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IDEOLOGICAL DISCURSIVE FORMATIONS IN AN EMERGING DEMOCRACY: THE CASE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURAL OF GHANA IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC

*Alimsiwen Elijah Ayaawan
Gabriel Opoku*

Abstract

The inaugural address has received a fair bit of scholarly attention due to the strength in the argument that it occupies an important position amongst discourses that can be termed political; and of course, the recognition that it performs an important political function within the state. The primary interest in the inaugural address has mainly been from the field of rhetoric and composition. This study approaches the inaugural from a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) perspective that allows for an examination of the discourse of governance as it is ideologically expressed in the inaugural address. Four (4) inaugural addresses of four (4) presidents within Ghana's Fourth Republican tradition were purposefully selected to create a mini corpus for the study. Using the dialectical relational approach and drawing specifically on the concepts of subject positioning, agency in discourse and intertextuality, the analysis examines the ideological discursive formations of governance expressed in the inaugurals as discourse types as well as looks at the issues of subject positioning and agency and their ideological implications in the inaugural addresses. The analysis reveals that though there is an extent to which the ideological discursive formation of collectivism has been naturalised in the addresses, there exist differences in terms of how the subject is characterised within this collectivism. It also reveals that there are differences in how the principals of the two political traditions express agency within the addresses. We argue that these differences do construct and are constrained by the different ideological discursive formations of the two political traditions that have dominated Ghana's political space.

Keywords: CDA, inaugural address, transitivity, subject positions, ideology, lexico-grammatical complexity

1. Introduction

It is axiomatic that the goal of a political party in a multiparty democratic system is to win political power, which legitimises the wielding of state power. The primary use of this state power so acquired is to govern the state and ensure the wellbeing of the individual and the society at large. This partly accounts for why political parties in a multiparty system must, in their attempts to win power through an electoral system, set out their vision of governance. This vision is, of course, discursively expressed through a variety of genres, modes and discourse types such as political advertising, campaign rallies and speeches, and political party manifestoes among others, some of which find their optimal use in the contest for political power. Other discourse types and genres central to the construction of discourses of governance are useful instruments when power has been acquired through the processes legitimated by the democratic system. The discursive construction of credible discourses of governance, whether at the stage of political search for power or at a time when power has been acquired, can therefore be considered as integral to the political party system, particularly multiparty democracies.

There is another reason for which the discourses of governance are vital to political parties and in a sense an intrinsic feature of parties. Morrison (2004), Fairclough (2013), Reisigl and Wodak (2001), and van Dijk (2000) all recognise the inextricability of the relationship between discourse and ideology. Ideology is formulated as what underpins discourse. Within the context of competitive multiparty democracy, the ideologies that underpin the discourse of governance are important in the sense that they constitute the basis of distinction among political parties. The ideological stances of parties result in the construction of identities based on which the political parties market themselves. To a large extent therefore, the marketability of political parties as alternatives to other parties in a multiparty democratic system is hinged on their ability to, through the various discourses of governance, convey ideological formations that impose distinct identities on them. This observation, to a degree, indicates why a study as this is important. The entire democratic system tends to benefit when the implications of the choice(s) present in a multiparty system are made apparent to stakeholders of that system. An imperative of this study is therefore to examine the discourse of governance as constructed in the inaugural with a focus on identifying the ideological discursive formations that underpin as well as are expressed in the inaugural. This examination proceeds broadly from the context of Ghana's political system, and its political system

in the Fourth Republic in particular. In the next section of this introduction, a brief discussion of the political system especially as it relates to the evolution of political parties in Ghana ensues.

1.1. One, and then there was the schism

The emergence of political parties in Ghana has been argued as being underpinned by the same political ideology – liberalism. Morrison (2004), for instance, has argued that the liberal ideology at the heart of the rise of political parties in Ghana has been informed by the struggle for civil liberties denied by the spectre of colonialism. This argument therefore implies an ideological oneness with regard to political ideology and draws the conclusion that this ideological status is determined by the socio-political context of the emergence of political party formation. A similar position is perhaps advocated by Dickovick (2008) who divides the formation of political parties in Ghana into three periods. The first phase, which is the immediate post-colonial inheritance, saw parties that aligned with the liberal values of freedom and self-determination. These were the parties that Morrison (2004) identified as arising as part of the response to colonialism. Dickovick's (2008) second movement with regard to the evolution of political parties in Ghana was triggered by the coup d'états of the 1960s and 1970s whilst the third period, identified by Dickovick (2008) as the present moment, is said to have begun in the period spanning 1991-92. These parties of these two periods, just like those of the first period, were a response to the denial of freedom and self-determination, except that the oppressors of these two periods were military instead of colonial. To a large degree therefore, the argument that political parties in Ghana were largely ideologically liberal may have to be accommodated, especially from this historical perspective. This historical perspective places the genesis of political party formation in Ghana in the late 19th century with the formation of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society in 1897. The formation of the Congress of British West Africa in 1920 and the emergence of the United Gold Coast Convention after the end of the Second World War in 1946 are both seen as part of the evolution of political parties occasioned by libertarian ideals (Morrison 2004).

A point that ought to be inferred from both Morrison (2004) and Dickovick (2008) and elaborated is that multiparty democracy in Ghana has been punctuated by periods of dictatorship and authoritarian rule. These periods of political instability account for the chequered history political parties in the country (Ayee 2008). This shared political history arising from the exigencies of the political context also has been accepted as at least partly accounting for the ideological convergence of these parties as indicated in the preceding paragraphs. In spite of this recognised history of ideological alignment

of political parties, Morrison (2004) points out that there appears to have always been an ideological schism traceable to the political campaign towards decolonisation that gained momentum in the 1940s. The ideologies underlying this schism, he notes, are populism and liberalism. Morrison (2004) contends that this ideological schism has ensured the relatively stable existence of two political parties throughout Ghana's four republics. This is not however to say that only two political parties have been in existence in Ghana's multiparty democratic system. Ninsin (2005), for instance, has pointed out that between 1954 and 1957 there were eight (8) political parties operating in the country. He indicates also that in 1996, there were eight political parties participating in the elections. Out of this eight (8), three (3) contested in the presidential elections. In the year 2000, there were seven (7) parties and in the 2004 elections, there were four (4). The point being made is that in spite of these varying numbers, and in spite of the long periods of military rule, two parties have survived, albeit under different names, throughout the political history of the country.

1.2. The new patriots and national democrats: the enduring schism

Within Ghana's Fourth Republic which came into existence with the coming into force of the 1992 Constitution, two political parties have dominated the political scene. These are the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP). These two political parties have operated within Ghana's hybrid political system which combines the American Presidential System and the British Parliamentary System (Ninsin 2005). Not only have these two political parties dominated the country's political landscape in the Fourth Republic, their dominance has also been apparent since Ghana's political independence. The New Patriotic Party with a belief in the freedom of the individual in a liberal democratic state, a commitment to free enterprise, human rights and private initiative (Aye 2008) is clearly aligned with the liberal half of the schism identified by Morrison (2004). Ninsin (2005:12), in commenting on the ideological leanings of the NPP, indicates that the party "emphasizes its dogmatic attachment to free enterprise as the foundation of social change". The implication of this ideological position is that it has allowed each party to express the extent to which it is anchored in the genesis of political party evolution in Ghana. This is because these liberal goals align with the ideals of liberalism that underpinned the rise of political parties and organisations in the 19th as well as mid-20th centuries.

Ninsin (2005) also indicates that the populist half of the ideological schism has underpinned the NDC as a political force in the Fourth Republic. He notes that the NDC leans towards the democratic left and practices a sort of social democracy. This ideological position of the party therefore gives it a grassroots character. It is in this

grassroots character that we find the expression of populism as the fundamental political ideology of the party. It in this sense that parallels can be drawn between the NDC of the Fourth Republic and Nkrumah's Convention People's Party of the first period of political party formation in Ghana. While the NPP, the dominant force on the liberal half of the schism, is seen as elitist and high class in origin, the NDC, the inheritors of the populist half of the schism, is seen as grassroots and a mass movement political force. Despite the ideological leanings of the two main political parties of Ghana in the Fourth Republic, Ninsin (2005) has argued that when it comes to policy formulation and implementation, the differences between the two are minimal at best. He, however, does not provide evidence to support this position. This situation provides a part of the context necessitating this study. It is important to examine what, given the relative stability of the Fourth Republic and the unchallenged dominance of these two political forces, the political ideologies of governance are, and how those ideologies are constructed from a position of executive political power. This is the reason for which the inaugural address as a discourse type is being examined in terms of the discourse of governance.

2. The Inaugural in the Context of Research

Campbell and Jamieson (1985) in discussing the inaugural within the context of American political culture note that inaugurals exhibit an unmistakably ritualistic character. This ritualistic character is of course tied to the fact that the inaugural address is part of the ceremonial processes of inauguration which is "a rite of passage, a ritual of transition in which the newly-elected President is invested in the office of the Presidency" (Campbell & Jamieson, 1985:395). In this sense, not only does the inaugural address mark the commencement of a president's tenure of office but it also works towards publicly legitimising the authority of the incoming president by constituting the process of coming into office as a public event. At this public event, the inaugural as a discourse, constructs the president as a subject with the authority to speak, and at the same time constitutes the people, his audience, as subjects with the responsibility to listen. The constitution of the inaugural address as part of this ritualistic process does not therefore impose the undesirable feature of vanity on the address. Rather, it is this ceremonial and ritualistic feature of the inaugural address that allows Campbell and Jamieson (1985) to classify the inaugural address as a subspecies of epideictic discourse with an important pragmatic function.

The importance of the inaugural address is recognised by Ericson (1997:727) when he argues that the function of the inaugural within the context of American politics is primarily to express the permanent features of American politics and that it is not the

purpose of the inaugural “to express the transient feature of the president’s policy agenda”. A similar understanding is conveyed by Beasley (2001) when she notes that the inaugural address in the USA is not typically policy-driven as compared to other types of presidential discourse. The nexus of this argument as expressed in the positions of these two scholars is that partisan ideological stance is not expressed in the inaugural, instead ideological stance that promotes and constructs a positive national character is adopted and expressed through this discourse type. This argument that the inaugural does not give expression to the policy orientation of a given president is hard to accommodate especially in the face of some empirical evidence to the contrary. Browne (2007:435), in a study of the first inaugural address delivered by Thomas Jefferson, points out that “Jefferson can be read with equal profit as giving expression to partisan principles and to a certain conception of nationhood”. To paraphrase, what is clearly indicated here is that principles of governance that are aligned to a given political tradition are expressed in the inaugural. The discourse of governance is, as such, a concern of the inaugural address. Browne’s (2007) empirical study and its conclusions have been supported by Chung and Park’s (2010) study of the inaugural addresses of two South Korea presidents. The study finds that the inaugurals of these two presidents were used to chart the intended course of each administration. Given the findings of these empirical studies in the context of the United States and South Korea, one cannot but wonder what an examination of the presidential inaugural in Ghana will reveal. How the presidential inaugural in Ghana marries the need to chart a course for the administration with that of the construction of a discourse of governance underpinned by an ideology of nationhood is an important question to confront.

In terms of the ideological focus of the inaugural, a similar point which predates Ericson’s (1997) view is canvassed by Campbell and Jamieson (1985) when they point out that the inaugural presents and develops political principles in predictable ways. The dimension of this observation which is worth highlighting within this paragraph is the extent to which it foregrounds the ideological function of the inaugural address. The development of political principles within the address means that even if the inaugural is accepted as a literal artefact and a rhetorical performance as put forward by Browne (2007), Beasley (2001), and Chung and Park (2010), it will still have to be seen as a merger of content and form (Browne 2007). That is, the inaugural has to be understood as a form that is very much underpinned by the need to express both an ideology of governance and of nationhood as much as it is underlined by the literary conventions of rhetoric. It is this overriding need that largely accounts for the kind of examination of the inaugural address that is undertaken within this paper. Given the fact that the inaugural both constructs ideology and constitutes the expression of ideology, what ideological positions can be observed as underpinning and being expressed through the

discourse of presidential inaugurals of Ghana in the Fourth Republic? This is the unresolved question at the centre of this paper.

It is important at this stage to provide a brief overview of the analytical approaches that have been employed in the study of the presidential inaugural. It appears that there have been three dominant approaches used in examining the presidential inaugural. These are the perspective of rhetoric and literary analysis (Browne 2007), thematic analysis (Campbell and Jamieson 1985; Ericson 1997), and genre-based approaches (Liu 2012). Some of the literary and rhetorical perspectives have explored such issues as the use of metaphor in the inaugural address (Xu 2010). Xu 's (2010) approach concludes that the American presidential inaugural is defined especially by the journey conceptual metaphor. The rhetorical perspectives, such as Browne (2007), have, besides looking at the development of themes in the inaugural, looked at the issue of speaker identity in the inaugural. This study, for instance, points out that speaker identity is tied to the use of the first person as well as the verbs used in clauses in which the first person is in a grammatical subject position. The rhetorical strategies used in the American presidential inaugural address have been examined by Ericson (1997:727) who finds that all addresses “invoke a Supreme being that identify with the audience by acknowledging their common humanity”. This is a finding also indicated by Beasley (2001). The genre approach adopted by Liu (2012) identifies an eight (8) move structure for the presidential inaugural of the United States.

In the context of the studies indicated here, this study will contribute to the scholarship in two ways. The first is that it focuses on the inaugural address in the context of Ghana in the Fourth Republic. This focus allows the study to examine data that has not had a tradition of research focus as much as the American presidential inaugural has had. In this way, the study hopes to contribute not just to knowledge of the inaugural address broadly but also to knowledge of the inaugural address in the growing democracy of Ghana. Secondly, the theoretical perspective adopted in this study will allow us to look at the inaugural in terms of how it conveys ideological positions relating to governance. How do the presidents of different political traditions conceptualise governance as expressed in the inaugural address as a discourse form? These are the issues that make this study worthwhile in our estimation.

3. Study methods

3.1. Data

The data for this study comprises four (4) inaugural addresses delivered by four (4) of the five presidents of Ghana in the Fourth Republic. These are president John Agyekum

Kufuor, the late president John Evans Atta Mills, former president John Dramani Mahama and current president Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. Although there are five (5) inaugural addresses in the Fourth Republic, we could not access a copy of the inaugural address delivered by former president Jerry John Rawlings, the first president of the fourth Republic. The difficulty in accessing this address was however a happy inconvenience because its inclusion would have made the data set uneven and this could have affected balance in the data since the study compares the discourse of governance as expressed by the two dominant political traditions of the Fourth Republic. It is our argument that the two addresses each from the two political traditions help to establish that balance in the data. These addresses which vary in length were obtained in Microsoft Word format and Portable Document Format from Government of Ghana websites and credible online news portals such as myjoyonline.com, a website belonging to one of the leading news organisations in Ghana.

3.2. Data processing

The four (4) addresses were converted to plain text readable format using Microsoft Word 2016. The reason for this conversion was to make the data readable for the AntConc corpus application. These plain text readable files were then uploaded into AntConc Corpus Analysis Toolkit version 3.5.8.0. Each of the text files was clearly labelled using the initials of the president that delivered the inaugural address from which the plain text versions were created. The AntConc corpus software allowed us to identify all clauses with the first person as an element. Each of these clauses were then analysed in terms of the kinds of processes within the transitivity system conveyed. This process also allowed us to count the total number of clauses with the first person in subject position within the clause. The AntConc was also used to generate word lists for each of the addresses. From these word lists, we identified lexical units with semantic relations which seem central in terms of how they convey the thematic load of each of the addresses. We also paid attention to the ideological implications of the lexical items identified from the word lists for each of the addresses. The processing of the data also involved the good-old textual analysis. We pored over the addresses manually looking to establish thematic patterns as well as intertextual and interdiscursive elements. Our interest was not in merely identifying these intertextual and interdiscursive elements but also in examining how they are articulated together within each of the addresses and then examining how these articulations construct the discourse of governance and the discursive ideological formation inherent in this discourse of governance.

4. Conceptual framework

This study draws on a number of concepts from Critical Discourse Analysis to guide the analysis. These are the concept of agency in discourse (Burr 1995; Fairclough 2013); Fairclough's (2013) concept of the subject in discourse; Goffman's concept of the text producer discussed in Fairclough (1992) and Ivanič (1998), and lastly the framework of transitivity (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). Each of these concepts relates to the formulation of discourse itself and they are an integral part of the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis in general but are more closely situated within the dialectical relational approach to discourse analysis formulated by Fairclough (1992, 2013). It is therefore imperative that the discussion of these concepts and their usefulness to the analysis done in this paper be situated within a wider discussion of the dialectical relational approach to the study of discourse. It is vital that this discussion itself proceeds by examining first the theoretical principles underpinning this relational approach to discourse studies.

Underpinning the dialectical relational approach to discourse analysis is a dialectical view of discourse. This view is informed by the position that discourse is a form of social practice. This therefore means that there is a relationship between discourse and what Fairclough (2013) calls social structure. As a form of social practice, discourse is seen, on the one hand, as “signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning,” and, on the other hand, as being “shaped and constrained by social structure” (Fairclough, 1992:64). What is meant by this position on discourse is that language is not merely a semiotic resource for expressing experience and reality but that it is a resource for constructing reality itself. Reality therefore exists only in its construction through discourse. To this end, discourse aligns itself with the strong thesis of social constructionism. Fairclough (2013) advances this perspective on discourse by providing a more acceptable formulation of the relationship between discourse and reality by arguing that it is the social world that is discursively constructed; the natural world, on the other hand, is discursively construed. Within this dimension, social structure is construed as having a deterministic hold on discourse as a form of social reality. This is the sense in which this conceptualisation of discourse is dialectic.

The dialectical and relational dimensions of discourse are fully elaborated in the three-dimensional formulation of discourse by Fairclough (1992, 2013). Discourse is made up of text, discursive practice and social practice or social formation. Text is the linguistic resources that are used in the discourse. The discursive practice constitutes the processes of production and interpretation of discourse. The discursive practice is therefore aligned with the context of situation. The level of the social formation reflects

the context of culture. Here, as Benwell and Stokoe (2006) observe, the influence of the larger social situation on the production and consumption of discourse is recognised. The implication of this conceptualisation of discourse for doing a CDA is that the approach must interrogate the relationship between language and social structure with a focus on one orientation of social practice or another. This could be economic, political, ideological, or cultural among others. This position puts forth another point about the relational status of discourse. This is that from a CDA perspective, discourse does not exist of itself. As such, an analysis of discourse must study its relation to other elements. It is this formulation that allows this study to examine the relationship between the inaugural as a form of discourse, and as a site for ideology. But the three-dimensional conceptualisation also means, most importantly for the linguist, that before elaborating the relationship between discourse and other elements, the internal relationship that exists between the different levels of discourse vis-à-vis the textual, discursive practice and the social practice must be analysed first. It is this kind of analytical procedure that allows insights into the constitutive and constituting properties of discourse.

However, before we elaborate fully CDA as the broader framework and the dialectical relational approach as the analytical procedure used in this paper, it is important to explore further the theoretical level concepts of agency in discourse, and subject as they relate to the concept of discourse that has so far been discussed in this section. Given the constitutive property of discourse discussed above and given the shaping and constraining effect of social structure on discourse, to what extent can it be said that the subject of discourse – entities with roles and identities within a discourse (Fairclough 2013) – have agency? Agency is conceptualised as the ability to manipulate discourses. To manipulate the discourse in this case implies the ability to challenge and perhaps subvert the subject position that has been ascribed to a subject by the discourse. This is a pressing theoretical question especially in the context of the social constructionist view that people (subjects) are spoken by discourse. In other words, it is discourses that create the kinds of individuals that come to exist as part of a discourse. Part of the answer to the agency question is provided by Burr (1995:90); she argues that though the subject is constituted by discourse, the subject is capable of historical reflection. The argument from this perspective then is that historical reflection is the basis of individual agency because such a reflection positions the individual to either merely reproduce the discourse and the social structures that it helps to sustain or challenge the discourse and, in that process, produce a counter discourse, and as a result, challenge the social structures that the discourse reflects. Fairclough's (1992:63) answer to the subject agency problem lies in the notion of discourse as a mode of social action. Discourse as a mode of action means that it is “one form in which people may act upon

the world...". In this sense, agency is not therefore seen as an attribute of discourse but as a feature of the subject of discourse.

The implication of subject agency within discourse inherent in Fairclough's (1992) argument about agency in discourse is that the individual is capable of bringing about change and transformation of social structure through discourse. This means that, just as social structure can shape and constrain discourse, so can the individual, through discursive practice, shape and transform social structure. This is another dimension of the dialectical nature of discourse and social structure as well as a reflection of the view that an analysis of discourse is always an analysis of discourse and other objects which is, in this case, an analysis of the relationship between discourse and the individual. What are the implications of these theoretical positions on the issue of subject agency in discourse for this study? The first and perhaps most important is that the subject of discourse is construed as a rational agent capable of expressing freewill. S/he expresses this freewill in discourse by assuming subject positions that either contravene and challenge the ideological discursive formation underpinning the discourse that the individual is a subject of or reinforces and replicates the ideological discursive formation that underpins the discourse. Furthermore, as posited by Goffman, subject positions may also be created by a text producer in the instantiation of a discourse. These subject positions instantiated by the text producer will also have ideological implications. Going forward in this study therefore, we will have to examine the ways in which the text producers of the inaugural position themselves, how they create subject positions for others within the address, and the ideological implications arising from such positioning.

Having offered a discussion of the theoretical concepts underpinning this study, it is important that a brief discussion of the framework of analysis be undertaken here. We have already indicated that the specific CDA approach adopted for the study is the dialectical relational approach. This approach has three levels of analysis – the textual analysis, the discursive practice level, and the social practice level. At the textual level, there is an engagement with the text as a product (Benwell and Stokoe 2006). This level of analysis in the dialectical relational approach is purely linguistic. In the context this study the system of transitivity which is an integral part of SFL propounded by Halliday (1994) and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) is used. The level of discursive practice allows for analysis that focuses on the processes of text production, interpretation and consumption. Within this study, this level of analysis allows us to examine the discourses that are drawn upon by the text producer to construct the inaugural address as well as examine how these different discourses are articulated together because the manner of articulation has ideological implications. The level of social practice allows

the analysis to account for how the larger social situation shapes both the level of text and discursive practice. In other words, how is the inaugural address shaped at the level of linguistic choices and at the level of discursive practice? At the level of discursive and social practice, the study draws on the concepts of intertextuality and orders of discourse as discussed in Fairclough (1992, 2013).

5. Analysis and discussion

We now turn our attention to an analysis and discussion of the data. Our focus in the analysis is on examining how ideology is discursively constituted within the inaugural, and how the principal within the address contributes to the construction of ideologies of governance throughout the address by negotiating agency. The two (2) graphs that follow will be referred to throughout this analysis; the first one presents information on the use pronominal forms throughout the data, and the second one is on the transitivity patterns across the inaugurals.

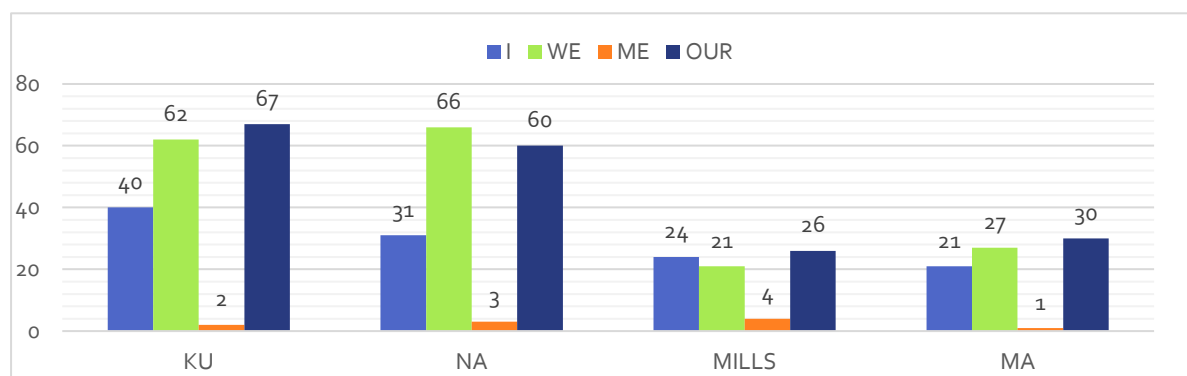


Figure 1: Pronoun usage by principals

A fundamental assumption that is made and which has informed the analytical model adopted here is that the use of the first person pronoun forms and the nature of transitivity pattern especially as it relates to the process types adopted by the principals within the four (4) inaugural addresses will yield insights about the discourse of governance adopted by each of the leaders under consideration in this study. By focusing on the use of the first person singular and plural forms mainly in the subjective case, we are able to trace how the discourse referents, in this case the presidents, are able to use the different process types to construct an ideology of governance and how that construct within the text echoes the political tradition from which each of the individual presidents emanate. We are able to, through this approach, examine how the presidents challenge or reinforce the subject positions made available to them by the

discourse. In other words, our interest within the analysis also focuses on how the individuals within the discourse express agency and the discursive practices informing the expression of agency within the text.

The starting point in resolving the issues raised as the research concerns of this paper is an examination of the quantitative information regarding the use of the first person and the transitivity processes used across the inaugurals as a corpus. Figure 1 above provides among other things a summary of the use of the first person across the data. The figure shows that in three (3) of the four (4) inaugurals, the first person plural form is the most used. The only deviation from this norm involves MILLS where there are three (3) more uses of the first person singular than its plural counterpart. Although the graph above does indicate that an actual count of the number of occurrence of the first person shows that they are used more in KU and NA, when the data is normalised to account for the occurrence of the first person subject case as a percentage of each of the addresses, a different picture emerges. The following table provides a summary of the results for first person subject case usage across the four (4) addresses after normalisation for text length.

Table 1: First person usage as a percentage of address

Principal	Raw scores			As percent of text
	We	I	Total	
KU	62	40	102	4.3%
NA	66	31	97	3.7%
MILLS	21	24	45	4.0%
MA	27	21	48	2.7%

KU, NA and MILLS, after text normalisation, fall within a similar range in percentage terms between a high of 4.3% and a low of 3.7%. MA is far behind at 2.7% which can be considered as significantly lower than the other three (3) principals. Perhaps a more significant pattern relates to the use of first person singular and plural forms across the data. We find that for KU, there is a third more use of the first person plural than the first person singular form. For NA, the third person has been used a little over half more than the first person singular form. For both MILLS and MA, as can be seen in both

figure 1 and the table above, the counts for the use of both *We* and *I* indicate no significant differences.

Figure Two below is a summary of the results on the distribution of the clausal types across the four (4) inaugural addresses. The graph combines the pronoun usage with the clause types so that it establishes the link between the use of the first person type and the kind of clause in the system of transitivity.

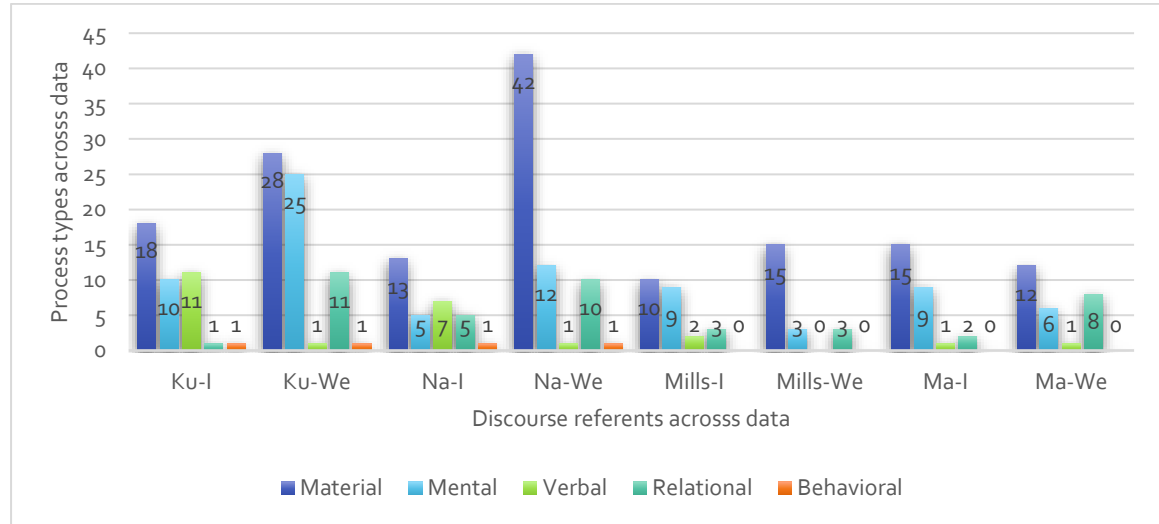


Figure 2: Transitivity processes across the inaugural

From Figure 2, the first observation to be made is that irrespective of the first person pronoun used – whether the singular or plural form – and irrespective of the political tradition from which the discourse referent (the principal) speaks, the material clause type is the most dominant statistically. At this level therefore, we can make the tentative argument that the principals are expressing agency within the discourse because of their predominant involvement in action. The second finding worth highlighting from the results on the use of the clause types in the data is the verbal clauses and their relationship with the use of the first person singular in the data. For the two (2) principals of the NPP tradition, we see that the verbal clause type constitutes the second most used clause in instances where the grammatical subject position is assumed by the first person singular form. In the case of the two principals of the NDC tradition, it is the mental clause type which is the second most frequent in clauses in which the first person singular is the grammatical subject. A point of near full convergence across the entire data in relation to the system of transitivity relates to the occurrence of the mental clause type. The mental clause type is the second most frequent clause type in clauses

where the first person plural form is the grammatical subject. This is the case for KU, NA, and MA. It is only in MILLS that the relational clause type is the second most recurrent in such clauses.

What has been done so far in the discussion is to provide a summary of the analysis of the data captured in figures 1 and 2. The information provided in these two figures will be referred to throughout the rest of the analysis and discussion. In the subsections to follow, we more directly confront the chief concerns of this study.

5.1. Principal agency: ideological implications

An important feature of the addresses of the two presidents of the New Patriotic party tradition which is a clear defining feature of their ideology of governance is the diminished agency that the principal within the address assumes. The first evidence of this is in the distribution of pronoun usage across the addresses. Figure 1 above indicates a preference for pronoun forms that express a sense of the collective as against those that individuate presence. The expression of this collective falls in line with Campbell and Jamieson's (1985) observation that a principal function of the inaugural address is to create unity. For both principals within the address, the pronouns [we/ our] constitute a higher proportion of the pronouns in the text. [I and me] which individuate presence form a statistical minority within the two addresses. It is however not just merely through the relatively low usage of the first person singular forms that the principals within the address succeed in expressing a subdued agency. A look at the process patterns within the data does provide some support for the argument that is being made here. First, there are far more material processes associated with the first person plural form than there are with its singular counterpart. Since material processes are processes used to achieve external action, we can begin to see that a pattern arises where the collective is seen to be acting within the address, thereby leaving individuated presence in the background. Although the statistics here again do point us in a certain direction regarding the issue of diminished individuated presence, the evidence is not conclusive. What paints a more complete picture is an examination of the specific semantic implications of the material processes as they relate to the first person plural and singular. Below are two examples of the kinds of material processes associated with both the first person singular and plural forms.

- a. We demonstrate today our maturity and our cohesion as a nation by the smooth transfer of power from one democratically elected government to another.
- b. I salute your efforts and your hard work.

In the first of the two material clauses above, the goal of the process situates the ideation of the clause within the discourse of governance. The transfer of power in a smooth manner is a key feature of the democratic system of governance. We can therefore argue that the participants and process in this clause are communicating a core function of the address. In the second clause, the principal as actor, the process and the goal do not express ideation that sits at the core of the discourse of governance. In fact, this clause which is an expression of gratitude is very common place and can be found in all manner of discourse events. The addresses are replete with examples of clauses in which the principal is expressing gratitude to individuals as well as groups with presence in the address.

A third feature that the analysis reveals which points to the diminishing of principal agency in the case of the two presidents of the NPP tradition is in the scope of reference of the first person plural. From the data, we notice that the referent of 'we' in the addresses of these principals is, in most cases, the entire nation. This 'we' expresses an all-inclusive meaning. The following two extracts illustrate this point.

- a. We are a blessed people, and, with God's guidance, our smiles might even become laughter in the not too distant future [KU].
- b. Since we accepted a consensus on how we should be governed with the onset of the Fourth Republic, we have performed more creditably [NA].

In the first extract above, and especially in reference to the first clause within the superordinate clause which constitutes the entire extract, we can see that the clause represents a relational process in which the 'we' (Identified) and 'a blessed people' (Identifier) have a clear co-referential relationship. This relationship therefore clearly defines and delimits the scope of the 'we'. The significance of this observation in relation to the argument being made about agency is that the extensive semantic implication of the 'we' allows the principal to diminish his presence within the address and as such diminish his agency. The same holds true of the second extract. The 'we' in the subordinate clause as well as the 'we' in the main clause within this second extract expresses that all-inclusive meaning being discussed.

It is therefore clear that the diminishing of the agency of the principal is a key feature of the address of the principals belonging to this political tradition. In establishing how the issue of agency relates to ideology concerning governance, we need to first look at the diminished agency as it relates to how the principal is generally positioned in the address. In other words, is the tendency to opt for a diminished agency an acceptance of the subject position provided by the discourse for the principal or is it a contestation

of the subject position determined for the principal within the discourse? The answer to this question does not lie in the textual dimension of the address. Rather, we have to examine the social situation which is part of the level of social formation (Fairclough 2013), especially as it relates to the rhetoric of political campaigning in Ghana. Political actors running for office do generally present themselves, through the discourse of campaigning, as the panacea to development challenges. Within the discourse of campaigning, the principals as such do construct a far stronger agency. The attempts to background their presence within the address will therefore have to be interpreted as a conscious attempt to create an alternative persona to the one constructed in the campaign discourse. The principals of this tradition are as such contesting the ways the inaugural as a discourse constructs them so as to construct an ideology of governance based on the principle of collectivism. The concept of collectivism will be explored in more detail in the next subsection of the paper. Before then we will examine the nature of agency as it relates to the principals of the National Democratic Congress political tradition.

Mills, one of the two principals of the NDC tradition, is the only principal in the data to have used the first person singular on more occasions than the plural form. In spite of this, from a quantitative standpoint the combined value of ‘we’ and ‘our’, the primary ways of expressing a collective still dominate the address. For the second principal within this tradition, the use of ‘I’ is lower than the use of ‘we’. Also, the combination of ‘we’ and ‘our’ constitutes a combined higher value for collective representation as against the individuated options in the address. Also, looking at the process type distribution for these two principals, we see that the material process type is the most used irrespective of the pronoun forms. From this evidence, it would therefore not be wrong to assume that the pronoun forms are used as a strategy to diminish agency by the principals of this tradition. This, however, is not the case especially for Mills. A closer examination of the use of the first person plural form reveals that the ‘we’ is used in ways that restrict its referential scope to ‘government’ or ‘party in power’. The following extracts illustrate this usage across the addresses.

- a. We made promises to Ghanaians on the strength of which they have reposed trust in me and elected me and the National Democratic Congress to lead our nation over the next four years, and hopefully beyond.
- b. We will do all in our power to ensure social justice, equity and equality under the laws of Ghana.

In the first of the two clauses above, the scope of the first person plural actor is defined by the complement (Ghanaians) to the preposition (to) which marks the beginning of

the circumstance within the clause. The grammar of the clause therefore excludes the possibility of the actor-referent extending to include the referent of the complement of the preposition *to*. In the second extract, there is a first person plural actor (we), a material process (will do) and a goal (all) with a complex prepositional phrase acting as its modifier. It is the semantic load of the goal's post-modifier that allows us to derive the scope of the referent in the actor. Ensuring "... social justice, equity and equality under the laws of Ghana" are roles defined constitutionally. There are designated state institutions whose responsibility it is to ensure these. The scope of the 'we' therefore does not include groups and individuals outside of government. These examples therefore provide us evidence that the principal in this case is expressing greater agency within the discourse. This agency, however, does not constitute a challenge of his positioning by the discourse. It is achieved by assuming the subject position that the discourse of the inaugural ascribes. This is because the context of culture as well as the context of situation as pertains in Ghana dictates that a principal assumes an omnipotent role. This dimension of the social formation in the context of politics in Ghana is succinctly captured by Dickovick (2008) as neo-patrimonial politics where leadership is constructed in strongman discourses. This greater agency that this principal assumes in the inaugural is therefore seen as a fulfilment of what is expected within the discourse of the inaugural.

5.2. Collectivism and the binary subject: Ideological implications

We have already indicated in the preceding section of this article that one of the reasons for the way principal agency is constructed is to allow the principal to impose a sense of the collective on the address. This need is informed by an ideological position that privileges unity as a social good (Gee 2011) and as such an important ingredient in the business of governance. However, the way the collective is constructed in the addresses is not uniform. There are clearly variations. The different ways in which the collective is expressed give rise to different ideological discursive formations of governance within the address. Our analysis of the collective in this paper focuses on how subjects, aside from the principal, of the inaugural address are positioned within the address and how this subject positioning constructs a particular political tradition's ideological discursive formation of governance. The analysis reveals two broad subject positions available within the address to recipient objects. Recipient objects are entities – groups – that are consumers of the discourse and at the same time have presence in the discourse. They are as such a type of subject of discourse. There is the collectivised subject position. In the collectivised subject position, the recipient object is again either constructed as an edenic citizen or as a consumption production unit.

It is largely the case that the principals of the New Patriotic Party tradition construct the collectivised object recipients as consumption/production units. The presence of any object recipient in the address is therefore linked to the economic status of that object. Let us explicate this point further using the extracts below.

- a. In this regard, I want to make a special appeal to our young people. We need your energy, we need your dynamism, we need your creativity, and, above all, we need your dreams to rebuild Mother Ghana [KU].
- b. 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 [NA].
- c. During the campaign, the amount of enthusiastic support that came from our women for the cause of change was remarkable. I believe this is because you are at the sharp edge of the economic realities in the country. You go to the market, you have to make sure there is food on the table, and children are fed and dressed well. I believe that is why you have been in the forefront of this democratic revolution [KU].

In the first of the three extracts above, the prepositional phrase ‘to our young people’ is the object recipient which is both part of the address and whose referent is a consumer of the address. The second sentence of the extract reveals the reason for the presence of this object recipient: ‘... energy, dynamism, creativity’, and these are treated as resources of production which the object recipients possess. Their presence within the address is therefore tied to processes of production which are very important in a capitalist system. In the second clause, the object recipient (Ghanaian) is present in the address because s/he possesses “talents, energies, sense of enterprise and innovation”. These again are constructed as resources that the Ghanaian has which can be exploited to feed and sustain a capitalist system. In the third extract, the collective object recipient is “our women”. The second and third sentences of the extract indicate the principal’s understanding of why the women provided “enthusiastic support”. It is because they go to the markets as consumers of goods. The consumer is an important cog in the capitalist system. What we have are therefore traces of the Free Market ideological discursive formations identified as underpinning the political ideology of the NPP (Aye 2008; Ninsin 2005).

The principals of the National Democratic Congress tradition also make use of the collectivised object recipient as the foundation for creating an ideology of collectivism. However, unlike in the NPP tradition, the object recipient is constructed as what we refer to as edenic citizen. The object is not constituted as drawing relevance from its

association with the processes of production and consumption but is constituted as engaging in actions that have cultural relevance. The following examples may suffice:

- a. The majority of individuals who have had the greatest impact on this country came from humble beginnings. 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 their lives to the fullest, made use of their God-given talents, and took pride in their activities. That was the simple call they answered, 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 [MA].
- b. I believe that as a nation, we will find the strength of character, love of country, and hope for our shared future as a nation, to accomplish even the most difficult of tasks [MILLS].

The first extract appropriates historical figures to construct the edenic citizen. The object recipient is present and relevant in the address because of their ordinariness. They are not positioned as having created wealth, or as having the means to create wealth, or as having the means to consume but are constructed as "...lived their lives to the fullest...". In the second extract, the collective object recipient's value is tied to such cultural constructs as "strength of character, love of country, and hope for our shared future". There is clearly a strong contrast between these and the "energy, creativity and innovation" used in constructing the collectivised object recipient in the case of the NPP tradition. What is therefore happening in the case of the NDC tradition is that the object recipients are being used to construct the identity of the edenic citizen, the model Ghanaian as it were by imposing cultural values on that construct.

There is some lexical evidence in support of our argument concerning how subject positioning within a concept of collectivism is used to express party ideologies of governance. The study, using AntConc, did an analysis of the word list to identify the occurrence of words with meanings situated within the area of production and consumption of goods. The following graph summaries the results for each of the four principals.

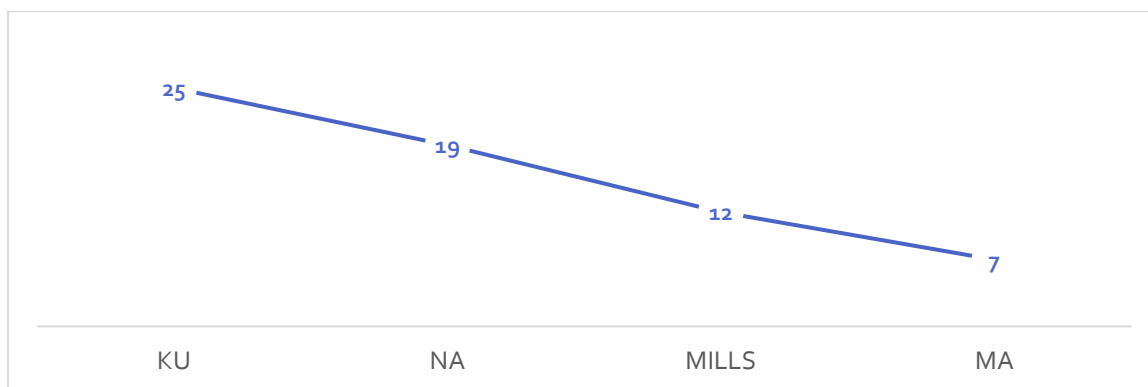


Figure 3: Production/Consumption lexical item distribution across data

The cline of the graph shows that the principals of the New Patriotic Party tradition use more lexical items that denote and connote processes of production and consumption of goods than those of the National Democratic Congress tradition. There is therefore a binary in terms of how the collective is constructed by the principals of both political traditions and also in terms of its purpose. For the NPP tradition, the subject position available to the recipient object is one that is defined by the forces of capitalism with its focus on processes of production and consumption. Collectivism is as such presented in ways that allows it to serve the ideological discursive formation of capitalism which is its ideology of governance. We may as well call this collective capitalism. For the NDC tradition, the subject position available to the object recipient is one that is defined by cultural values that construct the ideal citizen. The collectivised object recipient is therefore constructed as the edenic citizen whose value is seen in his/her exudation of cultural values such as love of country and strength of character that define the Ghanaian.

5.3. Intertextuality and elitism

Intertextuality is a key feature of the addresses used as data for this study. It is therefore important that we examine this discursive phenomenon and account for its ideological implications. There are two broad types of intertextuality identified in the text. These are manifest intertextuality and constitutive intersexuality or interdiscursivity (Fairclough 1992). Manifest intertextuality refers to the discursive phenomenon where other texts find explicit presence in a text under analysis. Constitutive intertextuality or interdiscursivity on the other hand refers to implicit presence of other texts and discourses in a given discourse mainly in the appropriation of the conventions of one discourse in the construction of another. Manifest intertextuality is realised in the form

of discursive presence of historico-political figures as well as in quotations attributable to such figures. There are differences in terms of how the manifest intertextuality is realised in the addresses. For the two principals of the New Patriotic Party tradition, the manifest intertextuality is realised as token and elucidation. The token is realised in the form of a subject presence. i.e. the names of historical figures are mentioned within the address. The token is complemented by a process of elucidation which focuses on the philosophical position of the specific token within the immediate context. The elucidation actually constitutes an interpretation of the token offered by the principal within the address. The following two extracts from the data exemplify the argument being made here:

- a. We have been down this road before, in the 2nd and 3rd republics, when adventurers were able to exploit temporary difficulties by promising instant solutions and overthrowing constitutionally elected governments.
- b. The words of JB Danquah, one of the founding fathers of the Ghanaian nation, are compelling. 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...”

In the first of the two clauses, the token is ‘adventurers’. The rest of the clause is an attempt to define the token in ways that make the referent of the token identifiable without actually naming the token. The historical time frame that the token belongs to is therefore provided. The predicate of the relative clause that begins with ‘when’ is the aspect that expresses information which defines the token by indicating the material process that the token is involved in and the goal affected by that material process. In the second extract, the token is explicitly named within the clause, ‘J B Danquah’, and the elucidation is a direct quotation indicating the token’s philosophical position on the concept of government. The elucidation therefore intellectualises the presence of the token in that the value of the token’s presence is in his philosophical position on the concept of government. In other words, the token is constructed here as a timeless thinker because of the apparent timelessness of his philosophical position on governance. Before we examine the ideological implication of the nature of manifest intertextuality described here, it is important that we examine how the principals of the National Democratic Congress employ intertextuality as a resource in the address. Manifest intertextuality employed by the two principals of the National Democratic Congress tradition is similar to what has been described above especially at the level of the token. For instance, the token found in the extract below is a figure of a historical nature. This, however, is the end of the point of similarity. The principal here employs subject narrative as the means of elaborating the token.

- a. 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...

In the extract above, the token is ‘Tetteh Quarshie’. The rest of the intertextual resource is used to construct a narrative around this token. The narrative is biographical in that it presents factual information about why the token’s narrative has significance within the discourse. It is also important to pay attention to how the subject narrative in the extract above positions the token as normal and typical through such noun group choices as ‘ordinary man’, ‘a blacksmith’ and ‘the son of a farmer from Teshie’. A second observation that is worth bearing in mind here is how the subject narrative constructs the actions that the token is involved in as acts that do not require reflection. The token simply goes to Fernando Po, simply returns and simply plants the seeds “to see if they would grow”. He does not take any of these actions out of knowledge but undertakes them in a mechanical fashion that obscures personal agency and initiative. We can straight away see how the token in this extract differs from the tokens in the two extracts drawn from the addresses of the principals of the New Patriotic Party tradition.

The second principal of the National Democratic Congress tradition combines constitutive intertextuality and manifest intertextuality within the same stretch of text to construct a subject narrative. The extract below demonstrates this point.

- a. I want to tell you, my brothers and sisters across our Nation, from Gambaga to Accra, from Wiawso to Keta, from every village, nook and cranny to every city center and in-between. Let us join in this great challenge that the Almighty has laid before us, so to transform our country in the years to come, that we may be the ultimate beneficiaries of a prosperous Nation under God.

The token in the extract above, ‘my brothers and sisters’, is drawn from charismatic/Pentecostal discourse in Ghana whilst the parallel structure “from Gambaga to Accra, from Wiawso to Keta” is manifest intertextuality which draws on the Achimota School Anthem, one of the schools the principal attended. This manifest intertextual element marks the beginning of a narrative underlined by the journey metaphor with the constitutive intertextual token as its subject. Both principals of the

National Democratic Congress tradition therefore employ subject narratives to elaborate the token.

The ultimate question to answer here, then, is how the nature of the intertextuality described here relates to the issue of elitism. The answer to this question lies in how the token is elaborated and how that elaboration positions both the token and principal within the address. For the principals of the New Patriotic Party tradition, the strategy for elaboration is what we have termed elucidation. The elucidation essentially involves a process of interpretation of history. This engagement with history constructs the principal as a thinker and an intellectual. Secondly, the elucidation itself focuses on the ideation which is attributed to the token and not on the token *per se*. It is as such the intellectual contribution of the token that is of importance within the address. To be able to interpret this discourse therefore requires member resources which may be unavailable to a large section of the audience of the address. Member resources needed to make sense of the intertextual elements in particular and by extension the entire address include knowledge of Ghana's political history which a number of even educated Ghanaians may lack. This is even before we consider the fact that the vast majority of the Ghanaian population is uneducated. Even the tokens' relevance is situated within Ghana's political history. Also, the elucidation requires a fair grasp of political philosophy or at least an understanding of systems of government. These resources are available to a handful of Ghanaians.

The method of elaboration chosen by the principals belonging to the National Democratic Congress tradition is subject narrative. This has already been described in the preceding paragraph. What the subject narrative does differently from the subject elucidation strategy is that it constructs a relevant portion of the life history of the token. It humanises the token in ways that allow the audience to easily identify with the token. This elaboration of the token through a simple story provides the member resources needed to interpret the intertextual element *in-textually*. In other words, the principal assumes the burden of interpretation and as such provides explicit information through the subject narrative to aid the audiences' ability to consume the address meaningfully. We also notice how the token, especially in the case of 'Tetteh Quarshie' is not constructed as reflective or thoughtful but is didactically presented as involved in normal routine. This construction draws the token closer to every person who is also a consumer of the address. A clear ideological contrast is therefore drawn between the two political traditions. Whereas the principals of the NPP tradition intellectualise history by drawing on philosophy of elite thought and interpreting that philosophy, the principals of the NDC tradition draw on history to construct a narrative in ways that make that history available to a larger mass of Ghanaians. We see then that the NPP's

elitist orientation and the NDC's populist orientation, as established by various historical analysis of these parties that have focused on their evolution in Ghana (Ayee 2008; Dickovick 2008; Morrison 2004; Ninsin 2005), have had a shaping effect on the ideological discursive formations that underpin, and are expressed in, the inaugural addresses.

6. Conclusion

Two fundamental and related objectives have guided this study. It is therefore imperative that a conclusion spells out these two objectives and indicate the extent to which they have been satisfied by the analysis conducted here. The first objective has been to examine the inaugural addresses delivered by four (4) of the five presidents in Ghana's Fourth Republic. The specific focus of this examination has been to explore what the ideological discursive formations pertaining to governance are, and how these ideological discursive formations have been expressed within the data. The second objective has been to examine the expression of agency by the principals in the addresses and to map out the ideological implications of this expression of principal agency. In relation to the first objective, the analysis has pointed out that capitalist orientations as well as the ideological discursive formation of collectivism have underpinned the construct of governance within the addresses. We have also demonstrated the ways in which the political party ideological orientations have influenced the kind of ideological discursive formations of governance constructed in the inaugural addresses. As regards the second objective, the study has argued that there is also a marked contrast in terms of the expression of agency within the inaugural and that this contrast has been informed by the political ideological orientations of the two political parties from which the principals emanate. We have seen that whereas there is the expression of a diminished agency on the part of the presidents from the New Patriotic Party tradition, there is the assumption of greater agency on the part of the presidents from the National Democratic Congress tradition. It is by realising these two objectives that this paper makes a contribution to knowledge on the presidential inaugural in general and its relationship with ideology within the context of politics in Ghana in the Fourth Republic in particular.

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