenda of the NDC in relation to corruption. As discussed earlier, the discourse dynamics to metaphor analysis involves ways through which we express attitudes, values, and beliefs on a phenomenon. As demonstrated through the cultural model approach and its interpretation of the data, these feelings reveal the disposition of the speaker (presidents) towards corruption. They further reveal the sociocultural dynamics that guide and inform the choices for conceptualising corruption. Firstly, the metaphorical conceptualisations generally construct a divided ruling class when it comes to corruption. This division comes because of the strategy of a positive self as opposed a negative other employed by both political party leaders. This generalisation is made from the range of excerpts discussed in this study.

Secondly, the preponderance of the use of the metaphor FIGHT by presidents of the two political parties portrays a 'dispute'. While the ideology of the NDC is known to be characterised by brutal force as seen in the case of President J.J. Rawlings, the NPP is known for its litigations. Our

argument on the metaphor of physical COMBAT on the part of the NDC is further strengthened by President Mahama's invocation of the militaristic metaphors as discussed in chapter 5. On the other hand, FIGHT to the NPP is largely in reference to a fight through the legal system. FIGHT as a metaphor also points out the sharp divide between the two political parties.

Thirdly, I see in-group favouritism in the conceptualising of corruption on the part of both political parties. This is achieved through projecting their parties as capable of solving the problem while portraying the opponent party as the cause of corruption. I refer once again to President J.A. Kufuor, who conceptualises corruption as a LEGACY from the previous administration, having taken power from an opponent party.

#### 7.1.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have tried to connect the metaphorical conceptualisations of the presidents to their attitudes, values, and beliefs regarding corruption as a social phenomenon. I also tried to find out what these metaphorical conceptualisations reveal about the presidents' political posturing towards corruption. Firstly, I found out that there are systematic connections between the vehicle terms and the discourse topic of corruption throughout the discourse event. Secondly, I observed that the systematicity in the metaphor choices by the presidents reveal multiple entailments that signal different attitudes, values, and beliefs about corruption. The presidents conceptualise corruption using metaphoric conceptualisations that describe corruption as an entity and directly compare it to WAR, DISEASE and ENEMY, and, non-metaphorically, to ALLEGATIONS, CASES, and a

CONCERN. Corruption as a concept is also personified and given the ability to destroy the nation, thus positioning the nation as vulnerable. As an entity, corruption is conceptualised in a way that makes the perpetrators faceless.

These conceptualisations can be grouped into two broad categories: metaphors that semantically evoke physical destructions and legal aggressions which require strengthening systems to deal with corruption. While the first category focuses on the act of corruption, the second one focuses on measures for solving the problem of corruption.

Thirdly, the metaphor choices of the presidents provide evidence that corruption which has no structure in terms of its modus operandi is framed in contrast to WAR which has clearly defined conventions and rules that guide its execution. On the contrary, corruption is metaphorised as cowardly in terms of its practice and processes of reporting and uncovering the truth.

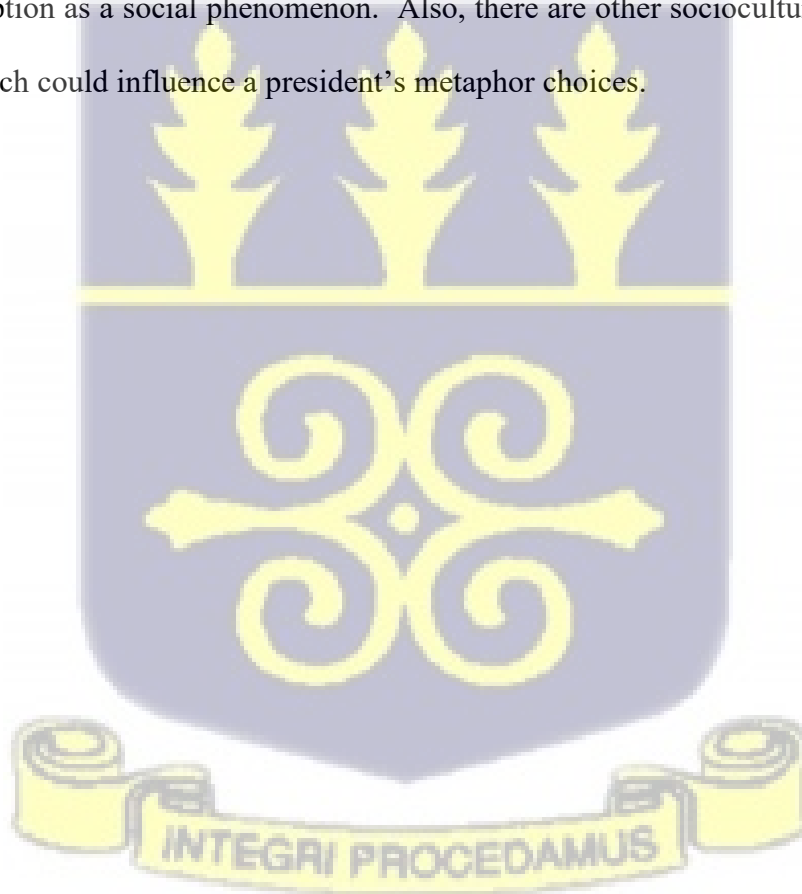
Fourthly, the CONCEALMENT metaphor that is used throughout the period under study does not give clarity to who is corrupt and who is fighting corruption. This leaves a feeling of threat on both sides. This conclusion is arrived at because of following the trajectory of corruption across the selected speeches.

Fifthly, our examination of the presidents' metaphor choices revealed that after each president's use of the discourse topic, further metaphors are used to conceptualise corruption through the metaphor groupings to refer to the main discourse topic of corruption. Also, patterns that emerge across the speeches under study reveal that the presidents begin with a very strong stance on corruption as a social phenomenon, and as their terms of office progress, they begin to soften their stance by choosing mild or medium metaphor choices to conceptualise and discuss various aspects of corruption.

Again, it is found out that in election years, the presidents make strong metaphor choices. The concept that emerges is CORRUPTION IS A BIG PROBLEM FOR ALL GHANAIS and politicians consider it a good campaign message.

Also, it is observed that the metaphor choices employed by the presidents carry affective content which enables them to express their perspective on the issue of corruption through emphasising, evaluating and aligning their ideas on the discourse topic to Ghanaians.

Throughout, the analysis shows that there are different ways of conceptualising corruption in the speeches and that these different ways are based on the individual president's values, attitudes and beliefs on corruption as a social phenomenon. Also, there are other sociocultural factors such as incumbency which could influence a president's metaphor choices.



## CHAPTER EIGHT

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 8.1.1 CHAPTER INTRODUCTION

In this concluding chapter, I provide a summary of the objectives for the study by revisiting its theoretical and methodological underpinnings. Next, the chapter provides answers to the research questions of this study. It also draws conclusions on how corruption is conceptualised and understood by the presidents of the Fourth Republic of Ghana. Lastly, the chapter concludes with a declaration of the limitations of this study, and recommendations for future research.

#### 8.1.2 SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

The concept of corruption as defined by the 1992 Constitution of Ghana appears to be inherently contradictory to the socio-cultural beliefs, values, and practices of Ghana, where the common good of the people is placed above the individual or the self (Agyekum, 1995)

The study sought to investigate the metaphor choices made by selected Ghanaian presidents while they talked about corruption in their State of the Nation Addresses (SONAs).

The thesis is presented in eight chapters. In chapter one, an overview of the study was provided; it covered a statement of the research problem, the research questions, and the objectives of the study. These objectives were: (i) to identify the linguistic metaphors used by the selected Ghanaian presidents to talk about corruption in their SONAs; (ii) to examine how the presidents' metaphor choices potentially reflect the culture of the Ghanaian people in terms of their collective understanding, experiences and practices, and (iii) to explore possible ways in which the presidents' metaphor choices potentially reflect their individual attitudes, values, beliefs, and political posturing towards corruption.

Chapter two reviewed related literature to help establish the gap which the current study sought to fill. It reviewed studies on corruption in the social sciences and in linguistics. Generally, studies on corruption in the literature tended to focus on defining corruption, its causes, and measures for curbing it in society. Only a few of the studies focused on the culture-specific influences on the conceptualisation of corruption. Even then, much of this literature is based on western cultures. Chapter three discussed the theoretical and analytical frameworks that underpin the current study, i.e., Lynne Cameron's discourse dynamics approach to metaphor (Cameron, 2003/2007), and Sharifian Farzad's cultural model and schema (Sharifian, 2003/2017), as broadly discussed in Cultural Linguistics. I discussed the MIP approach of the Pragglejaz Group (2007), and Cameron's Manual for Metaphor analysis (Cameron & Maslen, 2010) which were employed to identify metaphorical words and phrases. The discourse dynamics approach to metaphor and its analytical procedures were employed to identify the underlying systematic metaphors that emerged in the discourse of the SONAs of the individual presidents. The cultural model and schema approaches offered interpretative tools to help unravel the sociocultural and cultural cognition that may potentially be influencing the framing of corruption by the Ghanaian presidents. In this regard, the Akan philosophy of personhood, community and respect for elders/leaders (Gyekye, 1992; Wiredu, 2018) was used as the philosophical foundation for explaining and exemplifying the Ghanaian cultural understanding of corruption. Not only is Akan a dominant culture in Ghana, but also most of the presidents studied are native Akan and those who are not are directly connected to Akan through marriage.

The research design, as discussed in chapter four, was qualitatively descriptive, exploratory, and explanatory in the selection and analysis of the SONAs. The current study adopted a bottom-up approach to the data collection and analysis. In chapter five, the metaphor choices employed by

the presidents in talking about corruption were identified and discussed while the socio-cultural schemas and practices that potentially motivate these conceptualisations were explored in chapter six. Chapter seven, the last analytical chapter, explored the ways in which the presidents' metaphor choices possibly reflect their individual attitudes, values, beliefs, ideas and political posturing towards corruption. Chapter eight, the final chapter, provides a summary of the study, major findings, discussion, recommendations, limitations, and conclusions.

### 8.1.3 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This section presents the major findings of the study. While the concept of corruption and its common definition appear near-universal, findings from this study suggest that different cultural groups such as Ghana, use language (metaphor choices) in ways that filter the conceptualisation of corruption and hence help them to reflect their cultural understanding of corruption, thereby making the concept culture-specific. The study sought to answer three questions, namely: i) What linguistic metaphors do Ghanaian presidents use to talk about corruption? ii) How do these metaphors reflect the culture of the people of Ghana and their understanding of corruption? iii) What do the metaphors used by the presidents reflect about their individual attitudes, beliefs, and values towards corruption?

The need to satisfy social, cultural, and political responsibilities to gain legitimacy and solidarity as well as personhood in a community are important factors to consider in corruption scholarship.

Research question one show that corruption in the period under study has been conceptualised as a FIGHT, WAR, DISEASE, CRIME, CASE and LEGACY or an ENEMY. It has been a topic discussed by all presidents of the Fourth Republic though it has received varied degrees of attention

by the various presidents. The discourse topic is corruption, and the discourse grouping shows CORRUPTION AS A PROBLEM TO BE SOLVED BY THE JUDICIARY, CORRUPTION AS SYSTEMIC, CORRUPTION AS A LEGACY PASSED DOWN FROM OPPOSITION PARTY TO PARTY IN POWER, CORRUPTION AS SHAMEFUL, and CORRUPTION AS SOMETHING CONCEALED.

The systematic metaphors that emerge from the analysis show CORRUPTION AS A PROBLEM TO BE SOLVED BY THE NATION, CORRUPTION AS DESTRUCTIVE TO NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, CORRUPTION AS A THREAT TO NATIONAL COHESION, and CORRUPTION AS HUMAN-INFLICTED DESTRUCTION.

The cultural conceptualisation of corruption points to the Ghanaian cultural model of kinship; hence there are conceptualisations such as NATION AS FAMILY and its POLITICAL LEADERS AS FATHERS AND MOTHERS OF THE NATION, PARENTS OF THE NATION CANNOT BE PUBLICLY CRITICIZED FOR CORRUPTION, and POLITICAL FATHERS AND MOTHERS OF THE NATION ARE BEYOND REPROACH IN TERMS OF CORRUPTION.

It is observed that corruption itself is only the target domain for enemy. FIGHT and WAR are metaphors for action against corruption, while CONCEALMENT is a metaphor for attempts to avoid open discussions about corruption.

In stringing the metaphors as proposed in DDM, the metaphor trajectory moves from the FIGHT through to WAR, DISEASE and gradually becomes mild to be conceptualised as a CRIME to be determined in court and so it is a problem for the judiciary to solve. In relation to the first research question, it was also observed that corruption as a phenomenon has been discussed in all the SONAs of the Fourth Republic. It has, however, been conceptualised differently by the respective

presidents in different periods of the time under study. This notwithstanding, there are some conceptualisations that span Ghana's Fourth Republic. For example, corruption is conceptualised as an ENEMY.

The number of corruption-related clauses that have been used by the presidents in the period under study, appear to point to the prevalence of corruption in each period. From the data analyses, President John Dramani Mahama pays the most attention to the topic of corruption. President John Evans Atta Mills comes second in terms of attention paid to corruption as a social phenomenon in the SONAs. President J.A. Kufuor comes third, followed by President Nana Addo, and President J.J. Rawlings employed the lowest number of corruption-related clauses. In comparing the two major political parties of the Fourth Republic, it was found that there are more corruption-related clauses used by the presidents of the NDC political party than the NPP.

It was also observed through further analysis that the number of corruption-related clauses used by each president is a direct reflection of corruption within their tenure of office. Although, the volume of corruption-related clauses may mirror corruption as it pertained in the tenure of office of the president and his government, there are other sociocultural factors to consider so that a true representation of corruption. These factors include who the previous government was, and what accusations in relation to corruption have been raised against that government. Again, the analysis revealed that a president's prospects for a second term in power influence his metaphorical conceptualisations and the amount of attention given to corruption in his speeches.

## DISCUSSION

The study reveals that corruption in Ghana is metaphorically conceptualised with a focus on the phenomenon itself with little attention paid to the social actors involved. This finding contradicts

the finding in Asia where, for instance, Jing-Schmidt and Peng (2017) found that perpetrators are conceptualised as DIRTY unlike in Ghana where it is the act of corruption that is conceptualised as ROT. This makes corruption faceless in Ghana. It is important to note that it is only President J.D. Mahama who conceptualises corruption as ‘rot’, which evokes the image of DIRT and something which is unacceptable in the public eye. The imagery, however, appears imposing since it corroborates how most dominant ethnic groups in Ghana perceive corruption. This image is corroborated in Ansah (2017), Obeng-Odoom (2014), and Yankah (1989). The systematic metaphor of CORRUPTION AS DIRT is conceptualised in relation to the act itself and not so much about the person. This is quite profound since this may be pointing to why fighting corruption is so difficult since it remains abstract to the people.

Culture-specific contexts influence the notions of corruption. In answering the second research question, it was found that the metaphor choices used to talk about corruption reflect, to a large extent, the cultural schema of the people of Ghana. While the metaphorical conceptualisations point to the use of communicative strategies such as politeness strategies aimed at winning votes and for achieving legitimacy and personhood, they are also used to signal collectivism as opposed to individuation. As a result, corruption is conceptualised in ways that reflect how the presidents use language to express their understanding of corruption.

Again, the cultural schema of kinship appears to influence the presidents’ conceptualisation of the NATION AS A FAMILY and LEADERS (POLITICAL) AS FATHERS. Also, cultural categories such as RESPECT FOR ELDERS/AUTHORITY, SENIORITY, cultural schemas such as gift-giving, and its symbolic meanings of GRATITUDE, RECIPROCITY, and RESPECT as well as cultural metaphors such as the NATION AS ONE FAMILY, LEADERS AS PARENTS, appear

to shape the presidents' cultural conceptualisations of corruption. Innuendos, circumlocution, and proverbs are employed as indirectness strategies to conceptualise corruption, when it comes to questioning authority in relation to corruption. The Akan philosophy of personhood and community is not only laden with the burden for the presidents to be communal. The cultural schema of gift-giving, family first, appear to create the cultural metaphor of FAVOURITISM AS BUILDING FAMILY TIES/SOLIDARITY.

The analysis conducted suggests that President J.J. Rawlings, for instance, used fewer corruption-related clauses in his SONAs. Generally, President J.A. Kufour's SONAs focused on defending himself against persons who accused him of corruption. He employed seemingly neutral metaphors such as ALLEGATIONS, CONCERNS, and CASES in talking about corruption. Though these linguistic metaphors appear neutral they point to the presidents' perspectives on corruption. They also help one to evaluate the presidents' attitudes to corruption. It is important to note that these linguistic metaphors analysed outside of the discourse will make them lose their metaphoricity. The systematic metaphor that emerges in his conceptualisations is that JAK appears to see the PRESIDENT AS FATHER OF THE NATION WHO IS BEYOND REPROACH.

The presidents seem to construct the phenomenon — corruption — in ways that both conceal and mitigate its effect on society. These strategies which are explored by the presidents appear to help them assert, negotiate, and even endorse acts of corruption. The common enemy, which is corruption, appears to be missed while the two political parties engage in 'fighting' each other.

#### 8.1.4 IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

The current study makes major contributions to the scholarship on investigating corruption.

The study makes a major contribution to theory. Though the theories employed in this study may appear to be mere theories, they constitute a single theoretical framework, and they rest on the choices and points and levels of application, and how the different theories add up to provide the theoretical support for the research. While DDM extracts the linguistic metaphors, the cultural model and schema provide analytical and interpretive tools for explain and exemplifying the data within discourse and sociocultural contexts.

Secondly it contributes to metaphor analysis. Seemingly neutral metaphors that carry evaluative and ideological value are identified and analysed.

Also, the study points to the fact that there is context specificity to the metaphor choices. Though there is scholarship in metaphor studies on corruption as discussed in Chapter 2, the current study investigates corruption not only from culture-specific but also discourse-specific contexts. Unlike earlier studies, therefore, the current study investigates metaphors across discourse events and over time. This supports the claim of the discourse dynamics to metaphor model which says that many linguistic metaphors, when used in a discourse event, have a context specificity which emanates from the discourse context and not from pre-existing conceptual metaphors as seen in CMT.

Thirdly, the current study has implications for methods in metaphor studies. While earlier studies in the literature have investigated metaphor choices based on near-universal approaches, the current study emphasises the importance of the context in which the metaphor choice is used. Thus, it points out the significance of patterns that emerge in the choices made in terms of metaphors for conceptualising corruption.

Fourthly, there are implications for studies on corruption in Africa more widely. Earlier studies on corruption in Africa have mostly investigated corruption using universal/western-based perspectives. The current study, through the theoretical approaches applied, has shown that corruption does not have a universal understanding. The discourse dynamics to metaphor analysis and cultural model schemas show that the concept is culture-specific, discourse-specific, and context-specific.

#### 8.1.5 LIMITATIONS

Study relied mainly on the SONAs and scholarly works as data. However, applying contextual evidence, such surveys or opinion polls, to identify cultural attitudes to corruption would have been expansive. Again, data collection on the philosophical thoughts of Ghanaians especially including Gonjas would have enriched the research to be able to make generalisations.

Only linguistic metaphors on corruption were analysed.

At the time of conducting a preliminary study to help conceptualise the current study, I had considered investigating all the SONAs of the Fourth Republic of Ghana, but this did not look feasible considering the fact that the study set out to conduct a qualitative analysis. Analysing all the SONAs would have meant doing an analysis that would have lacked depth, a goal which cannot be compromised in qualitative studies. Also, the Ghanaian media is inundated with political discourse on corruption, but these have not been looked at as a source of data to complement data from the SONAs. This was done to both focus the data for a qualitative study which is characterised by in-depth analysis and to allow me to work with data from the presidents instead of relying on metadata. This notwithstanding, reference has been made to some writings that have directly commented on the SONAs and corruption, an example being Awuni (2023). Analysing the two

sources would have provided firm grounds for making generalisations. Again, interviewing Ghanaians on their perceptions about corruption and how conceptualising it metaphorically potentially reflects the culture of the people in terms of their cultural practices and experiences would have been more revealing. However, I realised that this could be daunting and possibly cloud the goal of the current study. It was also realised that the presidents belong to indigenous Ghanaian communities and that their conceptualisations were a rich source of data for this kind of research.

#### 8.1.6 CONCLUSION

It can be concluded that corruption is a problem in Ghana and that the presidents of the Fourth Republic have used different linguistic metaphors to address it. The effects of corruption and measures aimed at addressing the concept have been the focus of presidents. The presidents talk about corruption using linguistic metaphors that evoke the imagery of WAR, DISEASE, CRIME, SHAME, ENEMY, LEGACY and a SYSTEM failure. While some of the metaphors create a sense of urgency to exterminate corruption, many others treat the concept as an issue to deal with in the daily lives of the people. The metaphor choices of the presidents reflect the cultural schema of the people and their collectivist culture—communal. By this understanding, cultural practices and norms that demand that the people as a family support and protect each other appear to be projected onto how corruption is viewed and understood. Though all the presidents appear to FIGHT corruption, cultural metaphor such as the NATION AS ONE FAMILY and LEADERS AS FATHER seem to impede their efforts at curbing the problem of corruption. Corruption is found to be culture-specific, and this suggests that it should be investigated within the contexts of its occurrence. From the Ghanaian cultural schema, wrongness of corruption appears to be judged by

social impact (greed) rather than breach of the Constitution. Cultural schemas, categories and metaphors of the presidents appear to contrast the conceptualisations of corruption as described in the 1992 Constitution of Ghana.

#### 8.1.7 RECOMMENDATIONS

From the current research, it is observed that the presidents explored sections of the speeches dedicated to discussing corruption to sell their campaign messages on their values, attitudes, and beliefs about corruption. It is, therefore, recommended that a comparison should be made between the SONAs and the campaign messages of the various parties to discover the metaphor choices that they use in talking about corruption at that level. Also, an interdisciplinary study will be revealing. Seemingly non metaphorical linguistic elements should be given attention in metaphor analysis.

Cultural sensitives should be given attention in linguistic metaphor analysis to understand cultural schema of the sociocultural context.

An analysis that investigates all metaphors in the data could be more revealing. As it has been stated already, the emphasis on corruption as a topical issue reduces with the passage of time for each president. It is, therefore, recommended that a study be conducted to find out how the dwindling presence of corruption-related discussions in the presidential speeches over a period relates to their attitude to corruption. While I wish to categorically state that I do not find it a culture of the people of Ghana to condone corruption, I wish to state that aspects of the culture lend themselves to being exploited by some unscrupulous people. Studies should be conducted to help identify the fine line between what is cultural and what is illicit in terms of corruption and the

language used in talking about this social phenomenon. Contextual evidence i.e. surveys or opinion polls, to identify cultural attitudes to corruption in future research will be expansive to the study cultural conceptualisation of corruption.



## REFERENCES

- Adjei, M. (2015). Corruption and the Body Politic in Post-Colonial Ghana: A Re-Reading of Amu Djoletto's *Money Galore* in the Era of 'Zero Tolerance for Corruption' in Ghana. *Legon Journal of the Humanities*, 20(0), 89–103. <https://doi.org/10.4314/ljh.v20i0>.
- Agbibo, D. R. (2022). They eat our sweat: Transport labour, corruption and everyday survival in urban Nigeria. Oxford University Press. In *The Language of Corruption* (pp. 76–96). editors
- Agbota, T. K., Sandaker, I., & Ree, G. (2015). Verbal operants of corruption: A study of Avoidance. *Behaviour and Social Issues*, 24(1), 141–163.
- Agyekum, K. (2021). The role of pragmatics in social cohesion and nation building in Africa. *Ghana Journal of Linguistics*, 10(1), 1-26.
- Agyekum, K. (2004). Invective language in contemporary Ghanaian politics. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 3(2), 346–375.
- Amankwah, A. S., Bonsu, G. A., & White, P. (2017). Media Exposé of Judicial Corruption in Ghana: Ethical and Theological Perspectives. *Legon Journal of the Humanities*, 28(1), 1. <https://doi.org/10.4314/LJH.V28I1.1>
- Amundsen, I. (1999). Political corruption: An introduction to the issues. In *Working Paper - Chr. Michelsen Institute* (Issue 7).
- Ankrah, G. K., Dominic, F., & Opoku, K. (2018). Critical Discourse Analysis of selected presidential inaugural addresses of the Fourth Republic of Ghana. *European Journal of Literature, Language and Linguistics Studies*, 2(3).

- Ansah, G. N. (2017). Cultural conceptualisations of DEMOCRACY and political discourse practices in Ghana. In F. Sharifian (Ed.), *In Advances in Cultural Linguistics* (pp. 369–388). Springer.
- Awuni, M. A. (2023). *Theme: Our Ghana: Reflections on Integrity and Resilience*. <https://thefourthestategh.com/2023/03/07/full-text-manasseh-azure-awunis-public-lecture-at-the-university-of-ghana/>
- Aryeetey, E., & Kanbur, S. R. (Eds.). (2017). *The economy of Ghana sixty years after independence*. Oxford University Press.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). *The Dialogic Imagination*. University of Texas Press.
- Bangura, A. K. (2007). Understanding and fighting corruption in Sierra Leone: A metaphorical Linguistic approach. *Journal of Third World Studies*, 24(1), 59–71.
- Bayley, D. H. (1966). The Effects of Corruption in a Developing Nation. *The Western Political Quarterly*, 19(4), 719. <https://doi.org/10.2307/445147>
- Berti, C. (2019). Rotten apples or rotten system? Media framing of political corruption in New Zealand and Italy. *Journalism Studies*, 20(11), 1580–1597.
- Blackburn, K., Bose, N., & Hague M. (2005). The incidence and persistence of corruption in economic development. *Journal of Economic Dynamics and Control*, 30(2006), 2447–2467.
- Bratu, R., & Kažoka, I. (2018). Metaphors of corruption in the news media coverage of seven European countries. *European Journal of Communication*, 33(1), 57–72. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323117750695>
- Brierley, S. (2020). Unprincipled Principals: Co-opted Bureaucrats and Corruption in Ghana.

*American Journal of Political Science*, 64(2), 209–222. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12495>

Cameron, L. (2007). Confrontation or complementarity? Metaphor in language use and cognitive metaphor theory. *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics*, 5(1), 107–135.

Cameron, L. (2010a). The discourse dynamics framework for metaphor. In L. Cameron & R. Maslen (Eds.), *Metaphor Analysis Research Practice in Applied Linguistics, Social Sciences and the Humanities* (pp. 97–115). Equinox.

Cameron, L. (2010b). What is metaphor and why does it matter? In L. Cameron & R. Maslen (Eds.), *Metaphor Analysis Research Practice in Applied Linguistics, Social Sciences and the Humanities* (pp. 1–25). Equinox.

Cameron, L., & Deignan, A. (2003). Combining Large and Small Corpora to Investigate Tuning Devices Around Metaphor in Spoken Discourse. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 18(3), 149–160. [https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327868ms1803\\_02](https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327868ms1803_02)

Cameron, L. J. (2007). Patterns of metaphor use in reconciliation talk. *Discourse and Society*, 18(2), 197–222. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926507073376>

Cameron, L., & Maslen, R. (2010). Identifying metaphor in discourse data. In L. Cameron & R. Maslen (Eds.), *Metaphor Analysis: Research Practice in Applied Linguistics, Social Sciences and the Humanities* (pp. 77–145). Equinox.

Cameron, L., Maslen, R., Todd, Z., Maule, J., Stratton, P., & Stanley, N. (2009). The discourse dynamics approach to metaphor and metaphor-led discourse analysis. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 24(2), 63–89. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10926480902830821>

Cameron, L., Pelosi, A., & Felter, H. P. D. M. (2014). Metaphorizing violence in UK and Brazil:

a contrastive discourse dynamics study. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 29(1), 23–43.

Charteris-Black, J. (2005a). *Politicians and rhetoric: The persuasive power of metaphor*.

Palgrave-MacMillan.

Charteris-Black, J. (2005b). *Persuasion, legitimacy and leadership*. In *Politicians and Rhetoric*.

Palgrave Macmillan.

Chilton, P. (2004). *Analysing political discourse: Theory and practice*. Routledge.

Cienki, A. (2008). The application of conceptual metaphor theory to political discourse:

Methodological questions and some possible solutions. In *Political Language and Metaphor* (pp. 257-272). Routledge.

Creswell, J. W., & Poth C. N. (2018). *Qualitative Inquiry Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches* (4th ed.). Sage.

Creswell, J. W. (2015). Revisiting mixed methods and advancing scientific practices

Deignan, A. (2003). Metaphorical expressions and culture: An indirect link. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 18(4), 255–271. [https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327868ms1804\\_3](https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327868ms1804_3)

Deignan, A., & Semino E. (2010). Corpus techniques for metaphor analysis. In L. Cameron & R. Maslen (Eds.), *Metaphor Analysis Research Practice in Applied Linguistics, Social Sciences and the Humanities* (pp. 161–179). Equinox.

Dzobo, N. K. (2010). African Symbols and Proverbs as Sources of Knowledge and Truth. In K. Wiredu & K. Gyekye (Eds.), *Person and Community: Ghanaian Philosophical Studies 1* (1st ed., pp. 83–100). CIPSH/UNESCO THE COUNCIL FOR RESEARCH IN VALUES AND PHILOSOPHY.

Ekpenyong, B., & Bassey, V. (2014). Language of corruption and anti-corruption in Nigeria. *A Journal of Contemporary Research*, 11(2), 45–59.

Farralles, M. J. (2005). ‘What is corruption?: A History of Corruption Studies and the Great Definitions Debate’. *Social Sciences Research Network Working Papers Series*, 1(June, 2005), 1–48.

Gannaath, J., Nartey, M., & Bhatia, A. (2023). Legitimation in revolutionary discourse: A critical examination of the discourse of Jerry John Rawlings. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 22(1), 66-86.

Gelbrich, K., Stedham, Y., & Gäthke, D. (2016). Cultural discrepancy and national corruption: Investigating the difference between cultural values and practices and its relationship to corrupt behaviour. *Business Ethics Quarterly*, 26(2), 201–225.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/BEQ.2016.29>

Gibbs Jr, R. W. (2011, June). Taking metaphor out of our heads and putting it into the cultural world. In *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics: Selected papers from the 5th International Cognitive Linguistics Conference, Amsterdam, 1997* (pp. 145-166). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Gokah, T. K., Dzokoto, P. K., & Ndiweni, E. E. (2009). Brown envelopes journalism, policing and policeman, conflict of interest and (media) corporate governance: the case of Ghana. *International Journal of Disclosure and Governance*, 6(2), 167–179.

Guetterman, T. C., Feters, M. D., & Creswell, J. W. (2015). Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Results in Health Science Mixed Methods Research Through Joint Displays. *The Annals of Family Medicine*, 13(6), 554–561. <https://doi.org/10.1370/AFM.1865>

- Gyekye, K. (1992). Person and community in African thought. *Person and Community Ghanaian Philosophical Studies, 1*, 101–122.
- Gyimah-Boadi, E. (2002). Confronting Corruption in Ghana and Africa. *Ghana Centre for Democratic Development (CDD-GHANA), 4*(2).
- Gyimah-Boadi, E., Asamoah, K., & Osei-Kojo, A. (2014). Corruption here, corruption there, corruption everywhere: A framework for understanding public sector corruption in developing African democracies. *Journal of Public Administration and Governance, 4*(2), 186–204.
- Gyimah-Boadi, E., & Rothchild, D. (1982). Rawlings, populism, and the civil liberties tradition in Ghana. *African Issues, 12*(3-4), 64-69.
- Halliday, M. A. K., & Matthiessen, C. M. M. (2014). *Halliday's introduction to functional* (Vol. 17, No. 1, p. 72). Routledge.
- Hank, P. (2006). Metaphoricity is gradable. *Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs, 171*(7).
- Hasty, J. (2005). The Pleasures of Corruption: Desire and. *Cultural Anthropology, 20*(2), 271–301.
- Heidenheimer, A. J., & Johnston, M. (Eds.). (2011). *Political corruption: Concepts and contexts* (Vol. 1). Transaction Publishers.
- Huang, C. (2022). Metaphor analysis in political discourse base on discourse dynamics to Framework for metaphor: A case study. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies, 12*(1), 96–102.

- Jain, A. K. (2001). Corruption: A Review. *Journal of Economic Surveys*, 15(1), 71–121.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-6419.00133>
- Jing-Schmidt, Z., & Peng, X. (2017). Winds and tigers: metaphor choice in China's anti-corruption discourse. *Lingua Sinica*, 3:1, 3(1), 1–26. <https://doi.org/10.1186/S40655-016-0017-9>.
- Kautilya, C. (1992). *The Arthashastra*. New Delhi: Penguin Books India.
- Koller, V. (2004). Businesswomen and war metaphors: 'Possessive, jealous and pugnacious'?. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 8(1), 3-22.
- Kövecses, Z. (2003). *Metaphor and emotion: Language, culture, and body in human feeling*. Cambridge University Press.
- Kövecses, Z. (2008). Conceptual metaphor theory: Some criticism and alternative proposals. *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics*, 6(1), 168–184.
- Kövecses, Z. (2011). Methodological issues in conceptual metaphor theory. In *Windows to the mind: Metaphor, metonymy, and conceptual blending* (pp. 23–29).
- Kurer, O. (2005). Corruption: An Alternative Approach to Its Definition and Measurement. *Political Studies*, 53, 222–239.
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. (1993). The contemporary theory of metaphor. In A. Ortony (Ed.), *Metaphor and thought* (2nd ed., pp. 202–251). Cambridge University.
- Lewis, J. S. (2021). Corruption perceptions and contentious politics in Africa: How different types of corruption has shaped Africa's 3rd wave of protest. *Political Studies Review*, 19(2),

227–244.

Maslen, R. (2010). Working with large amounts of metaphor data. In L. Cameron & R. Maslen (Eds.), *Metaphor Analysis Research Practice in Applied Linguistics, Social Sciences and the Humanities* (pp. 181–194). Equinox.

McMullan, M. (1961). A theory of corruption. *The Sociological Review*, 9(2), 181–201.

McQueen, A. (2020). Political realism and moral corruption. *European Journal of Political Theory*, 19(2), 141–161.

Morrison, M. C. K. (2004). Political parties through four republican: A path to democratic consolidation. *Comparative Politics*, 36(4), 421–442.

Muller, C., & Tag, S. (2010). The dynamics of metaphor : Foregrounding and activating metaphoricity in conversational interaction. *Cognitive Semiotics*, 6(S1), 85–120.

Musolff, A. (2010). *Metaphor, Nation and the Holocaust: The concept of the body politic*. Routledge).

Musolff, A., & Wang, S. T. D. (2020). England is an appendix: Corruption officials are like hairs on a nation's arm: Sarcasm, irony and self-irony in figurative political discourse. In A. Alhanasiandou & C. H. L. (Eds.), *The Diversity of Irony* (pp. 162–182). De Gruyter Mouton.

Musolff, A. (2017). Truths, lies and figurative scenarios: Metaphors at the heart of Brexit. *Journal of language and politics*, 16(5), 641-657.

Musolff, A. (2012). The study of metaphor as part of critical discourse analysis. *Critical discourse studies*, 9(3), 301-310.

- Negro, I. (2015). 'Corruption is Dirt' metaphors for political corruption in Spanish Press. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 92, 213–238.
- Nielsen, R. P. (2003). Corruption networks and implications for ethical corruption reform. *Business Ethics Quarterly*, 42(2), 125–149. <https://doi.org/10.1023/a:1021969204875>
- Nye, J. (1967). Corruption and political development: cost benefits analysis. *The American Political Science Review*, 61(2), 417–418.
- Obeng-Odoom, F. (2014). Avoiding the oil curse in Ghana: is transparency sufficient? *African Journal of International Affairs*, 13(1–3), 89–120. <https://doi.org/10.4314/ajia.v13i1-3>.
- Obeng, S. G. (1997). Language and politics: Indirectness in political discourse. *Discourse and Society*, 8(1), 49–83.
- Ogunmuyiwa, H. O. (2015). Critical Discourse Analysis of Corruption in Presidential Speeches. *International Journal for Innovation Education and Research*, 3(12), 31–50. <https://doi.org/10.31686/ijer.vol3.iss12.484>
- Ogunmuyiwa, H. O., & Antia, B. E. (2020). Corruption in a diachronic corpus of Nigerian presidential speeches. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 38(2), 95–108. <https://doi.org/10.2989/16073614.2020.1763813>
- Palmer, G. B. (1996). *Toward a theory of cultural linguistics*. University of Texas Press.
- Pan, Z. (2020). Culture-specific conceptualizations relating to corruption in China English. *Lingua*, 245(102948), 1–15.
- Pertiwi, K. (2020). "We care about others": discursive constructions of corruption vis-à-vis national/cultural identity in Indonesia's business-government relations. *Critical*

*Perspectives on International Business, ahead-of-p*(ahead-of-print).

<https://doi.org/10.1108/cpoib-03-2019-0025>

Philip, M. (2002). Conceptualizing Political Corruption in Heidenheimer, A. J and Johnson, M. (eds). *Political Corruption -Concepts and Contexts* (3rd ed) London: Transaction Publishers. In *Political Corruption-Concepts and Contexts*.

Polzenhagen, F., & Wolf, H.-G. (2021). *Culture-Specific Conceptualisations of Corruption in African English: Linguistic Analyses and Pragmatic Applications* (pp. 361–399). John Benjamins Publishing Company. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-4696-9\\_17](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-4696-9_17)

Pragglejaz Group. (2007). MIP: A method for identifying metaphorically used words in discourse. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 22(1), 1–39. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10926480709336752>

Ritchie, L. D. (2010). “Everybody goes down”: Metaphors, stories, and simulations in conversations. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 25(3), 123-143.

Ritchie, D., & Cameron, L. (2014). Open hearts or smoke or mirrors: metaphorical framing and frame conflicts in a public meeting. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 3, 204–223.

Rose-Ackerman, S. (1999). Political corruption and democracy. *Journal of International Law*, 14(2), 363–378.

Rothstein, B., & Teorell, J. (2014). Causes of corruption. In P. Heywood (Ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Political Corruption* (1st). Routledge.

Sakyi, E., Azunu, R., & Mensah, K. (2011). Factors Impeding Anti-corruption Policy Implementation in Africa - The Case Study of Ghana’s Zero-tolerance for Corruption Policy. *Africa Insight*, 40(3). <https://doi.org/10.4314/ai.v40i3.64396>

- Sarfo-Kantankah, K. S. (2018). Corruption is a big issue: A corpus-assisted study of the discursive construction of corruption in Ghanaian parliamentary discourse. *Legon Journal of the Humanities*, 29(1), 226–258. <https://doi.org/10.4314/ljh.v29i1.9>
- Sarfo-Kantankah, K. S., & Arko, J. (2019). Compared to them, we are angels: Parliament, othering and the fight against corruption in Ghana. *Legon Journal of the Humanities*, 30(2), 43–69. <https://doi.org/10.4314/ljh.v30i2.3>
- Semino, E. (2021). Not Soldiers but Fire-fighters"-Metaphors and Covid-19. *Health Communication*, 36(1), 50–58. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10410236.2020.1844989>
- Semino, E., & Demjén, Z. (Eds.). (2016). *The Routledge handbook of metaphor and language*. Taylor & Francis.
- Senior, I. (2006). *Corruption, the world's big C: causes, consequences, cures*, London: IEA. IEA.
- Sharifian, F. (2014). Cultural linguistics. *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Culture*, September, 473–492. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315793993-45>
- Sharifian, F. (2017). *Cultural Linguistics: Cultural Conceptualisations and Language* (Ning Yu & F. Sharifian (eds.); 8th ed., Vol. 8). John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Sharifian, F. (2003). On Cultural Conceptualisations. *Journal of Cognition and Culture*, 3(3), 187–207.
- Sharifian, F. (2015). Cultural Linguistics and world Englishes. *World Englishes*, 34(4), 515–531.
- Shleifer, A., & Vishy, R. (1993). Corruption. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 108(3), 599–617.

- Shutova, E., Kiela, D., & Maillard, J. (2016). Black holes and white rabbits: Metaphor identification with visual features. *2016 Conference of the North American Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics: Human Language Technologies, NAACL HLT 2016 - Proceedings of the Conference*. <https://doi.org/10.18653/v1/n16-1020>
- Smith, D. J. (2014). Contradictions of corruption in Nigeria. In *Routledge Handbook of Political Corruption* (pp. 51–60).
- Sparling, R. A. (2018). Impartiality and the Definition of Corruption. *Political Studies*, *66*(2), 376–391. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321717722360>
- Su, C., Chen, W., Fu, Z., & Chen, Y. (2021). Multimodal metaphor detection based on distinguishing concreteness. *Neurocomputing*, *429*, 166-173.
- Tankebe, J. (2010). Public Confidence in the Police Testing the Effects of Public Experiences of Police Corruption in Ghana. *The British Journal of Criminology*, *50*(2), 296–319. <https://doi.org/10.1093/BJC/AZQ001>
- Vine, V. Le. (1975). Corruption in Ghana. *Transition*, *47*, 48. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2934942>
- Werlin, H. H. (1972). The Roots of Corruption-the Ghanaian Enquiry. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, *10*, 247–266. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X00022370>
- Werlin, H. H. (1994a). Revisiting corruption: With a new definition. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, *60*(4), 547–558. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002085239406000401>
- Werlin, H. H. (1994b). Politics versus culture: Which is stronger? *Studies in Comparative International Development*, *29*(4), 3–24. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02802945>
- Wingo, A. (2017). Akan philosophy of the person. In *Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*.

Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University.

Wiredu, K. (1992). The moral foundation of African culture. *Person and Community: Ghanaian Philosophical Studies, 1*, 192–206.

Wiredu, K. (1992). The Moral Foundations of an African Culture. In D. R. Marrow (Ed.), *Moral Reasoning: A Text Reader on Ethics and Contemporary Moral Issues* (pp. 216–226). Oxford University Press.

Yankah, K. (1989). Proverbs: The aesthetics of traditional communication. *Research in African Linguistics, 20*(3), 325–346.

Yeboah -Assiamah, E., Asamoah, K., & Osei-Kojo, A. (2014). Corruption here, corruption there, corruption everywhere: A framework for understanding and addressing public sector corruption in developing African democracies. *Journal of Public Sector Administration and Governance, 4*(3), 186–204.

Yu, N. (2008). *Metaphor from body and culture* . Cambridge University Press.



#### APPENDIX

SELECTED SPEECHES AND THEIR URLs (Copied from Parliament Ghana’s Official website, Library Repository and Graphic Online)

**JJR**

STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESS 1999

RAWLINGS, JERRY JOHN

<https://ir.parliament.gh/handle/123456789/2878>

SESSIONAL ADDRESS DELIVERED BY H.E. FLT LT. JERRY JOHN RAWLINGS, 2000

PARLIAMENT OF GHANA; RAWLINGS, JERRY JOHN

<https://ir.parliament.gh/handle/123456789/612>

SESSIONAL ADDRESS BY FLT. LT. J.J. RAWLINGS ON THE STATE OPENING OF THE  
SECOND MEETING OF PARLIAMENT THURSDAY 29TH APRIL 1993

Rawlings, J.J

<https://ir.parliament.gh/handle/123456789/2875>

**JAK**

SESSIONAL ADDRESS BY H.E. MR. J.A KUFUOR (PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF  
GHANA) ON THE OCCASION OF THE STATE OPENING OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE  
THIRD PARLIAMENT OF THE FOURTH REPUBLIC AT THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE IN  
ACCRA ON THURSDAY, 15TH FEBRUARY, 2001

KUFUOR, JOHN AGYEKUM

<https://ir.parliament.gh/handle/123456789/2890>

STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESS, 31ST JANUARY,2006 BY H.E. JOHN AGYEKUM  
KUFUOR, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GHANA PARLIAMENT HOUSE  
KUFUOR, JOHN AGYEKUM

<https://ir.parliament.gh/handle/123456789/2883>

STATE OF THE NATIONS ADDRESS DELIVERED BY H.E. JOHN AGYEKUM KUFFOUR  
ON THE 14TH FEBRUARY 2008  
KUFFOUR, JOHN AGYEKUM

<https://ir.parliament.gh/handle/123456789/577>

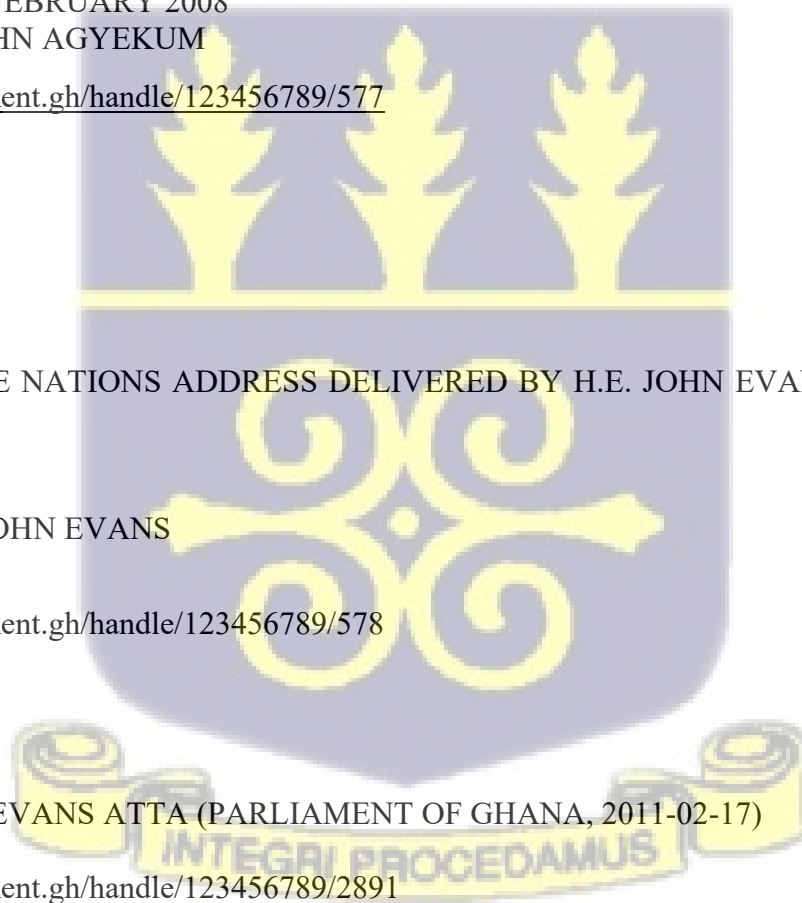
**JEAM**

STATE OF THE NATIONS ADDRESS DELIVERED BY H.E. JOHN EVAN ATTA MILLS,  
2009  
ATTA MILL, JOHN EVANS

<https://ir.parliament.gh/handle/123456789/578>

MILLS, JOHN EVANS ATTA (PARLIAMENT OF GHANA, 2011-02-17)

<https://ir.parliament.gh/handle/123456789/2891>



STATE OF THE NATIONS ADDRESS DELIVERED BY H.E. JOHN EVAN ATTA MILLS,  
2012

ATTA MILL, JOHN EVANS

<https://ir.parliament.gh/handle/123456789/580>

**JDM**

STATE OF THE NATIONS ADDRESS, OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL DELIVERED BY H.E  
JOHN DRAMANI MAHAMA PRESIDENT OF THE GHANA TO THE 6TH PARLIAMENT  
OF THE 4TH REPUBLIC ON FEBRUARY 21ST , 2013

MAHAMA, JOHN DRAMANI

<https://ir.parliament.gh/handle/123456789/575>

STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESS PRESENTED BY H.E. JOHN DRAMANI MAHAMA  
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GHANA & COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE  
ARMED FORCES AT THE THIRD SESSION OF THE SIXTH PARLIAMENT OF THE 4TH  
REPUBLIC ON THURSDAY FEBRUARY 26, 2015

MAHAMA, JOHN DRAMAN

<https://ir.parliament.gh/handle/123456789/2887>

STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESS FEBRUARY 25, 2016

MAHAMA, JOHN DRAMANI

<https://ir.parliament.gh/handle/123456789/2889>

## **NADAA**

MESSAGE ON THE STATE OF THE NATION BY HIS EXCELLENCY NANA ADDO DANKWA AKUFO-ADDO PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE GHANA ARMED FORCES. THURSDAY, 8TH FEBRUARY 2018  
AKUFO-ADDO, NANA ADDO DANKWA

<https://ir.parliament.gh/handle/123456789/2888>

MESSAGE ON THE STATE OF THE NATION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC, NANA ADDO DANKWA Akufo-Addo, ON THE OCCASION OF THE STATE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT, ON THURSDAY, 20TH FEBRUARY, 2020, AT PARLIAMENT HOUSE, ACCRA.

<https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/message-on-the-2020-state-of-the-nation-by-president-akufo-addo-full-address.html>

MESSAGE ON THE STATE OF THE NATION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC, NANA ADDO DANKWA AKUFO-ADDO, ON TUESDAY, 9TH MARCH, 2021, AT PARLIAMENT HOUSE ACCRA  
AKUFO-ADDO, NANA ADDO DANKWA

<https://ir.parliament.gh/handle/123456789/2879>

