Intertextuality and the Representation of Insults in Pro-NPP and Pro-NDC Newspapers in Ghana: A Critical Discourse Analysis

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Abstract—Intertextuality is the idea that "text cannot be viewed or studied in isolation since texts are not produced or consumed in isolation: all texts exist, and therefore must be understood, in relation to other texts" (Richardson, 2007, p. 100). In this study, I examine the kinds of Intertextuality used in the representation of insults in pro-New Patriotic Party (NPP) and National Democratic Congress (NDC) newspapers in Ghana. I relate Intertextuality to van Dijk's ideological square to show how newspapers re-echo and legitimize the voice of the in-group by assigning them with authoritative qualities and titles, credentials that make whatever they say very reliable and at times taken as the truth without submitting them to any critical evaluation. However, in instances where the voices of the out-group members are reported, as Rojo (1995, p. 54) puts it, it is a means to "criticize them or discredit them." The application of Intertextuality, in this study, reveals what both pro-NPP and pro-NDC papers consider newsworthy, that is, whose insult or voice is reported and whose is not. It shows how the in-group's insults are represented in relation to the out-group. It further identifies the underlying ideologies in the representation of insults in Ghanaian political discourse.

Index Terms—intertextuality, insult, newspapers, NPP, NDC, critical discourse analysis

I. INTRODUCTION

In this study, I examine the kinds of Intertextuality used in the representation of insults in pro-NPP and pro-NDC newspapers in Ghana. Intertextuality is the idea that "text cannot be viewed or studied in isolation since texts are not produced or consumed in isolation: all texts exist, and therefore must be understood, in relation to other texts" (Richardson, 2007, p. 100). It is one of the tools employed in media discourse analysis. Media discourse refers to interactions that take place through a broadcast platform, whether spoken or written, in which the discourse is oriented to a non-present reader, listener or viewer (O'Keeffe, 2001). Fairclough (1995) makes a distinction between three different types of media: press, radio and television. The difference between the three basically lies in the channel of communication: the press is written; the radio is oral; and the television is both visual and oral. Fairclough notes that the difference in the channel of communication has potential implications: the press and online commentary are the least personal because they are written; television is the most personal since it is both visual and oral; and radio is intermediate of the two. This study focuses on one genre of media discourse: press-newspapers.

This study makes use of articles from newspapers. Bell (1991) aptly states that in a newspaper everything other than advertising is called 'editorial,' and most of the editorial content is a written 'copy.' He further divides editorial copy into three broad categories: Service information, opinion, and news. Service information is basically made up of a list of sections on sports, television programs, share prices, and weather forecasts. Opinions are statements of the newspaper's own views on an issue. It is very difficult to separate opinions from news, since opinions from the standpoint of editors tend to be the news. Numerous researchers have shown that fact and opinions are by no means easy to separate (Bell, 1991, p. 13)

The issue of obtaining objectivity in news reporting is one of the most contentious issues in journalism. In most cases, it is very difficult for reporters to distance themselves from the truth claims of the report. Even if they are able to do that, how do they remove all the value judgments from the report? Richardson (2007) states that value judgments are built into the process of news making at all stages of the production process, through newsgathering, news writing, story selection, editing and presentation. In view of this, "columns, editorials, and other forms of news analysis will never qualify as 'objective reporting': the voice of the journalist is either too loud or too central for them to be objective" (Richardson, 2007, p. 86).

Some of the private newspapers in Ghana are affiliated to the two dominant political parties in Ghana: the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC). These papers have their own political ideologies and agendas. In most cases these are manifested in their reportage as well. The construction of a news report is not the sole decision of the producer/journalist; rather, it involves the agglomeration of the ideology of the media institution, the media personnel involved, the owner, and what they consider to be newsworthy. Even linguistic expressions in the text such as diction, semantics, syntax, imagery and presentational style are carefully selected to suit the ideological

leanings of the newspapers. Therefore, "anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position: language is not a clear window but a refracting, structuring medium" (Fowler, 1991, p. 10).

Agyekum (2004) in his paper, 'Invective language in contemporary Ghanaian politics,' raises four pertinent questions which are germane to this study. These are: (1) why should a paper select political invectives and make it newsworthy? (2) Why is it that at the point of the utterance many newspaper reporters were present but some did not publish it at all? (3) Why did some publish it as passing news in a small corner at the back page or some other page? (4) Why did other papers choose it as a news highlight and include it as a caption in their front pages? The world of news reporting is not simply what happens, but what the newspaper considers newsworthy. Therefore, the representation of insults from a political opponent is fore grounded or exaggerated not to alert the public of the problem of insults, but instead to put a political spin on it. The "tweak" and spin of insults in newspapers in Ghana reveal the ideology and the agenda of the media outlet.

A. Insult

Insult is considered as a special "genre of discourse on purely linguistic grounds" (Samarin, 1969, p. 324). This means that it can be listed with proverbs and riddles, and other linguistic routines such as greetings, expression of gratitude, thanking, apology and recounting one's mission. Insults have structure, that is to say they have topic, form and context of use. The topic involves speaking ill of not only a person's physical characteristics, but also the moral intellectual of the target, which at times compels the target to respond with an equal measure or more offensive words. It also looks at the abusive nature of insults. Some of the insults are indirect. Others may be spelled out or direct. The latter could be in the form of pejorative terms like *bad* or *dirty*. According to Samarin (1969) the form of insults may be relatively short, consisting of/or it could be two or three sentences or more. It could also be just a word, phrase or body gesture. The core of insults is a characterization of "some part of the target's body or his/her actions; this may be preceded or followed by other utterances appropriate to the situation" (Samarin, 1969, p. 325). Body gesture could be tapping the head with the forefinger to indicate to the target that he/she is mad. In addition, "the description of the person being abused is achieved grammatically by the use of descriptive adverbs and similes" (Samarin, 1969, p. 325).

The context in which insults are used varies. Contexts of insults may be face-to-face where the participants stand in proximity to one another. In political discussions, it could be on the radio, phone-ins on radio and television, in press conferences, in print media (newspapers or online) and on political platforms. Besides these contexts, Agyekum (2010) categorizes Akan insults into six (6) types based on various contextual situations: animal names, types of disease, ethnicity and tribe, personal behavior and profession, sexual organs, part of the body, and religion.

In this study, I look at insults within the context of what Agyekum (2004, p. 350) calls " 'mediatized political-invective' targeted at political activists that appear in the media". That is, insults that are reported in the print media (newspapers) with the sole aim of achieving a particular political purpose.

B. New Patriotic Party (NPP) and National Democratic Congress (NDC)

The NPP, the present majority party in opposition, traced it roots from United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) and United Party (UP) of Danquah-Busia-Dombo tradition. They were very instrumental in the fight for independence with Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's Convention Peoples Party (CPP). The NPP has its major votes in the Akan dominated regions of Ghana namely Ashanti, Brong-Ahafo, Eastern, Western, and Central regions. It is, however, not popular in the Volta, Upper West, Upper East, and the Northern regions. The Greater Accra region is considered in Ghana's election as a neutral ground for all the political parties. The political ideology of the NPP is that it is a capitalist party and believes in privatization, rule of law, and democracy.

On the other hand, the NDC, the party presently in power, originated from the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) military regime, which was headed by Fl. Lt. Rawlings for 11 years. The NDC was officially formed in 1992. It contested and won the presidential and parliamentary elections in 1992 and 1996. The NDC has majority of its votes from the Volta, Northern, Upper West, and Upper East regions. It was not popular in the Akan dominated areas, but it's gaining roots in some of the Akan regions such as Brong-Ahafo, Central and Western regions. The NDC won three out of the five Akan dominated regions in the 2012 presidential elections. The political ideology of the NDC is that it is a social democratic party. (For detailed information on the two political parties see Agyekum, 2004; Ninsin, 2006; Ofori, {in press})

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a position taken by a group of scholars who agree on certain principles of analysis and also agree to address similar issues (Blommaert, 2005). These scholars have developed some institutional tools for doing such analysis. Notable among these scholars are Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, Teun van Dijk, and Paul Chilton. The origin of this field dates back to the period of classical rhetoric, which is associated with figures such as Aristotle, who outlined the various structures of discourse and pointed to their role in the process of persuasion within public context (van Dijk, 1988, p. 18). However, the foundation of CDA hinges on the work of Fowler, Hodge and Kress (1979) on language, power, ideology, and control, as well as Michael Halliday's systemic-functional

linguistics (Blommaert, 2005). Norman Fairclough pioneered the development of CDA in the late 1980s, leading to a three dimensional framework for the analysis of discourse. This model links analysis of text to discursive practice, including how the two relate to society, that is, social practice. His theory is fundamentally built on the works of Trew, Saussure, Halliday, Foucault, and Baktin. These scholars engineered the development of Critical Linguistics as one of the early schools of discourse in the 1970s.

There are multitudes of theoretical approaches or methodologies that have been developed by critical analysts in the analysis of discourse. CDA provides a diverse picture in its analysis. The use of systemic-functional grammar features prominently in CDA. It should also be noted that categories and concepts have been employed in CDA research from pragmatics, discourse analysis and text linguistics, social semiotics, social cognition, rhetoric, and conversational analysis. In fact, van Dijk (2001, p. 96) argues that CDA can be "combined with any approach and sub-discipline in the humanities and the social sciences." In this study, I employ two CDA approaches, that is, Fairclough's (1989) second dimension of his three dimensional framework: Discourse-as-discursive-practice and van Dijk's (1995) ideological square.

1. Fairclough's Discourse-as-discursive-practice

This level, under Fairclough's three dimensional framework, is where the focus of the analysis is more discourse-based not textual. Here, discourse is seen as something that is produced, circulated, distributed, and consumed in society. After the textual analysis, attention is given to speech acts, coherence, and intertextuality, and these three aspects connect text to its social context. Since the analysis of this paper relies heavily on Intertextuality, I therefore expatiate on this model of analysis in the next section.

Intertextuality

According to Fairclough (1992), Kristeva (1966, 1986) coined the term 'intertextuality' in the late 1960s in her work "Western Audiences of the work of Bakhtin." The development of this term was engineered by Bakhtin throughout his academic career. In his definition of Intertextuality Bakhtin (1986, p. 1) writes:

the text lives only by coming into contact with another text (with context). Only at this point of contact between texts does a light flash, illuminating both the posterior and anterior, joining a given text to a dialogue. We emphasize that this contact is dialogic contact between text … Behind this contact is a contact of personalities and not of things.

This definition presents the view of how a current text is linked to a previous one and even to-be-said text as "ubiquitous and foundational, comprehending all of the ways that utterances can resonate with other utterances and constitutive of consciousness, society and culture" (Bauman, 2004, p. 5). The general understanding of intertextuality is that "text cannot be viewed or studied in isolation since texts are not produced or consumed in isolation: all texts exist, and therefore must be understood, in relation to other texts" (Richardson, 2007, p. 100). Blommaert (2005, p. 46) reinforces this idea that "whenever we speak we produce the words of others, we constantly cite and recite expressions and recycle meanings that are already available." Fairclough makes a distinction between two types of Intertextuality: 'manifest Intertextuality,' which is overtly drawing upon other texts, and 'constitutive intertextuality' or 'interdiscursivity' which are texts made up of heterogeneous elements such as generic conventions, discourse types, register, and style (Blommaert, 2005).

The reciting of the voices or utterances of others in news reporting amounts to reported speech. Fairclough (2003) argues that most news reports sometimes are made up of elements such as press release, as well as a quote from a source either involved in the reported action/event (information) or commenting on it (evaluation) or background information taken from the paper's cuttings archive, or all three of these text forms. Reported speech plays a major role in news reporting. Richardson (2007, p. 102-06) has identified five ways in which reported speech is made relevant to the study of news reporting.

Firstly, reported speech may be done through direct quotation. Under this, the exact words used by the source of the reporting are included in quotation marks, often with a reporting clause. The interpretation of the reader in terms of the quotation and the source responsible is framed by the reporting clause that the reporter chooses to employ.

Secondly, there is reported speech done through strategic quotation. This is conventionally known as 'scare quotes.' In this reported speech, the writing or thoughts of others are often placed in quotation marks in order to indicate their contentious nature. Reporters or editors use scare quotes to distance themselves from such controversial issues or terms. For example, someone claiming that the 'the man is a thief.' This is the same as the use of expression "so-called," "so-described" and others.

Thirdly, reported speech done through indirect quotation. In this kind of reporting the reporter provides a summary of "the content of what was said or written, not the actual words used" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 49). The kind of verbal process selected characterizes reported speech and frames the reader's understandings of the reported event and, in some cases, may be ideological.

Fourthly, there is reported speech via transformed indirect quotation. The difference between simple indirect quotation and transformed indirect quotation is that the latter drops reporting words such as 'said,' 'accused,' 'alleged' and others, and replaces them with transitive actions like 'discovered,' 'revealed' or mental state verbs such as 'believe.'

Finally, there is reported speech done through ostensible direct quotation. The structure of the clause entails direct speech, but it is different from direct quotation in terms of its makeup. The content of this reported speech is that the view is too direct, extreme or outlandish to have come from the source involved.

The application of intertextuality in the present study will unearth what both pro-NPP and pro-NDC consider newsworthy, that is, whose insult or voice is reported or whose is not. This will show how the in-group's insults are represented in relation to the out-group. The analysis of the news articles shows that both NPP and NDC newspapers utilize the first three reported speech, that is, direct quotation, strategic or scare quotes and indirect quotation in reporting the voices or insults of the in-group and out-group members.

2. van Dijk's ideological square

One of the central aspects of van Dijk's (1995, 1998) socio-cognitive approach is the concept of ideological square. This is expressed in terms of emphasizing the positive actions/events/things of what the media institution considers the in-group and suppressing or de-emphasizing its negative actions, on one hand, and on the other hand, suppressing or de-emphasizing the positive actions/events/things of the out-group and trumpeting its negative actions. Therefore, the ideological square consists of four moves: (i) expressing/emphasizing positive things about *us*; (ii) expressing/emphasizing negative things about *them*; (iii) suppressing/de-emphasizing positive things about *them*; and (iv) suppressing/de-emphasizing negative things about *us*. Table 1 summarizes the whole idea of the ideological square (van Dijk, 1995, p. 144).

TABLE 1
DESCRIBING/ATTRIBUTING POSITIVE ACTIONS (VAN DIJK, 1995, P. 144)

In-group	Out-group
Emphasis	De-emphasis
Assertion	Denial
Hyperbole	Understatement
Topicalization	De-topicalization
Sentential (micro)	
Textual (macro)	
High prominent position	Low non-prominent position
Headline, summarizing	Marginalization
Detailed description	Vague, overall description
Attribution to personality	Attribution to context
Explicit	Implicit
Direct	Indirect
Narrative illustration	No stereotyping
Argumentative support	No argumentative support
Impression management	No impression management

Relating intertextuality to van Dijk's (1995, 1998) ideological square, newspapers re-echo and legitimize the voice of the in-group by assigning them with authoritative qualities and titles, credentials that make whatever they say very reliable and at times taken as the gospel truth without submitting them to any critical evaluation. However, in instances where the voice of the out-group members are reported, Rojo (1995, p. 54) puts it that it is a means "to criticize them or discredit them." We shall see in the analysis how the pro-NPP and pro-NDC newspapers represent insults or the voices of those they consider out-group as well as insults or voices from their in-group members.

III. DATA COLLECTION METHOD

The data for this study were obtained from news articles in pro-NPP and pro-NDC newspapers. The newspapers are *Daily Guide*, *The New Statesman*, and *The Chronicle* (*pro -NPP newspapers),* while *The informer, The Palaver, The Al-Hajj, Enquirer, Radio Gold online* are all pro-NDC newspapers. In all, a total of 69 news articles were selected from 2012 to February 2014 consisting of 34 NPP newspaper articles and 35 NDC newspaper articles for the analysis (See appendix for the breakdowns of the newspaper articles). The articles were sampled and analyzed, using Fairclough's discourse-as-discursive-practice (1989, 1992a, 1995a,b, 2000, 2003) and van Dijk's (1995, 1998) concept of ideological square. It must be noted that some sections of this data were used in my paper (in press) titled "Inter-Party Insults in Political Discourse in Ghana: A Critical Discourse Analysis." However, the analysis in this paper is totally different from the one in press.

IV. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

In this section, I analyze how both pro-NPP and pro-NDC newspapers reported insults or voices they considered newsworthy, focusing specifically on the voices that were given more prominence and the ones that were marginalized. I show how the various outlets used direct, strategic and indirect quotation to report insults from the in-group, out-group and non-politicians. NPP newspapers included voices ranging from religious leaders, former president Rawlings (from the out-group), journalists, supporters or members of the NDC and NPP, and NDC and NPP members of parliament. NDC newspapers, on the other hand, included voices from citizens, the President, NDC leaders, NPP Youth, and NPP MPs; however, they excluded the voice of Rawlings, the founder of the NDC party.

A. Direct Quotation

NPP newspapers used direct quotation to report insults from voices they considered newsworthy. These included:

1. "They have lost so much moral high ground, and now one of the most truthful, forceful, logically-minded personalities of integrity in the party leadership is being treated like an outcast to serve a parochial and unpatriotic interest," Mr. Rawlings stated. *The Chronicle, March 27, 2012*

2. "You have left crass criminals like Woyome and those who supported him in government and you expect to win an election?'' he quizzed, adding, "what is your moral stand? I have a right of saying so, that you have lost the moral high ground." Mr. Rawlings described businessman Wayome. *Daily Guide, June 5, 2012*

3. Mrs. Rawlings told reporters in Accra yesterday, "If the man is your founder, there should be a certain level of decorum where you don't cross that lies, insults and putting things on his head that he has not said at all. In a party where you have a founder who is permanently being pummeled with things that are not true is totally not acceptable." *Daily Guide, November 27, 2012*

4. "Corruption, or perception of corruption in this government is endemic and systematic and was not personal to my late friend, Prof. John Evans Atta Mills. The people infecting this government with the endemic corruption and abuse of office for private gains are alive and in President Mahama's government," the former Attorney-General and Minister of Justice claimed. *The Chronicle, October 2, 2012*

5. "Any normal person cannot speak like that … I don't know whether Asiedu Nketia was speaking under the influence of alcohol, because how can any normal person without taking in anything speak that way? This is uncalled for …The President must call them to order because these (insults) have been going on for far too long." Mr. Osei Akyeampong was reported by the station as saying, *Daily Guide, September 10, 2012*

NPP newspapers included the voices of the Rawlingses (out-group members). Examples (1), (2) and (3) show the various insults from Rawlings and his wife. In (1) *The Chronicles* newspaper quoted Mr. Rawlings when he insulted the NDC, a political party he founded, for not following the ideals of the political party, that is, upholding the principles of "probity and accountability." Rather, "they have lost the moral high ground." The newspaper employed a neutral verb "stated" to report the insult from the out-group member. The negative and neutral verbs "quiz" and "told" are used in (2) and (3) respectively to report the voices of the Rawlingses. Richardson (2007: 102) states "readers' interpretation of the quotation and the source responsible is inevitably framed by the reporting clause that the reporter chooses to employ." The verbal processes employed in most cases reveal the "Us" versus "Them" dichotomy. In broader context, the inclusion of the voices of the Rawlingses shows that the NPP newspapers considered insults from them targeted at the out-group members as newsworthy. The voices were also reported to show confusion at the camp of the out-group in order to present them negatively.

NPP newspapers also reported insults from former ministers of the out-group using direct quotation, as in (4). *The Chronicle* newspaper employed a negative reported verb, "claimed," to report an insult from the former attorney general, Martin Amidu all in an attempt to portray the out-group negatively to readers. The voice of the spokesperson for the moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana in (5), was also cited to present the out-group negatively. In sum, NPP newspapers included different voices targeted at the out-group members in their report of insults. They also employed negative and neutral verbal reporting clauses to quote insults from the voices cited.

Like the pro-NPP newspapers, pro-NDC newspapers employed direct quotation to include the voices of different people to report insults.

6. "This is unbelievable, even Senior High School Economics students know that low inflation does not mean price stagnation, but that even though prices are increasing, they are at a comparatively low rate." NDC Kingpin Stephen Ashitey Adjei asks. *Enquirer, June 12, 2012*

7. "Master, where is this country going to, the NPP people have begun something which can be dangerous for this country…''I was at a spot at Dansoman and I heard them saying in Twi, 'Yendiye yen pini ma tɛ ni bia embedi yesu oh! to wit; we won't allow any person of northern descent rule over us." Mr. Charles Ahwireng, a taxi driver. *THE Al-Hajj, August 16, 2012*

8. "Ghanaians are looking for a leader who will be very clean, because we all know what narcotic drugs can do to a society." Richard Quashigah lamented. *THE Al-Hajj, February 23 2012*

9. "It was not questioned, nobody questioned it. The creation was done somewhere in January-10 clear months to elections. Once issues are raised then the Supreme Court can look into it," Ayikwei Otoo. *Ghana Palaver, August 27-28, 2012*

The majority of the voices included in the report of insults were from in-group members targeted at the out-group members. In (6) for instance, an NDC "kingpin" is directly quoted relating the analysis of Dr. Bawumia, the running mate of the NPP presidential candidate for 2008 and 2012 presidential elections, to that of a Senior High School economic student. The *Enquirer* newspaper used a neutral verbal reporting clause, "ask," to report the voice of the in-group member. The voice of the NDC kingpin was included to discredit the economic analysis of the out-group member. In (7), the voice of a taxi driver was also quoted to portray the out-group negatively for playing the ethnic card to win elections (For detailed analysis of ethnic polarization between and NPP and NDC see Ofori {in press}). In example (8) *The Al-Hajj* newspaper reported the voice of the NDC propaganda secretary to revisit the issue of narcotic drugs. This is one of the most contentious issues in Ghanaian politics of which the two dominant parties, NPP and NDC, continue to

play the blame game. For an NDC newspaper to report this insult targeted at the opposition presupposes that the NPP's presidential candidate is perceived as someone who uses narcotic drugs and therefore is not qualified to lead the nation. It is important to mention that the NPP presidential candidate has been given a lot of negative tags by the NDC party, of which narcotic drugs is one. The newspaper employed a negative verbal reporting clause, "lamented," to show a passionate appeal to readers not to vote for anyone who is engaged in narcotic drug use. *The Ghana Palaver* newspaper also included the voices of the out-group members targeted at the out-group in example (9) in attempt to present the out-group negatively. However, the NDC newspapers did not directly include the voices of non-politicians in their report of insults. Therefore, the voices, as well as the reporting clauses included in the report of the pro-NDC newspaper, were attempts to present the out-group negatively.

A plausible explanation why NDC newspapers excluded the voice of Rawlings is that in the run up to the 2012 election, he was not happy with the governance style of the late Professor Mills (Former President of Ghana) and his appointees. He criticized Mills for selecting "mediocre" ministers to govern the nation. Subsequently, his wife, Nana Konadu Agyeman-Rawlings, formed her own party, the National Democratic Party (NDP) after losing the NDC's presidential candidate race to Mills. The perceived bloodbath between the NDC and former President Rawlings may have resulted in the exclusion of his voice from the report of insults. It is also possible to say that per the data gathered, majority of the insults reported from Rawlings were targeted at the in-group (i.e. NDC party and its members) and thus NDC newspapers were not interested in reporting such insults since those insults were denting the image of the party. The NPP newspapers, however, gave more prominence to the voice of Rawlings while the NDC newspapers marginalized his voice.

Thus, criteria for news selection and newsworthiness as well as identification of worthy and unworthy victims are knitted to ideological and institutional practices, which are determined by the media outlet (Herman and Chomsky, 1988). The inclusion and exclusion of the voice of Rawlings revealed a group polarization between NPP and NDC papers showing a clear difference between the two.

B. Strategic or Scare Quote

NPP newspapers utilized strategic or scare quotes to report insults from the voices they considered newsworthy. They employed this strategy to distance themselves from the contentious nature of the words or phrases involved.

10. To the former President those "greedy bastards" in connivance with "babies with sharp teeth" have now developed into "old evil dwarfs." *The New Statesman, April 3, 2012*

11. Deputy Information Minister, Samuel Okudzeto Ablakwa, has been described by President Mills' appointee to the Energy Commission, "Chucks" Kofi Wayo, as "sometimes stupid" in the discharge of his duties, and has asked President Mills to fire him since he is becoming a liability. *The New Statesman, April 3, 2012*

12. Former Regional Chairman of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) in the Brong-Ahafo region has fired a salvo at the party's General Secretary, Johnson Asiedu Nketiah describing him as a ''loose talker.'' Alhaji Abdullah said the NDC scribe's growing notoriety for having a sharp tongue could ruin the party's chance in the December polls. *Daily Guide, November 12, 2012*

In example (10), *The New Statesman* newspaper used scare quotes to show a possible contention towards the phrases and words used by former President Rawlings to insult the out-group members: "greedy bastards," "babies with sharp teeth" and "old evil dwarfs." In (11) an out-group member, Kofi Wayo, is reported to have described a deputy information minister as "sometimes stupid." Example (12) also shows how NPP newspapers utilized this same strategy to report an insult from an outgroup member towards an outgroup member as "loose talker."

NDC newspapers employed the same strategy to distance themselves from contentious issues, phrases or words.

13. No 'Patapaa'! President Mahama Warns Losers In Dec Polls. *Ghana Palaver, September 14-16, 2012*

14. But P.C Appiah Ofori disagrees with him noting that Dr. Charles Wireko-Brobbey is a "non-entity" and so "I don't comment on the statement of non-entities."

www.myradiogoldlive.com May 31, 2013

15. A Deputy Minister for Information and Member of Parliament (MP) elect for the North Tongu Constituency, Samuel Okudzeto Ablakwa describes the protest for justice by the opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP) and its supporters over electoral fraud as "a comic of relief to Ghanaians." He says "the NPP is becoming a comedy of contradictions and a laughing stock in Ghana". *www.myradiogoldlive.com December 19, 2012*

In example (13), the president's warning to all losers of the December poll is put in scare quotes as "patapaa" to distance themselves from such controversial terms. Similarly, in (14) NDC newspapers used scare quotes to report insult from an out-group member targeted at another out-group calling him "non-entity." In (15), an insult from a deputy minister of information targeted at the out-group is put in scare quote as "a comic relief to Ghanaians."

According to van Ginnekin (2002), the use of scare quotes indirectly questions the content of the reported speech, that is, it distances the reporter or the editor from the implications, the factualness or the truth-claims of certain words or expressions. The use of scare quotes is similar to expressions such as "so-called," "the so described," "what they describe," "according to him" and "what they call." Both pro-NPP and pro-NDC utilized this strategy to distance themselves from the claims of the reported speech; however, it is one of the means to present the out-group negatively, reporting that they are not the ones insulting the opposing group or presenting them negatively.

C. Indirect Quotation

NPP and NDC newspapers also employed indirect quotation to report insults from voices they considered newsworthy. In the representation of different voices, it is very difficult to maintain the boundaries between the representing discourse and the represented discourse, that is to say, maintaining a strict boundary between the voice of the reporter and the voice of the person being reported. Fairclough (1995, p. 81) aptly states that one of the prominent features of indirect speech is that "although it is expected to be accurate about the propositional content of what was said, it is ambivalent about the actual words that were used - it may simply reproduce them, or it may transform and translate them into discourses which fit more easily with the reporter's voice." Below are examples from NPP newspapers:

16. The General Overseer of the International Central Gospel Church, Pastor Mensah Otabil, has taken President John Dramani Mahama to task over what he calls the evil and criminal attempts by members of his National Democratic Congress to tarnish his reputation by piecing together comments he had made in the past to create the false impression that he is against the proposed free senior high school policy being espoused by Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, presidential Candidate of the New Patriotic Party. *The New Statesman, April 3, 2012*

17. Joshua Akamba, who was fuming with rage and panting for breathe, without mincing words, described Dr. Opuni as an idiot among other unprintable words. *Daily Guide, August 29, 2012*

In example (16) *The New Statesman* newspaper indirectly quotes the voice of a renowned pastor in Ghana, Pastor Mensa Otabil, founder of the International Central Gospel Church (ICGC), calling the out-group "evil" and "criminal." It is not clear from the text whether the pastor used such words to refer to the out-group, or it is the reporter's own voice embedded in the reported speech purposely for ideological expediency. Similarly, in (17) the voice of the deputy organizer of the NDC is indirectly quoted for insulting an out-group as an "idiot." The voice of the reporter is seen in the use of expressions "fuming with rage," "panting for breath" and "without mincing words." It would be difficult to separate the voice of the reporter and that of the person being reported, in that, we cannot ascertain the validity of these expressions as the mood of the out-group member when he made that comment. This provides us with the idea of ideologically-loaded words or expressions employed by reporters to serve group interest. The use of such expressions is to portray the misunderstanding between out-group members as chaotic and thus present them negatively.

NDC newspapers also utilized indirect quotation to report speech. They included voices of the out-group as well as the in-group.

18. When it came to the turn of Kennedy Agyepong, a leading member of the NPP and owner of the radio station, he went straight for the jugular, declaring that all the National Executives of the NPP are not only corrupt and but thieves as well. According to Kennedy Agyepong, the National Executive members stole motorbikes he bought on credit from China for them to campaign with in the run up to the December 2012 polls. He accused them of using it now to campaign for themselves to be elected back into office. *The Informer December 18, 2013*

19. A stalwart of the governing National Democratic Congress (NDC), Dr. Tony Aidoo has described as infantile the petitioners' address as espoused by Lawyer Philip Addison. *www.myradiogoldlive.com August 10, 2013*

20. The Greater Accra Regional Chairman of the ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC), Joseph Ade Coker, has said the presidential candidate of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) Nana Akufo Addo is too old and lacks the vision to lead the country if given the opportunity. *www.myradiogoldlive.com November 21, 2012*

In example (18), the words of an NPP MP, Kennedy Agyapong is indirectly quoted when he insulted the out-group national executives as "corrupt" and "thieves." We cannot say for certain whether Kennedy Agyapong used those words or expressions in the text, or it is the reporter's own voice inserted into the reported speech. Indeed, if these were his words there is a possibility that it has been spun by the reporter or editor to suit the group interest. In (19) and (20), voices of in-group members targeted at the out-group were indirectly quoted to present them negatively. In this case too it is difficult to judge the accuracy of the indirect quote from the in-group members targeted at the out-group. The possibility exists that the reported speech can be spun to satisfy group interest and denigrate the out-group.

V. CONCLUSION

The application of Fairclough's (1989) discourse-as-discursive-practice and van Dijk's (1995) ideological square has revealed the kinds of Intertextuality that are used in the representation of insults in pro-NPP and NDC papers. It became evident that the papers employed direct, strategic and indirect quotations to report insults and voices of the people they considered newsworthy. This showed how the various insults were represented along the line of *Us* vs *Them* dichotomy, in which the NPP/NDC papers present themselves in positive terms, and others in negative terms. Therefore, the polarization of how media institutions emphasize the positive actions of in-group members, and de-emphasize its negative actions on one hand, and de-emphasize the positive actions of the out-group while emphasizing its negative actions. Positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation are manifested in the representation of insults in NPP and NDC papers.

Both pro-NPP and pro-NDC papers employed direct, strategic and indirect quotes to report insults from in-group, out-group and non-politicians. NPP papers directly quoted the voices and insults of non-politicians targeted at the out-group. However, NDC papers did not directly cite the voices of such people. Concerning strategic quotes, both utilized this strategy to distance themselves from contentious insults emanating from the in-group, out-group as well as the non-

politicians. A critical analysis of this strategy revealed that the papers utilized it to present the out-group negatively, showing a polarization between the NPP and NDC papers.

In like manner, the papers employed indirect quotes using the authorial voice embedded in the reported speech for ideological purposes. That is to say, in the representation of different voices, it is very difficult to separate the voice of the reporter and the person being reported. Therefore, both NPP and NDC papers utilized this strategy to surreptitiously churn out their ideologies resulting in group polarization between the outlets.

APPENDIX

TABLE 2
NPP AND NDC NEWSPAPERS

NPP Papers	News Articles	NDC Papers	News Articles
Daily Guide	26	Ghana Palaver	12
New Statesman	4	Radio Gold online	9
The Chronicle	4	The Al-Hajj	6
		The Informer	5
		Enquirer	3
Total	34	Total	35

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