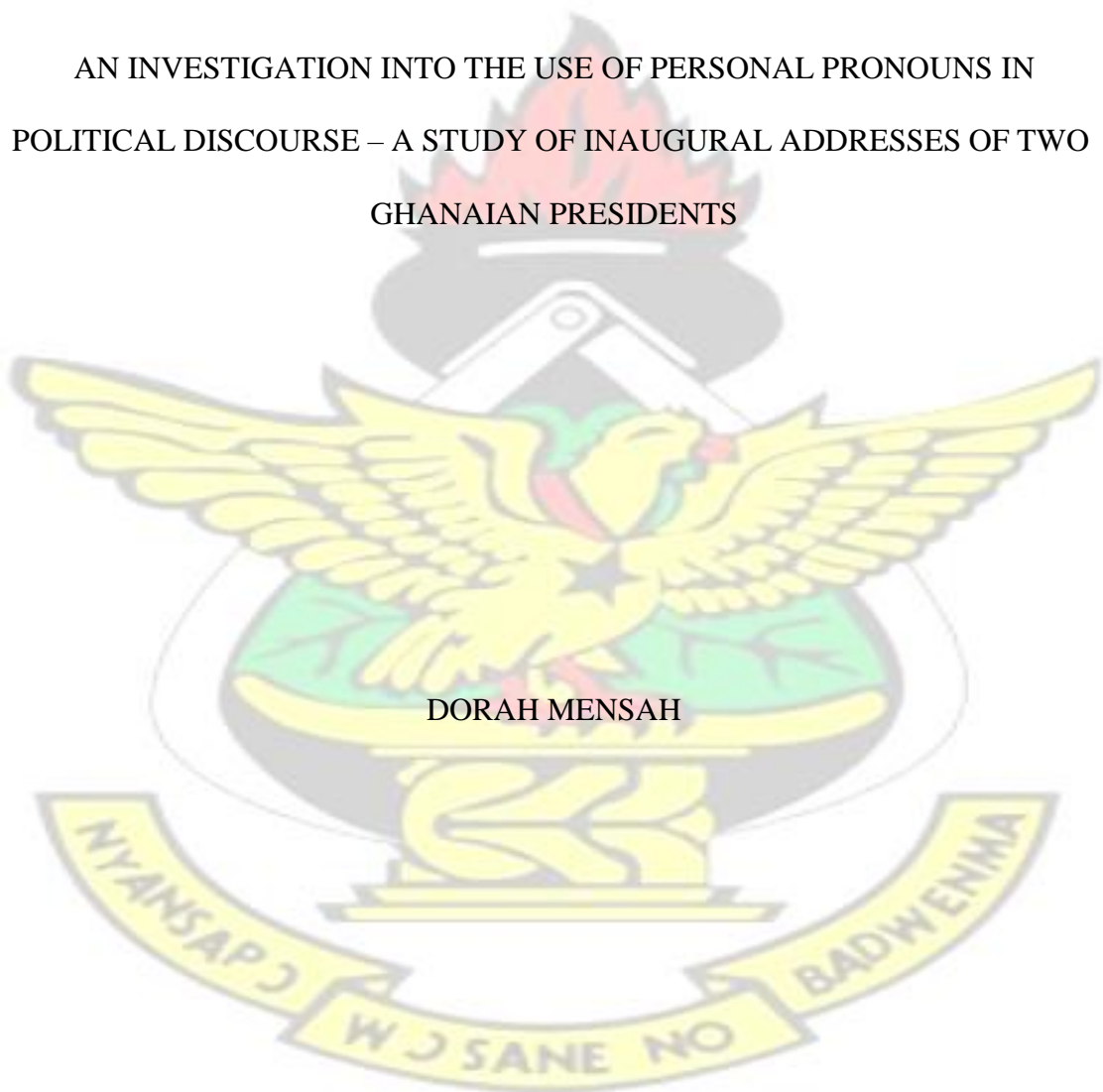


KWAME NKRUMAH UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

KNUST

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE USE OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN
POLITICAL DISCOURSE – A STUDY OF INAUGURAL ADDRESSES OF TWO
GHANAIAN PRESIDENTS



DORAH MENSAH

2018

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DORAH MENSAH

(PG 3773915)

**A DISSERTATION IN THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH, FACULTY OF
SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL
OF GRADUATE STUDIES, KNUST, KUMASI IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR AWARD OF THE MASTER OF
PHILOSOPHY (ENGLISH) DEGREE**

June, 2018

DECLARATION

1, DORAH MENSAH, declare that this thesis, with the exception of quotations and references contained in published works which have all been identified and duly acknowledged, is entirely my own original work, and it has not been submitted, either in part or whole for another degree elsewhere.

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Certified by:
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(Supervisor) Signature Date

Certified by:
Dr. Peter Arthur
(Head of Department) Signature Date

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Finally, I thank all my friends and loved ones who contributed in diverse ways to the successful completion of this work. May the good Lord bless you.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my lovely mum, Esther Gyeabour and my four wonderful children, Evangelina, Ernest, Samuel and Virtue.

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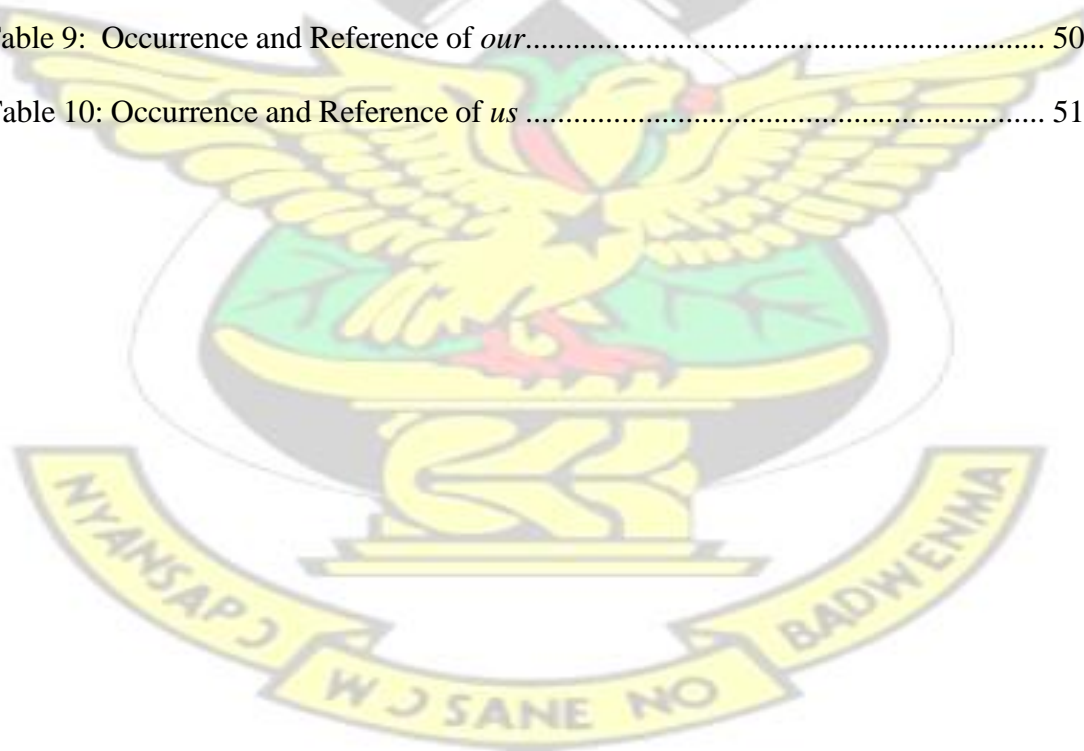
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ABSTRACT

This study examined personal pronoun choices in the inaugural addresses of two presidents in Ghana. The main focus of the study was to determine the references of personal pronouns used in the speeches as well as to determine relationships that were established in the speeches by the use of personal pronouns. The theory of indexicality as explained by Kaplan (1989a) was the main framework used to support this study. The qualitative research design was the main approach used in the study. The results suggest that politicians create various identities of themselves and others through the exploitation of personal pronouns. Personal pronouns were contextually exploited in terms of genericness, definiteness and specificity suggesting both inclusive and exclusive use of the pronouns. The study then explored social meanings and attitudes such as political ideologies, power, identity and statesmanship in the speeches. This research is expected to be useful in universities and international educational organizations to generate better insights into grammar and semantics in other fields of study.

Key words: indexicality, genericness, specificity, definiteness, inclusive and exclusive

CHAPTER ONE

1:0 Introduction

This study is informed by the theory of indexicality to investigate the exploitation of personal pronouns (from the grammatical category of pronouns) in political discourse. It looks at the discursual functions of pronouns in the Inaugural Speeches (INS) of two presidents in Ghana. It looks at how personal pronouns are used as reference by politicians, their inclusive and exclusive use of the personal pronouns, their expression of identity, ideology, power and statesmanship.

1.1 Background to the Study

1.1.1 The Philosophy behind Presidential Inaugural Addresses

As a means of communication, language is dynamic and hence undergoes series of changes to meet the social and developing needs of the human society. Language and politics are social stances; the former provides an important means which serves the purposes of communication and cohabitation (van Dijk 2004: 8-9). In a speech situation, the speaker may choose certain grammatical categories to show his identity and connection with his audience. Among the grammatical categories in English, the personal pronoun presents a strategic tool by which the politician can either stay close and/or distance himself from the audience especially when he is delivering a speech.

Philosophically, an inauguration is a ceremonial activity in which someone is inducted into a new position by means of formal speech Nordquist (2010). The inaugural address, being the first speech, is a means by which intentions of a leader are made known. Within such speeches are references to *self and others* with the use of personal pronouns Beard (2000: 37). Making speeches is a vital part of politicians' roles in announcing their policies and persuading people to agree with them. Like all political actors,

presidents extensively rule through speeches: inaugural addresses, state of the nation addresses, press releases and many more.

One of the most important speeches to all presidents is their first speech upon assumption of office - Presidential Inaugural Address (PIA) Schmidhauser (2010). This is because the presidential inaugural address is made a few days after diverged electoral process, which is sometimes marked by verbal attacks on opponents. A newly installed president is, thus, confronted with a huge task of inspiring national confidence in him as one capable of leading the nation/state to socio-economic progress, and of rallying support from all sides of the political divide for his policies and programmes.

Obviously, presidential inaugural address is primarily intended to unify the country for common socio-economic and political goals Manning (2005). Presidential Inaugural Addresses have been regarded a major part of democracies throughout the world. The speeches are usually made by politicians, who address the nation either as a unit or as individual political groups. In their speeches, the politicians use personal pronouns such as *I, You, We, us, they and them* for different purposes with the aim of bonding with their audience.

Thus, deliverers of inaugural speeches, whether as representatives of political groups or as individuals have the main aim of connecting themselves with their audience through the use of linguistic items such as personal pronouns. What they say in their speeches determine how credible or otherwise they are in the sight of the people.

Inherent in political speeches is the ability to increase the population's political participation, explain important issues and also expose how a problem is best solved in such a way that the politicians can persuade others to have the same opinions as them.

According to Wilson (2001: 31), language is not only used to shape reality, but also to protect that reality against anyone whose alternative uses might threaten us. Thus, the philosophy behind the presidential inaugural address is to reveal ideology in the sense of how the speakers evaluate the people, events and their actions. In order to appeal to a diverse audience, it becomes imperative for the politicians to use persuasive means to present themselves as multi-faceted thereby making careful choices of pronouns in their speeches. The English personal pronoun has been used extensively in politics, over a range of languages and different discourse types including analysis of the us versus them dichotomy (Boyd, 2008; Wilson, 2001).

1.1.2 Presidential Inaugural Addresses from the American and Ghanaian Perspectives

According to Bhatia (2009), the inaugural ceremony of the President of the United States is one which marks the beginning of a new four-year term of the President of the United States. The ceremony is held at the beginning of each new presidential term. Records have it that the ceremony has been in place since 1937, on the 20th day of January; 72 to 78 days after the November presidential election (on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November). The presidential term starts at noon (ET) on that day, after the administration of oath by the chief justice both in private and also in public.

According to Brenna (2017), it is only after the president has sworn the mandatory oath or affirmation that he can officially assume the office of presidency.

However, various traditions that have arisen over the years have transformed the inauguration from being one of a simple oath-taking ceremony to a day-long event which includes parades and multiple social gatherings. Zheng (2001) indicates that the

importance of the presidential address lies in the fact that it revolves around the inaugural address, which has lasting influence upon America. According to Kiewe (1995), the 20th century presidency in America has been said to be —the rhetorical presidency‖ to denote a style of governing and leadership that relies mainly on public discourse and whose rhetoric equals action. To this effect, language has been seen to be a useful tool for achieving such purposes. Most presidents therefore employ pronouns to serve this purpose effectively.

In Ghana, the president has it as a duty to mobilise Ghanaians to achieve the vision of our forebears. As president-elect of Ghana, he is the apparent winner of the just ended presidential election held on 7th December as declared by the Chairperson of the Electoral Commission of Ghana. The period between presidential election and the inauguration witnesses activities by the presidential transition team to ensure a smooth handover of power and the outgoing president is said to be a ‘lame duck’.

Several presidents of the Republic of Ghana have had varying times or periods of transition within which the president elect is inaugurated and ushered into office as president of the state. The president of the Republic of Ghana, in his inaugural address, touches on a number of issues among which he promises to deliver on all his campaign promises. The president underscores the need for Ghanaians to be part of the change they voted for by working in solidarity with the new leadership and also changing their negative attitudes.

1.1.3 Political Speeches

Politicians can be seen as professional persuaders. Their job is in many respects to persuade voters to adopt their perspective, be it on whom to vote for, or on other important issues. According to Eshbaugh-Soha (2010: 1), governance dwells mostly on

speeches. Through speeches, the people are informed about the policy preferences of presidents which allow them to meet public expectations. Presidents in recent years have been more inclined to appealing to the public through bargaining especially in times when public support has become increasingly important in meeting policy goals.

Since this thesis looks at the use of personal pronouns in presidential speeches, it is appropriate to examine political speeches and how such speeches can be employed as tools to persuade the public. This is due to the fact that speeches have become increasingly important tools in the president's repertoire Teten (2003). Such speeches may carry in themselves different kinds of meanings, some of which may be contextdependent in ways that meanings of names and descriptions are not. Second, their meanings play different kinds of roles in the interpretations of the utterances that contain them. Personal pronouns in these speeches may be indexically linked to one or several references.

Indexicals are generally defined as expressions whose interpretation require that some element of the context of utterance be identified as stipulated by their lexical meanings. A part of what makes pronouns a special class of linguistic items is how they contribute to the meaning of sentences (or other constructions in which they occur). They are able to pick out the same kinds of objects on one hand and referents as full lexical nominals when they enter interpretation.

As Simpson (1993: 6) rightly observes, —Language is not used in a contextless vacuum; rather, it is used in a host of discourse contexts which are impregnated with the ideology of social systems and institutions|.

When they are carefully selected, linguistic items even become much more expedient in the world of politics that enable human beings to socialize and form coalitions which signal group boundaries. In simple terms, pronouns, especially personal pronouns may be used to induce interpreters to conceptualize group identity, coalitions, parties and the like both as insiders and as outsiders. Bramley (2001) also argues that, apart from the deictic or referential work they do, pronouns must also be thought of in terms of the context of interaction and identity work that they accomplish by way of expressing person, number and gender as suggested by traditional grammarians.

It is in this context that we find the analysis of personal pronouns important - the possibility of mapping out pronominal representations carried out in view of political exigencies to serve political goals that may otherwise remain opaque as far as other theoretical constructs are concerned. Apart from being word classes whose main functions include working as substitutes for nouns and noun phrases, pronouns also perform pragmatic functions which is what the current study aims at investigating.

For example, to ascertain the meaning and reference of *you* and *we* in Barack Obama's utterance, *'Today I say to you that the challenges we face are real'* (Obamas Inaugural Address 20th January 2009). There is the need to look at certain elements of the context in which these pronouns were used. Such elements may include the utterer/speaker, the addressee, the time, place etc.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The study of pronominal use in political discourse proves to be a very relevant and interesting phenomena. This is because of the pragmatic and semantic appeals it brings to the interpretation of texts. Almost all political speeches exploit personal pronouns to achieve desired effects. They can be exploited to achieve both inclusive and exclusive

effects. They can also be exploited to suggest either generic, specific or definite reference, all of which impact greatly on the audience. Thus, they can be used to foster and manage the sentiments of members in a group to the advantage of the speaker and also to the detriment of political opponents.

Most studies on political discourse the world over have sought to investigate the real intentions, motivations and aspirations of politicians through their speeches. There exist extensive studies on the functions and interpersonal meanings in such speeches globally. Feng and Lui (2010) did a study on President Obama's speech which was on a memorial of his first 100th days in office. They explored how interpersonal meaning is achieved from the perspective of Functional Grammar by emphasizing mood, modal auxiliary, personal pronouns in pronoun system, and tense shift. Bello (2013) conducted a Critical Discourse Analysis of personal pronouns in political discourse in President Jonathan's Presidential Declaration Speech.

In Ghana, several approaches have been used in carrying out linguistic studies on political discourse, gender, and media discourse. For instance, Mohammed (2000) investigates and analyzes three aspects of hedging in spoken political discourse to find their means of expression, density of lexical and syntactic markers, and pragmatic functions. Boicu (2007) looks into political speeches from the point of view of how the speakers use modal verbs which contribute to the mitigation or the aggravation of the illocutionary forces released by the speech acts they belong to. Also, ofori (2009) uses a political discourse to investigate how hedging devices serve a function as discourse political strategy.

Yankson and Nartey (2014) carry out a semantic investigation into the use of modal auxiliary verbs in the 2012 manifesto of a popular Ghanaian political party, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and demonstrates clearly that modal auxiliary verbs have the

propensity to reveal very subtle and detailed meanings of the nature of political discourse. Boakye (2014) does —an exploration of the use of assertives in Ghanaian Presidential Inaugural Addresses. Ademilokun (2015) employed the pragmatic tool of politeness theory in a media discourse to state that women are more linguistically polite than their male counterparts, and finally, Ewusi (2015) does an analysis of President John Evans Atta Mills to determine how he manipulated language in his first State-of-the-Nation address to express his political message to his people through the transitivity model.

In spite of the extensive studies on political discourse in Ghana, very little attention seems to have been given to the phenomenon of pronominal use from a pragmatic point of view, in an effort to discover the semantic twists that may accrue to the use of these pronouns especially in political speeches. It is obvious from the ensuing discussion that, politicians exploit personal pronouns to achieve desired effects - they create varying identities of themselves, play on the sentiments of their audiences by switching references and also avoid face threatening situations. In this way, the politician is able to escape blame, assert power as well as accept or reject responsibility and also create dichotomy between —us and —them.

The fact that this very intriguing linguistic item remains the least exploited in discourse studies in Ghana, calls for the need for a practical investigation into this phenomena. Also, the theory of indexicality which introduces practical and contextual dimensions into understanding references of personal pronouns, appears to have seen no light, especially in Ghanaian political discourse. The question therefore remains as to what role (s) does context play in determining references of personal pronouns in political speeches?. How effectively are ideas/topics such as identity, ideology, power relations,

responsibility and statesmanship communicated in speeches by politicians through their exploitation of personal pronouns.

This study seeks to address the stated questions by looking at the discursal uses of personal pronouns in political speeches. This would be done through the semantic theory of indexicality to explore how context aids in establishing references of personal pronouns. The study would also go ahead to look at how ideas or topics are communicated in the speeches by two Ghanaian Presidents.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The objective of this research is to discuss the use of personal pronouns in speeches of two Ghanaian presidents. This study wants to see the discursal uses of pronouns – and these uses of referential and interpersonal relationships, power, identity, and responsibility. The personal pronouns were chosen because of the effects they have on the outcome of the speeches. Specifically, the study investigates how the personal pronouns are used referentially in the speeches of the two presidents.

The study also explores the choice and use of personal pronouns to establish relationships to self, identity, ideology, power and to represent the state or party. Finally, the study discusses the choice and use of personal pronouns which index or indicate the ideals of statesmanship.

1.4 Research Questions

The study is underpinned by the ensuing questions.

1. Which references do the personal pronouns index?
2. What interpersonal relationships and ideas are established in the speeches by the use of personal pronoun?

3. How does the choice and use of personal pronouns index or indicate the ideals of statesmanship?

1.5 Significance of the Study

This research offers other researchers opportunity to identify the use of personal pronouns in a political speech discourse. It is helpful since with this analysis, it can make readers understand personal pronouns that they may find in texts or discourses and would also help them to merge grammar and semantics in a broader sense. This is necessary to enable readers understand what they read in full knowing that most ideas in texts are properties of both grammar and semantics.

The research may be of significance to writers of political scripts. Studies have shown that the effectiveness of communication and rhetoric lies in their ability to portray the speaker's intentions and ideologies as well as address the audiences. Speechwriters would thus be guided to select linguistic items which would establish a feeling of harmony amongst groups of audience and speaker and in this manner cultivate national solidarity, unity which are great recipe for national development.

Sociolinguists and political analysts would also achieve greater insight into pronouns which apparently seemed to be a relatively minor word-class. The contributions made by pronominal choices – exposing implicit statements, truths and attitudes may help these analysts to read between the lines to expose the potentially hidden truths of the politicians' speech for the common understanding of all.

The general public also stands to benefit from this research in the light of the fact that the findings of this research would be an eye opener and provide them the opportunity to objectively assess their leaders. They would be better placed when making decisions as to who to allow in power or vote against. Obviously, a research in this direction

would fill the vacuum of inadequate guide-study in political discourse especially on personal pronouns for interpretations of political speeches and evaluation of the stance of speakers.

Again, this study will be a new dimension to the studies on political speeches. The findings of the study will, therefore, help readers and researchers understand implications of personal pronouns. The study will further benefit other researchers who are interested in indexicality to further study the language of political speech in order to identify the thoughts encoded in the use of personal pronouns in such texts to exert power.

Finally, the study will impact positively on the teaching and learning of pronouns at all levels of the academic ladder, more especially in Ghanaian schools. This would actually facilitate teaching and learning of grammar and semantics, as well as essay writings. It will help readers to interpret and derive the correct meaning of texts using syntax and semantics as a guide. In a similar vein, once this research has been undertaken, the findings that are concerned with language and speech discourse will be a useful tool for critics of discourse to consider the linguistic and the extra linguistic elements of speeches in their analysis.

1.6 Limitations

The study uses indexicality as theoretical and analytical framework. The study is confined to personal pronouns in political speeches and not pronouns in general. The researcher believes it would have been interesting to have compared this system of personal pronouns to other lexical choices in speeches. However, because of space constraints, funds, and time, the researcher could not do that. This study is thus based on written versions of the speeches, therefore the researcher has to work using the textual/written form of the speeches.

The researcher is not able to capture most of the extra linguistic elements in the form of ‘gestures, facial expressions, gaze and even tone variations’, all of which form part of the context of utterance and which bring out the actual moods and relationships the words carry. Also, the research is based on some form of data; primary and secondary. The apparent difficulty in assessing some of the data on the internet at the onset resulted in the researcher’s reliance on other sources such as archives of political parties. However, the uncooperative attitudes of some political party clerks in charge of such information presented some form of difficulty in obtaining all the data intended for this research.

1.7 Delimitation

The research focuses primarily on the frequency of occurrence of personal pronouns used in some selected political speeches. The study will analyze only the usage of personal pronouns that will occur in the sample of data that will be examined. This is however exclusive of the personal pronoun ‘it’. This is the result of the fact that, though a personal pronoun, ‘it’ is mostly impersonal in nature. Its reference is mostly limited to inanimate objects/things. It must also be used together with other lexical items before its meaning and referent can completely be established. Other kinds of pronouns, the demonstrative, the reflexive, the possessive, the relative and the locative, offer a rather wide variety of meanings both semantic and pragmatic but they would not be explored. The study goes on to provide the interpersonal and power relationships that are established among the speakers and the listeners in the utterances.

1.8 Organization of the Study

This work comprises five chapters. *Chapter one* stresses the introduction of the work. This is made up of the introduction, that is, the background to the research, the statement

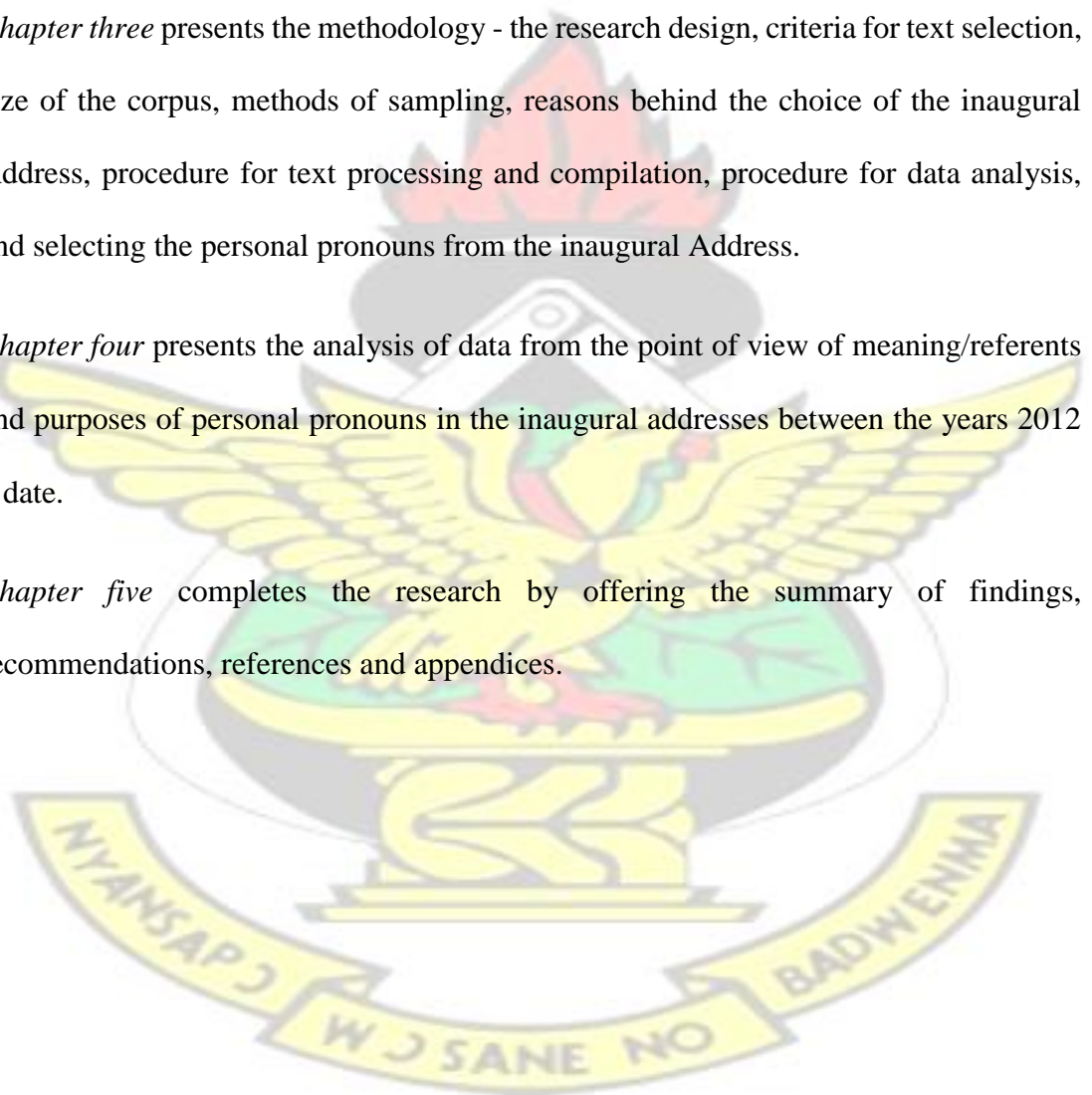
of the problem, the purpose of the study, the research questions, and significance of the study, limitation, delimitation, and the organization of the study.

Chapter two consists of two parts: The first part looks at the theoretical and analytical/conceptual frameworks on which the analysis is based. It consists of the related theories based on which the data would be analyzed. The second part gives literature review on the subject of pronoun use in political speeches.

Chapter three presents the methodology - the research design, criteria for text selection, size of the corpus, methods of sampling, reasons behind the choice of the inaugural Address, procedure for text processing and compilation, procedure for data analysis, and selecting the personal pronouns from the inaugural Address.

Chapter four presents the analysis of data from the point of view of meaning/referents and purposes of personal pronouns in the inaugural addresses between the years 2012 – date.

Chapter five completes the research by offering the summary of findings, recommendations, references and appendices.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the theoretical framework upon which the study is based would be discussed. The theory of indexicality and the grammatical category of pronouns are the main frameworks that support this study

2.1 Theoretical Framework: Theory of Indexicality

2.1.1 What is Indexicality?

The notion of indexicality is quite controversial. However, various scholars have sought to provide definitions for indexicality. Frege (1966: 213) described the phenomenon of indexicality as a property of ordinary language sentence and that the sentence one expresses cannot constantly encompass all that is essential; an excessive arrangement has to be provided by the background, by the signs one makes and the direction of one's senses. Perry (1977) states that an *indexical expression* (such as *today, that, here, utterance, and you*) is a word or phrase that is connected with diverse connotations (or referents) on diverse instances.

Perry suggests that in discussion, clarification of indexical terms may rest largely on a diversity of extra-linguistic and features, such as hand gestures and the common knowledges of the partakers. Thus, he claims that indexicals are expressions which can have a different semantic value depending on the contexts in which they are uttered. Zwicky (1977) opines that in pragmatics (and other divisions of linguistics and philosophy), *indexicality* involves the structures of linguistics that refers straight to the conditions or contexts in which an utterance occurs. Nunberg (1979), indexicality refers to the contextual nature of behavior, talk or speech and its referent.

Traut and Kazzazi (1996) also explain that indexicality denotes words, like *I* or *here*, that can have diverse imports dependent on who is saying them because they infer back to the talker/speaker in different ways. Frege (1979: 213) described the phenomenon of indexicality as a property of ordinary language sentence. The sentence one expresses cannot constantly encompass all that is essential; an excessive arrangement has to be provided by the background, by the signs one makes and the direction of one's senses. Thus, Perry (1977: 474-497) suggests that in discussion, clarification of indexical terms may rest largely on a diversity of extra-linguistic features, like hand gestures and the common knowledges of the partakers. Indexicals are expressions which can have different semantic values depending the contexts in which they are uttered.

2.2.2 Indexicals

It is obvious from Dokic (2012) that an indexical expresses an explanation which conservatively presumes a relationship to the opinion of a contextually accessible address focus, its announcer. Elbourne (2008) also indicates that an indexical is coarsely dialogue, a linguistic expression whose referent can swing from situation to situation. Indexicals are expressions with non-constant character; an expression the character of which does not assign the same content to each context of utterance.

From the various definitions stated above, one can possibly say that, an indexical expression is one whose meaning is not resolute in the dictionary; as an alternative, its referent is flexible, associating with varied referents and diverse connotations in diverse circumstances. The following list is typical of what is considered by linguists and philosophers of language to be indexical expressions, or indexicals for short:

1. Personal pronouns: *I, we, you, he, she, etc.*
2. Demonstratives, simple and complex: *this, that, this man, that woman, etc.*
3. Adverbs: *here, now, presently, today, yesterday, actually*

4. Adjectives: *my, your, present, actual*.
5. Verb tenses: *present tense, past tense, etc.* Dokic (2012: 2)

These expressions are called —indexicals‖ insofar as their significance can vary in systematic ways according to the context of their utterance. In short, indexicality has to do with a form of context sensitivity that some linguistic expressions exhibit in contrast to others.

Many philosophers think that indexicals have two categories of import. First, the meaning is often termed ‘_linguistic meaning’ or ‘_character’ Kaplan (1989a). Second, the meaning is frequently termed ‘_content’. By means of this terminology, one could cohere that every indexical has a solitary unvarying character, yet may vary in content from context to context. Scollon and Scollon (2003: 146) states that —an indexical expression such as today, that, utterance and you) is a word or phrase that is associated with different meanings or referents on different occasions‖. This suggests that in discussion, explanation of an indexical expression may in part depend on a variety of para-linguistic and non-linguistic structures such as finger signals and the common knowledges of the people who are conversing.

In Kaplan (1989a), the contexts of utterance of an expression are individuated on the basis of four features: utterer, time, spatial position, and possible world. These are the features of a context of utterance of an expression to which its content might be sensitive. For example, *I* is sensitive to the first structure, *now* and *yesterday* to the second, *here* to the third, and *actually* to the last. The indexicals (*I, here, now* and *Kumasi*) can be recognized from each other by the relevant variables to which they are delicate. *I* is delicate to the *utterer*- highlight of a setting of articulation, *here* and *now*

to a setting's place and time, and *Madagascar* to the dubbings-in-power of a specific circumstance – the particular referent an expression acquires in the real world.

Thus, indexicals are used for a set of context dependent referential terms and what they denote may vary from one context of their use to the other. English examples include; *I, here, now, we you, tomorrow, he, they, this, that, this guy*. Kaplan (1989a: 481-563). Different scholars order indexicals into several types, contingent upon how their references and substance are resolved in specific circumstances. Among this set, Kaplan (1989a), for example, recognizes *pure indexicals* and *impure indexicals* or *true demonstratives* while Perry (1993) makes a firmly related improvement between automatic and discretionary indexicals.

2.2.3 Kaplan's Pure and Impure Indexicals

According to Kaplan (1989a: 489-491), pure indexicals are articulations the reference of which rely upon certain exceptionally standard parts of the settings in which they are used, where 'context' is comprehended to incorporate inter alia, a speaker, listener, time, and place. On pure indexicals, Kaplan contends that they consist of *I, today, tomorrow, actual, present, here, and now*. In contrast, 'impure' indexicals or true demonstratives should be more unpredictable in their reference, sensitive to less open parts of the setting, for example, the speaker's mental state. Conversely, the impure indexicals, (true demonstratives) are mostly fixed to comprise *this, that, he, she, and it*.

Kaplan claims that the reference and substance of true demonstratives, in a specific circumstance or context, depends (generally) on the speaker's going with exhibits or goals. For instance, the reference and substance of *that* in a setting is resolved (to some extent) by the speaker's pointing signals or by the speaker's goal to allude to a specific

question. The reference and substance of a pure indexical does not. The reference of *I* in a context for instance, is dependably the speaker, regardless of whether she focuses at herself, and the reference of *tomorrow* is dependably the day after quite a while of the unique situation, regardless of which day the speaker expects to allude to. Rather than the pure indexicals, the reference of impure indexicals does not usually lend themselves to be characterizable absolutely as far as steady guidelines which they themselves make reference to are concerned. Kaplan (1989a:

505)

2.2.4 Perry's Automatic and Discretionary

Perry (1993) makes a firmly related qualification amongst automatic and discretionary indexicals. Automatic indexicals incorporate *I* and *tomorrow* as indicated by Perry and they are indexicals whose referents are controlled by their linguistic implications/meanings and public contextual actualities. For example, the speaker and the day of expression; expectations (other than the aim to utilize the indexical with its typical meaning) are insignificant. Discretionary indexicals incorporate *he*, *she*, *that*, and *this man*; they depend for reference on speakers' expectations/tact. Perry additionally makes an orthogonal refinement between narrow and wide indexicals.

Narrow indexicals are those whose references are resolved by narrow settings/ contexts, where limited settings incorporate just a speaker, a period, and an area. Wide contexts incorporate different realities, for example, speakers' goals, presumptions made by conversational members, et cetera. The articulations that

Kaplan calls 'true demonstratives' Perry would call 'wide discretionary indexicals'. Roughly speaking, scholars exploring more carefully this way of drawing a line among indexicals, have to conclude that all indexicals, except possibly *I*, are demonstratives, or impure indexicals, or discretionary indexicals. It is easy to show that for none of

them their utterance fully determines their reference, and that for each of them, it is necessary to rely upon conventions, gestures, and intentions to decide what the intended referent is.

2.2 Main arguments of the Theory of Indexicality

2.2.1 Kaplan (1969)

The early driving force toward Kaplan's (1969) direct reference hypothesis of indexicality originated from an issue in rationale, to be specific, how to deal with records to setting in a legitimate representation. As indicated by Kaplan's record, each indexical, and each sentence containing an indexical, has a character that is a capacity from contexts to content. Kaplan contends that the content of a sentence in any given setting is an element of the substance of its parts in that same setting.

Kaplan (1989b) proposes distinction between two sorts of importance; character and substance. For instance, the sentence 'I am a philosopher' has a solitary character, yet has diverse contents as for various settings. Kaplan, as a rule, distinguishes character with linguistic meaning, which is a sort of significance settled by linguistic tradition.

Kaplan's theory of indexicals is an expression-based semantic hypothesis. Kaplan does not take the objects of semantic assessment to be articulations or tokens. Or maybe, Kaplan considers the articulations (sorts) themselves relative to contexts.

Context in Kaplan's theory, are dynamic formal structures that speak to specific highlights of an expression. Subsequently, the objects of semantic assessment on Kaplan's theory are conceptual articles, articulations in respect to settings instead of certain physical items (tokens) or specific occasions (expressions).

The current study is based on the premise of Kaplan (1989a) that indexicals are referential expressions used to isolate specific parts of the world by a speaker in his/her

speech. Therefore, the theory is very relevant to the study on the basis of how politicians represent certain lexical items in their speech to refer to different characters in different contexts through the use of certain personal pronouns which indexically point to the speaker and the audience.

2.2.3 Perry (1977)

Perry (1977: 3-4) states that in the case of indexicals, context is used semantically. Roughly, context is used semantically just in the event that it should be consulted even after the language, words and linguistic implications/meanings pertinent to the understanding or interpretation of the expression have just been resolved or determined. According to Perry (1993), if we replace the indexical *I, now, this* with another non-indexical term with the same referent (in that context), we get a sentence that does not capture what the subject has come to believe. Perry refers to the greater part of the expressions at which he is intrigued demonstratives.

However, it is pertinent to save that term for expressions such as *that* and *this dog*. Words such as *I, here, and yesterday* are rather known as indexicals. John Perry contends that they are fundamental or essential indexicals. An essential indexical in Perry's sense is a token-reflexive expression or demonstrative term that may not be wiped out yet just supplanted by different indexicals, without loss of behavioral illustrative power.

2.3 Some of the Aspects of Meanings of Indexicality

An indexical expression may show or radiate the following meanings:

a. Specificity

Enç (1991) states that in linguistics, —specificity is a semantic feature of the uniqueness of a referent in a given context of situation. For example, I have bought a house in

London (means there is a particular house in London which I have bought). In its most common linguistic use, specificity refers to a kind of definiteness that exists within an expression with specific reference to an individual noun. This is expressed by the grammatical marking on an expression showing that the speaker knows the identity of the referent which is used in the context.

Kaplan indicates that "What is normal to [indexicals] is that the referent is reliant on the context of utilization and that the importance or meaning of a word gives a particular rule which decides the referent as far as specific parts of the context are concerned" Kaplan (1989a: 490). What it means is that all indexicals have reference and specificity has a role to play when it comes to the referencing of an entity. At that point, both indexicality and the specificity procedure related with it are highlights of specific lexical elements which improve meaning inside the unique situation or context.

b. Genericness

Genericness is often used when making generalizations or talking about universal usage of personal pronouns. A generic pronoun is one that alludes to the commonplace individual from a noun group. Consider a singular pronoun with non specific or *generic* antecedent or reference as found in the example below

1. *Each scholar must learn everyday if he/she wants to shine.* (Singular generic noun antecedent, singular pronoun.)

c. Definiteness

"Definiteness" and "indefiniteness" are terminologies that are normally connected to noun phrases (NPs). In English, the article *the* is alluded to as "the definite article", where as *a/an* as "the indefinite article". Noun phrases (NPs) which start with *the* as in *the prince of Ashanti, the pen*, are called (particularly in the philosophical writing)

"definite depictions", are for the most part taken to be prototypical cases of distinct or definite NPs in English. In any case, it should be noted that not every one of them demonstrate similar bits of conduct that qualify them to be taken as criteria for definiteness Atkinson (2004).

Definiteness is a category concerned with the grammaticalization or identifiability and non-identifiability of referents with respect to a speaker or recipient. Definiteness is frequently expressed by articles or affixes having functions similar to articles. Definite identifiability is a kind of definiteness which indicates that an expression's referent(s) is in some way identifiable to both speaker and addressee. The referent is identifiable because of a shared knowledge or situation, including a previous mention of the referent. Instances of words which show definiteness include *the* and *he*. Indefiniteness is a form of definiteness which demonstrates the referent of an expression to show non-identifiability to both the speaker and the recipient. The referent is not identifiable because of a lack of shared knowledge or situation, including no previous mention of the referent. Here are a few cases of words that demonstrate inconclusiveness or definiteness: *an*, *a few*, *somebody* and so on.

2.4 Review of Previous Literature on the use of Pronouns in political speeches

A number of studies have been done on the use of pronouns in political discourse. The study of pronouns is viewed as an adaptable asset for developing social classes. Brown and Gilman's (1960) study state that the status of a person can be regulated by several variables, as age, wealth, sex, physical strength, role in family, state, church etc. The means by which those of 'higher status' address persons of 'lower status' is recognised as the T-form, and is thought to be the more casual one. The other form is known as the V-form, which alludes to how individuals of lower status address individuals of higher

status', and is viewed as the more formal one. These forms (T-forms and V-forms) originated from Latin, but can also be found in various languages.

An instance in the French language, where (vous) is formal and (tu) is less formal. They guaranteed that the decision of form is controlled by the relations of either power or solidarity between the speaker and the listener and which depends upon the way of life of the speakers. Their early work demonstrated that the selection of pronouns is influenced by the connection between the speaker and the audience. Addressing somebody similarly as they would address you demonstrates solidarity and equality. However, addressing somebody with a higher status uniquely in contrast to how that individual would address *you* indicate disparity and social separation. Both power and solidarity are connections between no less than two individuals, and contrasts of power can be found in all social orders.

Brown and Gilman (1960) used questionnaire concerning usage of power and solidarity for more semantic information concerning English. However, their work did not consider the use of personal pronouns and their references to show whether they were inclusive or exclusive as this work seeks to find. However, the work by Brown and Gilman (1960) is related and relevant to the current work in that it hinges on power relations and solidarity.

Biber (1988) contends that the first and second personal pronouns are frequently used in interactive discourse and that the near estimation of the first and second personal pronouns are not generally similar. He claims that second person pronouns have a more important marker of contribution than the first person personal pronouns. Biber (2006) also contends that *you* is most regular in class administration, available time, and so on where it is more than once utilized for guidelines and means of capable orders in

composed course administration. Biber utilized qualitative method as a basic technique to explore and analyse the use of *you* in political speeches. The strength of the qualitative technique allows a broader view to be taken and make the research approach more flexible.

However, the information necessary to conduct the study was derived and collected from secondary sources, concentrating heavily on printed materials, books, articles, magazines, the internet and periodicals. Biber's study lacks some of the underpinning expressions with the use of pronouns in speeches. It does not touch on generic, definite, and specific use of pronouns to indicate reference. But it is tied and relevant to the current study because it contends that pronouns are used for interactive purposes which includes the speaker and the listener. The current study opines that pronouns are used as reference in discourse.

De Fina (1995) displayed a textual study that indicated how vulnerability or consistency may affect the speaker's self-introduction. Her results demonstrated that the pronouns chosen for use in a discourse reflect different decisions, for example, distinguishing proof and inclusion with the gathering of people, and in addition distinctive purposes in political addresses. The utilization of the pronoun *we* as a means by which the speaker alludes to himself demonstrates that he is talking as an agent of a group or association, rather than an individual De Fina (1995: 24). By using *I* in the discourse, the utterer is able to relate a far stronger persuasion and authority to the group. This implies that politicians tend to accentuate the importance of power as the most applicable highlights of their discourses.

De Fina proposes an absence of second-person pronouns in political talks, which demonstrates that the pronoun is of no explicit interest to particular gatherings as

addressees. De Fina's findings likewise demonstrate how pronouns in a discourse must be considered in their specific circumstances, i.e. throughout the discourse to discover for example, how the pronouns are utilized and what implications they should pass on to the audience. (De Fina 1995: 24). The speeches that constitute this paper's data were delivered in different languages: Juarez's speech was in Spanish and Cordera's speech was in English. The analysis therefore took into account both the pronominal Systems of English and of Mexican Spanish.

De Fina stresses on understanding of the pragmatic implications of pro-nominal choices, and that the speaker's identity emerges through consistent use of certain pronouns with a referent and through the oppositions and connections established in the text between these referents, as well as the referents of other pronominal and nonpronominal forms. The current study is linked directly to the study by De Fina (1995) as it indexically explores the references in presidential inaugural speeches in the Ghanaian political context.

Beard (2000) used CDA as its theoretical framework to do a qualitative analysis of the speech made by Goodluck Jonathan at his party congress. The study revealed that the choice of pronouns in political addresses vary based upon whether the politician who makes the expression needs to impart the duty to other individuals or associates or not. Pronominal choices possess the ability to change the basis upon which the speaker endears himself for listeners to share his opinions and insights. (Beard 2000: 46). Beard sees pronouns as words substituting for nouns or noun phrases but the current study seeks to consider the indexical uses of personal pronouns within the speech situation.

According to Bramley (2001: 259), politicians utilize the pronoun *I* to introduce themselves as persons and talk from their own particular viewpoints, ideally featuring

one's great qualities and achievements. The pronoun *you* is utilized by the speaker to address parts of, or the whole gathering of people. Nonetheless, *you* is more confused, on the grounds that it is a generic pronoun and that it can be put to a more broader use, where *you* may allude to anybody. Bramley (2001: 261). *We* can be utilized to summon a gathering, participation or a collective identity, and make a division between *us* and *them*. Bramley (2001: 260). *They* is used to generate a copy of other and to split persons in groups. Bramley (2001: 262).

Bramley recommends that pronominal choices by politicians demonstrate their claim of character, particularly their individual or over-all personalities Bramley (2001: 263). Moreover, Bramley indicates that the essential concern of politicians is to make a picture of the truth as indicated by them, and pronouns are of real significance in doing such Bramley (2001: 266).

The data for Bramley's study consist of 32 Australian political interviews recorded between February 1995 and March 1996. The interviews were recorded from a variety of public radio and television news programs, including federal and local (Canberra) ABC (Australian Broadcasting Corporation) radio, ABC television's The 7.30 Report and two interviews from an SBS (Special Broadcasting Services) television news program. Bramley's thesis is very relevant because it touched on pronominal references which the current study also seeks to explore to indicate that the personal pronouns must be thought of in the context of interaction and also in terms of the 'identity work' that they accomplish.

Karapetjana (2011: 43) argues that how politicians talk and present themselves is a part of their identity. That is, we see how they are as a people through the pronominal choices they make. The utilization of personal pronouns can paint a picture of the

politician being referred to, both negative and positive. Karapetjana's analysis recommended that the pronoun *I* suggests a personal level. It makes it feasible for the speaker to demonstrate expert and moral duty, additional responsibility and inclusion. Her study likewise demonstrated that the individual pronoun *we* can be utilized by the politician if he or she wishes to share the obligation and furthermore to make contribution with the people whom he addresses. Karapetjana (2011: 43).

The researcher applied general principles of qualitative research, and it was based on the discourse analysis. The findings in Karapetjana's study are that, the plural form *we* is utilized when the choices are dubious, to give a feeling of collectivity and sharing of duty. She proceeds by emphasising that *I* is for the most part used to put forth broad expressions, and that politicians now and again abstain from using *I*, due to its distancing impact (Karapetjana 2011: 43). The findings also show that, usually speakers use the same techniques but a politician may use more persuasive techniques than the ordinary level speaker. Karapetjana's study is considered relevant to the current thesis because it shows how politicians use pronouns to display their identity, a fact the current study seeks to substantiate. How politicians use personal pronouns to create an image or identity of the politician in question, both negative and positive.

Jasim (2011) looks at in-group and out-group pronouns in political speech. Using Hosni Mubarak's speech offered on 10 February 2011 during what is later identified as 'January Revolution', the research established how politicians can connect with and disconnect from actions engaged by them or their administration. The work uses discourse analysis and theory of indexicals as its framework. The qualitative research design was the main method used for the study. The study found that some political leaders, predominantly use the first person pronouns, to influence their addressees to

accept their opinions and movements on predicaments, uprisings, and provocative matters.

Jasim's (2011) study is closely related to the current study because it looks into how personal pronouns are used help to establish the relationships of power and solidarity. However, the current study would include the indexical use of genericness, definiteness and specificity with the use of the pronouns.

Finally, the studies reviewed revealed that choice of pronouns may vary depending on how much power the speaker or politician possesses and how much of it he is willing to share in his speech. The studies also revealed that the pronouns used in speeches end up creating identities that foster the speaker's political interest and sustain the state of affairs while at the same time mystifying the real class and power struggle at the political center.



CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The present chapter discusses the methods and the contexts for the study. These include the research design, population sampling technique for the selection of the inaugural speeches of two presidents, procedure for the analysis, and instrument for data collection, how the data was processed and compiled, the data analysis and the structure of the research.

3.2 Research Design

In this study, the researcher used qualitative design as the main approach in determining the occurrence of personal pronouns. The major reason for choosing the qualitative design is that the present study, as demonstrated by the research questions, is exploratory in nature. As noted by Creswell (1994), qualitative design, with its flexible procedure, is the appropriate design for exploring and describing phenomena that are prominent to the researcher. According to Merriam (1998), qualitative research design focuses on meaning.

Qualitative research attempts to understand and make sense of phenomena from a perspective. Berg (2001) states that —the qualitative approach usually produces descriptions or typologies, along with expressions from subjects reflecting how they view the social world. He indicates that by this means, the perspectives of the producers of the text can be comprehended better by the one who does the investigation as well as the person who reads of the study’s results.

The specific type of qualitative research method adopted for the analysis was content analysis. Content analysis is a process where prose data are put into manageable units

of analysis to ascertain the content of a specific form of facts in order to recognize outlines, themes or prejudices Leedy and Ormrod (2005).

The appropriateness of the design also lies in the purposive nature of the sampling method of this study. Samples for qualitative content analysis usually consist of purposively selected texts which can inform the research questions being investigated. Textual or content analysis was employed by the researcher to identify the personal pronouns and number them.

3.3 Population and Sampling Technique

The target population for the study is two selected inaugural speeches; one speech from each of two presidents in the fourth republic of Ghana. President John Dramani Mahama (2012) as JDM and Nana Addo Danquah Akufo Addo (2017) as NADAA. The researcher purposively sampled one speech from each of the two presidents without prejudice for the study. As there are numerous presidents, the selection of the speeches was carried out using convenient sampling technique.

The convenient sampling refers to the ease with which the speeches/texts are obtained. It is the availability of the inaugural speeches to the researcher on the internet that determines their selection. The aim of the purposive sampling is to enable the researcher to narrowly select the exact speeches/texts. In selecting the sample size, Stempel (1952) indicates that purposive sampling method for inferring to the content of documents for a study is the most appropriate.

3.4 How the Data was collected

The inaugural speeches of the two presidents in the fourth republic of Ghana were retrieved from the internet. The inaugural speeches of President John Dramani Mahama, (JDM) and President Nana Addo Danquah Akufo Addo (NADAA) were first

retrieved respectively from www.ghanaweb.com and <http://www.parliament.gh>. The first website is a reliable source and a pivot of all information regarding Ghana – business, politics, culture etc. according to alexa.com, and this site ranks first in Ghana in terms of top sites with Ghanaian origin. The second website is also the official website of Ghana's Parliament, which is a nucleus of news and information on Parliament and other governmental organizations and many others.

These inaugural speeches were randomly selected from two presidents of Ghana. These were chosen for two reasons. These are people who have been presidents in the fourth Republic of Ghana, one from New Patriotic Party (NPP) and one from National Democratic Congress (NDC) which the researcher considered very current and for that matter reflect contemporary usage. The researcher selected one inaugural speech from each of the presidents who belong to the two major political parties which have successively run the country in the fourth republic in Ghana.

The speeches have a wide variety of issues including governance at diverse periods within the political domain. The speakers are politicians from two leading political parties in Ghana. Even though these websites are credible, the possibility of documents on the internet being altered (either deliberately or accidentally) made it imperative to authenticate the data. The researcher, with the help of a friend who is a member of parliament, obtained hard copies of the inaugural speeches from the library of the Parliament house of Ghana. These addresses confirmed the previously downloaded data as being authentic.

3.5 Instruments for Data Collection

The inaugural speeches of the two presidents are the documents which are used in this study. Tuckman (1999: 175) states that documents are information about an interaction or phenomenon which people have prepared. They are written accounts to describe and

occasionally explain phenomena that have taken place. The choice of this instrument was informed by the fact that descriptive and textual analysis, as indicated by Creswell (2000), lend itself to documents. This observation is confirmed by Borg and Gall (1993) that textual analysis typically employs written documents to determine the opinion, attitude, preferences, and perception of persons of interest to the research.

The fact that the present study is aimed at finding Ghanaian presidents' way of expression of thought using personal pronouns in English grammar and semantics, the use of written documents was appropriate. Another reason for using this instrument was to ensure validity and reliability of data collected.

Below are some of the merits of using documents. Documents

1. allow the researcher to have access to the language and words of participants.
2. can be accessed at a much convenient time by the researcher.
3. allow for careful concentration and attention when compiling them.
4. Once obtained, save the researcher time and stress associated with transcribing.

3.6 How the Data was Processed and Compiled

The speeches were converted from PDF into a word document for a computer-readable form. There were two main means available to the researcher. One, the researcher could use a scanner to scan the text materials into electronic text files.

Two, the researcher had to type each of the sentences that contained personal pronouns manually onto the computer. The researcher decided on the former option because that was more effective in ensuring that the corpus was not characterized by errors. The researcher entertains fears that by typing each text materials, mistakes could have occurred, thereby disfiguring and affecting the accurateness of the primary data.

3.7 The Choice of Pronouns

The personal pronouns were picked specifically on the grounds that they are the most intriguing ones from a political point of view, since they are the ones which show who the speaker relates to. They are additionally intriguing on the grounds that they have the ability to incorporate and avoid the group or part of an audience or listeners, and isolate self from other. They are somewhat little words that are able to change the impact which the discourse has on the group of listeners or audience.

3.8 Data Analysis

The inaugural speeches were analyzed to determine the discursual uses of personal pronouns. Since it is obvious that different writers produce different amounts of text (in number of texts) and different numbers of personal pronouns in writing, it is reasonable to predict that the more the number of sentences produced, the more expressions of personal pronouns would be found. The following are of interest:

1. Average number of personal pronouns in a sentence per writer
2. Language resources used to support personal pronouns

The procedure for analyzing were as follows:

Step 1: Only sentences that have personal pronouns were chosen to be analyzed.

Step 2: These addresses were read in order to discover the two presidents' position on the topic in question

Step 3: Sentences expressing meanings that contribute to the maintenance and development of positions are identified and numbered as NAS / JMS. These meanings correspond respectively to topics introduced into the speeches (persons, events, acts, etc), the speaker's comment on or attitude towards the topics, and the relations between topics with reference to each other and between topics and the writer's overall stance in the speeches. Parts of the

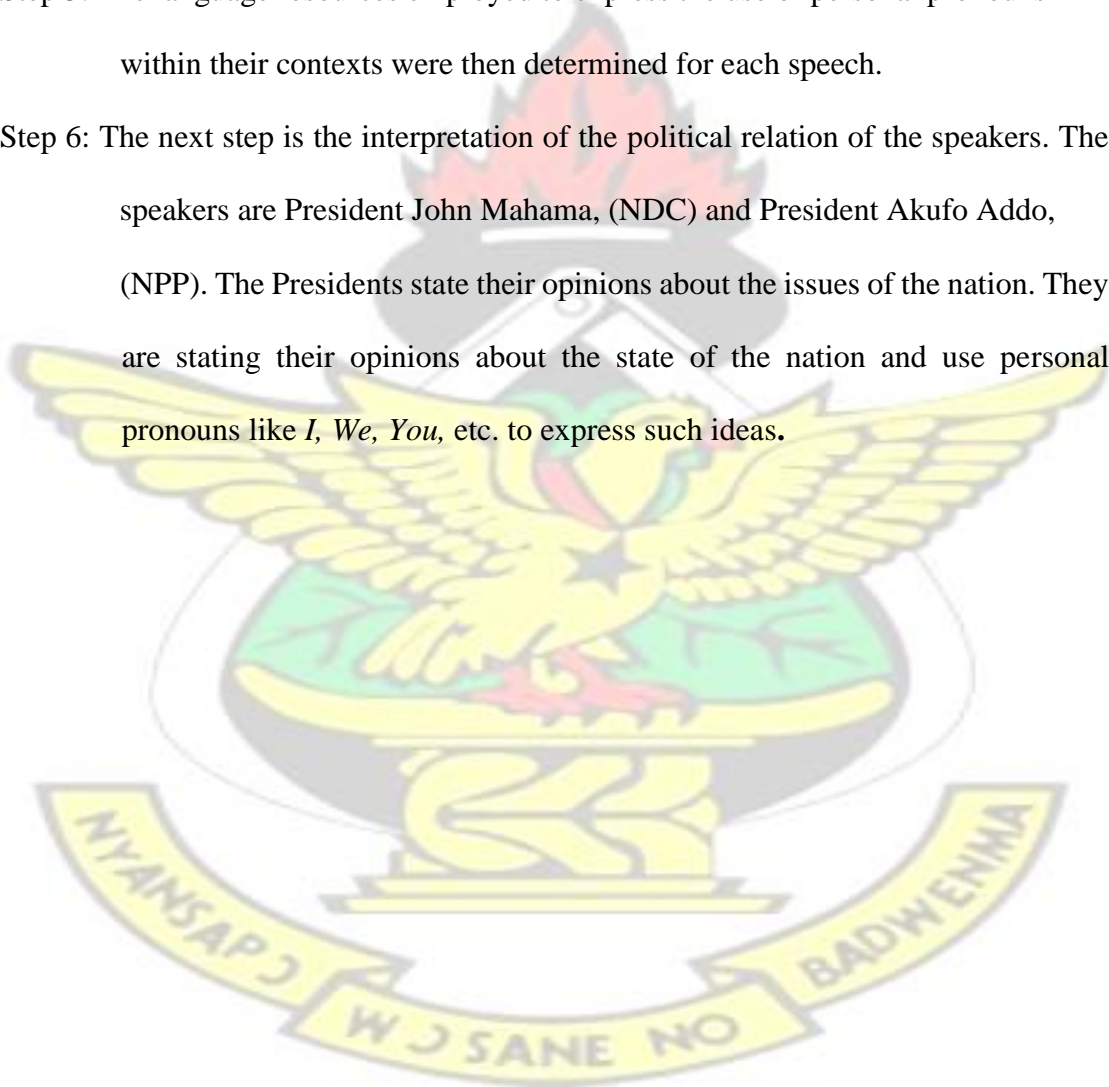
speeches that are not meaningfully related to the central goal were not regarded as having rhetorical relations to the central purpose and hence were excluded from the analysis.

Step 4: Each relevant pronoun in the speeches was scanned and typed for use.

The numbers of personal pronouns were added up for each speech, and the average number of personal pronouns per speaker was calculated.

Step 5: The language resources employed to express the use of personal pronouns within their contexts were then determined for each speech.

Step 6: The next step is the interpretation of the political relation of the speakers. The speakers are President John Mahama, (NDC) and President Akufo Addo, (NPP). The Presidents state their opinions about the issues of the nation. They are stating their opinions about the state of the nation and use personal pronouns like *I*, *We*, *You*, etc. to express such ideas.



CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the presentation of results from the qualitative analysis carried out on the data. The chapter begins with the frequency of the personal pronouns used by the speakers and how they reflect the basic meanings of definiteness, specificity and genericness. It also discusses the references of the personal pronouns index, and how these reflect the basic character of the pronouns.

4.1 Presentation and Analysis of Data

4.1.1 The occurrence of the Personal Pronouns

The study considers how the personal pronouns occurred in the speeches. For example, how do they occur- as subjects (*I, We, They, You*), object (*Me, Us, You, Them*), possessive adjectives (*My, Our, Your, Their*), or possessive pronouns (*Mine, Ours, His, Theirs*). All the pronouns were considered in terms of persons and number- first person singular and plural, second person and third person.

Table 1: The frequency of Pronouns running in the two Inaugural Addresses

Speakers	Total number of pronouns (P)		Total number of personal pronouns (PP)	
		%		%
JDM	245	43.21	149	38.4
NADAA	322	57.79	239	61.6
TOTAL	567	100	388	100

The total number of pronouns used by JDM were 245 representing 43.21% while NADAA used 322 representing 57.79%. The number of personal pronouns used by JDM were 149 which represents 38.4 % while NADAA used 239 representing 61.6%.

Since the focus of the analysis was on the personal pronouns in the two inaugural addresses, the researcher looked at the relative frequencies of each of the personal pronouns which were used by each of the presidents.

This relative frequency distribution table shows how personal pronouns are distributed in the two speeches in terms of persons (first person- singular and plural, second person singular and plural, and third person singular and plural).

Table 2: The Frequency and Relative Frequency Table of both JDM and NADAA

Speakers	Personal Pronouns	Frequency	Relative Frequency	Percentage %
JDM	First Person	101	0.678	68%
	Second Person	12	0.081	8%
	Third Person	36	0.241	24%
	Total	149	1.0	100%
NADAA	First Person	180	0.7531	75%
	Second Person	9	0.0377	4%
	Third Person	50	0.2092	21%
	Total	239	1.0	100

The figure 4.1 below shows the relative frequency distribution and the frequency distribution for the information on the table above. The vertical axis bears the percentages of the frequencies/ occurrence of the personal pronouns by both JDM and NADAA. The horizontal axis however, represent pronoun use by the speakers. The relative percentage frequencies of each speaker is represented by distinct bars. The purple bars represent NADAA, while the blue bars represent JDM. Given the varying length of their speeches, it can be observed from the figure below that NADAA recorded slightly higher percentages in terms of FIRST PERSON PRONOUNS (75% as against 68%). JDM however recorded higher figures in terms of SECOND PERSON PRONOUN (8% as against 4%) occurrence. For the THIRD PERSON, NADAA's use in relation to JDM was (21% as against 24%)

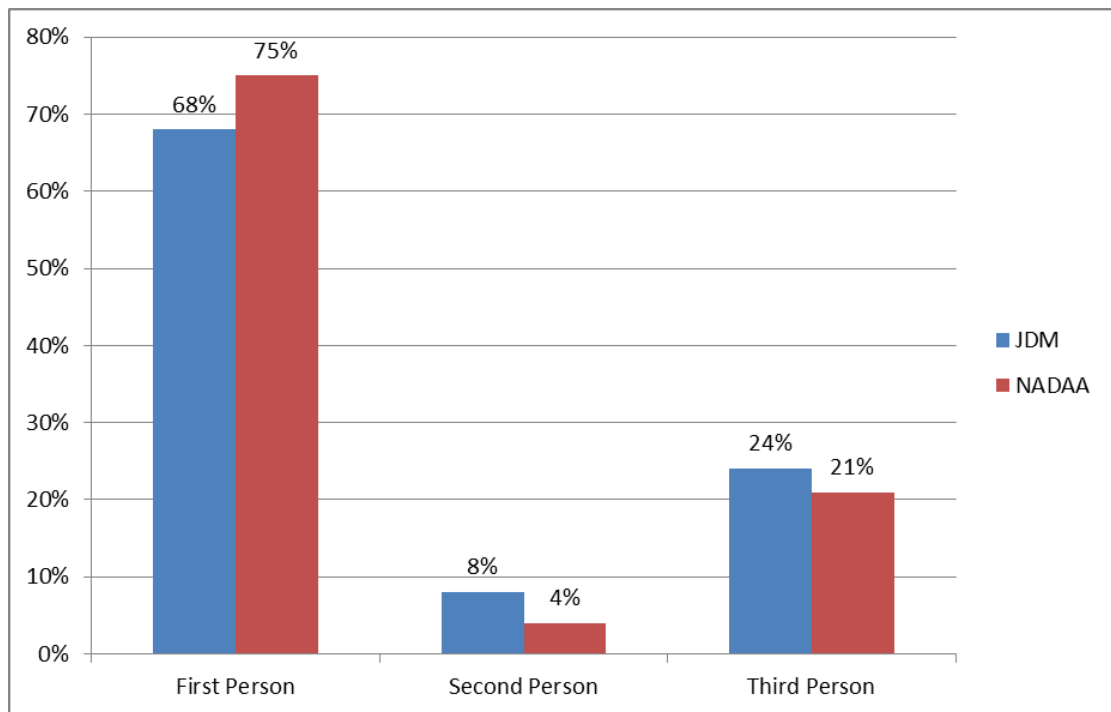


Figure 1: The frequency and relative frequency table of both JDM and NADAA

The Table below looks at the number of personal pronouns which occurred in the inaugural address by JDM in terms of persons and in number (first person, both singular and plural, second person singular and plural and third person singular and plural), case (subjective or objective), pronominal adjectives as well as possessive pronoun which are all grammatical manifestations of the personal pronoun forms. We also look at the references of the personal pronouns that occurred in the speech

Table 3: Occurrences of the Pronouns found in the Speech by President John Dramani Mahama as “JDM”

Pronouns (P)	Case (C)				
	Subjective	Objective	Pronominal Adj	Possessive Pronoun	Total
1 st Person Singular	I 26	Me 1	My 8	Mine 1	36
1 st person plural	We 26	Us 8	Our 30	Ours 1	65
2 nd person singular	You 1	You 0	Your 0	yours 0	1

2 nd person plural	<i>You</i> 3	<i>You</i> 2	<i>Your</i> 6	<i>Yours</i> 0	11
3 rd person sing	<i>He</i> 1	<i>Him</i> 0	<i>His</i> 3	<i>His</i> 0	4
3 rd person plural	<i>They</i> 8	<i>Them</i> 7	<i>Their</i> 17	<i>Theirs</i> 0	32

It could be seen from the table above that JDM used the personal pronouns in terms of person and in number in all its manifestations with the exception of *“you”* (singular/objective), *your*, (singular/ pronominal adj.), *yours* (singular/possessive pron.), *yours* (plural/possessive pron.), *him*, *his*(possessive pronoun), and *theirs* (possessive pronoun), which all recorded zero in terms of occurrence. It was observed that the number of pronouns used by JDM in the first person (*I, Me, My and Mine*) singular were 36 all of which referred to the speaker as a citizen, and as the president of the republic of Ghana. He uses *I* 26 times to refer to himself both as a president and as a person.

This is captured in the ensuing excerpts:

2. *“I have taken an oath that as president of this nation, I will work hard to place us on the right path, and I will lead us over the hurdles and past the obstacles that might threaten to keep us from meeting our goals”*. JMS 43
(president)
3. *“The promises that I have made are promises that I intend to keep”*. JMS 44
(person)
4. *“In such times I will be counting on you to maintain the faith and the trust that you have placed in me as president”*. JM 46 (president)
5. *“I will not let you down”*. JMS 47 (person)
6. *“As president, I will take to heart those very words that I have just extended to you. I will do and be my best”*. JMS 79 (president)

7. *I will work to ensure that Ghana is a place where all citizens, regardless of their religious faith, ethnicity or political affiliation, will have the opportunities available to them to reach their full potential. JMS 81 (president).*

8. *I believe this because I have seen the work and accomplishments of my predecessors, President Jerry John Rawlings, President John Agyekum Kufuor and, of course, the late President John Evans Atta Mills. JMS 63 (person/citizen)*

The rest of the first person singular pronouns (**Me, My and Mine**) were used all in reference to the speaker, the president. For example, **Me** was used when the president asks Ghanaians to maintain the trust they have in him: *In such times I will be counting on you to maintain the faith and the trust that you have placed in me as president. (JMS 50)* Also, JDM used **My**, a pronominal adjective as an opening to his greeting or salutation and expression of gratitude when he was addressing Ghanaians both men and women, family and friends as in:

9. *My Fellow Countrymen and women, Family and Friends, good morning. JMS 1*

10. *My fellow countrymen and women, that torch is now in our possession. JMS*

71

11. *I would also like to extend my gratitude and appreciation to my transition team for their time, their service and their tireless efforts. JMS 67*

Again, **My** was used when JDM is expressing recognition of his predecessors as in *I believe this because I have seen the work and accomplishments of my predecessors, President Jerry John Rawlings, President John Agyekum Kufuor and, of course, the late President John Evans Atta Mills. (JMS 65)* He again uses **my** when he expresses his personal pledge and involvement to offer his maximum best, for example:

12. I will give *my* best, and I will ensure that *my* actions make a positive difference in the lives of Ghanaians. JMS 80

My was again used mostly to assure Ghanaians of the president’s participation and to motivate Ghanaians to work as a team to achieve national development.

4.1.2 First Person Plural – We, Us, Our, Ours by JDM

JDM employs first person plural pronouns such as *We* 26 times, *Our* 30 times, *Ours* only 1 and *Us* 30 times for unity in his speech. There is an emphasis on his continued commitment to provide a common platform on which the people can work together in solidarity. To this end, JDM uses such plural pronouns to place himself as the focus of responsibility for the development and implementation of the various policies he mentions in his speech. The study looks at clusivity which makes a grammatical distinction between *inclusive* and *exclusive* first-person pronouns and verbal morphology. This is also known as *inclusive and exclusive "we"*. The study investigates how *we* has been used both inclusively and exclusively. A typical distinction exists between inclusive and exclusive uses of *we*. Exclusive *we* makes selected reference among the addressees. The table below shows use of *inclusive* and *exclusive we* with their references.

Table 4 Occurrence and Reference of *we* by JDM

		Number of Occurrences		%	
Inclusive <i>We</i>		17		65.38	
Exclusive <i>We</i>		9		34.62	
Total		26			
Reference of <i>We</i>					
Ghanaians	%	Government / party	%	%	
17	65.38	9	34.62	11.54	
Total		26			

JDM uses *we* 17 times to refer to himself and the people of Ghana and thus encourage solidarity. This represents his inclusive use of the pronoun.

13. *Indeed, we have inherited a powerful legacy, beneficiaries of a mighty history.*

JMS 6

14. *We rightfully memorialize the names of the many, many individuals whose singular contributions have elevated the profile of this nation and enriched the lives of its citizens. JMS 15*

15. *We respectfully extol their virtues and hold them in high esteem. JMS 12*

16. *In fact, we hold them in such high esteem that we often overlook entirely the reality that these heroes, these men and women, were as human as you and I.*

JMS 13

17. *We all, each and every one of us, have a role to play in the growth and development of our beloved mother Ghana. JMS29*

Exclusively, *we* was used 9 times to refer to the speaker and his party or members of his government. With it, he exposes the task that lie at the doorstep of the newly elected president and his government. It is certainly not going to be an easy one, yet with determination, he believes it can be done.

We see this in the instances that follow;

18. *At every given opportunity, they will tell us all the things we cannot achieve and all the reasons why we should not even attempt. (Government/) JMS 49*

19. *We can look within ourselves and choose to see the lie of our powerlessness or we can see the unlimited horizon of our own potential. (Government/party)*

JMS 51

20. *We are now the keepers of that flame. (Government/ party) JMS 74*

21. *It is only by doing and being our best that we can make Ghana its best.*

Table 5 Occurrence and Reference of our

		Number of Occurrences of OUR	
		%	
Inclusive our	16	53.33	
Exclusive <i>our</i>	14	46.67	
Total	30		
Reference of <i>our</i>			
Ghanaians	%	Government / Party	%
16	53.33	14	46.67
Total	30		

As shown above, *our* was used 16 times to refer inclusively to the speaker and Ghanaians. With this, he puts himself at the same level with the citizens in unity and solidarity.

22. *“The names of our forefathers and foremothers are firmly etched in the world’s memory. People like Nana Yaa Asantewaa, Naa Gbewaa, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and Dr. J.B. Danquah. People like Efua Sutherland, Dr. James Kwegyir Aggrey, Dr. Esther Afua Ocloo and Dr. Ephraim Koku Amu”.* JMS 7

23. *“We all, each and every one of us, have a role to play in the growth and development of our beloved mother Ghana.”* JMS 29

24. *“In our hands - yours as well as mine - rests the success or failure of Ghana’s future.”* JMS 30

Exclusively, *our* was used 14 times in reference to the speaker and his party and government. We see this in the examples that follow;

25. *We must continue to invest in our agricultural sector, and grow our economy so that it lifts the bulk of our most crippling financial burdens, especially among the poorest of the population.* JMS 39

Table 6 Occurrence and Reference of us

		Number of Occurrences of US	
			%
Inclusive us		3	37.5
Exclusive <i>us</i>		5	62.5
Total		8	
Reference of <i>us</i>			
Ghanaians	%	Government / Party	%
3	37.5	5	62.5
Total			

In a similar vein, *us* was used 8 times throughout the speech. It was used thrice to refer inclusively to Ghanaians and himself. With this he shows identity with the people of his country. JDM again uses *us* exclusively to refer to the NDC party/ government of which he is a part.

4.1.3 The use of the Second Person pronouns– You, Your, Yours in the speech The second person pronoun *You* and its variants (*Your*, and *Yours*) were also manifested in JDM’s speech. JDM significantly employed the plural form of *You* about three (3) times in the subjective case and two (2) times in the objective case. As expected of the second person pronoun, all *_you*’s were used exclusively to refer to Ghanaians apart from the speaker as in:

26. “*You do make a difference.*” JMS 78

27. “*As president, I will take to heart those very words that I have just extended to you.*” JMS 79

28. *May God bless you, and may God continue to bless our homeland, Ghana.*

JMS 91

All *you*’s above were used to refer to Ghanaians whose participation and involvement were solicited in order to help in nation building.

Also, JDM used **your** six (6) times to refer specifically to the past presidents of Ghana as well as the visiting presidents and their representatives who were present at the inaugural ceremony.

We see these in;

29. ***Your** Excellencies our dear former Presidents, JMS 1*

30. ***Your** Excellencies Visiting Heads of State and Heads of Delegations.... JMS 1*

31. *I am ever grateful to have the advantage of **your** wisdom and the important lessons of **your** leadership. JMS 68*

Finally, **yours** was used to call on Ghanaians to work towards the development of the nation, no matter how little it may be;

32. *“In our hands-yours as well as mine-rests the success or failure of Ghana’s future” JMS 30*

4.1.4 The use of the third person singular and plural pronouns (he, his, they, their, them)

He, was used only once to refer to Tetteh Quarshie whose discovery has made the country become a great exporter of cocoa.

33. *“**He** planted those seeds on his property in Mampong-Akwapim to see if they would grow.” JMS 22*

His was used three times to refer specifically to Tetteh Quarshie. By the use of this pronoun, the speaker shows how love for country can make one sacrifice something precious for the overall good of the people.

34. *“He planted those seeds on **his** property in Mampong-Akwapim to see if they would grow.” JMS 22*

35. *“**His** Excellency the Vice President (of the Republic of Ghana) JMS 1*

They, which is the plural form of the third person was used 8 times by JDM. For three times, JDM referred to the forebears of Ghana whose resilience, hardwork and toil have brought the country this far. The remaining 5 were used once each to refer to the following groups: cocoa seeds, the goals, opposition NPP, other countries and the immediate past presidents.

36. **“They** were not so different from most Ghanaians, like those assembled here or those going about the events...” JMS 15

37. **“They** were ordinary people who lived their lives to the fullest, made use of their God-given talents, and took pride in their activities. JMS 16

38. *That was the simple call **they** answered.* JMS 21

39. *“At every given opportunity, **they** will tell us all the things we cannot achieve and all the reasons why we should not even attempt”.* JMS 49

Them was used 7 times throughout the speech. For 3 times, **them** referred to the forebears and past leaders of Ghana whose hardwork and contribution have brought Ghana where it is. **Them** was used twice also to refer to the immediate past presidents of the fourth republic of Ghana, commending their efforts. It was used once to refer to the transition team and finally, once to refer to Ghanaians.

40. *“The call that placed **them** in extraordinary circumstances, events and experiences that led **them** to indelibly change the face and the very fabric of this nation.”* JMS 18

41. *“More than anything, I would like to acknowledge **them** for their morale and fair-mindedness, for their drive and their determination to place the good of the nation above all else.”* JMS 68

42. —*I will work to ensure that Ghana is a place where all citizens, regardless of their religious faith, ethnicity or political affiliation, will have the opportunities available to **them** to reach their full potential.*” JMS 81

Similarly, **their** was used 17 times in the speech. It was used 7 times to extol the virtues of our forebears in their quest to ensuring national development even at the peril of their lives for the love they had for their country. The following instances attest to that;

43. *“These are but a few of the names of people who were fearless enough to fulfill **their** dreams or to fight for the liberation of their people, or to envision change and then manifest it.*” JMS 10

44. *“They were ordinary people who lived **their** lives to the fullest, made use of their God-given talents, and took pride in **their** activities”.* JMS 16

45. *“We respectfully extol **their** virtues and hold them in high esteem”.* JMS 12
The pronoun was also used 6 times to refer to the transitional team whose tireless efforts contributed to the smooth transition and takeover of power from the old administration to the new.

46. *““I would also like to extend my gratitude and appreciation to my transition team **for their** time, their service and their tireless efforts.”* JMS 67

47. *““More than anything, I would like to acknowledge them for **their** morale and fair-mindedness for **their** drive and **their** determination to place the good of the nation above all else.”* JMS 68

It was used 2 times to refer to Ghanaians and also to the main opposition NPP and the founding fathers of the country.

48. *“We were all witness to the way they were able to take what others said was impossible and to not only turn into something that was probable, but to realise **their** vision and get it done”.* JMS 64

49. “These are but a few of the names of people who were fearless enough to fulfill **their** dreams, or to fight for the liberation of **their** people, or to envision change and then manifest it.” JMS 10

50. ““I will work to ensure that Ghana is a place where all citizens, regardless of **their** religious faith, ethnicity or political affiliation, will have the opportunities available to them to reach **their** full potential” JMS 82

51. “Of course, every society has its share of people who would rather talk and complain about what is wrong, than devote **their** time and efforts to do what it takes to make things right. JMS 48

Table 7: Occurrence of the Pronouns found in the Speech by President Nana Addo Danquah Akuffo Addo “NADAA”

Pronouns (P)	Case (C)				Total
	Subjective	Objective	Pronominal Adj	Possessive Pronoun	
1 st Person Singular	I 25	Me 3	My 8	Mine 0	36
1 st person plural	We 66	Us 17	Our 60	Ours 1	144
2 nd person singular	You 1	You 1	Your 0	Yours 0	2
2 nd person plural	You 0	You 6	Your 1	Yours 0	7
3 rd person sing	He 5	Him 2	Her 3	His 22	32
3 rd person plural	They 8	Them 2	Their 8	Theirs 0	18

From the above table, it could be seen that NADAA used the personal pronouns in terms of person and in number in all its appearances. It was observed that the number of pronouns used by NADAA in the first person singular (*I, Me, My and Mine*) were 36 all referring to him as an individual citizen, and also as president of the republic of Ghana. He uses 25 of *I*'s to refer to himself as a person. The other *I* was used to refer generically to anyone who may want to call him/herself a Ghanaian. As an ordinary Ghanaian citizen, NADAA says;

52. *I wish him and his family well. NAS 15*

53. *I thank the Almighty that I am able to say with pride, I am a Ghanaian.*

54. *NAS 123*

55. *For myself, I am in the unique position of being able to draw on the wisdom and experience of three former Presidents of the Republic, their Excellencies Jerry John Rawlings, John Agyekum Kufuor and John Dramani Mahama.*

56. *NAS 16*

57. *I thank you all, my fellow citizens, for making me the president of this beautiful country. NAS 125*

As president, NADAA refers to himself in these words;

58. *I am determined to do all in my power to accomplish the tasks of the mandate and justify their confidence. NAS 19*

59. *I will not let you, the people of Ghana, down. NAS 20*

60. *I stand here today, humbled beyond measure for the opportunity to lead this country at this time and take us to a higher level in our development. NAS 33*

61. *I have no doubt that the talents, energies, sense of enterprise and innovation of the Ghanaian can be harnessed to make Ghana the place where dreams come true. NAS 38*

The other manifestations of the first person singular (me, my and mine) were all used to refer to the president as indicated above.

References for the third person plural pronouns (we, our, us and ours)

NADAA uses first person plural pronouns such as *We*, *Our*, *Ours* and *Us* for unity and solidarity in his speech. NADAA uses **We** 66 times, out of which 33 referred inclusively to himself and the people of Ghana. However he used **we** 30 times to refer exclusively to himself and his party, the NPP.

Table 8: Occurrence and Reference of we

		Number of Occurrences	
			%
Inclusive <i>We</i>		36	54.55
Exclusive <i>We</i>		30	45.45
Total		66	100
Reference of <i>We</i>			
Ghanaians	%	Government/party	%
36	55.55	30	45.45
Total		66	

Examples of such inclusive uses include the following;

62. —*We are grateful also for the presence of His Excellency Teodoro Obiana*

Nguema, President of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea; His Excellency Ali

Bongo. NAS 8

63. *They represent the continuity of the institutions of our Republic, for which we thank God. NAS 17*

64. *Since we accepted a consensus on how we should be governed with the onset of the Fourth Republic, we have performed more creditably. NAS 30*

Exclusively, he uses *we* to refer to himself and his party, (NPP) which is also the government in power as he says;

65. *“We regard politics as an avenue of service to our fellow men. NAS 41*

66. *We hold that political power is to be exercised to make life nobler and happier.” NAS 42*

67. *“We should move on to deepen our democracy. NAS 44*

68. *It is time to make sure that we have a true separation of powers between the various arms of government” NAS 45*

Our was used 60 times in the speech. For 37 out of the 60, *our* was used to refer inclusively to the speaker (president) and the Ghanaian people, whereas for 23 times, *our* was used to refer inclusively to the speaker and his political party/government.

We see this in the table below;

Table 9: Occurrence and Reference of *our*

		Number of Occurrences of <i>our</i>	
		%	
Inclusive <i>our</i>		37	61.67
Exclusive <i>our</i>		23	38.33
Total		60	
Reference of <i>our</i>			
Ghanaians	%	Government / Party	%
37	61.67	23	38.33
Total		60	

Examples:

69. *“Our nation is honoured by the presence, at this solemn ceremony of investiture, of leaders and representatives of friendly counties across the globe, in particular those of the sister nations of our regional body, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and of our continental body, the African Union. (Ghanaians) NAS 6*
70. *“I have, at the outset, to thank sincerely our departing President, His Excellency John Dramani Mahama, for his service to our nation” (Ghanaians) NAS 11*
71. *„ We regard politics as an avenue of service to our fellow men.(party) NAS 41*
72. *We should move on to deepen our democracy. (party) NAS 44*
73. *“Our Parliament, the legislative arm of government, must grow into its proper role as effective machinery for accountability and oversight of the Executive, and not be its junior partner. (party). NAS 46*

Similarly, the pronoun *us* was used 17 times throughout NADAA’s speech. There was however a division between inclusive and exclusive reference. For 14 times, *us* was used to refer to the president and the entire people of the Ghanaian community.

While for only 3 times, *us* referred to the speaker/president and his party, the NPP.

Table 10: Occurrence and Reference of *us*

		Number of Occurrence & reference of <i>US</i>	
		%	
Inclusive <i>us</i>		14	82.35
Exclusive <i>us</i>		3	17.65
Total		17	
Reference of <i>us</i>			
Ghanaians	%	Government /party	%
14	82.35	3	17.65
Total		17	

74. “I stand here today, humbled beyond measure for the opportunity to lead this country at this time and take *us* to a higher level in our development”. NAS 33 (Ghanaians)

75. “It took *us* a while, but the consensus on multi-party constitutional rule has been established, and, for the third time, we have had a peaceful transfer of power from a governing party to an opposition one.” NAS 39 (Ghanaians)

76. The change can and should start now and with *us* as individuals. NAS 97 (Ghanaians)

77. A new dawn has arisen in Ghana which will enable *us* to build a new Ghanaian civilization which will be the beacon of Africa and the wonder of the world. (Government). NAS 124

4.1.5 The use of the second person (you, you, your, yours) by NADAA

The second person pronoun *you* was used 8 times in the speech. 7 out of the 8 referred to Ghanaians and once to refer to the speaker of parliament who chaired the occasion. *You* was used partly to assure the Ghanaian populace of the president’s support and resilience to duty.

78. “I will not let *you*, the people of Ghana, down.”/“We will bring back to life the adventurer in *you*.” NAS 20

It was also used to call on the people to put up their best to enhance the process of nation building. The president calls on the people to show responsibility and diligence in their duties as citizens;

79. “ *I ask **you** to be citizens: citizens, not spectators; citizens, not subjects; responsible citizens building your communities and our nation*” NAS 98

80. “*Fellow citizens, **you** must be at the centre of the change.*” NAS 94

81. **Your** was used only once to refer to ask Ghanaians to get involved in the activities that will enhance the nation’s development.

82. “*I ask you to be citizens: citizens, not spectators; citizens, not subjects; responsible citizens building **your** communities and our nation.* NAS 98

4.1.6 The use of the third person pronouns (he, him, his, her, them, they, their)

by NADAA

The third person pronouns were also employed in NADAA’s speech. For instance the pronoun *they* was used 8 times throughout the speech. **They** was used to refer three times to the forebears of Ghana. Three times also to Ghanaians both at home and abroad. Finally, it was used once each to refer to the immediate past Presidents of Ghana and also disputes.

83. “**They** fought with intelligence, guts, steely determination and patriotism to liberate our land and reclaim our worth as human beings. NAS 23

84. *I suspect that those early nationalists would be disappointed, if **they** came today and saw the level of development **we** have achieved in 60 years of independence.* NAS 28

85. *Our judiciary must inspire confidence in the citizens, so **we** can all see the Courts as the ultimate arbiters when disputes arise, as **they** would.* NAS 48

86. *We have no illusions whatsoever about the enormity of the task that we face, but I know that Ghanaians at home and abroad will rise to the occasion **they** always do. NAS 79*
87. *“**They** have raised their voices in an unmistakable chorus.” NAS 88*
88. *“**They** have cast their votes without equivocation and have forced the change.” NAS 89*

Their was used 8 times, out of which 6 referred to Ghanaians and 2 to past presidents and forebears respectively.

89. *For myself, I am in the unique position of being able to draw on the wisdom and experience of three former Presidents of the Republic, **their** Excellencies Jerry John Rawlings, John Agyekum Kufour and John Dramani Mahama. (past presidents) NAS 16*
90. ***Their** love for country continues to inspire generations of us to commit our lives to the search for an enduring democratic legacy for Ghana. (past presidents) NAS 24*
91. *I am determined to do all in my power to accomplish the tasks of the mandate and justify **their** confidence. (Ghanaians) NAS 19*
92. *They have raised **their** voices in an unmistakable chorus./They have cast **their** votes without equivocation and have forced the change.(Ghanaians) NAS 88*

Them was used twice to refer to Ghanaians and the visiting dignitaries who graced the occasion with their presence.

93. *“He continues to bestow on **them**. NAS 1*
94. *“To **them** and the representatives of all the other friendly nations who are here and former presidents and leaders, I say akwaaba”, our famous word of welcome. NAS 10*

Her was used to refer to the chief Justice of the republic of Ghana, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and motherland and to wish her well.

95. *“**Her** Ladyship Georgina Theodora Wood, before the elected representatives of the people assembled in this 7th Parliament of the 4th Republic. NAS 4*
96. *I salute the Chairperson of the Authority of Heads of State and Governments of ECOWAS, the historic figure, **Her** Excellency Ellen Johnson Sirleaf President of the Republic of Liberia. NAS 8*
97. *Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and May God bless **our** homeland Ghana and make **her** great and strong. NAS 126*

He was also used 5 times to refer to God, JDM, J.B DANQUAH and to every good Ghanaian.

98. *“**He** stepped into the breach of national leadership at a delicate moment in the country’s history, with the death in office, for the first time, of a sitting president, the late Prof. John Evans Atta Mills.” NAS 12*
99. *“**He** has since steered the ship of state with Conviction.” NAS 13*
100. *The Ghanaian people give thanks to Almighty God for the blessings, favour and grace **He** continues to bestow on them. NAS 1*
101. *“ **He** said as far back as 1960 that the duty of government should be “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 the laws of the land should be dedicated in order specifically to enrich life, property and liberty of each and every citizen” NAS*

102. *“Our success or failure should be judged by the quality of the individual, by his knowledge, his skills, his behaviour as a member of society, the standard of living he is able to enjoy and by the degree of harmony and brotherliness in our community life as a nation.” NAS 43*

Finally, **his** was used about 22 times in the speech. For 15 times, **His** referred to the foreign dignitaries who came to grace the occasion.

103. *“His Excellency Macky Sall, President of the Republic of Senegal; His Excellency Faure Gnassingbé, President of the Republic of Togo, His Excellency Alpha Conde, President of the Republic of Guinea Conakry; His Excellency Patrice Talon, President: of the Republic of Benin; His Excellency Ernest Bai Koroma, President: of the Republic of Sierra Leone: His Excellency Ibrahim Boubacar Keita,” NAS 7*

The pronoun was also used to salute the vice president-elect of the NPP, Dr. Mahamudu Bawumia and the newly appointed speaker of Parliament.

104. *“His Excellency Alhaji Dr. Mahamudu Bawumia, and the newly elected Speaker of Parliament. the Rt. Hon. Prof. Michael Oquaye, an oath administered by the Chief Justice”. NAS 4*

His was used four times to refer to JDM, the speaker’s successor and three times to refer to Ghanaians.

105. *“His Excellency John Dramani Mahama, for his service to our nation.” NAS 11*

106. *“His elegant, dignified acceptance of the verdict of the People on 7th December, 2016, will, without doubt, receive the approval of history, for it has contributed significantly to the process of democratic consolidation in*

Ghana.” NAS 14

107. “*I wish him and his family well.*” NAS 15

The pronoun **His** was used in reference to Ghanaians in the following extract;

108. *Our success or failure should be judged by the quality of the individual, by his knowledge, his skills, his behaviour as a member of society, the standard of living he is able to enjoy and by the degree of harmony and brotherliness in our community life as a nation.*” NAS 43

4.2 Meanings of Personal Pronouns by JDM in terms of Genericness, Definiteness and Specificity.

It was observed that some of the pronouns were used with general reference to particular instances or details. Such references were generically used due to the fact that they do not tell the number or the finality of the reference which they make. These references do not have specific space and or are not time bound. This is what we observed and termed as genericness. Observe the following examples:

109. *We have blazed trails before for others to follow. (Generic) – Ghanaians now and before* NAS 60

110. *We all, each and every one of us, have a role to play in the growth and development of our beloved mother Ghana. (Generic). NAS 29*

The personal pronoun **we** in the above examples are used generically - indefinitely and non-specifically, though with varying degrees of genericness. In the examples above, **we** is indefinite and non-specific, and refers to the entire Ghanaian population both now and also those unborn. It is obvious from the meanings of these utterances, and from our intuitive understanding of the meaning of indefinite, non-specific **we**, that the pronoun has the speaker at the center of its core meaning. For example, **we** refers to the

president of Ghana and the entire population of Ghana. For successful reference of *we*, we must consider the president and the nation to be equal to the speaker as a group, however temporary.

The information gathered in the examples indicate that the speaker has power relation with the audience. Thus, he displays his authority in the statements and information which he gives to his people. It is however worthy to note that, these utterances are made naturally by speakers in position and the import of their utterance revolves them and their audience. In other words, their information express an aspect of the natural, political, and social environments in which the speaker's life is deeply involved. Therefore, the information is considered to fall within the speaker's jurisdiction.

Again, definiteness is where we have an identifiability, familiarity or anaphoric reference with the pronoun. In speech, objects introduced, are often picked up again later in the speech by anaphoric expressions. An anaphoric expression looks back to another expression for its semantic value. Such expressions are what we refer to as definiteness. In the speech there are typical examples of anaphoric or definiteness expressions found in the case of *He*, as in:

*111. Mention the name **Tetteh Quarshie**, for instance, and you will learn the story of an ordinary man, a blacksmith, the son of a farmer from Teshie. In 1870, **Tetteh Quarshie** travelled to Fernando Po, an island that belongs to the nation of Equatorial Guinea and is now called Bioko. At the end of that fateful trip, **Tetteh Quarshie** returned home with several cocoa seeds. **He** planted those seeds on his property in Mampong-Akwapim to see if they would grow.*

NAS 19

In the example, the name *Tetteh Quarshie* picks out a particular individual/referent and the anaphoric or definite pronoun *He* picks out that same individual. We have a similar situation when one replaces *Tetteh Quarshie* with an indefinite description like *a man*:

112. “.....At the end of that fateful trip, *a man* returned home with several cocoa seeds. NAS 21

113. *He* planted those seeds on his property in Mampong-Akwapim to see if they would grow.” NAS 22

Also, there is a clear sense in which *a man* in the example and *he* pick up the same individual. It must however be said that *a man* in the extract above is not a referring expression, nor does it in any other way index or pick out a particular individual like a definite description such as *Tetteh Quarshie* whose father is from Teshie.

It was also observed from the speech that there were some conditions of being peculiar to particular individuals or groups of people which is referred to as **specificity**. Specificity is where we are certain of the existence of the group or the people whom we are dealing with which is different from the genericness. From the context of some works elucidating the concept of indexicality, it can be found that the so-called specificity that meets the original meaning of —specificity primarily refers to the certainty, and precision of knowledge. It must however be noted that for most times, *we* was used specifically to refer mainly to the speaker and Ghanaians and then to the speaker and party/government.

In the instances that follow, JDM refers specifically to members of his government as well as his party and calls them to duty.

114. *The infrastructure that we already have must be expanded, strengthened, and made better able to withstand the increased usage. (specific) JMS 36*

115. *We need to look beyond temporary fixes to find lasting solutions for the complications we've experienced with power, water and sanitation.*

(specific) JMS 38

116. *We must continue to invest in our agricultural sector, and grow our economy so that it lifts the bulk of our most crippling financial burdens, especially among the poorest of the population. (specific) JMS 39*

117. *That torch is the tradition of optimism and hope that we must carry on.*

(specific) JMS 72

118. *It is the responsibility that we have to take charge of our lives, and in so doing to determine the course of Ghana's future. (specific) JMS 73*

119. *We are now the keepers of that flame. (specific) JMS 74*

120. *It is only by doing and being our best that we can make Ghana its best.*

(specific) JMS 75

The following examples can also be considered;

121. *Complacency and frustration can entice us into believing that **we** as a party are insignificant players stuck somewhere in the background of a bigger picture, or that **we** are incapable of making a difference. (Specific) JMS 27*

122. *At every given opportunity, **they** will tell us all the things **we** cannot achieve and all the reasons why **we** should not even attempt. (Specific). JMS 49*

The speaker specifically relates to a part of the audience as an identifiable group as

123. *„**we** (as a party) are insignificant players stuck somehow in the background of a bigger picture, or that **we** are incapable of making a difference.*

124. ***They (opposition)** will tell us all the things **we** cannot achieve and all the reasons why **we** should not even attempt.*

The examples indicate that the words **party** and **opposition** are specific reference which the speaker wants to point out to his audience. So you realize that the use of **we** in the above examples are referenced to specific groups.

4.3 Meanings of personal pronouns by NADAA in terms of Genericness, Definiteness and Specificity

Each of the personal pronouns used by NADAA had their own indicators or referents and how they orient. Discoursally, the speaker may be referring to himself in terms of indexicality by way of reference to the speaker himself and others when he uses the various forms. For example, the speaker may use a certain pronoun like **we** for different reasons. It was observed that some of the pronouns were used with general reference to particular instances or details. Such references were generically used due to the fact that they do not tell the number or the finality of the reference which they make. The references do not have specific space and are not time bound. This is what we observed and termed as **genericness**. Observe the following extracts;

125. *We shall measure our progress by the happiness which our people take in being able to manage their own affairs.” NAS 114*

126. *We can start with little changes in our own individual attitudes and practices.*

NAS 96

127. *Holy Scripture in Galatians 6:9 says “Let us not become weary in doing good, for at the proper time we will reap a harvest if we do not give up.”*

NAS 100

128. *We should all recognise the danger we face by the alarming degradation of our environment and work to protect our water bodies, our forests, our lands and the oceans. NAS 112*

129. *And calling yourself a Ghanaian must mean **we** look out for each other.* NAS

121

The personal pronoun *we* in the above examples have generic use - indefiniteness and non-specifically, though with varying degrees of genericness among examples. In the examples above, *we* is typically indefinite and non-specific, referring to the whole Ghanaian population with infinity (before now, and to come). It is obvious from the meanings of these words that, the pronoun has the speaker at the center of its meaning. For example, *we* refers to the president of Ghana and the whole population of Ghana including those unborn.

There is once again the indication of power relations between the speaker and audience. There is a clear indication of the speaker's authority in the statements. Such utterances are the natural preserve of speakers who hold high positions and their content revolve around their audience and themselves. In other words, the information expresses aspects of the speaker's natural, political, and social environments in which his life is deeply involved – thus well within the speaker's jurisdiction.

Again, **definiteness** is where we have an identifiable, familiar or anaphoric reference with the pronoun. There should also be the situation wherein the referent is known in the speech process. In speech, objects that are often introduced can be brought up again later in the speech by anaphoric expressions. An anaphoric expression simply looks back to another expression for its semantic considerations. Such expressions suggest definiteness. In the speech, there are very good examples of utterances which refer anaphorically or show definiteness. They include the use of **He**, as in:

130. *"I have, at the outset, to thank sincerely our departing President, His Excellency John Dramani Mahama, for his service to our nation. **He** stepped*

into the breach of national leadership at a delicate moment in the country's history, with the death in office, for the first time, of a sitting president, the late Prof. John Evans Atta Mills. He has since steered the ship of state with conviction." NAS 11 - 13

In the example, the name **John Dramani Mahama** picks up a particular individual which is also referred to later as **he**. **He** is used anaphorically and picks out that same individual as John Dramani Mahama. It must however be said that, we understand who **He** is simply because of an earlier mention of him in the speech as **our departing president, John Dramani Mahama**.

It was also observed from the speech that there were some conditions of being peculiar and certain about particular individuals or groups of people which is referred to as **specificity**. Here, specificity is where we know or that there exist a possibility of knowing the group or the people that we are dealing with which is different from the genericness. From the context of some works elucidating the concept of indexicality, it can be found that the so-called specificity that meets the original meaning of —specific primarily refers to certainty, and precision of knowledge. We consider the examples below:

131. *Our judiciary must inspire confidence in the citizens, so we can all see the courts as the ultimate arbiters when disputes arise, as they would.*

(specific) NAS 48

132. *We have worked with our national constitution for 24 years and we now know the areas that require change. (specific) NAS 50*

133. *I believe a consensus is emerging that we must decentralize more.*

(specific) NAS 51

134. *We must devolve more power with corresponding resources to the base of our political system and to our people, in the regions and communities.*

(specific)NAS 52

Specificity relies on the *uniqueness* of an entity. The speaker refers specifically to identifiable groups as in;

135. *We are the heirs of John Mensah Sarbah, Joseph Caseley Hayford,*

George Pa Grant, R.S. Blay, Joseph Boakye Danquah, Emmanuel Obetsebi Lamptey, Edward Akufo-Addo, William Ofori-Atta, Cobbina Kesse, Ernest Ako Adjei, Kwame Nkrumah, Komla Agbeli Gbedema, Kojo Botsio, S.D. Dombo, Kofi Abrefa Busia, Baffuor Osei Akoto and others, who taught us that fidelity to principles, courage, patience, resilience and collective action do yield results” NAS 22

4.4 Interpersonal relationships established by the use of personal pronouns in NADAA’s speech

According to Beard (2000:46), choices of pronouns made in political speeches can vary depending on the referent and also the speaker’s conviction that others would share his views and opinions. Pronominal choices in political speeches differ depending on how well the politician is prepared to take up responsibility, share or even push responsibilities onto others.

Politicians may have certain relationships and inclinations which spell out certain meanings within their speeches. Pronouns may be a way by which speakers indicate several such relationships and meanings. These relationships and meanings manifested by the speakers’ use of personal pronouns may expound their political ideology, identity, solidarity, power and statesmanship as discussed below;

4.4.1 Ideology

NADAA makes clear his party, the NPP's ideology throughout his speech which marks the inauguration of his presidency. He traces the nation's historical leaders and in the process does not leave out the impact of the founding fathers of his party, the New Patriotic Party. He does this by identifying himself with the founding fathers of the party. To a large extent, NADAA generally exploits personal pronouns to present his political ideology. Among the ideologies of the NPP are;

136. *"We must create wealth and restore happiness to our nation". NAS 59*
137. *"We must expand our horizons and embrace science and technology as critical tools for our development." NAS 61*
138. *"We believe that the business of government is to govern" NAS 62*
139. *"Ours is to set fair rules. We will provide vision and direction and shine the light down the path of our entrepreneurs and farmers." NAS 63*
140. *We will stimulate the creative juices of innovators. NAS 66*
141. *We will rekindle the spirit that made Ghana the leading light on the African continent, and make our conditions deserving of that accolade. NAS 74*
142. *"We will work with our neighbours and friends on the continent to enhance peace, democracy and political stability in our part of the world." NAS 75*
143. *We will reassert vigorously the Pan African vocation to which our nation has been dedicated. Integration of our region and of our continent will be a strategic objective of Ghanaian policy." NAS 76*
144. *The rule of law will be the underlying tenet of our lives; and the law will be applicable to all of us, and not just some. NAS 105*

The statements above lay bare the planned programmes and priorities of the NPP administration. The core of every party's activities is their ideology. This is what distinguishes one party from the other. We can tell the nature (success or failure) of a party by their ideological preferences. Thus, the NPP is presented as a party that believes in individual /private participation, creation of favourable environment to enhance wealth creation and above all proper and fair adjudication of resources to all. It must be said that ideologies are basic principles that govern the party's activities and associations. Those ideas that hold the party together in complete unity. We are therefore made to see the party's ideologies through the utterances of these people who belong to the Danquah-Busia Dombo political party as in *"We hold that political power is to be exercised to make life nobler and happier"* NAS 42

The New Patriotic Party is presented as one that believes in democracy. One is therefore not surprised to hear NADAA call for —*a deepening of the country's democracy*ll. He also advocates for the rule of law and a true separation of powers between the various arms of government - The executive, judiciary and legislature are called upon to perform their roles independently of one another and to bring some dignity into governance.

145. *The rule of law will be the underlying tenet of **our** lives; and the law will be applicable to all of **us**, and not just some"* NAS 105

146. *The Ghanaian Parliament, the Ghanaian Member of Parliament, must stand out as institutions that represent all that **we** hold dear and citizens can take pride in.* NAS 47

147. ***Our** judiciary must inspire confidence in the citizens, so we can all see the courts as the ultimate arbiters when disputes arise, as they would.* NAS 48

148. *A Ghanaian judge must be a reassuring presence and the epitome of fairness. NAS 49*

Looking at the NPPs ideologies which are deeply rooted in democracy and development in the lives of the people, it is not strange, however, to know that the NPP has as its logo - —DEVELOPMENT IN FREEDOM!

4.4.2 Identity

All through the speech, we see NADAA as one who shows pride in his person as well as in the political party he belongs to. His utterances portray him as one who has great confidence in himself as well as in the association to which he belongs. NADAA shows he's a true Ghanaian first of all by identifying himself with the nation, Ghana and then with his party, the NPP. It must be acknowledged however, that there appears to a close match between these two groups that are of prime importance to the speaker. He is proud to be a Ghanaian but most importantly, an NPP person. He is a believer in the things of his party and feels proud of their ancestral descent.

Putting himself at the core of the utterance that relates to the founding fathers of Ghana, shows his identity first with the Ghanaian people and then with his political party, the NPP. He displays great satisfaction in his ability to identify with the people of Ghana. He is able to draw the peoples' minds to the fact that, they should be guided by the events of our past as a people.

NADAA acknowledges the forebears who signed the Bond of 1844 on 6th March 1844, by citing those names of the people who established a contractual agreement between the then Gold Coast and their British rulers. The Danquah -Busiah tradition has been firmly grounded in the history of democracy in Ghana. Therefore, NADAA makes himself proud by indicating his connection with these leaders who strengthened our

democracy. NADAA belongs to the New Patriotic Party (NPP) on whose ticket he stands as the president to project their ideology and his identity.

The NPP traces its tradition to the United Party (UP) after the Passage of the Avoidance of Discrimination Act (ADA) in December 1957 under the Convention People's Party (CPP). The Act which banned all political parties which were formed along regional, ethnic and religious lines. As a result, all the opposition parties came together to form the UP under the leadership of Dr Kofi Abrefa Busia and the deputy Chief Simon Diedong Dombo, hence, The Danquah-Dombo-Busia Tradition of the New Patriotic Party.

To him, belonging to the NPP is the greatest thing that can ever happen to a person. He recounts in the following line;

150. *"There should be no higher praise than to be able to say I AM A GHANAIAN. NAS 122*

151. *We have a proud heritage. NAS 21*

152. *We are the heirs of John Mensah Sarbah, Joseph Casely Hayford, Pa Grant, R.S. Blay, Joseph Boakye Danquah, Emmanuel Obetsebi Lamptey, Edward Akuffo-Addo, William Ofori-Atta... NAS 22*

153. *I thank you all, my fellow citizens, for making me the president of this beautiful country. NAS 125*

154. *"Kofi Abrefa Busia, Prime Minister of the Progress Party government of the 2nd Republic, and one of the great Ghanaians, said in these eloquent words: "We regard politics as an avenue of service to our fellow men". NAS 41*

Thus NADAA does not only provide us with a historical fact, but also shows identity.

He relates to the founding fathers of Ghana, and identifies himself first with the Ghanaian people and then with his political party, the NPP.

155. *“I thank the Almighty that I am able to say with pride I am a Ghanaian.”*

NAS 41

4.4.3 Power and Solidarity

A different type of relation expressed in the speech is social proximity or distance among individuals. We can also refer to it as relations of ‘_power’ and ‘_solidarity’. For instance, in solidarity, NADAA calls on the people to join forces with him in doing the work that needs to be done. He calls for an all-inclusive kind of governance as well as increased participation by all in order to achieve the country’s goals.

156. *“Fellow citizens, you must be at the centre of the change. The change we have voted for will have to start with each of us as individuals. NAS 94*

157. *“We can start with little changes in our own individual attitudes and practices. NAS 96*

158. *The change can and should start now and with us as individuals.” NAS 97*

159. *“I ask you to be citizens: citizens, not spectators; citizens, not subjects; responsible citizens building your communities and our nation.” NAS 98*

160. *“Let us work until the work is done. NAS 99*

161. *“We will have to work hard, harder than we have ever done before; and the hard work will be done by all of us, and not just some. NAS 106*

162. *There will be discipline in all sectors of our lives; and this applies to all of us, not just some.” NAS 107*

Solidarity is unity (as of a group) which produces or is based on unities of interests, objectives, standards, and sympathies. It is what binds people in a society together as one. In the examples that follow, NADAA expresses his intention to work and ensure

unity and co-operation between the Ghana and her neighbours in order to enhance peace in our part of the world. Here, NADAA discloses his intentions to strengthen his relations with other countries in order that he would pursue the *Pan-African vocation the nation is dedicated to promoting*. For example, he uses **We will** to make offers, promises and willingness to show the extent to which he wants to co-operate with other entities.

NADAA pursues Regional Unity and Integration by promising to cooperate with other countries within the sub region to achieve this effect.

163. *“We will work with our neighbours and friends on the continent to enhance peace, democracy and political stability in our part of the world”*. NAS 75

164. *“We will reassert vigorously the Pan African vocation to which our nation has been dedicated.”* NAS 76

165. *“Integration of our region and of our continent will be a strategic objective of Ghanaian policy.”* NAS 77

Finally, NADAA takes great strides in asserting his position as president and thus displays authority and a great show of power. This is evident in the force and swift that accompanies his utterances about the things that concern his authority and the work he is prepared to do;

166. *To that work, I now turn with all the authority of my office. I ask the Legislature and Judiciary to join with me. But no President, no Parliament, no Government can undertake this mission all by itself.* NAS 91-93

167. *Our judiciary **must** inspire confidence in the citizens, so we can all see the courts as the ultimate arbiters when disputes arise, as they would.* NAS 48

168. *A Ghanaian judge **must be** a reassuring presence and the epitome of fairness.*

NAS 49

169. ***We must** devolve more power with corresponding resources to the base of our political system and to our people, in the regions and communities. NAS*

52

170. ***I shall** protect the public purse by insisting on value-for-money in all public transactions. NAS 55*

171. ***We must** restore integrity in public life. NAS 54*

172. ***I am determined** to do all in my power to accomplish the tasks of the mandate and justify their confidence. NAS 19*

The use of the modal verbs (must, shall and will) in combination with the personal pronouns paint a picture of urgency and assiduousness to duty. Political power involves the ability to manipulate or influence the political behavior of people; to lead and guide their behavior in the direction desired by the people or institution in whose hands political power is placed. Thus, it is the capacity to influence, condition, mould, and control human behaviour for the accomplishment of political objectives. That is to say, it is the ability of one political actor, an individual citizen, a family, an interest group, a political action committee, a political party, or the government, to effect desired changes in the behavior of other political actors.

This is usually done through persuasion or force to get the masses to act in ways they naturally would not if such coercion were not present. For example, the president has political power over the citizens to the extent that he is able to motivate, inspire, stimulate, or otherwise bring about some changes in the citizen's political behavior—one that is favourable to the president. The president's political power in addition, would

also include his ability to influence the citizens to continue doing what he (the president) is currently doing.

4.4.4 Statesmanship

NADAA further expresses a great show of statesmanship by insisting on the true virtues upon which every great institution thrives. The virtues of honesty, accountability, loyalty, responsibility and diligence are seen in his speech. He does not only call on people to exhibit such virtues, he also promises most importantly, to live them. He demands honesty and accountability from the people by saying;

173. “We must restore integrity in public life. State coffers are not spoils for the party that wins an election, but resources for the country’s social and economic development.” NAS 54

174. “I shall protect the public purse by insisting on value-for-money in all public transactions. NAS 55

175. Public service is just that – service and not an avenue for making money. NAS 56

176. Money is to be made in the private sector, not the public.” NAS 57

Throughout the speech, there is a great sense of Diligence and a call to duty. He believes that, part of being a good citizen of a country is to take up your responsibilities and duties. He lays bare the responsibilities of every good citizen of this noble country.

177. “We should learn and accept that we do not own the land, but hold it in trust for generations yet unborn and, therefore, have a responsibility to take good care of it and all it contains” NAS 113

178. “Being a Ghanaian must put certain responsibilities on each one of us.” NAS 118

179. *“Calling yourself a Ghanaian must mean you have signed up to a certain definable code and conduct.” NAS 119*

180. *“Being a Ghanaian puts an obligation on each one of us to work at building a fair, prosperous and happy nation.” NAS 120*

181. *“And calling yourself a Ghanaian must mean we look out for each other.” NAS 121*

He sees that the task ahead is not going to be an easy one, yet he encourages the people both at home and abroad to sacrifice to work for the total good of all. He challenges the people thus;

182. *“It will not be easy. NAS 78*

183. *We have no illusions whatsoever about the enormity of the task that we face, but I know that Ghanaians at home and abroad will rise to the occasion; they always do.” NAS 79*

184. *“It will require sacrifice, but it can be done. NAS 80*

185. *Though our challenges are fearsome, so are our strengths. NAS 83*

186. *Ghanaians have ever been a restless, questing, hopeful people. NAS 84*

187. *And we must bring to our task today the vision and will of those who came before us.” NAS 85*

He charges the judiciary to live up to expectation by living above reproach.

188. *“A Ghanaian judge must be a reassuring presence and the epitome of fairness.” NAS 49*

As a statesman, NADAA also shows maturity when he takes pains to acknowledge and appreciate the achievements of his predecessors. He shows appreciation to them both on behalf of the Ghanaian people and on his own behalf.

189. *“I have, at the outset, to thank sincerely our departing President, His Excellency John Dramani Mahama, for his service to our nation. NAS 11*
190. *“ He has since steered the ship of state with conviction.” NAS 13*
191. *“ I wish him and his family well.” NAS 15*
192. *“For myself, I am in the unique position of being able to draw on the wisdom and experience of three former Presidents of the Republic, their Excellencies Jerry John Rawlings, John Agyekum Kufuor and John Dramani Mahama. They represent the continuity of the institutions of our Republic, for which we thank God” NAS 16*

Concerning the forebears of the Ghanaian history, this is what he has to say;

193. *“They fought with intelligence, guts, steely determination and patriotism to liberate our land and reclaim our worth as human beings”. NAS 23*
194. *“Their love for country continues to inspire generations of us to commit our lives to the search for an enduring democratic legacy for Ghana.” NAS 24*
195. *“It is not for nothing that when our forebears established the Ghanaian nation, they chose “Freedom and Justice” as our motto. NAS 25*

4.5 Interpersonal relationships established by the use of personal pronouns in

JDM’s speech

4.5.1 Ideology

JDM also uses personal pronouns to express his party’s ideology, identity, power and statesmanship. Ideologically, JDM, expounds on the position of the National Democratic Congress’ (NDC) which believes in the destiny of Ghanaians as stated in his party’s preamble. —*WE, the members of the NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS (NDC) BELIEVING in THE DESTINY OF Ghanaians to build a society which realizes true human values based on the full mobilization of the talents and*

energies of our people and the sustainable development of the re-sources with which nature has generously endowed us;”.

The NDC’s philosophy is to improve the infrastructure in the country, hence, the party is very conscious of building infrastructure. The NDC as a party recognizes that with committed, capable and accountable political leadership, re-alignment of national, economic and social institutions of both private and public character, national development is possible. Thus, in his speech, JDM lays bare the party’s goals /ideologies which are embedded in the government’s activities as in:

196. *“More jobs must be created. JMS 34*

197. *The infrastructure that **we** already have must be expanded, strengthened, and made better able to withstand the increased usage.” JMS 36*

198. ***We** must continue to invest in **our** agricultural sector, and grow our economy so that it lifts the bulk of **our** most crippling financial burdens, especially among the poorest of the population. JMS 39*

199. *Equipment should not be the only thing that is state-of-the-art in **our** institutions; systems, procedures and staff must be brought up to standard; best practices must be implemented. JMS 37*

4.5.2 Identity

On identity, JDM expresses identity both with Ghana and his party, though with limited depth. In the few instances he shows identity with his party, he aligns himself so well with his party that he successfully creates the dichotomy between —us|| and —them|. This is clear in the following words;

200. *“At every given opportunity, **they** will tell **us** all the things **we** cannot achieve and all the reasons why **we** should not even attempt. JMS 49*

201. *We can look within ourselves and choose to see the lie of **our** powerlessness or **we** can see the unlimited horizon of **our** own potential.” JMS 50*

On national identity, JDM aligns himself with all the Ghanaians who have in diverse ways contributed to the overall development of the country. He talks of Tetteh Quarshie, Nana Yaa Asantewaa, Naa Gbewaa, Dr. Nkrumah among others through whose actions Ghana is where it is now.

4.5.3 Power and solidarity

All through the speech, the force of power appears to be one that is missing. The force with which words are uttered that suggest power are virtually non-existent in the speech. There is no explicit expression of power or authority in JDM's speech.

In his speech, the kind of power relations that exist between the speaker and his audience is one of persuasion. Unlike NADAA whose words demand and explicitly require accountability from the people, we only hear JDM appeal to the people in words such as;

202. *“As president, I will take to heart those very words that I have just extended to you. I will do and be my best. JMS 79*

203. *“I will give my best, and I will ensure that my actions make a positive difference in the lives of Ghanaians.” JMS 80*

204. *“I will work to ensure that our society is less polarized and weighted down by the pressures of political differences. “ JMS 81*

205. *“I will work to ensure that Ghana is a place where all citizens, regardless of their religious faith, ethnicity or political affiliation, will have the opportunities available to them to reach their full” potential. JMS 82*

JDM expresses his intention to work in solidarity with the people. He expresses determination to provide a framework of voluntary political leadership which would serve as a platform on which Ghanaians from all walks of life and from different traditions can overcome their differences and so contribute to re-shaping the Ghanaian society. He considers himself not able to do the work all alone. The work to be done is great and he calls on all hands to be on the deck to ensure successful governance.

JDM echoes that

206. *“We all, each and every one of us have a role to play in the growth and development of our beloved mother Ghana.” JMS 29*

207. *“In our hands -yours as well as mine-rests the success or failure of Ghana’s future.” JMS 30*

4.5.4 Statesmanship

JDM further expresses a high sense of statesmanship when he acknowledges and appreciates his predecessors. A statesman is one who believes in the ultimate good judgment of the people and therefore takes the position that if all the facts are known, he will survive the next election and the nation will be better off. In these words, JDM hails the forebears of Ghanaian political history and his transition team thus;

208. *We rightfully memorialize the names of the many, many individuals whose singular contributions have elevated the profile of this nation and enriched the lives of its citizens. JMS 11*

209. *We respectfully extol their virtues and hold them in high esteem. JMS 12*

210. *In fact, we hold them in such high esteem that we often overlook entirely the reality that these heroes, these men and women, were as human as you and I. JMS 13*

211. *I would also like to extend my gratitude and appreciation to my transition team for their time, their service and their tireless efforts. JMS 67*

212. *More than anything, I would like to acknowledge them for their morale and fair-mindedness, for their drive and their determination to place the good of the nation above all else. JMS 68*

In spite of the contribution of our forebears and past presidents, JDM still sees there is a lot to be done as he says;

213. *“Over the course of the last four years, a tremendous amount of work has been done. 32*

214. *Nevertheless, there is a tremendous amount of work that still needs to be done.” JMS 33*

215. *The infrastructure that we already have must be expanded, strengthened, and made better able to withstand the increased usage.*

JDM, also sees the work of a nation as one that is handed from one generation to another. To this effect, he considers himself as one chosen to lead a new generation of people in whose hands the —torch of the nation has been placed. There is a great sense of responsibility required from him as well as his government in carrying out the mandate. He indicates that *“There is a torch that is passed from one era of Ghanaians to the next.” JMS 69*

216. *“It is as fragile and as irreplaceable as any family treasure. JMS 70*

217. *“My fellow countrymen and women, that torch is now in our possession.” JMS 71*

218. *“That torch is the tradition of optimism and hope that we must carry on.” JMS 72*

219. *“It is the responsibility that we have to take charge of our lives, and in so doing to determine the course of Ghana’s future.” JMS 73*

220. *“We are now the keepers of that flame. It is only by doing and being our best that we can make Ghana its best. JMS 74*

Finally, he demands responsibility of the people in the ensuing words;

221. *“We must all do our part, every single day, whether it is by reducing the amount of plastic waste that is in our environment, by driving responsibly and courteously to ensure that our roads are safe, or by sharing kindness with a stranger or someone less fortunate. JMS 76*

222. *“Your actions do matter”. JMS 77*

223. *“You do make a difference.” JMS 78*

4.6 The Implications of the use of the Personal Pronouns by both JDM and NADAA

We now turn to look at whether the presidents’ use of the personal pronouns are for individual, statesmanship or partisanship, duty, appreciation to the people or to God. The presidents do that in terms of their connectivity to show that as a country we are one. For example, JDM uses 20 of the *I*’s to refer to his role as president as in:

224. ***I** have taken an oath that as president of this nation, **I** will work hard to place us on the right path, and **I** will lead us over the hurdles and past the obstacles that might threaten to keep us from meeting our goals. NAS 43*

225. *The promises that **I** have made are promises that **I** intend to keep. NAS 44*

226. ***I** will not let you down. NAS 47*

227. *As president, **I** will take to heart those very words that **I** have just extended to you potential. NAS 79*

If out of the 26 uses of the *I*, 20 refer to himself or his role as a president, it means that it is more about his responsibilities. He therefore shows more patriotism or statesmanship.

228. *“I recognise the vital role that our private sector, especially small and indigenous businesses, play in the expansion of our workforce as well as in the growth and stability of our economy.” NAS 84*

Again, 6 of the *I*'s were used to refer to him as a person or an individual as in:

229. *I believe that with God, and in Ghana, all things are possible. NAS 62*

NADAA also used 25 *I*'s in his speech. Out of the 25, 15 of them were used to refer back to himself as a president while for 10 times, *I* was used to refer to him as a citizen. It follows logically that if out of the 25 uses of *I*, 15 were used to refer to him as a president, it means he is more concerned about his duties and responsibilities and this, makes him more nationalistic or patriotic. Below are examples of the use of *I* by NADAA to show more of his responsibility.

230. *I am determined to do all in my power to accomplish the tasks of the mandate and justify their confidence. NAS 19*

231. *I will not let you, the people of Ghana down. NAS 20*

232. *I stand here today, humbled beyond measure for the opportunity to lead this country at this time and take us to a higher level in our development. NAS 33*

233. *I shall protect the public purse by insisting on value for money in all public transactions. NAS 55*

JDM used *We* 26 times and NADAA 66 times both inclusively and exclusively for the nation in appreciation to God and other dignitaries, for duty and legal duty in terms of our connectivity as one people with a common goal. For 20 times JDM used *we* to refer

to Ghanaians and 6 times to his party. It means that the president is more connected to country and the functions which he has been assigned as president. Below are examples of the use of *We*'s by JDM which concern his roles as president of Ghana.

234. *Indeed, we have inherited a powerful legacy, beneficiaries of a mighty history.*

NAS 6

235. *We rightfully memorialise the names of the many, many individuals whose singular contributions have elevated the profile of this nation and enriched the lives of its citizens.* NAS 29

236. *We all, each and every one of us, have a role to play in the growth and development of our beloved mother Ghana* NAS 29

237. *The infrastructure that we already have must be expanded, strengthened, and made better able to withstand the increased usage.* NAS 36

238. *We need to look beyond temporary fixes to find lasting solutions for the complications we've experienced with power, water and sanitation.* NAS 38

For 39 times, NADAA used *we* to refer to Ghanaians and 27 times to his party. This implies that the president is more connected to the overall people of Ghana and the functions which he has been assigned as president of Ghana.

239. *We are met here today to give effect to the outcome of that exercise.* NAS 3

240. *This is the day the Lord has made; we will rejoice and be glad in it.* NAS 5

241. *We are grateful also for the presence of His Excellency Teodoro Obiana Nguema, President of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea; His Excellency Ali Bongo. President of the Republic of Gabon, and His Excellency Edgar Lungu, President of the Republic of Zambia.* NAS 8

242. *We have a proud heritage.* NAS 21

In proportionate terms, NADAA used more *we*'s when referring to his party than JDM. (27 out of 66) in relation to JDM's (6 out of 26) to talk about his party. This strengthens his supposed intense affiliation to his party more than JDM. This is in spite of the fact that both speakers show strong affiliations to their country.

243. *"We have done it without any fuss and it is now part of what we do as a people.*

NAS 40

244. *Kofi Abrefa Busia, Prime Minister of the Progress Party government of the 2nd Republic, and one of the great Ghanaians, said in these eloquent words:*

*„We regard politics as an avenue of service to **ou** fellow men. NAS 41*

245. *We hold that political power is to be exercised to make life nobler and happier". NAS 42 (party)*

246. *"We have a proud heritage. NAS 21*

247. *We are the heirs of John Mensah Sarbah, Joseph Caseley Hayford, George Pa Grant, R.S. Blay, Joseph Boakye Danquah, Emmanuel Obetsebi Lamptey, Edward Akufo-Addo, William Ofori-Atta, Cobbina Kesse, Ernest Ako Adjei, Kwame Nkrumah, Komla Agbeli Gbedema. Kojo Botsio, SD. Dombo, Kofi Abrefa Busia, Baffuor Osei Akoto and others, who taught **us** that fidelity to principles, courage, patience, resilience and collective action, do yield results". NAS 22 (nation)*

You was not inclusive since *You* was used to show the difference between the presidents, the ministers and Ghanaians from other people. *You* was used generically to refer to Ghanaians but within different contexts and focus.

Both speakers' use of *you* was to express their unfailing contribution to the people of

Ghana. „*I will not let you down*“ JMS 47 / *I will not let you the people of Ghana down*“ NAS 20. The pronoun was also used to encourage the people to contribute their quota to nation building. *You do make a difference.*” JMS 78

NADAA in addition indicates how he will work to bring out the entrepreneurship (adventurer) in Ghanaians in his words, —*We will bring back to life the adventurer in you.*” NAS 67 He urges Ghanaians to be part of change that they have voted for –

—*Fellow citizens, you must be at the centre of the change*”. NAS 94. He also challenges Ghanaians to be citizens not spectators nor audience, not subjects nor slaves but people/citizens who are responsible in building their own communities and the country at large; —*I ask you to be citizens: citizens, not spectators: citizens, not subjects; responsible citizens building your communities and our nation*”. NAS 98 However, NADAA shifts the use of **you** from Ghanaians (generic) to (specificity in order to exclusively thank the speaker of parliament for the time he had to deliver the address as in —*Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and May God bless our homeland Ghana and make her great and strong*”. NAS 126. The use of **you** separates Ghanaians from other people and therefore the presidents put all Ghanaians together in unity which shows patriotism or nationality. The use of **you** here shows togetherness and in appreciation for the duty of electing people. This shows our connectivity as one people which give us national identity.

The third person pronouns have a lot of implications in terms of connectivity with certain individuals and groups. Some of them were used to show how patriotic and selfless individuals were connected to our national development. For example, JDM used the third person **He** to specifically make reference to *Tetteh Quarshie* who brought cocoa to Ghana and planted those seeds on his property in MampongAkwapim to see

if they would grow- **“He planted those seeds on his property in Mampong-Akwapim to see if they would grow”**. JMS 22. Therefore, the president recommends and appreciates his zeal for bringing such a resourceful plant to Ghana. Also, **them** was used to refer to our **‘forbearers’** who fought effortlessly to hoist high the flag of Ghana. He appreciates their relentless efforts as in

248. —*We respectfully extol their virtues and hold **them** in high esteem*”. JMS 12

This is indicative of the fact that, it is in our nature as a people to show appreciation to people who have selflessly done so much for our nation. By this, the speakers project the heroic achievements of these leaders and successfully pull the whole nation behind them in appreciating their efforts. He mentions that though these forebears of Ghana ordinary people, yet by virtue of what they did -responding to the call to service, they have been able to indelibly change the face and the very fabric of this nation. **‘To them I say, “Ayekoo.” I am ever grateful to have the advantage of your wisdom and the important lessons of your leadership.** JMS 66

NADAA used **they** to refer to the past presidents of Ghana. With it, he expresses appreciation to and acknowledgment of the former presidents of the fourth republic of Ghana as in

249. —**They** represent the continuity of the institutions of our Republic, for which we thank God”. NAS 17

He had indicated in the previous sentence that he was privileged to have to draw on the wisdom and experience of three former Presidents of the Republic, their Excellencies Jerry John Rawlings, John Agyekum Kufour and John Dramani Mahama.

NADAA indexically shifts from the former presidents to the forebears of Ghana’s democracy. These people were past heroes who fought with intelligence, guts, steely

determination and patriotism towards the liberation of our land and reclaim our worth as human beings. He indicates that it is not for nothing that when our forebears established the Ghanaian nation, **they** chose —Freedom and Justice as our motto. These instances show how much we are connected to our roots and ancestry as a people with one destiny.

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CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATION

5.0 Introduction

The analysis of the personal pronouns in the two presidential inaugural addresses has been completed. In chapter four, the research questions were used as sub-topics to carry out discussions on the issues. The findings are presented using the research questions as sub-headings. It started with the frequencies of the personal pronouns used by the speakers and how they reflect the basic meanings of definiteness, specificity and genericness. It discussed the references of the personal pronouns index, and how these reflect the basic character of the pronouns. The study also looked at the interpersonal relationships that were expressed with the use of the personal pronouns as well as the ideals of statesmanship.

5.1 Findings

It was found out that the total number of pronouns used by JDM were 245 representing 43.21% while NADAA used 322 representing 57.79%. The number of personal pronouns used by JDM were 149 which represents 36.43 % while NADAA used 239 representing 61.6%. A relative frequency distribution table was used to show how personal pronouns were distributed in the two speeches in terms of persons and number. It was observed that comparatively NADAA used more personal pronouns than JDM in terms of number and in person (239 as against 149). This was indicated by the relative frequency which was turned into frequency distribution chart.

In terms of person, NADAA recorded 180 personal pronouns for the first person and 101 by JDM. Also, NADAA recorded 9 for the second person while JDM recorded 12. In the third person, NADAA recorded 50 while JDM recorded 36.

The study found out that the personal pronouns were used as the case may be; as subjects (*I, We, They, You*), objects (*Me, Us, You, Them*), possessive adjectives (*My, Our, Your, Their*), or possessive pronouns (*Mine, Ours, His, Theirs*). It could be said that the personal pronouns were used thoughtfully by the two presidents in their speeches. Sometimes, the distribution of a particular pronoun throughout the speech attest to this. For example, throughout his speech, NADAA's use of *we* was generous and could be found all through the speech.

There was at least the use of the pronoun *we* in almost every sentence or the next two sentences. It could be said that this was proportionally crafted to show the kind of connection that the president maintains with his audience as well as Ghanaians. In other instances, some of the personal pronouns would be compacted either at the beginning, middle or at the end of the speech. This shows the tact with which the presidents present their speech. There was clear evidence of repetition of some personal pronouns several times within a sentence. This is especially evident in the use of the first person singular pronoun *I* by both JDM and NADAA

250. *I assure you, my fellow citizens, who have entrusted me with this mandate, that I will advance my convictions with civility, I will serve the public interest with courage, I will speak for greater justice as well as compassion, and I will call for responsibility and I will live it, as well. (NAS 101-102*

251. *I have taken an oath that as president of this nation, I will work hard to place us on the right path, and I will lead us over the hurdles and past the obstacles that might threaten to keep us from meeting our goals and the promises that I have made are promises that I intend to keep. JMS 43 - 44*

Here, *I* was used six times and five times respectively within a single sentence and this creates some *therapeutic effect* to show that the speakers are in a position as presidents, citizens or persons to offer some forms of commitment to the issues they are talking about.

5.2 Meanings of Personal Pronouns in Terms of Genericness, Definiteness and Specificity.

It was observed that some of the pronouns were used with general reference to particular instances or details. Both presidents used the personal pronouns in terms of genericness, definiteness and specificity. In these cases, they indicated double inference and presumption. This establishes the thought that they were not only speaking on behalf of their party or Government (Exclusive) but also on behalf of the audience (Ghanaians) and themselves (inclusive.).

This also shortens the distance between the speaker and the audience -bringing both the speaker and the listener onto the same / level ground, and thus makes the audience feel close to the speaker. It also makes the speaker successful in his bid to persuade them to work together as a team. Sometimes, these pronouns were used to refer to specific people who have helped enhance the democratic process of Ghana. The analysis showed that the personal pronouns were specifically used as referents which were indexed and connected to the nouns mentioned.

5.3 Interpersonal relationships established by the use of personal pronouns in both speeches.

Again, the presentation discloses how personal pronouns help to indexically establish relationships within context. Such relationships and meanings were manifested by way of expressing political ideology, identity, power and solidarity as well as statesmanship.

Both presidents were able to make explicit the fact that they could pride themselves as Ghanaians and also make their political ideologies very clear to their audience. For instance, NADAA traces the nation's historical leaders and in the process does not leave out the impact of the founding fathers of his party, the New Patriotic Party. He does this by identifying himself with the founding fathers of his party as well as his party's ideologies.

Similarly, JDM indicates that Ghana's past is filled with one example after the other of courage, sacrifice and perseverance of our forebears. Ghana's past is defined by heroic men and women - pioneers, visionaries, patriots. *"Indeed, we have inherited a powerful legacy, beneficiaries of a mighty history. The names of our forefathers and foremothers are firmly etched in the world's memory. People like Nana Yaa Asantewaa, Naa Gbewaa, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and Dr. J.B. Danquah. People like Efua Sutherland, Dr. James Kwegyir Aggrey, Dr. Esther Afua Ocloo and Dr. Ephraim Amu. (JMS 6-9)* We can boldly say that both presidents expressed strong antecedental unity for Ghana.

Finally, the results revealed that in both speeches, the first person pronouns (*we, our, us*) recorded the highest frequencies while the second person pronouns (*you, your and yours*) recorded the least occurrence in the speeches. Bramley (2001: 76) posits that by the use of the pronoun *we*, speakers include others and hence create a group identity. In this way, they make others responsible for potential issues and also share their responsibilities. This is necessary since a part of the inaugural speech seeks to unite the people, calm nerves and provide hope and direction for all.

252. *We all, each and every one of us, have a role to play in the growth and development of our beloved mother Ghana. JMS 29*

253. *We can start with little changes in our own individual attitudes and practices.*

The change can and should start now and with us as individuals. NAS 96-97

Typical of the second person pronoun **you**, according to Allen (2006: 13f) is its exploitation to criticize the opposition by either including or excluding them from generalisations. However, throughout the speeches, the pronoun was not used for this purpose. It was rather used to encourage the people to rally behind the working team to ensure national development. This may also be attributed to the overarching purpose of the inaugural speech - to call for a more unifying environment for peaceful and successful governance. Thus the overall effect of the use of these pronouns reduced political tension and created assuring environment for smooth and successful take-off of the presidency. Excerpts from the speeches include;

254. *.your actions do matter. / you do make a difference. JMS 77-78*

255. *.In our hands – yours as well as mine – rests the success or failure of Ghana"s future. JMS 30*

256. *.I ask you to be citizens: citizens and not spectators; citizens, not subjects; responsible citizens building your communities and our nation. NAS 98*

5.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, we opine that the purpose of communication is to make meaningful interaction between the addresser and the addressee and to establish expressive relationships. Language is used as a medium of communication in a political discourse where the speaker is given the mandate to interact with his listeners which in this case are the electorates. A political speech is one that involves struggle for power in order to put certain political, economic and social ideas into practice.

It must however be noted that the success of a political speech does not hang on the content of the message alone. Rather, on the delivery, the framing of concepts and on the associations and affiliations the speaker is able to manage. It has been realised from this study that language plays a very important role for every political action planned and executed. The present study has analysed the discourse of two political speeches - the inaugural addresses by the Ghanaian presidents John Dramani Mahama and Nana Addo Danquah Akuffo Addo.

The study has shown that the personal pronouns were used profusely in the inaugural addresses by these two presidents to convey some powerful messages. It is evident from this analysis that politicians' ultimate desire to influence opinions of people through persuasion is paramount. This has necessitated the various processes we have just described forming the pile-up of personal pronouns in their speeches.

Making plain/untying the intricacies of relationships that are hidden in the use of personal pronouns, both readers and listeners of political speeches and speeches in general would now listen with precise interest to discern what the real/intended meanings of politicians' speeches and speech writers are. Thus, people can now begin to question who the actual referents of personal pronouns are in speeches and what meanings and associations do they connote. People's outlook, persuasion and appreciation of the speeches they listen to would now be enhanced.

It is no secret, the fact that not many Ghanaian readers or listeners of political speeches and others bother to make out the implicative use of personal pronouns in speeches. The analysis has revealed the construction of identities in the moments of discourse. The pronouns studied showed such character as was described by Kaplan in his work on indexicality.

There was the creation of politicians' identities, and shifting of reference which yielded to or portrayed the contextual nature of pronouns used. In an instance, a particular pronoun would refer to one person/thing and also to a completely different thing in another instance. The effect of this is that, the speakers, who were also politicians could create their identities and also shift their responsibilities anytime they wanted to between themselves and others. These shifts which brought about different identities by pronouns in sequence were many and varied. They were also expressed in a number of patterns.

First, politicians shifted between their individual and collective identities invoked by the use of *I* and *we*. The alternation between *I* and *we* reflects a shift between the most outstanding identities-both individual and collective identities. After representing themselves as individuals, the presidents choose to identify with particular groups, by using *we* and hence present themselves as more than one individual.

Besides, the combinations of the pronouns *I*, *we* and generic *you* as means of expressing varieties of both individual and different collective identities were prevalent. This particular combination of pronouns reflects a shift of identity from the president as an individual to Ghanaians as a member of a particular collective and then as a part of *everyone*. This shift in pronouns from *self* to *everyone* occurs when the president seeks to substantiate his position. Moving from *I* to *we* and then to generic *you* enables the presidents construct stronger positions for themselves while avoiding potential damage that may be done to their good image.

We conclude with the following that;

- Genericness provides politicians ways of presenting favourable images of themselves as well as others and can be used when they evaluate a situation or

event. This can be used to show inclusivity and exclusivity. By using genericness, politicians can construct an argument as a general one or as a typical member of a category. This enables the politician to present self as someone who has views that appear to be more widely held. This is a way of placing more weight to his argument and also serves a means to defend his/her views.

- Definiteness is used by a politician to have either anaphoric/cataphoric reference with the personal pronoun. Therefore, these references are indexed to another person indexically for their semantic value.
- We opine strongly that from the context of some works elucidating the concept of indexicality, it can be found that the so-called specificity that meets the original meaning of —specificl primarily refers to the certainty, and precision of information given by the president.

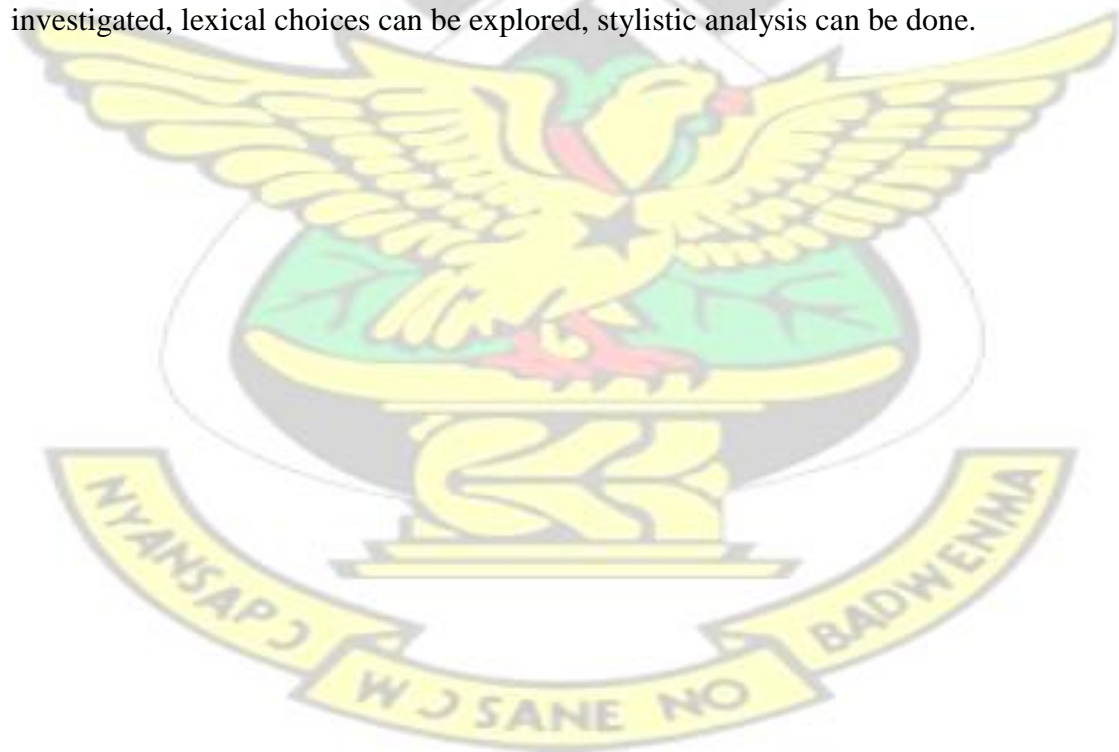
Finally, this study is important for understanding the nature of political speeches. The study of personal pronouns in these inaugural speeches has provided linguistic evidence that has led to a much clearer understanding of the nature of political speech. This study shows how inaugural speech is socially constructed. It has also gives credence to peoples' assumption that politicians always try to make themselves look good even when the opposite is the case.

In addition, this study highlights that the politician's task of delivering speech is not about giving information. Rather, politicians are primarily concerned with their turn as means of creating versions of their reality, identity, ideology, power, solidarity and statesmanship. The personal pronouns are unique resources to that effect. JDM and

NADAA lay bare the important roles of personal pronouns such as *I, WE, YOU, THEY, THEM, ME, US, OUR, OURS, HE'* in their quest to make sense of intimacy with the Ghanaians and the audience in their pursuit of a common objective.

5.5 Recommendations

This research centered on the use of personal pronouns in political discourse. The objective was to discuss the discursual uses of personal pronouns in the speeches of two Ghanaian presidents. The study explored references the personal pronouns index, the choices and use of these pronouns to establish relationships to self, identity, ideology, power, to represent the state or party as well as portray the values of statesmanship. The researcher therefore envisages that further work which will capture other elements may trigger some interesting findings. For further research, other kinds of pronouns can be investigated, lexical choices can be explored, stylistic analysis can be done.



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APPENDIX 1

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF HIS EXCELLENCY, NANA ADDO DANKWA AKUFO-ADDO ON THE OCCASION OF HIS SWEARING IN AS PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE GHANA ARMED FORCES DATE: 7TH JANUARY, 2017

NAS1- Mr. Speaker, The Ghanaian people give thanks to Almighty God for the blessings, favour and grace **He** continues to bestow on **them**.

NAS2- Exactly a month ago, that is 7th December last year **We**, 2016, the people of Ghana, in all serenity and dignity, exercised **our** democratic franchise freely to elect a President and Parliament of **our** Republic.

NAS3- We are met here today to give effect to the outcome of that exercise.

NAS4- In accordance with **our** republican custom, **I**, having been declared the winner of the presidential contest on 9th December, 2016, by the returning officer, the Chairperson of the Electoral Commission, Charlotte Osei, have taken the oath of the high office of President of the Republic, in the presence of the newly sworn Vice President, **His** Excellency Alhaji Dr. Mahamudu Bawumia, and the newly elected Speaker of Parliament, the Rt. Hon. Prof. Michael Oquaye, an oath administered by the Chief Justice, **Her** Ladyship Georgina Theodora Wood, before the elected representatives of the people assembled in this 7th Parliament of the 4th Republic.

NAS5- This is the day the Lord has made; **we** will rejoice and be glad in it.

NAS6- **Our** nation is honoured by the presence, at this solemn ceremony of investiture, of leaders and representatives of friendly counties across the globe, in particular those of the sister nations of **our** regional body, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and of **our** continental body, the African Union.

NAS7- **I** salute the Chairperson of the Authority of Heads of State and Governments of the AU, **His** Excellency Idriss Déby, President of the Republic of Chad.

NAS8- **I** salute the Chairperson of the Authority of Heads of State and Governments of ECOWAS, the historic figure, **Her** Excellency Ellen Johnson Sirleaf President of the Republic of Liberia: **our** special guest of honour, **His** Excellency Alassane Dramane Ouattara, President of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire, and **we** thank **him** for **his** excellent speech; **His** Excellency Muhammadu Buhari, President of the Federal Republic of mighty Nigeria; **His** Excellency Macky Sall, President of the Republic of Senegal; **His** Excellency Faure Gnassingbé, President of the Republic of Togo, **His** Excellency Alpha Conde, President of the Republic of Guinea Conakry; **His** Excellency Patrice Talon, President of the Republic of Benin; **His** Excellency Ernest Bai Koroma, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone; **His** Excellency Ibrahim Boubacar Keita, President of the Republic of Mali, **His** Excellency Roch Marc Christian President of Burkina Faso.

NAS8- **We** are grateful also for the presence of **His** Excellency Teodoro Obiana Nguema, President of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea; **His** Excellency Ali Bongo.

- NAS9- President of the Republic of Gabon, and **His** Excellency Edgar Lungu, President of the Republic of Zambia.
- NAS10- To **them** and the representatives of all the other friendly nations who are here and former presidents and leaders, **I** say akwaaba', **our** famous word of welcome.
- NAS11- **I** have, at the outset, to thank sincerely **our** departing President, **His** Excellency John Dramani Mahama, for his service to **our** nation.
- NAS12- **He** stepped into the breach of national leadership at a delicate moment in the country's history, with the death in office, for the first time, of a sitting president, the late Prof. John Evans Atta Mills.
- NAS13- **He** has since steered the ship of state with Conviction.
- NAS14- **His** elegant, dignified acceptance of the verdict of the People on 7th December, 2016, will, without doubt, receive the approval of history, for it has contributed significantly to the process of democratic consolidation in Ghana.
- NAS15- **I** wish **him** and **his** family well.
- NAS16- For **I**, myself am in the unique position of being able to draw on the wisdom **and** experience of three former Presidents of the Republic, **their** Excellencies Jerry John Rawlings, John Agyekum Kufour and John Dramani Mahama.
- NAS17- They represent the continuity of the institutions of **our** Republic, for which **we** thank God.
- NAS18- Mr. Speaker, **I** am deeply humbled by the exceptional mandate and extraordinary show of confidence that the Ghanaian people have conferred on **my** party, the New Patriotic Party, and on **my** modest person.
- NAS19- **I** am determined to do all in my power to accomplish the tasks of the mandate and justify **their** confidence.
- NAS20- **I** will not let **you**, the people of Ghana. down.
- NAS21- **We** have a proud heritage.
- NAS22- **We** are the heirs of John Mensah Sarbah, Joseph Caseley Hayford, George Pa Grant, R.S. Blay, Joseph Boakye Danquah, Emmanuel Obetsebi Lamptey, Edward Akufo-Addo, William Ofori-Atta, Cobbina Kesse, Ernest Ako Adjei, Kwame Nkrumah, Komla Agbeli Gbedema. Kojo Botsio, SD. Dombo, Kofi Abrefa Busia, Baffuor Osei Akoto and others, who taught **us** that fidelity to principles, courage, patience, resilience and collective action, do yield results.
- NAS23- **They** fought with intelligence, guts, steely determination and patriotism to liberate **our** land and reclaim our worth as human beings.
- NAS24- **Their** love for country continues to inspire generations of **us** to commit **our** lives to the search for an enduring democratic legacy for Ghana.
- NAS25- It is not for nothing that when **our** forebears established the Ghanaian nation, **they** chose —Freedom and Justice as **our** motto.
- NAS26- **Our** generation has to give meaning to this motto.
- NAS27- On March 6, in a few weeks' time, Ghana will attain 60 years as an independent nation.
- NAS28- **I** suspect that those early nationalists would be disappointed, if **they** came today and saw the level of development **we** have achieved in 60 years of independence.
- NAS29- **Our** journey has had some highs and unfortunately many lows.

- NAS30- Since **we** accepted a consensus on how **we** should be governed with the onset of the Fourth Republic, **we** have performed more creditably.
- NAS31- **It** is within this Period of 24 years that Ghana has witnessed a consistent period of development.
- NAS32- Sixty years after attaining nationhood, **we** no longer have any excuses for being poor.
- NAS33- **I** stand here today, humbled beyond measure for the opportunity to lead this country at this time and take **us** to a higher level in **our** development.
- NAS34- The words of JB Danquah, one of the founding fathers of the Ghanaian nation, are compelling.
- NAS35- **He** said as far back as 1960 that the duty of government should be —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 the laws of the land should be dedicated in order specifically to enrich life, property and liberty of each and every citizen.
- NAS36- **We** have an exuberant and young, growing population that wants the best of what the world has to offer and will not settle for —Third World or —developing world standards.
- NAS37- **We** have an adventurous people who are in a hurry for success.
- NAS38- **I** have no doubt that the talents, energies, sense of enterprise and innovation of the Ghanaian can be harnessed to make Ghana the place where dreams come true.
- NAS39- **It** took **us** a while, but the consensus on multi-party constitutional rule has been established, and, for the third time, **we** have had a peaceful transfer of power from a governing party to an opposition one.
- NAS40- **We** have done it without any fuss and it is now part of what **we** do as a people.
- NAS41- Kofi Abrefa Busia, Prime Minister of the Progress Party government of the 2nd Republic, and one of the great Ghanaians, said in these eloquent words: **We** regard politics as an avenue of service to **our** fellow men.
- NAS42- **We** hold that political power is to be exercised to make life nobler and happier.
- NAS43- **Our** success or failure should be judged by the quality of the individual, by **his** knowledge, **his** skills, **his** behaviour as a member of society, the standard of living **he** is able to enjoy and by the degree of harmony and brotherliness in **our** community life as a nation.
- NAS44- **We** should move on to deepen **our** democracy.
- NAS45- **It** is time to make sure that **we** have a true separation of powers between the various arms of government.
- NAS 46- **Our** Parliament, the legislative arm of government, must grow into **its** proper role as effective machinery for accountability and oversight of the Executive, and not be **its** junior partner.
- NAS47- The Ghanaian Parliament, the Ghanaian Member of Parliament, must stand out as institutions that represent all that **we** hold dear and citizens can take pride in.

NAS48- **Our** judiciary must inspire confidence in the citizens, so **we** can all see the Courts as the ultimate arbiters when disputes arise, as **they** would.

NAS49- A Ghanaian judge must be a reassuring presence and the epitome of fairness.

NAS 50- **We** have worked with **our** national constitution for 24 years and **we** now know the areas that require change.

NAS51- **I** believe a consensus is emerging that **we** must decentralize more.

NAS52- **We** must devolve more power with corresponding resources to the base of **our** political system and to **our** people, in the regions and communities.

NAS53- **We** must trust the individual and collective wisdom and good sense of **our** people.

NAS54- **We** must restore integrity in public life. State coffers are not spoils for the party that wins an election, but resources for the country's social and economic development.

NAS55- **I** shall protect the public purse by insisting on value-for-money in all public transactions.

NAS56- Public service is just that - service and not an avenue for making money.

NAS57- Money is to be made in the private sector, not the public. **NAS58-** Measures will be put in place to ensure this.

NAS59- **We** must create wealth and restore happiness to **our** nation.

NAS60- **We** can only do this when **we** have an educated and skilled population that is capable of competing in the global economy.

NAS61- **We** must expand **our** horizons and embrace science and technology as critical tools for **our** development.

NAS62- **We** believe that the business of government is to govern.

NAS63- **Ours** is to set fair rules.

NAS64- **We** will provide vision and direction and shine the light down the path of our entrepreneurs and farmers.

NAS65- **We** are, indeed, counting on a vibrant private sector to drive growth and create jobs.

NAS66- **We** will stimulate the creative juices of innovators.

NAS67- **We** will bring back to life the adventurer in **you**.

NAS68- **It** is time to imagine and to dream again time to try that business idea again.

NAS69- **We** will reduce taxes to recover the momentum of **our** economy.

NAS70- The doors of Ghana are open again.

NAS71- The shutters are up again.

NAS72- There could not be a better opportunity to Make in Ghana, and to make it in Ghana. **GHANA IS OPEN FOR BUSINESS AGAIN!**

NAS73- **We** will build a confident Ghana which is united, at peace with itself and takes pride in its diversity.

- NAS74- **We** will rekindle the spirit that made Ghana the leading light on the African continent, and make **our** conditions deserving of that accolade.
- NAS75- **We** will work with **our** neighbours and friends on the continent to enhance peace, democracy and political stability in **our** part of the world.
- NAS76- **We** will reassert vigorously the Pan African vocation to which **our** nation has been dedicated.
- NAS77- Integration of **our** region and of **our** continent will be a strategic objective of Ghanaian policy.
- NAS78- **It** will not be easy.
- NAS79- **We** have no illusions whatsoever about the enormity of the task that **we** face, but **I** know that Ghanaians at home and abroad will rise to the occasion **they** always do.
- NAS80- **It** will require sacrifice, but **it** can be done.
- NAS81- Others have done **it**.
- NAS82- So can **we**.
- NAS83- **Our** best days still lie ahead.
- NAS84- Though **our** challenges are fearsome, so are **our** strengths.
- NAS85- Ghanaians have ever been a restless, questing, hopeful people.
- NAS86- And **we** must bring to **our** task today the vision and will of those who came before **us**.
- NAS87- The Ghanaian people have summoned the change **we** celebrate today.
- NAS88- **They** have raised **their** voices in an unmistakable chorus.
- NAS89- **They** have cast their votes without equivocation and have forced the change.
- NAS90- Now **we** must do the work the season demands.
- NAS91- To that work, **I** now turn with all the authority of **my** office.
- NAS92- **I** ask the Legislature and Judiciary to join with **me**.
- NAS93- But no President, no Parliament, no Government can undertake this mission all by itself.
- NAS94- Fellow citizens, **you** must be at the centre of the change.
- NAS95- The change **we** have voted for will have to start with each of **us** as individuals.
- NAS96- **We** can start with little changes in **our** own individual attitudes and practices.
- NAS97- The change can and should start now and with **us** as individuals.
- NAS98- **I** ask **you** to be citizens: citizens, not spectators: citizens, not subjects; responsible citizens building **your** communities and **our** nation.
- NAS99- Let **us** work until the work is done.
- NAS100- Holy Scripture in Galatians 6:9 says —Let **us** not become weary in doing good, for at the proper time **we** will reap a harvest if **we** do not give up. |
- NAS101- **I** assure **you, my** fellow citizens, who have entrusted **me** with this mandate, that **I** **my** will advance convictions with civility.
- NAS102- **I** will serve **the** public interest with courage, **I** will speak for greater justice as well as compassion, and **I** will call for responsibility and **I** will live it, as well.
- NAS103- This is **my** solemn pledge.
- NAS104- **I** see exciting times ahead.

- NAS105- The rule of law will be the underlying tenet of **our** lives; and the law will be applicable to all of **us**, and not just some.
- NAS106- **We** will have to work hard, harder than **we** have ever done before; and the hard work will be done by all of **us** and not just some.
- NAS107- There will be discipline in all sectors of **our** lives; and this **us**, applies to all of not just some.
- **Our** NAS108 public service will be accorded the dignity and respect **it** deserves, and **he** made to attract the bright young people **it** needs.
- NAS109- **We** acknowledge there will always be the need for a safety net for the vulnerable in **our** society, as in all other societies.
- NAS110- **Our** nation will work when the marginalized and vulnerable are catered for and treated with respect.
- NAS111- **Our** elderly people will be recognized for their roles in building Ghana and assured of care in the dusk of **their**
- **We** should all recognize the danger **we** lives.
- ou** vironment and work to protect **our** NAS112 face by the alarming
- r** degradation of
- water bodies, **our** forests, **our** lands and the oceans.
- NAS113- **We** should learn and accept that **we** do not own the land, but hold **it** in trust for generations yet unborn and, therefore, have a responsibility to take good care of and all contains.
- NAS114- Ghana's first President, Kwame Nkrumah, Osagyefo, said at the end of 1957, the year of **ou** independence: —**We** shall measure **our** progress by the happiness which **r** people take in being able to manage **their** own affairs. |
- ou** **their**
- NAS115- Since March **r** 6, 1957, **we** all say as a matter of routine that **we** are Ghanaians.
- NAS116- **It** is time to define what being a Ghanaian ought to mean.
- NAS117- Being a Ghanaian must stand for something more than the holder of a birth certificate or a certain passport.
- NAS118- Being a Ghanaian must put certain responsibilities on each one of **us**.
- NAS119- Calling yourself a Ghanaian must mean **you** have signed up to a certain definable code and conduct.
- NAS120- Being a Ghanaian puts an obligation on each one of **us** to work at building a fair, prosperous and happy nation.
- NAS121- And calling yourself a Ghanaian must mean **we** look out for each other.
- NAS122- There should be no higher praise than to be able to say **I AM A GHANA1AN**.
- NAS123- **I** thank the Almighty that **I** am able to say with pride, **I** am a Ghanaian.
- NAS124- A new dawn arisen in Ghana which will enable **us** to build a new Ghanaian civilization which will be the beacon of Africa and the wonder of the world.

NAS125- **I** thank **you** all, **my** fellow citizens, for making **me** the president of this beautiful country.

NAS126- Thank **you**, Mr. Speaker, and May God bless **our** homeland Ghana and make **her** great and strong.

NAS127 And may God bless **us** all and Mother Africa.

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APPENDIX 2

Tuesday, October 25, 2016

INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT JOHN DRAMANI MAHAMA ON THE OCCASION OF HIS SWEARING-IN AS PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GHANA

Rt. Hon. Speaker of Parliament,

JMS1- His Excellency the Vice President, **Her Ladyship** the Chief Justice, **Your** Excellencies **our** dear former Presidents, **Your** Excellencies Visiting Heads of State and Heads of Delegations, Hon. Members of Parliament, Members of the Diplomatic Corps, Nananom, Distinguished Guests, **My** Fellow Countrymen and women, Family and Friends.

Good morning.

JMS2- It has been said that what is past is prologue, a mere introduction of all that is yet to come.

JMS3- If this is the case, then Ghana has in store a wealth of achievement.

JMS4 Ghana's past is filled with one example after the other of courage, sacrifice and perseverance.

JMS5- Ghana's past is defined by heroic men and women - pioneers, visionaries, patriots.

JMS6- Indeed, **we** have inherited a powerful legacy, beneficiaries of a mighty history.

JMS7- The names of **our** forefathers and foremothers are firmly etched in the world's memory.

JMS8- People like Nana Yaa Asantewaa, Naa Gbewaa, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and Dr. J.B. Danquah.

JMS9- People like Efua Sutherland, Dr. James Kwegyir Aggrey, Dr. Esther Afua Ocloo and Dr. Ephraim Koku Amu.

JMS10- These are but a few of the names of people who were fearless enough to fulfill **their** dreams, or to fight for the liberation of **their** people, or to envision change and then manifest **it**.

JMS11- **We** rightfully memorialise the names of the many, many individuals whose singular contributions have elevated the profile of this nation and enriched the lives of **its** citizens.

JMS12- **We** respectfully extol **their** virtues and hold **them** in high esteem.

JMS13- In fact, **we** hold **them** in such high esteem that **we** often overlook entirely the reality that these heroes, these men and women, were as human as **you** and **I**.

JMS14- The majority of individuals who have had the greatest impact on this country came from humble beginnings.

JMS15- **They** were not so different from most Ghanaians, like those assembled here or those going about the events of **their** day in the homes, churches, mosques, and offices across the country.

- **They** were ordinary people who lived **thei** **JMS16** r lives to the fullest, made **their** God-given talents, and took pride **their** use of activities.

JMS17- That was the simple call **they** answered.

JMS18- The call that placed **them** in extraordinary circumstances, events and experiences that led **them** to indelibly change the face and the very fabric of this nation.

JMS19- Mention the name Tetteh Quarshie, for instance, and **you** will learn the story of an ordinary man, a blacksmith, the son of a farmer from Teshie.

JMS20- In 1870, Tetteh Quarshie travelled to Fernando Po, an island that belongs to the nation of Equatorial Guinea and is now called Bioko.

JMS21- At the end of that fateful trip, Tetteh Quarshie returned home with several cocoa seeds.

JMS22- **He** planted those seeds on **his** property in Mampong-Akwapim to see if **they** would grow.

JMS23- So well suited was this crop to the soil and climate that **it** grew abundantly.

JMS24- **It** took less than twelve years for the country to start exporting cocoa.

JMS25- Now, over one hundred years later, Ghana is the world's second largest exporter of cocoa, and **it** is Ghana's leading export earner.

JMS26- This is the effect that the life of one ordinary citizen can have on an entire nation.

JMS27- Complacency and frustration can entice **us** into believing that **we** are insignificant players stuck somehow in the background of a bigger picture, or that **we** are incapable of making a difference.

JMS28- But history itself has proven that nothing could be further from the truth.

JMS29- **We** all, each and every one of **us**, have a role to play in the growth and development of **our** beloved mother Ghana.

JMS30- In **our** hands - **yours** as well as mine - rests the success or failure of Ghana's future.

JMS31- There is no denying the fact that in the past 55 years Ghana has made tremendous gains, but there is also no denying the fact that Ghana is still a young country and every young country goes through its share of instability and difficulty as it struggles to find the direction toward permanence.

JMS32- Over the course of the last four years, a tremendous amount of work has been done.

JMS33- Nevertheless, there is a tremendous amount of work that still needs to be done.

JMS34- More jobs must be created.

JMS35- More roads, bridges, schools and hospitals must be built.

JMS36- The infrastructure that **we** already have must be expanded, strengthened, and made better able to withstand the increased usage.

JMS37- Equipment should not be the only thing that is state-of-the-art in **our** institutions; systems, **pro**cedures and staff must be brought up to standard; best practices must be implemented.

JMS38- **We** need to look beyond temporary fixes to find lasting solutions for the complications **we**'ve experienced with power, water and sanitation.

JMS39- **We** must continue to invest in **our** agricultural sector, and grow **our** economy so that **it** lifts the bulk of our most crippling financial burdens, especially among the poorest of the population.

JMS40- A country's most valuable resource is **its** human resource.

JMS41- This is why **it** is imperative that **our** citizens have access to good healthcare.

JMS42- These issues and concerns are all works in progress; **they** are realistic goals that have been set, and that are within **our** capabilities to be met, and in a timely fashion.

JMS43- **I** have taken an oath that as president of this nation, **I** will work hard to place **us** on the right path, and **I** will lead **us** over the hurdles and past the obstacles that might threaten to keep **us** from meeting **our** goals.

JMS44- The promises that **I** have made are promises that **I** intend to keep.

JMS45- But change does not happen overnight and sometimes, despite whatever progress has been placed in motion, **it** will appear to be darkest before the dawn of the new day makes that progress visible.

JMS46- In such times **I** will be counting on **you** to maintain the faith and the trust that **you** have placed in **me** as president.

JMS47- **I** will not let **you** down.

JMS48- Of course, every society has **its** share of people who would rather talk and complain about what is wrong, than devote **their** time and efforts to do what **it** takes to make things right.

JMS49- At every given opportunity, **they** will tell **us** all the things **we** cannot achieve and all the reasons why **we** should not even attempt.

JMS50- The choice is **ours** to believe or not believe.

JMS51- **We** can look within ourselves and choose to see the lie of **our** powerlessness or **we** can see the unlimited horizon of **our** own potential.

JMS52- Ghana is on the cusp of enormous transformation.

JMS53- **We** are moving forward at a rapid pace.

JMS54- New resources are at **our** disposal; new alliances are being formed.

JMS55- The opportunities posed by these gains could result in a self-sufficiency that was always imagined and desired, but was never a realistic occurrence in the foreseeable future, not in the way **it** is right now.

JMS56- It is true that other countries have met adversity while trying to make the most of prospects such as the ones **we** have before **us**.

JMS57- But those countries are not Ghana.

JMS58- **They** do not have the benefit of **our** history or the example of **our** heroes.

JMS59- **We** have been the first before, the success story.

JMS60- **We** have blazed trails before for others to follow.

JMS61- Nelson Mandela once said, —**It** always seems impossible until **it** is done.¶

JMS62- **I** believe that with God, and in Ghana, all things are possible.

JMS63- I believe this because **I** have seen the work and accomplishments of **my** predecessors, President Jerry John Rawlings, President John Agyekum Kufuor and, of course, the late President John Evans Atta Mills.

JMS64- We were all witness to the way **they** were able to take what others said was impossible and to not only turn into something that was probable, but to realise **their** vision and get **it** done.

JMS65- To **them I** say, —Ayekoo.¶

JMS66- **I** am ever grateful to have the advantage of **your** wisdom and the important lessons of **your** leadership.

JMS67- **I** would also like to extend **my** gratitude and appreciation to **my** transition team for **their** time, **their** service and **their** tireless efforts.

JMS68- More than **I** anything, would like to acknowledge **them** for **their** morale and fair-**their** mindedness, for drive and **their** determination to place the good of the nation above all else.

JMS69- There is a torch that is passed from one era of Ghanaians to the next.

JMS70- **It** is as fragile and as irreplaceable as any family treasure.

JMS71- **My** fellow countrymen and women, that torch is now in **our** possession.

JMS72- That torch is the tradition of optimism and hope that **we** must carry on.

JMS73- **It** is the responsibility that **we** have to take charge of **our** lives, and in so doing to determine the course of Ghana's future.

JMS74- **We** are now the keepers of that flame.

JMS75- **It** is only by doing and being **our** best that **we** can make Ghana its best.

JMS76- **We** must all do **our** part, every single day, whether **it** is by reducing the amount of plastic waste that is in **our** environment, by driving responsibly and courteously to ensure that **our** roads are safe, or by sharing kindness with a stranger or someone less fortunate.

JMS77- **Your** actions do matter.

JMS78- **You** do make a difference.

JMS79- As president, **I** will take to heart those very words that **I** have just extended to **you**. **I** will do and be **my** best.

JMS80- **I** will give my best, and **I** will ensure that **my** actions make a positive difference in the lives of Ghanaians.

JMS81- **I** will work to ensure that **our** society is less polarised and weighted down by the pressures of political differences.

JMS82- **I** will work to ensure that Ghana is a place where all citizens, regardless of **their** religious faith, ethnicity or political affiliation, will have the opportunities available to them to reach **their** full potential.

JMS83- Ghana should, and will, be a place where economic opportunities are available to everyone.

JMS84- **I** recognise the vital role that **our** private sector, especially small and indigenous businesses, play in the expansion of **our** workforce as well as in the growth and stability of **our** economy.

JMS85- **I** want to assure the business community that **I** will be an ally.

JMS86- I will extend whatever support I am able to reinforce your contributions to our development.

JMS87- Let us all stand, not as separate entities but as partners.

JMS88- Together we will build a Ghana that will be a source of pride for all of us.

JMS89- This is our country.

JMS90- This is our moment; Ghana's time, once again, for greatness.

JMS91- May God bless you, and may God continue to bless our homeland, Ghana.

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