A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Campaign Speech of a Ghanaian Opposition Leader

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Abstract—Referring to politicians' use of language to promote their ideologies before, during and after elections, campaign speeches represent a key genre in political discourse. In this study, we examine the campaign speech of a Ghanaian opposition leader, Nana Akufo-Addo, at the manifesto launch of his party. We analyze his use of language to create identity and solidarity with the electorate, with the aim of persuading them to accept and support his ideas and ultimately vote for him. Drawing on Fairclough's three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis (CDA), the study revealed that Nana Addo utilised the pronouns *I, you, our* and *we* and repetition to create a positive bond, identify and show solidarity with the electorate. Also, these strategies were aimed at persuading voters to endorse him as the most credible candidate for the position of president. This study contributes to CDA research on the nexus between language, politics and society.

Index Terms—CDA, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, campaign speech, identity, solidarity

I. INTRODUCTION

According to Nyako (2013), "the practice of politics is mainly anchored on speeches delivered by seekers of political power and directed at their supporters and society as a whole" (p. 1). Therefore, campaign speeches are strategically crafted to convince the electorate of various policies, programs and ideas. Through the speeches, politicians surreptitiously influence and control how their audience receive and perceive the information being given to them. The main intention behind a political message is to legitimize a political position believed to be more credible than the *other*. To achieve this, politicians carefully package their messages in a manner that can be easily accepted by an audience through the employment of strategies that place the speaker of the message in an *in-group* position with the audience.

The main motivation of every politician is to capture power and one of the means through which power can be obtained is the effective use of language or discourse. There is a relationship between language and various social issues, thereby resulting in a connection between language and power in a number of ways: language indexes power, expresses social power, and is involved where there is contention over and a challenge to power (Wodak, 2001). The idea that there is a relationship between discourse and power is reinforced by Harvey (2006 as cited in Fairclough, 2010, p. 4) who argues that "power is partly discourse, and discourse is partly power - they are different but not discrete, they 'flow into' each other; discourse can be internalized in power and vice versa; complex realities of power relations are 'condensed' and simplified in discourses." This means that within every discourse lies strategies embedded in "subtle ideological underpinnings, persuasive and authoritative (power) elements" intended for the audience (Nyako, 2013, p. 2). Therefore, there is the need to conduct a thorough analysis of Nana Addo's campaign speech to ascertain how he uses language to create identity and show solidarity with the masses. The main objective of this study is to critically analyze Nana Akufo-Addo's campaign speech at the manifesto launch of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) ahead of the 2016 general elections in Ghana. We specifically focus on the strategies he employed to create identity and show solidarity with the electorate.

Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo-Addo

The political profile and trajectory of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo began when he was elected in 1996 as the NPP's Member of Parliament for the Abuakwa constituency. He served as Member of Parliament from 1997-2008. In 2001-2003 when the President Kufour led NPP won power, he was appointed as Attorney General and Minister for Justice, and subsequently became the Minister for Foreign Affairs between 2003-2007. In a fiercely contested NPP presidential race, which involved eighteen (18) presidential aspirants, Nana Akufo-Addo was elected as the NPP presidential candidate for the 2008 general elections. He lost the 2008 and 2012 elections to the NDC candidate John Evans Atta Mills and John Dramani Mahama respectively.

In the build-up to the 2016 general elections, some issues surrounding the election of Nana Akufo-Addo informed our decision to examine his speech. Bearing in mind that he had been a runner-up for two general elections, there were discussions in the media on whether he would be third time lucky. This question lingered in the minds of NPP delegates and Ghanaians in general; more importantly, when in March 2014 he announced his decision to seek his party's nomination for the third time ahead of the 2016 elections. Eventually, he secured an unprecedented, landslide victory of

94.35% of the votes in the party's presidential primaries in October, 2014, in a contest involving seven aspirants. It was therefore anticipated that since he lost both the 2008 and 2012 elections, the 2016 campaign would be intense, making the speeches to be delivered during the campaign extremely important.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

There are several studies that focus on the relationship between language and politics, political personalities and how politicians use language to persuade the electorate. Obeng's (1997) study on language and politics discussed certain features of a text that make the text political. He outlines some contextual features such as content, purpose of the discourse, setting among others and, more importantly, rhetoric as major components in the area of politics. Obeng argues that an important aspect of political rhetoric is the ability of the politicians to communicatively 'sell' themselves, their ideologies or policies to the electorate. This suggests that to be a successful politician, the use of special arguments, speech forms and the art of persuasive language is key. Similarly, Wang's (2010) work on the features of Barack Obama's speeches indicates how Obama uses simple language to persuade his audience to accept and support his stance. Using systematic functional grammar, and focusing on transitivity and modality, Wang (2010) reveals that Obama uses simpler, short sentences instead of complex ones, easy and colloquial language structure, which shorten the proximity between him and his audience.

Sarfo and Krampa's (2013) study on "Language at war" examined six speeches of George Walker Bush and Barack Obama. The finding of this study shows that Bush and Obama projected terrorism negatively while anti-terrorism was projected positively, by carefully selecting emotionally charged vocabularies and expressions. In a similar study, Nyako (2013) analyses language, power and ideology, using critical discourse analysis of selected speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo and John Dramani Mahama. In the study, Nyako (2013) discusses how description, interpretation and explanation reveal the implicit underlying issues which the two presidential hopefuls employed to persuade their audience to validate their overt interest for power. The findings of the study show that Nana Akufo-Addo and John Mahama utilised persuasive strategies such as self-projection, blurred agency, literary devices, intertextuality and speech acts to persuade their audience and by extension the electorate.

Opoku-Mensah's (2014) work on the "Rhetoric of Kwame Nkrumah" focused on the examination of the political speeches of Kwame Nkrumah. Using Aristotle's (2007) Levels of Proofs and Rhetorical Regimes, Perelman and Olbrecths-Tyteca's (1969) Argument and Bitzer's (1968) Situation as correlative approaches for the analysis of the data, the study revealed that as part of Nkrumah's political speeches, he constantly employed logical association. Using this tool, Nkrumah associated two entities either positively or negatively in order to promote good or bad publicity for different entities. The findings showed that Nkrumah used negative association in describing Western colonial powers in order to engender negative public opinion against them. He also employed negative associations to target political opponents in Ghana and Africa, who either served as political threats or opposed his ideological position. With regard to positive association, Nkrumah rhetorically associated his political party, the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) as the only viable political party in Ghana while relegating the other parties to the background.

Anderson (2014) also analyzed some selected speeches of John Evans Atta Mills. The main focus of Anderson's work was to identify inherent stylistically significant features prevalent in the selected speeches to find a possible relationship between the background of the political actor and the prevalent stylistic features. Utilising meta-function as postulated by Halliday (1970, 1978, 1985) and Onah's 'Concept of Peace' as perceived in the African traditional culture as frameworks, supported by Fairclough's (1989, 1995) three-dimensional model to the study of a text. The study showed that Atta Mills employed strategies such as repetition, positive self-projection and code-switching as stylistic features. According to Anderson (2014), political actors use these stylistic features or strategies to present to their audience the kind of personality they would like to be associated with. Therefore, in order to achieve this goal, they develop a conception of themselves and present this to their audience. In the case of Atta Mills, he projected himself through his choice of words as a competent leader, one who has a grip of the country's economic situation and has the requisite solution to improve it and as selfless servant who is ready to sacrifice his all to the service of the country.

Taking the 2016 American presidential election into consideration, Jenson (2016) discussed the underlying discursive structures in Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign discourse. The specific aim of the study was to identify elements of gender references, persuasive techniques, social inclusion and exclusion. Employing a corpus-assisted CDA framework, the study revealed that Clinton's main purpose for her campaign was to construct a narrative of herself as president of the United States of America as well as push the boundaries of the historical perception of the American presidency with regard to gender. As far as social inclusion and exclusion were concerned, Clinton's use of pronouns revealed her attitude towards her supporters and opponents alike. Also, elements of rhetorical tools of persuasion were fundamental in the speeches of Hillary Clinton bid to become president in America. However, in this study, we look at how Nana Addo employs pronouns and repetitions in his campaign speech to create identity and solidarity with the electorate.

III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

CDA focuses on social problems, most importantly on the role discourse plays in the production and reproduction of power abuse and domination (van Dijk, 2001). Wodak and Meyer (2009) reinforce this idea by stating that it does not only focus on the linguistic element per se, but on complex social phenomena that have semiotic dimensions. Therefore, CDA, in sum, links linguistics analysis to social analysis (Wood & Kroger, 2000). According to van Dijk (1993), CDA is an approach that analyzes discourse structures involving the study of the way social or political power, dominance, inequality, bias or resistance to such practices in society are mediated through the linguistic system. That is, the critical analysis of texts is important in explaining the relationship between language, ideology and identity. Also, employing CDA as an analytical tool shows how individuals or a group of people in a particular society use language to achieve a particular aim.

There are different versions of CDA outlined in the literature. Ruth Wodak (2001) and other scholars developed the discourse-historical approach (DHA) working in the traditions of Bernsteinian sociolinguistics and the Frankfurt School. The approach is particularly associated with large programs of research in interdisciplinary research teams focusing on sexism, anti-Semitism and racism. The distinctive feature of this approach is that it attempts to integrate systematically all available background information in the analysis and interpretation of many layers of written and spoken text (Wodak, 2006). van Dijk (2001), on other hand, developed a socio-cognitive approach, which is characterized by the interaction between discourse, cognition and society. This approach began in formal text linguistics and later incorporated elements of standard psychological models of memory, together with the idea of frame taken from cognitive science.

Furthermore, Fairlough's socio-discoursal approach has been central to CDA in the past twenty years. The main idea behind this theory is a "contribution to the general raising of consciousness of exploitative social relationship, through focusing on language" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 2). He provides a dialectical theory of discourse and transdisciplinary approach to social change (Fairclough, 1992, 2003). The theory is situated in Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Fairclough proposes a three-dimensional approach to analysing discourse to assist analysts to appreciate the interconnectedness that exists between language, social and political thought. These include: discourse-as-text, discourse-as-discursive-practice and discourse-as-social practice. In this paper, we employ Fairclough's three-dimensional approach, focusing specifically on discourse-as-text (for a detailed discussion on the other two aspects of the framework see Fairclough, 1989,1995; Ofori, 2015). We chose this approach because it provides us with detailed information on working within CDA. As Fairclough argues, "to fully understand what discourse is and how it works, analysis needs to draw out the form and function of the text, the way that this text relates to the way it is produced and consumed, and the relation of this to the wider society in which it takes place" (Richardson, 2007, p. 37). By employing discourse-as-text, we are able to do a critical textual analysis of Nana Addo's speech and connect to the entire Ghanaian society and see the relations or the link between the speech and the society the speech was meant for.

B. Discourse-as-text

This aspect of Fairclough's three-dimensional approach to analysing discourse deals with "the linguistic features and organization of concrete instances of discourse" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 29). It focuses on how the various propositions are arranged in a text. By the arrangement of the text, we mean the choice to select the patterns in vocabulary such as wording and metaphor, grammar-transitivity and modality, cohesion device over another-conjunction or schemata; and textual structure-episode marking or turn-taking (Blommaert, 2005). This practice of analysing a text is in sync with Halliday's (1970) Systematic Functional Grammar, which talks about textual structure in terms of analysing the whole structure of the discourse. The utilisation of textual analysis in CDA does not only focus on the linguistic form and content; however, it also centers on the function these forms perform in a text. Therefore, in the process of critically analyzing a text, it is imperative for analysts to explore the hidden agenda from the linguistic features used in the text. Some of the linguistic items that researchers must pay attention to in the analysis of a text are metaphors, pronouns and rhetorical devices such as repetition and anaphora. In this study, we focus on pronouns and repetition.

1. Pronouns

Syntactically, a pronoun is a word that can function as a noun phrase used by itself and that refers either to the participant in the discourse, for example *I, you* or to someone or something mentioned elsewhere in the discourse, for instance, *she, it, this*. Our focus in this study is the discoursal function of the pronouns Nana Addo used in his campaign speech.

Speakers use pronouns to achieve a particular purpose in a text. Pronouns, whether personal or impersonal pronouns, have different functions in a communicative situation, depending on how the speaker uses them. Personal pronouns can be divided into three depending on person, number and gender. Bache (2000) observes that the 1st person singular pronoun can function as *I* in the subject position and *me* in the object position. This 1st person pronoun refers to the speaker or writer and adds subjectivity to the speech; more importantly, it gives the speaker a personal voice which shows commitment. That is, the speaker becomes personal and relational, culminating in a positive impact or effect on the audience because they can see an actual person who potentially has a shared ideology with them. Similarly, the 1st person pronoun also makes the speaker more accountable to whatever he/she says or does (Bache, 2000). Furthermore, by employing *I*, the speaker elevates himself to a power position and excludes all others, which makes him/her the one with the authority in the communicative situation.

The 1st person plural is *we* in the subject position and *us* in the object position. Both can be used to include and exclude the audience. *We* can be inclusive by including the address, for example, *I + you* and also functions as exclusive by excluding the addressee(s) while including other people. That is, the speaker + the speaker's family + the government (Bibler & Leech, 2015). In the same vein, *you* and *we* can be used to refer to people in general. According to Bache (2000), the pronouns *we* and *us* also show authority like the 1st person singular. In this case, the person who uses *we* or *us* is deemed to have authority over others to speak on their behalf.

The 2nd person singular and plural *you* can both function in the subject and object position. The communicative function of this pronoun is that it is used to address a specific person or person(s) spoken to, where the personal pronoun appeals to empathy from the hearer (Bibler et. al., 2015). In the context of this paper, Nana Addo employs this pronoun to express solidarity between the addressees and himself. Therefore, the speaker and the audience become one entity having the same beliefs and ideologies. This also reduces the potential distance between the speaker and the recipient(s).

2. Repetition

Repetition is used in speech as a rhetorical device to bring attention to an idea. There are times when words are repeated in a spoken discourse without the speaker's conscious awareness. However, in campaign speeches, politicians carefully select words, phrases and sentences to reinforce a particular message to the audience. This means that when repetition is intentionally used, it can have a rhetorical effect of intensification. That is, its usage does not show the difference between denotative and connotative meaning of words, but the skillful arrangement of words to achieve a particular effect (Bazzanella, 1996). There are several functions of repetition as stated by Johnstone (1994), that is, it functions "didactically, playfully, emotionally, expressively, ritualistically; repetition can be used for emphasis or iteration, clarification, confirmation; it can incorporate foreign words into a language, in couplets, serving as a resource for enriching the language" (p. 6).

IV. DATA COLLECTION

The Akufo-Addo speech analyzed in this study was obtained from www.myjoyonline.com, a major online news portal in Ghana. It offers its audience with a broad online source for up-to-the-minute news on politics, business, entertainment and other issues affecting the African continent and the world as a whole. In addition, it has a content arrangement with easy and accessible subject matter navigation. The data obtained from the website was a scripted speech delivered by Nana Akufo-Addo in the build-up to the 2016 general elections in Ghana. The speech was delivered at the launch of the party's manifesto on Sunday, October 9, 2016 at the Trade Fair Center, Accra, Ghana.

In the run up to the 2016 general elections, seven candidates availed themselves to be voted to the high office of president. Out of the seven, one candidate (Nana Akufo-Addo) was purposively selected because he had been defeated in defeated in two previous elections. Therefore, it was anticipated that his campaign speech would be carefully crafted and embedded with several strategies to gain the confidence of the electorate.

We categorised the speech based on the number of paragraphs. In total, there were 62 paragraphs in the speech. Out of this number, we compiled 25 paragraphs on pronouns and 10 on repetition, resulting in a total of thirty-five (35) paragraphs. These were discussed with specific reference to Fairclough's discourse-as-text. The entire data was divided into 8 excerpts, four (4) each for the two strategies.

V. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

Utilising Fairclough's three-dimensional approach, specifically, discourse-as-text on the data, we identified that Nana Addo employed two strategies in his speech: the use of pronouns and repetition. Thus, the analysis is structured in two parts. The first part analyses how he employed pronouns to create identification and express solidarity while the second part examines his use of repetition.

A. The Use of Pronouns

The value of using a pronoun in speech or writing is to substitute a noun in order to avoid monotony when it is repeated. Pronouns can also be used to refer back to something to avoid repetition. Partington (2003), however, argues that in political discourse, personal pronouns are often used as a form of address either to refer to an audience or to the speaker. That is, the use of pronouns in political speeches goes beyond substitution of a noun in traditional grammar, but it is used to express inclusiveness, self-responsibility, solidarity or unity among others. Politicians' use of pronouns to refer to themselves or their audience constitutes a significant part of their message intended to either to foreground responsibility and agency or obscure these. Therefore, the pronouns *I*, *you*, *our* and *we* are more frequently used by politicians compared to other pronouns.

In excerpt 1 (paragraph 22, 33, 42 and 44) Nana Addo uses *I* to assume full responsibility of his utterance. That is, the function of this pronoun, within the context of his speech, is to inform the audience to trust him. For instance, *I* with the expressions ***I want a Ghana where every citizen has access to potable water*** (excerpt 1 paragraph 22)*, **I stand before you as a small and honest man, with a big heart for Ghana** (paragraph 44) and **I am appalled by the poverty and deprivation that I see around the country, because it is unnecessary** (excerpt 1 paragraph 42)... indicate that Nana Addo

shared the same sentiments with the electorate in connection with problems like energy crisis, poverty and unavailability of potable water in certain parts of the country. Hence, these challenges should be addressed. He identifies with the plight of the electorate and suggests that he feels their pain. That is, we are in this together, which is an important way to show solidarity. This clearly portrays the kind of Ghana Nana Addo wants for the electorate; a Ghana free from the problems stated above.

Again, in excerpt 1 (paragraph 33) *I have met hairdressers, the vulcanizers, the tailors and the food sellers, who have been reduced to penury ...* demonstrates that Nana Addo has physically met some workers who complained of the current problems Ghana is faced with, especially the energy crises, popularly known as *dumsɔ*. Hence, to surmount these problems, he presents himself as a responsible leader to the electorate and as leader who will lead them to a promise land devoid of problems. Also, in excerpt 1 (paragraph 43), he uses *I* to show some form of commitment, ... *that is the quality of governance, a government of integrity, I am offering the people of Ghana.* Nana Addo projects himself as a man of integrity who is committed to changing the economic fortunes of the country unlike the then government. Similarly, he reminds Ghanaians of his leadership credentials and experience as shown in excerpt 1 (paragraph 47) that *I know that the programmes by themselves will not do the trick ...* this is further illustrated in excerpt 1 (paragraph 2 and 45) *I fully understand the consequences...* and *I offer myself as a man born before Ghana's independence ...* these are indicative of Nana Addo's attempt to show to the electorate his long standing political experience and his commitment to a more purposeful and functional Ghana. These carefully worded statements echo Bache's (2000) idea that when the pronoun *I* is used to refer to a speaker, shows authority and commitment. That is, the speaker becomes personal and this has a positive effect on the audience.

Furthermore, in excerpt 2 (paragraph 44), Nana Addo makes use of the pronoun **you** to connect with his listeners and appeal to their emotions, cajoling them with a description of himself as *a small and honest man* who has better plans for Ghana: *I stand before **you** as a small and honest man, with a big heart for Ghana.* It is important to state here that in the run up to election 2008 and 2012, Nana Addo was projected as a man of integrity; therefore, this statement was a reaffirmation of this positive trait to the listeners to see him as an honest man. Also, in excerpt 2 (paragraph 53), he employs *you* as in, *if they cannot, they will try and bully **you***, purposely to inform the audience about the likelihood of his opponents to deploy 'rough' tactics. Thus, he tries to reveal the negative agenda of the NDC to the listeners in order to persuade them to distance themselves from his opponents. In so doing, he creates a positive bond and identity with the electorate, and encourages them to support him and his policies, and most importantly, endorse his candidature as the president of Ghana.

Again, in excerpt 3 (paragraph 17), Nana Addo includes the audience in his speech by using **our** as in *I want a Ghana where **our** young people can feel and be confident of a vibrant future ...* to refer to the speaker and the Ghanaian people. The use of *our* in this context is Nana Addo's way of showing identification and solidarity with the listeners. That is, he recognizes the fact that there are no jobs for the youth. He places the audience within the same communicative situation as himself by putting himself and the listeners on the same rank because they are all aware of the same problems. For instance, by using expressions such as **our** *young people,* **our** *current sad situation* **our** *lot* and **our** *goliath*, Nana Addo tries to connect and identify with the listeners (Ghanaian people) to see the challenges of the country and rally behind him for victory in 2016. Also, by using *our*, he reduces the personal distance between himself and his listeners by including them within the context of his speech. That is, the listeners are able to relate with his message. This corresponds with Bibler et al.'s (2005) view that the 1st person plural *our* helps to create solidarity between the speaker and the recipient and also reduces the distance between them. Thus, Nana Addo employs *our* to signal to the electorate that they are all part of grand agenda to salvage the country from the hands of the incumbent government.

Nana Addo's use of **we** drawn from excerpt 4 (paragraph's 20, 36, 37, 38 and 61) can involve the speaker and his own party, NPP, the speaker and the Ghanaian people or the speaker, his own party and the Ghanaian people. In excerpt 4 (paragraph 20), Nana Addo states to his listeners the kind of Ghana he wants to see: *I want a Ghana where **we** appreciate the importance of the environment...* He further enumerates some of the achievements of the NPP government from 2001-2008 and including himself and his audience in excerpt 4 (paragraph 36): **we** *were all witness to the buzzing of business atmosphere and the daily expansion of enterprises.* In excerpt 4 (paragraph 37): **we** *gave rise to the legend of Africa Rising...*, Nana Addo positions himself and includes his party in the speech. That is, *we* in this context refers to Nana Addo and the NPP. The use of *we* in paragraph 46 communicates the same effect. This means that he has authority to speak on behalf of his political party about their achievements in the past and the kind of programmes they intend to introduce that will accelerate the development of the country. By doing this, Nana Addo pitches the achievements of his party against their opponents, realizing an instance of *Us* versus *Them* dichotomy within van Dijk's (1995, 1998) concept of ideological square (see Ofori, 2015; 2018). According to Bache (2000), the 1st person plural *we* shows that the speaker has authority to speak on behalf of others. Maybin, Mercer & Hewings (2007) posit that *we* can have four different functions, namely, the speaker and one other speaker; the speaker and a group; the speaker and an entire country; and the speakers as a whole. Following from of Bache (2000), Nana Addo uses *we* to show that he has the authority to represent and speak on behalf of his party. In relation to Maybin et al. (2007), he employs *we* to create a shared sense of responsibility and group cohesion, which means that Nana Addo and his audience belong to the same group that has the objective of winning the 2016 elections.

The above discussion on the pronouns *I, you, our* and *we* have shown how Nana Addo uses language to create identification and show solidarity with his listeners. In the next section, we discuss how he uses repetitions to achieve the same effect.

Excerpt 1

"…For my part, **I** fully understand the consequence of putting your signature to a contract" (paragraph 2).

"**I** want a Ghana where every citizen has access to potable water" (paragraph 22).

"…**I** have met hairdressers, the vulcanizers, the tailors and the food sellers, who have been reduced to penury, because their businesses could not survive the energy crisis" (paragraph 33).

"**I** am appalled by the poverty and deprivation that I see around the country, because it is unnecessary…" (paragraph 42).

"**I** am disgusted at the cavalier attitude towards corruption in public life. **I** believe that the everyday petty and oppressive corrupt practices that blight the lives of ordinary Ghanaians... That is the quality of governance, a government of integrity, **I** am offering the people of Ghana" (paragraph 43).

"**I** stand before you as a small and honest man, with a big heart for Ghana" (paragraph 44).

"**I** offer myself as a man born before Ghana's independence, but the good Lord has been good to me …". (paragraph 45)

"**I** know that the programmes by themselves will not do …" (Paragraph 47).

Excerpt 2

"I stand before **you** as a small and honest man, with a big heart for Ghana" (paragraph 44).

"**You** have heard all our speakers today state clearly that we are offering solutions to the problems that face our country." (Paragraph 12).

"If they cannot, they will try to bully **you.** That is the opponent we have in this election" (paragraph 53).

Excerpt 3

"**I** want a Ghana where **our** young people can feel and be confident of a vibrant future…" (Paragraph 17)

"My fellow compatriots, **our** current sad situation cannot and should not be **our** lot…" (Paragraph 38)

"So let me speak the words of David to **our** Goliath…" (Paragraph 54)

Excerpt 4

"I want a Ghana where **we** appreciate the importance of the environment and we know and acknowledge that **we** are custodians of the forests, the lands and the animals for generations yet unborn" (paragraph 20).

"**We** were all witness to the buzzing business atmosphere and the daily expansion of enterprises. **We** all saw how many Ghanaians living in the diaspora.... **We** all saw our currency restored …" (paragraph 36).

"**We** gave rise to the legend of Africa rising, and was, indeed, its poster boy. It is a tragedy that **we** now are famous for all the wrong reasons and hope that …". (paragraph 37).

"My fellow compatriots, our sad situation cannot and should not be our lot. I have said it often and I will keep saying it: **we** are not destined to be poor…" (paragraph 38).

"**We** believe in the programmes that **we** have drawn up in our manifesto, because they offer the solutions …". (paragraph 46)

"… fellow Ghanaians, **we** are many and they are few and the battle remains the Lord's".

B. The Use of Repetition

Repetition is another strategy Nana Addo employs to create identification and express solidarity with his listeners. The use of repetition is considered as a significant strategy due to its frequency in his speech.

In excerpt 5 (paragraph 17, 21), there is a repetition of the expression *I want a Ghana*, and this is used sixteen (16) times consecutively in fourteen paragraphs. Nana Addo uses this construction together with other statements as a way of showing solidarity and identification. In this way, he creates a picture of a Ghana that is in sync with the aspiration and desires of his listeners. He skillfully utilises repetition to emphasis the kind of Ghana Ghanaians want as illustrated three times in excerpt 5 (paragraph 17): *I want a Ghana where our young people can feel confident of a vibrant future. I want a Ghana where hard work pays and competence rewarded. I want a Ghana where honest labor is remunerated with honest returns.* This repetition is used to promise a better future for the young generation and the labor force. That is, Nana Addo knows what Ghanaians want; therefore, in order to achieve that goal, he identifies himself with them. It can be argued that the effect of this repetition is that it persuades the audience to vote against the incumbent government. In line with Johnstone (1994), he uses the expression *I want a Ghana* repeatedly to emotionally appeal to the electorate and to remind the audience that there is someone who has a better plan for the country. Indeed, the use of this expression portrays him as a knowledgeable, reliable, powerful, strong and confident leader.

Nana Addo consistently repeats the clause: *if he looked a little closer* as stated in excerpt 6 (paragraph 32, 33), drawing the attention of the sitting president to the suffering of Ghanaians. He uses this clause to point to the fact that the president has failed to see the agony and struggles of Ghanaians because he has turned a blind eye to the predicament of the electorate. It is important to state here that the then president, John Mahama, had said in one of his addresses to the people of Ghana that he has taken the posture of *odwan funu* to wit 'dead goat.' That is, he is not bothered by any comment against his presidency. Thus, Nana Addo repeats the clause to subtly draw the attention of Ghanaians to the posture and the uncaring attitude of the president. For instance, he states that the president has refused

to create jobs for the unemployed youth, who are desperate for jobs. By saying this, Nana Addo establishes some kind of affinity with the electorate, sharing in their sufferings and sentiments. It becomes more evident in excerpt 6 (paragraph 33) when Nana Addo employs this same expression twice, *if he looked a little closer,* to chronicle the numerous crises facing the country. According to Bazzanella (1996), when repetitions are intentionally used, they serve a rhetorical or an intensifying effect. Thus, Nana Addo repeats this expression to intentionally outline the failures of the president in an attempt to win the electorate to his side, by claiming that when they vote him into power, he will pay attention to their needs.

In excerpt 7 (paragraph 39, 40, 41), there is the repetition of the statement: *I am passionate about* within the context of Nana Addo's campaign speech. This statement is used in connection with education as seen in excerpt 7 (paragraph 39): ***I am passionate about*** *education…*; rule of law as shown in excerpt 7 (paragraph 40): ***I am passionate about*** *the rule of law …*; and separation of powers as he indicates in excerpt 7 (paragraph): ***I am passionate about*** *promoting a state structure that rests on a true separation of powers…* Nana Addo associates his passion with education because "Free Senior High School Education" has been one of his popular campaign promises since he was elected as the presidential candidate for the NPP in 2007. He repeated this promise in 2012; hence, it was not surprising that he repeated it again in the 2016 manifesto. It is a way to reinforce his commitment to implement free education when he is voted into power. This promise of free education is likely to resonate with the electorate because nearly every parent would want his/her child to enjoy free education. Also, he connects his passion to the rule of law because he is an astute lawyer and has been at the forefront fighting for the rights of others (human right activists). Therefore, he intentionally repeats this passion for the listeners to know that he will ensure that the rule of law works in Ghana. This posture of Nana Addo is likely to create a positive representation with the listeners, who think there is injustice in the country. Therefore, by passionately assuring the electorate, he encourages them to vote for him since a vote for him is a vote for a Ghana where the rule of law works. Nana Addo's choice to repeat *I am passionate about* casts him in the mold of a leader who is passionate about education, the rule of law and separation of powers.

In the final excerpt (excerpt 8), Nana Addo consistently repeats the expression ***they have more*** three times in three paragraphs as a way of identifying himself with the electorate as the in-group while categorizing the government in power as the out-group. This is also another instance, which illustrates van Dijk's (1995, 1998) concept of ideological square, where a social group presents themselves in positive terms while describing and others in negative terms. Nana Addo portrays the government in power as having more resources unlike them the NPP and Ghanaians as shown in excerpt 8 (paragraph 58, 59, 60): ***they have more*** *money than us…;* ***they have more*** *outboard motors, more roofing sheets, more laptops, more sewing machines …; and* ***they have more*** *giant-sized billboards than us…* It is often alleged in the Ghanaian media that politicians distribute money and other items to influence the electorate to vote for them. In most cases, the government in power is accused of taking advantage of incumbency to share all manner of items to voters because they have the resources. Hence, Nana repeatedly uses the expression *they have more* to negatively represent the activities of the ruling government to the listeners (that is, the money and items they are distributing to influence voters) while presenting himself, the NPP and Ghanaians positively (that is, in spite of incumbent's resource, they have the numbers to win the elections.) In line with Bazzanella (1996), Nana Addo intentionally repeats the expression *they have more* to show that the ruling party is misusing state resources to influence voters, thereby encouraging the electorate to vote against them.

Excerpt 5

"**I want a Ghana** where our young people can feel and be confident of a vibrant future. **I want a Ghana** where hard work pays and competence is rewarded. **I want a Ghana** where honest labour is remunerated with honest returns" (paragraph 17).

"**I want a Ghana** where the cleaning of surroundings …" (paragraph 21).

Excerpt 6

"**If he looked a little closer** even at the rank and file of his own party, he would recognize that this is, indeed, an economy in crisis." (paragraph 32).

"**If he looked a little closer,** he would see the number of teachers and nurses who have worked for three years and told they will be paid for three months. **If he looked a little closer,** he would see the number of businesses …" (paragraph 33).

Excerpt 7

"Yes, **I am passionate about** education... " (paragraph 39).

I am passionate about rule of law because it is the bedrock of a successful, well-ordered and prosperous society." (paragraph 40).

I am passionate about promoting a state structure that rests on a true separation of powers …" (paragraph 41).

Excerpt 8

"**They have more** money than us, but the battle is the Lord's" (paragraph 58).

"**They have more** outboard motors, more roofing sheets, more laptops, more sewing machines to give away, but the battle is the Lord's" (paragraph 59).

"**They have more** giant-sized billboards than us, but the battle is the Lord's" (paragraph 60).

VI. CONCLUSION

In this study, we have examined how a Ghanaian opposition leader, Nana Addo-Addo, employed language to create identity and show solidarity with the electorate, with the aim of persuading them to accept and support his ideas and ultimately vote for him. To achieve this, he frequently used pronouns such as *I, you, our, we* and *repetition* in his campaign speech, which were discussed within the context of Fairclough's discourse-as-text. The pronoun *I*, as used by Nana Addo, shows authority and commitment; that is, he becomes personal, and this has a positive effect on the audience. Conversely, he used *you* to create some kind of bonding and identification with the electorate, thereby encouraging them to associate with him and his policies, and most importantly, endorse his candidature as the president of Ghana. He employed *our* to signal to the electorate that they are all part of a grand agenda to salvage the country from the hands of the ruling government. He also employed *we* to create a shared sense of responsibility and group cohesion. Finally, he used repetition to reinforce his ideas and to persuade his audience to endorse him as the president of Ghana.

APPENDIX

Full text: Akufo-Addo's speech at NPP 2016 manifesto launch Myjoyonline.com. http://www.myjoyonline.com/politics/2016/october-10th/full-text-akufo-addos-speech-at-nnp-2016-manifesto-launch.php

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