

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

**TRANSITIVITY IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE: THE 2009 STATE-OF-THE-
NATION ADDRESS IN GHANA**



LAWRENCE EWUSI-MENSAH

JULY, 2015

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**A THESIS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH EDUCATION, FACULTY
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REQUIREMENTS FOR AWARD OF THE MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY OF
ENGLISH DEGREE.**

JULY, 2015

DECLARATION

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

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

SIGNATURE:

DATE:

SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this work was supervised in accordance with the guidelines for supervision of Thesis as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.

NAME OF SUPERVISOR: Dr. Amma Abrafi Adjei

SIGNATURE:

DATE:

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Moreover, I wish to thank my family for their support, love, care, understanding, and constant encouragement as I endeavoured to achieve my goal. I am forever indebted to my beloved wife, whose love and care encouraged me to make this research possible. Your support, patience, and understanding will always be remembered.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my wife, Dorcas and my children: Nana Ama Ewusiwa Mensah, Nana Yaw Acquah Ewusi-Mensah and Nana Yaa Mfumaa Ewusi-Mensah.



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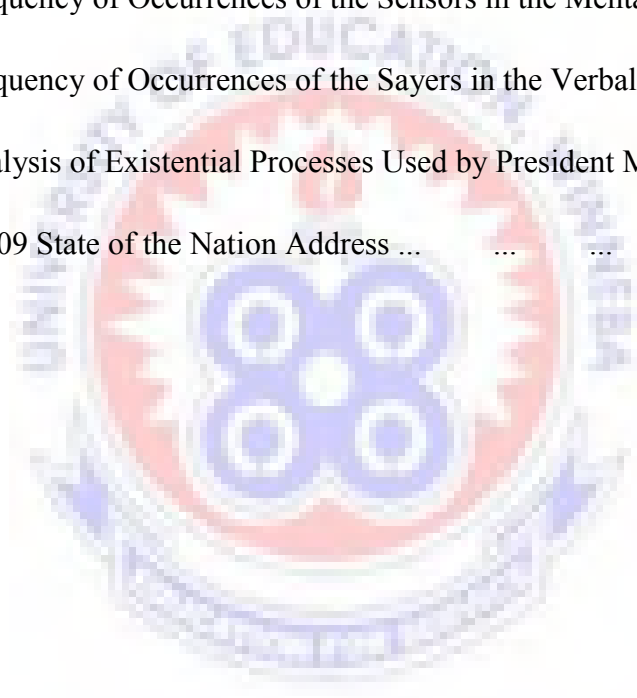
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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

CDA:	Critical Discourse Analysis
ECG:	Electricity Company of Ghana
GNPC:	Ghana National Petroleum Company
Mc:	Mental clause
Mt:	Material clause
NDC:	National Democratic Congress
Rp:	Relational clause
SFG:	Systemic Functional Grammar
SONA:	State of the Nation Address
TOR:	Tema Oil Refinery
Vc:	Verbal clause
VRA:	Volta River Authority

ABSTRACT

The study examined how language has been used by President John Evans Atta Mills to present the message in his first State-of-the-Nation address. The main focus of the study was the analysis of transitivity in the address and the functions it plays in political discourse. Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar was applied as a theoretical framework and the qualitative research design was used for the content analysis of the text. The study applied the interpretative content analysis to investigate the communicative functions of the linguistic choices made in the address. The study used 536 clauses in the State-of-the-Nation address for analysis. The study discovered that material processes dominate the speech with a total occurrence of 59.14% whereas the existential process types are used minimally in the speech with an insignificant total occurrence of 0.93%. The dominant use of material processes implies that Mills and his government are the main actors working on a number of concrete projects in an attempt to create a sense of continuity in development and policy direction in a challenging administration he has inherited. The minimal use of the existential processes also implies that though there have been some attempts to solve Ghana's socio-economic challenges, some problems still persist in the country. The 2009 SONA recorded no behavioural process type because the study did not analyse the paralinguistic elements of the text. The study concludes that the 2009 SONA uses more primary process types than the secondary process types. The study affirms Halliday's (1985b, p.101) assertion that "Transitivity specifies the different types of processes that are recognized in the language, and the structures by which they are expressed." The study recommends that since teachers use language as a medium of instruction in the classroom, it would be useful that they undergo series of seminars and workshops to brainstorm the need to make Systemic Functional Grammar an integral part of the English curriculum.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a general context for the study. It discusses the background of the study, the statement of the research problem, the purpose of the study, the research questions, and the aims of the study are clearly stated. The chapter also discusses the significance and delimitation of the study and concludes with a summary of the introductory chapter.

1.1 Background to the Study

It would be difficult how life would be if we were not receiving information or giving information. Communication is very crucial because human existence can be said to depend on the receiving and giving of information. Language as a medium of all human interactions has many functions. It serves as the most vital tool in the hands of man. It is used to send information or to tell other people one's thoughts and to communicate the inner states and emotions of the speaker, among others. Jones & Peccei (2004) point out that language can be used not only to steer people's thoughts and beliefs but also to control their thoughts and beliefs. Edelman (1985) is of the view that language is the key creator of the social world's people experience and it so crucial to the human race.

Over the years, there has been an increased interest in studying the use of language in all fields of human endeavour. Usually, the communication in these fields are done through verbal interaction and involves speaker(s), addressee(s) and sometimes hearer(s) who may not necessarily be the one(s) spoken to. More often than not, the interlocutors use certain linguistic strategies to perform plethora of

functions. In order to understand these functions, language users often analyse what other language users intend to convey. They do so by first looking at the accurate representation of the forms and structures used in a speaker's language. Beside this, they make strenuous effort to uncover the meanings conveyed in the linguistic forms identified by carefully subjecting each linguistic item to interpretation within a given context. This enables the language user to better understand the intention of the speaker.

1.1.1 Power in Political Discourse

Discourse analysis is a general term for the study of the ways in which language is used in texts and contexts. It also refers to the approaches to analyzing written, vocal or sign language use or any significant semiotic event. The objects of discourse analysis- discourse, writing, conversation, communicative event- are variously defined in terms of coherent sequences of sentences, propositions, speech or turns-at-talk. Discourse analysts do not only study language use 'beyond the sentence boundary', but also prefer to analyze naturally occurring language in context.

Power in political discourse remained an area which did not receive much research attention until the 1970s. However, with the emergence of critical linguistics by Fowler et al (1979, p.185), the interrelation between discourse and power became the focal point in critical discourse analysis (Baker & Ellece, 2011). Critical discourse analysts believe that people in high authority make utterances that are powerful. Political thinking has since then been a vast and fruitful area of contemporary research, particularly among politicians and discourse analysts who have studied it from different angles, as well as linguists, because "politics relies upon language as its tool of trade" (Lohrey, 1981, p.341). Power resides in the linguistic choices made by

people in authority. For instance, the incessant use of the personal pronoun –I’ and the modal verb –must’ in political discourses indicate that the speaker is powerful. It is therefore necessary to note that ideologies do not exist in silence, but are expressed, built up and transmitted through language, which reveals their nature (Thompson & Hunston, 2001).

1.1.2 Language as a Political Tool

Language –as a form of social practice’ (Fairclough, 2001, p. 16) and a –purposeful means of communication’ (Schaff, 1960, p. 292) is viewed as a tool to express the self and to establish and maintain a certain relationship with the other. The speaker’s use of utterances to do this reveals their intentions (D’Amato, 1989).

Charteris-Black (2005, p.1) argues that within all types of political system, from autocratic, through oligarchic to democratic, leaders have relied on the spoken word to convince others of the benefits that arise from their leadership. One of these types of expressions is political speech. Political speeches are used by politicians to argue, to reason, to sustain their ideas, to continue in power, to oppress people and nations, to establish and perpetuate ideas, and or to defend people in their needs, to promote civil rights, and peace (Fairclough, 2000). According to Stubbs (1986), language is used to express beliefs and adopt positions in the process of interaction among interlocutors. Levinson (1983, p. 9) establishes a strong connection between agency and pragmatic analysis, linking the meaning of an utterance to the intention behind it according to its place in a sequence of discourse, its attribution to one subject or another, or concealment of the agent.

Speech is a force or a power that is used to accomplish different ends or goals in different circumstances, and it is important to understand the purposes or goals of

the communicator and the circumstances under which the communication is taking place (Medhurst, 2010). The goal of a given speech can be determined through its communicative function, which is rendered through the kind of speech acts performed (Trosborg, 2000), as speech acts constitute the verbal actions accomplished with utterances (Yule, 2002). With presidential speeches, Campbell & Jamieson (2008) assert that the communicative goals are diverse as the presidents attempt to perform a plethora of functions with their speeches.

1.1.3 The State of the Nation's Address (Henceforth SONA)

The SONA has a historical background and traces its roots from the late 1938 when Governor-Generals and monarchs gave a speech from the throne. It was an event in certain monarchies in which the reigning Sovereign read a prepared speech to the members when a session was opened, outlining the government's agenda for the session. The event was held annually, although in some places it occurred more or less frequently, whenever a new session of parliament was opened.

Many republics have adopted a similar practice in which the Head of State addresses the legislature. In the United States, it is called State of the Union Address. It is an address by the US President to a joint session of the United States Congress, typically delivered annually. The address not only reports on the condition of the nation but also allows the president to outline his legislative agenda (for which he needs the cooperation of Congress) and national priorities. The address is a constitutional obligation requiring the President to periodically give Congress information on the "state of the Union" and recommend any measures that he believes are necessary and expedient. The address, in the past, was meant to be a communication between the President and Congress; however it has become a

communication between the President and the people. Hence, the speech is broadcast live on most networks. To reach the largest television audience, the speech, once given during the day, is now typically given in the evening.

In the United Kingdom, the Queen reads a prepared speech known as the –Queen’s Speech”, outlining the government’s agenda for the coming year. The speech is written by the Prime Minister and his Cabinet members, and reflects the legislative agenda for which the government seeks the agreement of both Houses of Parliament.

In countries like Russia, South Africa, India, Singapore, Malta and Ghana, the SONA refers to an annual address to parliament by the President of the Republic covering economic, social and financial state of the country. Like what exists in the United States and the United Kingdom, the SONA is also an annual event in which the president addresses members of Parliament on the status of the nation.

In Ghana, the SONA was first introduced under the administration of the second President of the fourth Republic of Ghana. The speech marks the opening of the parliamentary year and is usually attended by important political and governmental figures, including former Presidents, the Chief Justice, Ambassadors and Diplomats to the Republic of Ghana. The SONA is presented in the official language of Ghana, English. The President is obligated to give a robust and realistic assessment of Ghana’s economy and set out a clear vision and direction of governance. The address, which is often broadcast, serves as a means to inform the nation about its present economic, political, and social condition. It is a vehicle for the President to summarise the accomplishments and plans of his programme for the year under review.

The state of a nation is defined as “the condition, situation or set of circumstances that pertains at a given time” (Chambers 21st century Dictionary, 1996). In the Ghanaian context, the state of the nation refers to the socio-economic and political conditions that pertain in the country and which the president is expected to put measures in place to advance the cause of the country.

1.1.4 Language and Political Ideology

Halliday (1985) postulates that the language used in any discourse should be operationally relevant in all situational contexts. This means that in all contexts language users should be able to interpret what other language users intend to convey in their speeches.

Language is operationally relevant if language users make sense of what they read in texts, understand what speakers mean despite what they say, recognise connected as opposed to jumbled or incoherent discourse, and successfully take part in that complex activity called conversation. (Yule, 1996, p.139)

According to Taiwo (2007), language is a heavily loaded vehicle. Our words are never neutral, transparent or innocent. They always carry the power and ideologies that reflect the interests of those who speak or write them. A lot can be inferred from the lexical and grammatical choices made by the author of a text. These linguistic choices are not ideologically random, and have purposefully been used to portray a particular idea. According to Jones & Peccei (2004), language can be used to influence people’s political views by exploring in detail the ways in which politicians can use language to their own advantage. Following the assertion that political leaders are able to influence the mental models, knowledge, attitudes and even the ideologies of their recipients (Van Dijk, 1993), several studies have been conducted to analyze political discourse especially with reference to countries’ presidents (Horváth 2009;

Duran 2008; Green 2007; Opeibi 2005). Presidents of countries have come to be known as common fathers of their citizens, burdened with the care of their children (Hinckley, 1990). They have become people's representatives; hence, they should speak for their people. The voice of the President is taken as the voice of the people. The political ideologies embodied in presidential speeches and addresses, therefore, to a large extent reflect the political ideologies and realities of their parties.

1.1.5 Analysis of Political Discourse

Analysis of language in/and politics in the field of linguistics seems to be quite young, although rhetoric is one of the oldest academic disciplines (Wodak & de Cillia, 2006, p. 707). Political discourse refers to any formal speech or writing which discusses topical issues in politics. Analysts examine the continuous stretches of language in order to discover their structures and features which bind the sentences in a coherent sequence with the aim of understanding the strategies used by speakers to interact with others. In the analysis of political discourse, analysts are interested in revealing the hidden meanings concealed under the persuasive linguistic constructions by the speaker. Van Leeuwen (2012) argues that in the analysis of political discourse, relatively sparse attention is paid to grammatical phenomena. He argues that even when grammatical phenomena are analyzed, the focus is generally on linguistic means that can be used to hide agency, like nominalization, passivization and thematization. For detailed discussion on political discourse, (see Boakye, 2014; Cheng, 2007; Campbell & Jamieson, 2008; Beard, 2000; Alvi & Baseer, 2011; Duran, 2008 and Fairclough, 2000).

These linguists investigate the art of linguistic spin in political speeches to determine the association between linguistic form and function, and language

manipulation. Political discourse analysis, therefore, seeks to study political language in circumstances where all its functions and variations are taken into consideration for effective comprehension. In political discourse analysis, it is possible to learn more about how perceptions, convictions and identities are influenced by language.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The effectiveness of a speech, especially political speech, depends on many factors, including the mood of the crowd, the ability of the orator, the situation the crowd confronts, the topic of the speech and especially the use of carefully crafted words. This makes political speeches a good breeding place for linguistic exploration and exploitation (Anderson, 2014).

Over the years, there has been a heightened interest in studying the use of language in political discourse. This is because language serves as a medium through which humans communicate and interact. Some of the studies (Alvi & Baseer, 2011a; Duran, 2008; Cheng, 2007; Boakye, 2014) focus on the inaugural and farewell addresses of presidents of nations in the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis and Speech Acts Theories. Other scholars (Adjei, 2010; Kondowe, 2014; Ayoola, 2013; Frimpong, 2007) have used Systemic Functional Grammar to study theme-rheme analysis of newspaper editorials, meta-functional profile analysis of national anthems of Anglophone Africa, and modality in presidential keynote addresses in order to discover the intended meanings of the speakers. However, the focus of earlier work has not been on transitivity analysis of the SONA.

According to Boakye (2014) studies on presidential addresses in Africa have mainly focused on rhetorical elements and general pragmatic enactments in them, and

the SONA is of no exception. This is supported by Taiwo (2009) which states that the study of language of politics has been carried out within the framework of political rhetoric, linguistic stylistics, pragmatics, discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis. Applying the transitivity model of the Systemic Functional Grammar in analysing the SONA will, therefore, be an interesting area worth studying. The SONA is one the most important political genres which directly affects the livelihood of the citizens in the country, and has since 2001 become an integral part of Ghana's democratic system. Analysing the SONA is justifiable because it very dear to the hearts of the people, and above all it contains a lot of linguistic resources for analysis. Studying the language which is the tool in the construction of the SONA is necessary because it will enable the language user to determine whether language has been used effectively in conveying the message in the SONA or not.

The study therefore deems it expedient to do a transitivity analysis of the language in the SONA to know how effectively or otherwise language has been used to present and convey the message in the address. This will also enable the language user to better understand the intentions of the speakers in such addresses.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is two-fold. The first purpose is to identify the process types used predominantly in the 2009 state-of-the-nation address. The second purpose of the study is to examine the communicative implications of the process types used in the 2009 SONA.

1.4 Objectives

The objectives of the study are to:

1. Identify the process types used predominantly in the state of the nation address;
2. Examine the communicative implications encoded in the process types used in the state of the nation address.

1.5 Research Questions

The study will basically find answers to the following research questions:

1. What process types are used predominantly in the 2009 State-of-the-nation address?
2. What communicative implications do these process types have?

1.6 Significance of the Study

The study is justified by its significance to research, theory, and pedagogy. First, it will contribute to the growing explorations on the interface between language and politics. The study employs transitivity, a functional linguistic concept, to analyse language in political discourse. The knowledge, particularly, about transitivity and language use in such speeches will contribute to the on-going debate on political discourse analysis based on Halliday & Matthiessen's (2004) Systemic Functional Grammar. By exploring how process types are constructed and the meanings embedded in them, the study will be adding a new dimension to the studies on discourse analysis of political speeches in Ghana.

The study also has theoretical significance. The transitivity framework of discourse analysis was developed in Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) by

Halliday in the late 1960s (e.g. Halliday, 1967-8), having borrowed some ideas from the Prague School of Linguists. It has since been applied to some texts in several disciplines. The study will also benefit other researchers who are interested in this field to further study the language of political discourse in order to identify the political assumptions encoded in the words used in such speeches.

The knowledge, particularly about transitivity will be useful in the field of academia in the teaching and learning of English Language. The daily classroom interaction among teachers and students depends on the use of language with the process types as central in every clause. The study will impact positively on the teaching and learning of clauses at all levels of the academic ladder. Again, the findings obtained from this study can serve as a useful pedagogy in the teaching and learning of pragmatics and discourse analysis at the university level.

1.7 Delimitation of the Study

The central focus of the study will be on the analysis of the late president J. E. A. Mills' 2009 SONA to parliament. In analyzing the SONA, attention will be focused on transitivity analysis of the speech. Other issues outside the core of transitivity will not be considered.

1.8 Summary of Chapter

This introductory chapter has provided a general context for the study. It discussed the background of the study, the statement of the research problem, the purpose of the study, the research questions, and the aims of the study. The chapter also discussed the significance and delimitation of the study and concluded with a

summary. The next chapter will review related literature on the topic of study and discuss in detail the theoretical framework for the study.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews related literature on the topic of the study. The chapter also discusses the conceptual framework of the study, which consists of the transitivity framework and other major concepts that are relevant to the study. The chapter also reviews studies that have applied the transitivity framework in analysing discourse, especially political discourses.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

The study employs M.A.K Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (henceforth SFG) as its theoretical framework. This grammatical theory is part of social semiotic approach to language called Systemic Functional Linguistics.

2.1.1 Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG)

Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar sees the clause as the pivotal grammatical unit for construing our world of experience, enacting our world's interpersonal interactions, and managing the free flow of discourse across a text.

A fundamental property of language is that it enables human beings to build a mental picture of reality, to make sense of their experience of what goes on around them and inside them. Here again, the clause is the most significant grammatical unit in this case, because it is the clause that functions as the representation of processes (Halliday 1985b, p. 101).

Halliday's SFG is usually considered the main foundation of Critical Discourse Analysis as well as other theories in pragmatics. This is so because the theory treats language as fundamental for construing human experiences. It regards function of language and semantics as foundations of communication process. It seeks to explore the working of language within a social context. The key point in this approach is the "context of situation" which is attained through a systematic relationship between the social environment on the one hand and the functional organization of language on the other" (Teich, 1999, p.6). We can decode the hidden communicative meanings through linguistic choices. A language user uses language based on the social context and the language choices vary as the function varies. Fowler (1991, p.69) states that "the basis of Hallidayan linguistics is a very strong notion of function and that language performs functions in a specific practical sense." SFG uses systems in language as tools to discern the hidden meanings of a text. It is a potent framework for describing and modelling language as a resource for making meaning and choices. This framework treats language beyond its formal structures and takes the context of culture and the context of situation in language use (Halliday 1985, 1994; Matthiessen, 1995). SFG has two components: Systemic Grammar and Functional Grammar. They are two inseparable parts for an integral framework of linguistic theory.

2.1.2 Systemic Grammar

Systemic Grammar aims to explain the internal relations in language as a system network, or meaning potential; and this network consists of subsystems from which language users make choices" (Zhuanglin, 1988, p.307). SFG is called systemic because it establishes that individuals have alternative choices available for them to produce linguistic utterances and texts.

Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) explain that Systemic Theory gets its name from the fact that the grammar of a language is represented in the form of levels of systems or networks, not as an inventory of structures. They claim that structure is an essential part of the description; but it is interpreted as the outward form taken by systemic choices, not as the defining characteristic of language. Halliday & Matthiessen (ibid) further assert that language is a resource for making meaning, and meaning resides in systemic patterns of choice.

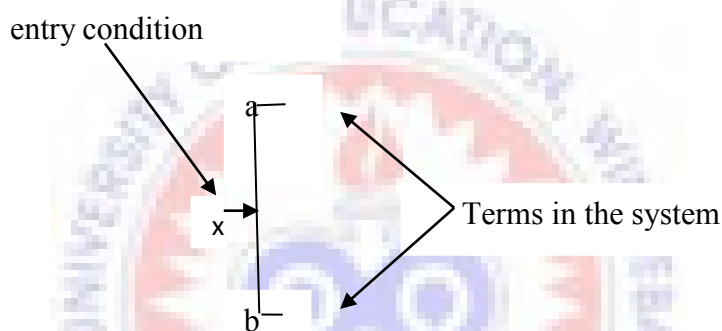
The systemic refers to the view that language is an interrelated set of options for making meaning. It is related to the networks used in the description of human languages. These networks capture the dimension of choice at each stratum of the linguistic system to which they are applied. The system is what integrates the notion of choice in language through grammar which is the system network. The grammar offers language users a variety of options and choices. For instance, in expressing the process *go*, the speaker is referring to any kind of movement from one place to another. Depending on the context or the situation, he might select *run, skip, gallop, move, crawl, sail, march, creep, dart, vanish, skate, escape, climb, glide, wander, plunge* etc to express the kind of meaning he wishes to express. All these options are potential meaning carrying linguistic elements found in the system which are available to the language user. We can have structures like the following:

A). Dede goes to school b). Dede darts to school c). Dede glides to school. d) Dede moves to school.

In short, system refers to a set of linguistic items which stand in opposition to one another in such a way that they offer choices to the language user as potential meaning making resources.

Egins (2004, p.194) asserts that a system is normally presented diagrammatically as being made up of an 'entry condition' represented by 'x' and a set of two or more 'signs' represented by 'a' and 'b' respectively, each of which serves as a potential choice for the language user. The signs in a system are categories of linguistic items and the entry condition is a common feature shared by these linguistic items.

Figure 2.1 A Diagrammatic Representation of a System



(Source: Egins, 2004, p.194)

From the diagram, let X represent HE which is the entry condition; let **a** represent one part of the linguistic choices (singular verbs) available to the language user, and **b** represent the other part of the linguistic choices (plural verbs) available to the user of language. The elements in **a** may include *does, is doing, was doing, has done etc* whereas the elements in **b** may include *do, are doing, were doing, have done*. From this it is realised that the entry condition HE will lean itself well to the options in **a**, because they syntactically collocate. Now, depending on the context the entry condition will select an appropriate linguistic item out of the pool of the linguistic choices in the network. So we can have expressions like:

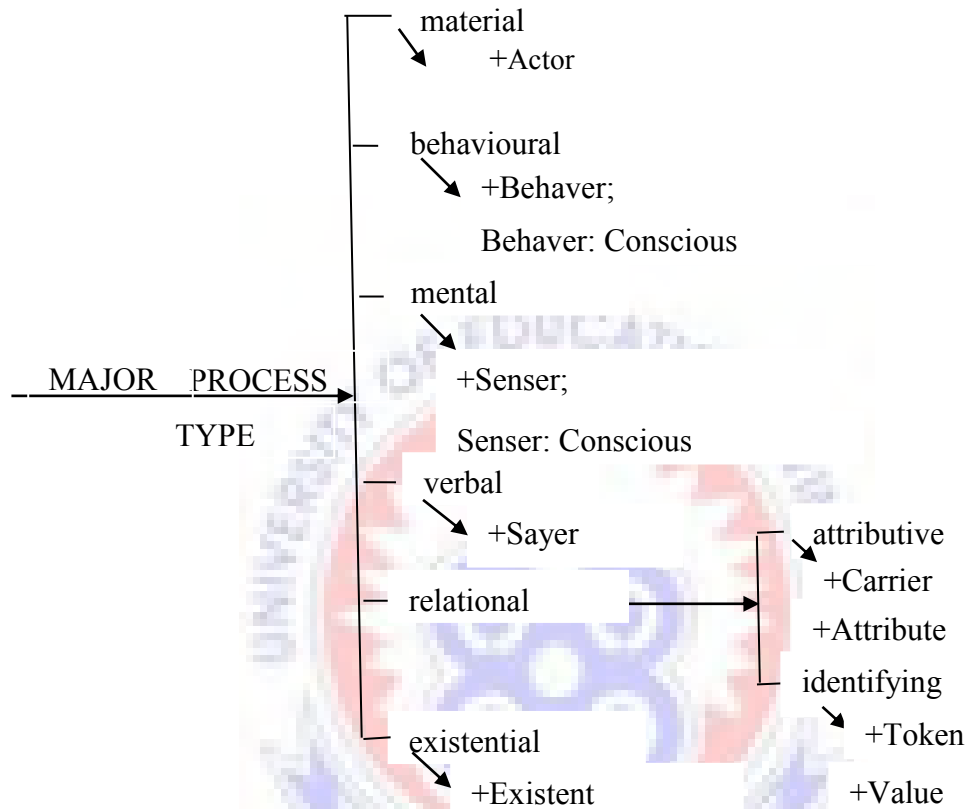
- ✓ He does the work.
- ✓ He is doing the work.
- ✓ He was doing the work
- ✓ He has done the work.

Eggs (2004) believes that a linguistic item in a system will obtain its meaning by entering into both paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations with other items. The relations of opposition or choice that exist between linguistic features is referred to as a paradigmatic relationship whilst the one which captures both the linear relationship that exists in any structural arrangement of words as well as the collocation that exists among particular lexical items is referred to as a syntagmatic relationship. It is the interconnection that results from signs simultaneously entering into both paradigmatic and syntagmatic relationships that establishes a system network. Thus, a system network represents a class of linguistic choices available to the language user and specifies how these choices are realised as structure, which is a sequence of ordered linguistic items (Eggs, 2004, p. 192).

These linguistic choices are categorised into six major process types: material, behavioural, mental, verbal, relational and existential. The primary process types are material, mental and relational. These primary linguistic choices are used predominantly by language users to construe their world of consciousness. The remaining three process types constitute the secondary linguistic resource available to the language user. These are not used widely by language users to represent their world of experience. The name of the language user changes depending on the kind of relationship he enters into in the system network. For instance, when he enters a relationship with the material process, the language user is seen as an actor but when he enters into a relationship with the verbal process, the language user is seen as a

sayer. Each of the six process types and their associated participants will be discussed in detail in subsequent sections of this same chapter.

Figure 2.2 Transitivity as a Network.



(Source: Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 173)

2.1.3 Functional Grammar

Functional grammar works on the assumption that language is a means of social interaction, based on the position that “language system and the forms that make it up are inescapably determined by the uses or functions which they serve” (Zhuanglin, 1988, p.307). The theory is called ‘functional’ in the view that language has evolved to do what it does, that is, satisfying human needs. It is also termed functional because of the variety of purposes language is used for (Halliday, 1994).

Function is used in two distinct but related ways in the description of language. First, Halliday (1994) uses it in the sense of grammatical or syntactic function. Secondly, it is used to refer to the ‘functions’ of language as a whole. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) define functional theory of language as one which attempts to explain linguistic structures, and linguistic phenomena, by making reference to the assertion that language plays a certain role in our lives that is required to serve certain universal types of demand. The function of language is to make meaning, and these meanings are influenced by the social and cultural context in which they are exchanged, and that the processes of using language is semiotic: a process of making meanings by choosing.

According to Halliday (1994), language is a multi-strata system and a multidimensional architecture which reflects the multidimensional nature of human experience and interpersonal relations. It starts out in the extra-linguistic realm of the social context of situation called register, with its three variables of field, tenor, and mode. It then goes through the intra-linguistic strata of semantics. This is where meaning is realized in three components: ideational, interpersonal, and textual. Then it comes in form and wording in the lexico-grammar with its meta-functional related systems of transitivity, mood and modality, and theme.

2.1.4 Metafunctions in Systemic Functional Grammar

According to Halliday (1994), language mainly serves three functions which he refers to as metafunctions: the ideational, interpersonal and textual meta-functions. The term ‘metafunction’ is used to describe these functions in order to distinguish them from particular speech acts such as ‘describing’ and ‘informing’, and also to emphasise the fact that they are inherent in the very structure of language. Metafunctions refer to the intrinsic functions that language is meant to perform in

society. These functions are based on human life and also about human conceptualization of the world of experience.

2.1.5 Ideational Metafunction

The ideational function refers to the use of language to represent experience and meaning (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). This means that this metafunction is concerned with the representation of reality. The ideational metafunction is sub-classified into two components, namely, the experiential function and the logical function. The experiential component, as the name implies, emphasises the idea that language is a representation of experience. Thus, through this function, a speaker or writer is able to encode in language his/her experience of the phenomena of the real world as well as ~~his~~ his experience of the internal world of his own consciousness: his reactions, cognitions and perceptions, and also his linguistic acts of speaking and understanding” (Halliday, 1971, p. 106). This means that language is used as an instrument of thought to conceptualise the experiential world to ourselves, including the inner world of our own consciousness. This is what the study is interested in and thus seeks to find out.

The second component of ideational metafunction, which is the logical sub-function, refers to the logical relations that exist among the structural units of language such as coordination, subordination, modification and apposition (Halliday, 1971). Under the logical function, language is seen as being organised in a way which marks it off as distinct. This is the expression of certain fundamental logical relations encoded in language. The study is not interested in this area and will not pursue it further.

The ideational function considers transitivity and voice. The transitivity element consists of the six processes called material, mental, relational, verbal, behavioural and existential whereas the voice consists of the use of modals in a given text. These six processes will be discussed extensively under the transitivity framework.

2.1.6 Interpersonal Metafunction

The interpersonal metafunction is concerned with establishing and maintaining the interaction between the speaker and the hearer. This means that language is used as a tool for creating social contact and interactions. Here, a relationship is established between a speaker and a listener. Halliday & Matthiessen (2004, p.29) refer to interpersonal metafunction as “a proposition, or a proposal, whereby we inform or question, give an order or make an offer, and express our appraisal of and attitude towards whoever we are addressing and what we are talking about.” We can deduce from the above quotation that language is used by the speaker as a means of his own intrusion into speech event, the expression of his comments, attitudes and evaluations, and also of the relationships that he sets up between him and the listener, in particular, the communication role he adopts of informing, questioning, greeting, persuading and so on. This is made possible through the expression of his comments, his attitudes, and evaluations.

In a broader perspective, language is required to serve in the establishment and maintenance of all human relationships. It is the means by which social groups are integrated and the individual is identified and reinforced. The interpersonal function of language is both interactional and personal. Modality and mood are often used to express interpersonal function. Modality refers to an intermediate range between extreme positive and negative whilst mood shows what role the speaker selects in the

speech situation and what role he assigns to the addressee. Modality also expresses the speaker's judgment towards the topic, showing the social role relationship, scale of formality and power relationship.

2.1.7 Textual Metafunction

The textual metafunction is concerned with the presentation of ideational and interpersonal meanings as text. Zhuanglin (1988) is of the view that language has the mechanism to make any stretch of spoken or written discourse into a coherent and unified text and make a living passage different from a random list of sentences. Halliday (1973) explains that textual function fulfils the requirement that language should be operationally relevant, having texture in a real context of situation that distinguishes a living passage from a mere entry in a grammar book or dictionary. It describes the flow of information in a text, and directs the arrangement of the presentation or how the presentation is made in a given text. Halliday (1994) asserts that the textual metafunction relates to mode, the internal organization and communicative nature of a text. This comprises textual interactivity, spontaneity and communicative distance. Textual interactivity is examined with reference to disfluencies such as hesitations, pauses and repetitions. Spontaneity is also determined through a focus on lexical density, grammatical complexity, coordination and the use of nominal groups. The study of communicative distance involves looking at a text's cohesion; that is, how it hangs together as well as any abstract language it uses. Cohesion is analysed in the context of lexical, grammatical as well as intonational aspects of language. Cohesion analysis is done with reference to lexical chains in the speech register, tonality, tonicity, and tone. The lexical aspect focuses on sense relations and lexical repetitions, while the grammatical aspect looks at repetition of

meaning shown through reference, substitution and ellipsis, as well as the role of linking adverbials.

In sum, the textual function of language concerns itself with the internal organisation of information in a text. As a semiotic system, language devotes some of its lexico-grammatical resources to establishing links among the tokens of meaning it expresses. These resources include intra-sentential and inter-sentential cohesive devices as well as inter-paragraph connectors. Generally, these resources maintain unity and continuity among the various ideational units in a text.

From the above explanations we can see that the textual function of language is concerned with the creation of text. It is very instrumental because language is enabled to meet the demands that are made on it. It is a function internal to language. It is through this function that language makes links with itself and with the situation. This makes discourse possible because the speaker or writer can produce a text and the listener or reader can recognize the meaning in it. The textual function is not limited to the establishment of relations between sentences; it extends to cover the internal organization of the sentence, with its meaning as a message both in itself and in relation to the context. SFG deals with all these areas of meaning equally within the grammar system itself.

2.1.8 Transitivity Analysis Framework

A detailed discussion on the transitivity framework under one sub-section is certainly impossible (For an in-depth discussion on transitivity, see Halliday, 1967-68; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Eggins, 2004; Downing & Locke, 2006). What this section seeks to do is just to highlight of the main elements in the concept in order to give a conceptual context to the present study. It is also important to state that there are different versions of the transitivity framework of the English language (See

Simpson, 2004; Burton, 1982; Eggins, 2004 and Iwamoto, 2008). Some of them are as a result of modifications to the original concept by Halliday. What has been presented in this section basically hinges on Halliday & Matthiessen (2004), especially in terms of the different roles and experiences displayed by the various process types.

Halliday (1994, p.24) states that if we talk about grammar in English, there are three kinds of grammar, namely: *transitivity is the grammar of experience*, *mood is the grammar of speech function*, and *theme is the grammar of discourse*. The above buttresses the point that language has developed in response to three kinds of social-functional needs. The first is to be able to construe experience in terms of what is going on around us and inside us. The second is to interact with the social world by negotiating social roles and attitudes. The third and final need is to be able to create messages with which we can package our meanings in terms of what is new or given.

Halliday (1981) also defines transitivity as *the grammar of the clause* as *a structural unit* for *expressing a particular range of ideational meanings*. He further claims that this domain is *the cornerstone of the semantic organization of experience*; it subsumes *all participant functions* and *all experiential functions relevant to the syntax of the clause* (Halliday, 1981, p.134). Transitivity is a syntactico-semantic concept which refers to the way a writer or speaker represents, at the clausal level of language, his experience of the real world or his own world of consciousness (Halliday, 1971). In other words, transitivity models the grammatical description of the clause on content or the ideational metafunction of language.

From the above, it is clear that a clause can be analyzed by transitivity. Transitivity can make a clause more understandable because the reader will know the specific process in the clause. Transitivity specifies the different types of process that

are recognized in the language, and the structures by which they are expressed.” (Halliday, 1985b, p.101).

In connection with transitivity, let us see the definition of the clause. A clause in English is the simultaneous realization of ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings (Halliday 1981, p. 42). Halliday explains that –A clause is the product of three simultaneous semantic processes. It is at one and the same time a representation of experience (ideational), an interactive exchange (interpersonal), and a message (textual)” (Halliday, 1985, p. 53). Amongst other things the clause evolved to express the reflective, experiential aspects of meaning. This is the system of TRANSITIVITY. Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) explain that transitivity specifies the different types of processes that are recognised in the language and the structures by which they are expressed. Transitivity basically presents how the world is perceived in three dimensions: the material world, the world of consciousness, and the world of relations. It categorizes the potential number of processes and the semantic roles assigned to the participants according to the nature and usage of the processes.

We can deduce from the above explanations that we can analyze a clause by the transitivity system or what Halliday (1994) describes as analyzing the meaning of clause as representation. The review of literature related to language and representation indicates that transitivity is a valuable model in investigating the use of patterns of language with a focus on process types used in texts and their corresponding agents or actors that act on them.

The term transitivity will probably be familiar as a way of distinguishing between verbs according to whether they have an object or not. Traditionally, transitivity is normally understood as the grammatical feature which indicates whether a verb takes a direct object or not. In traditional grammar, we learn that (a) if the verb

takes a direct object, it is described as transitive, and (b) it is called intransitive if it does not; (c) An extension of this concept is the ditransitive verb, which takes both a direct and an indirect object. However, in this study transitivity is being used in a much broader sense. In particular, transitivity refers to a system for describing the whole clause, rather than just the verb and its object. In Halliday's conception in his *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, whether a verb takes or does not take a direct object is not a prime consideration. His transitivity system identifies three components of the grammar of the clause.

The first is the process, which is the pivot of the experiential mode of the clause and is typically realised by the verb phrase. The second is the participant(s) directly involved in the process and is typically realised by noun phrases. The third element is the circumstances, which are attendant to the process, and thus not directly involved in it. The circumstances occupy the adjunct element in the clause structure and are typically realised by prepositional and adverb phrases (Simpson, 2004). Compared to the other two components of the clause, the circumstance element covers a wide range of semantic class, comprising extent, location, manner, cause, contingency, accompaniment, role, matter, and angle, as well as their sub-categories.

When people represent in language something that happens, they have to choose whether to represent it as an action or an event (Fairclough 1995, p. 109). With respect to Fowler (1991, p. 71), *transitivity is the foundation of representation*. This means that transitivity is a versatile tool in the analysis of representation in texts. Thus, transitivity analysis is the model used to analyze the language of representation. Simpson (1993, p. 88) suggests that *transitivity* refers generally to how meaning is represented in the clause. It shows how speakers encode in language their mental

picture of reality and how they account for their experience of the world around them”.

Eggs (2004, p.214) refers to transitivity analysis as the organization of the clause to realize ideational meanings, meanings about how we represent reality in language. It basically presents how the world is perceived in three dimensions: the material world, the world of consciousness, and the world of relations. It categorizes the potential number of processes and the semantic roles assigned to the participants according to the nature and usage of the processes.

Blommaert (2005) states that, many works of critical linguistics were based on the systemic-functional and social-semiotic linguistics of Michael Halliday, whose linguistic methodology is still hailed as crucial to CDA practices because it offers clear and rigorous linguistic categories for analysing language used in discourse. Thus, from this statement, it is important to review what Halliday has mentioned about transitivity analysis. According to Fowler (1991, p. 69), the basis of Hallidayan linguistics is a very strong notion of “function”. He proposes that language performs functions in a specific practical sense.

To conduct a transitivity analysis, it is necessary to identify every verb and its associated process. It is then necessary to identify patterns in the use of these processes. As for ‘circumstances’, Eggs (2004, p.223) has added that “circumstances are not only realized by adverbial and prepositional phrases, but can also include location, matter, manner, role, or accompaniment in the clauses.” The clause is analysed for its potential to represent both the outer and the inner world of human beings. The representation of reality is achieved by means of a set of processes along with their participants and the circumstances in which they unfold (Filho,

2004). It expresses what is happening, what is being done, what is felt and in what state it is (Yumin, 2007).

To sum up, the transitivity process is regarded as a tool for analysing language used to talk about the world, either the external world, things, events, qualities, etc. or our internal world, thoughts, beliefs, feelings, etc. When we look at how language works from these perspectives, we are focusing primarily on the ‘content’ of a message. In this study, the ‘content’ of clauses will be looked at in terms of the *process* involving *participants* in certain *circumstances*.

Here is an example of the analysis of transitivity:

Ghanaians + celebrate + successful elections + yearly + in the country.

Participant + process + participant + circumstance + circumstance

From the example above, it can be explained that “Ghanaians” and “successful elections” are *participants* of the clause. The verb “celebrate” is a *process*. The adverb “yearly” and the prepositional phrase “in the country” are *circumstances* associated with the process ‘celebrate’. The term ‘process’ is used here in an extended sense to cover all phenomena and anything that is expressed by a verb; this can be an event, whether physical or not, a state, or a relation. The process is typically realized in general by the verbal group in the clause. Participant is normally realized by a nominal group. In interpersonal terms, this is usually the Subject, while other participants, if there are any, will be *Complements*. Circumstances are typically realized by adverbial groups or prepositional phrases. They are often optional, reflecting their ‘background’ function in the clause.

Processes can be classified according to whether they represent *actions*, *speech*, *states of mind* or simply *states of being*. Here, Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) divide the system of transitivity or process types into six processes, namely: *material*,

mental, relational, behavioural, verbal, and existential. Detailed discussion on each process type is done in the ensuing sub-sections of this chapter.

2.1.8.1 Material processes

These are simply processes of *doing* or *action*. Material process verbs are those which describe an action or event. They can help answer the question *what happened?* These processes are those involving physical actions: running, throwing, scratching, cooking, jumping, and so on. Material processes have two inherent participant roles associated with them. The first of this is the doer, which is called the Actor (what some linguistic analysts might call Agent). Every material process has an Actor even though the Actor may not actually be mentioned in the clause. The second is an optional Goal, which represents the person or entity whether animate or inanimate affected by the process. Here are two examples illustrating these configurations:

- a. Abedi kicked the ball.

Actor + Material Process + Goal

- b. The tiger roared.

Actor + Material Process

As can be seen from the example, ‘Abedi’ is the ‘actor’ of the clause. The process of the clause is ‘kicked’ which is considered to be a material process; process of action. ‘The ball’ is the ‘goal’ of the clause because it is affected by the action of the actor and process. However, the Actor cannot only be human but also be an inanimate or abstract entity as in the examples below:

- a. The vehicle skidded off the road.

Actor + Material Process + Circumstance

- b. The flood destroyed the farm produce.

Actor + Material Process + Goal

- c. The deafening noise shook the audience in the theatre.

Actor + Material Process + Goal + Circumstance

(Adapted from Thompson, 1996, p. 80)

From the above example, the inanimate entities, for example, *'the vehicle'*, *'the flood'*, *'the deafening noise'* are considered to be *'actors'* of the clauses. In addition, the representation in *material process* may come in either of two forms; active or passive, as in the example below.

Active

The boy killed the bird.

Actor + Material Process + Goal

Passive

The bird was killed by the boy.

Goal + Material Process + Actor

(Adapted from Halliday, 1994, p.110)

In texts, passive clauses are marked in relation to active clauses that is, there is usually a particular reason for choosing a passive clause, whereas an active clause is the natural choice when there are no particular reasons for not choosing it. Analyzing Material processes enables us uncover who is represented as the most powerful participant in the text. To make it clearer, it can be said that, if the clause has an Actor and Affected or Goal, this Actor is being represented as relatively powerful and responsible for the action. If there is only an Actor, and no Affected, the Actor comes over as less powerful. Affected or Goal participants come over as passive and powerless.

2.1.8.2 Mental processes

These are the processes of *sensing*: something that goes on in the internal world of the mind. Mental processes encode the meanings of feeling or thinking. They are internalized processes, in contrast to the externalized processes of doing and speaking. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) observe that, unlike material processes, mental processes always involve at least one human participant who has the mind in which the process occurs. The participant involved in the mental process is known as Sensor. The Phenomenon is the entity which is felt, thought, or perceived by the sensor. Simpson (1993) is of the view that mental processes may be more delicately defined as perception processes (seeing, hearing), *reaction* (sometime called *affection or emotion*) process (liking, hating), and processes of *cognition* (thinking, understanding). There are two inherent participant roles associated with mental processes, which are Sensor (the conscious being that is perceiving, reacting or thinking) and Phenomenon that can be a person, a concrete object, an abstraction, and so on (that which is perceived, reacted to or thought about) (ibid). It can be said that mental processes quote or report *ideas*. Below are a set of examples of mental processes broken down into their constituent parts:

(i) Mental Process of perception

- a. Mark saw Jesus
Sensor + Mental Process + Phenomenon
- b. Martha heard his voice
Sensor + Mental Process + Phenomenon

(ii) Mental process of cognition

John thought that Mary was coming
Sensor + Process + Phenomenon

(iii) Mental process of affection

Mary liked what John liked
Sensor + Process + Phenomenon

That he was tall pleased Mary
Phenomenon + Process + Sensor

2.1.8.3 Relational processes

Relational processes are concerned with the process of being in the world of abstract relations (Thompson, 2004). Normally, an abstract relationship that exists between two participants associated with the process is considered, but unlike the case of material process, a participant does not affect the other participant in a physical sense. They signal that a relationship exists between two participants but without suggestion that one participant affects the other in any way.

According to Goathy (2003), relational clauses are used to describe and explicitly categorise the participant in the text. Relational processes concern the specific types of relationships that are reflected in the language. Relational processes can be classified into two types: Attributive and Identifying (Thompson, 2004). Attributive relational process expresses what attributes a certain object has. This type of relational process basically suggests the relationship of ‘_x carries the attribute y,’ where an attributive adjective is assigned to a participant, the carrier. The relationship between the attribute and the carrier is commonly expressed by the verb *be*. The identifying relational process expresses the identical properties of two entities. This process contains two independent participants: a Token that is a holder or an occupant that stands to be defined, and a Value that defines the token by giving it meaning, referent, function, status, or role (Halliday, 1994). It may be (a) *intensive*, expressing an ‘_X is a’ relationship; (b) *possessive*, expressing an ‘_X has a’ relationship; or (c)

circumstantial, expressing an *‘X is at/ on a’* relationship. Here are examples illustrating these distinctions:

(i) Relational processes *Intensive*

Attributive

The performance is great.

Mary was the secretary.

Carrier + Process + Attribute

Tom seems foolish.

Carrier + Process + Attribute

(ii) Relational processes *Possessive*

Clinton has a car.

Possessor + Process + Possession

David owns a trumpet.

Possessor + Process + Possession

(iii) Relational processes *Circumstantial*

John is the president

Token + Process + Value

The queen was my mistress

Token + Process + Value

In addition to material, mental and relational process, there are three less central types which can be distinguished on the basis of the usual combination of semantic and grammatical criteria. Each of these shares some of the characteristics of the major types. The most important of them is *Verbal Processes* which are intermediate between mental and material processes. Another group of processes are *Behavioural Processes* which are also intermediate between mental and material

processes. The final process types are *Existential Processes*, which are normally recognizable because the Subject is “there”.

2.1.8.4 Verbal Processes

These are processes of *saying*. It exists on the borderline between mental and relational processes. Just like saying and meaning, the verbal process expresses the relationship between ideas constructed in human consciousness and the ideas enacted in the form of language (Thompson, 2004). The participant roles associated with verbalization processes are that of SAYER (the participant who is speaking) and TARGET (the addressee to whom the process is directed). To this way we add the role of VERBIAGE which means ‘that which is said’. Some examples are:

1. The teacher said that.

Sayer + Process + Verbiage

2. They announced the decision to me.

Sayer + Process + Verbiage + Target

3. John told Mary his life story.

Sayer + Process + Target + Verbiage

(Adapted from Simpson, 1993, p. 90)

According to the example, ‘The teacher’, ‘They’, and ‘John’ are considered ‘Sayer’ of the verbal processes of the clauses. The processes themselves are ‘said’, ‘announced’, and ‘told’. These are verbs of saying, thus, considered verbal processes. The point of analyzing verbal processes is to see who gets to hold the floor, to have their words (Verbiage) reported.

2.1.8.5 Existential Processes

They represent processes of existing and happening. Existential sentences typically have the verb *be*, and the word *there* is necessary as a Subject although it has no representational function (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The object or event that is being said to exist is called Existent. An Existent can be any kind of phenomenon, such as a thing, person, object, institution or abstraction, action, or event. The verbal elements *was* and *exist* are termed as Existential processes.

Examples:

a. There was a storm
---- + *Process* + *Existent*

b. There exist leopards.
---- + *Process* + *Existent*

2.1.8.6 Behavioural Processes

Behavioural processes are processes of physiological and psychological behaviour. They are the least salient of the six process types, and the boundaries of behavioural processes are indefinite; they are partly material and partly mental (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Behavioural processes represent outer manifestations of inner workings, the acting out of processes of consciousness and physiological states. The participant who is behaving is called Behavior. As a rule, a behavioural process verb is intransitive (it has only one *participant*) and indicates an activity in which both the physical and mental aspects are inseparable and indispensable to it. In this process, there is only one participant, namely: behavior (the agent who behaves), example:

Dan wept.
Behaver + *process*

Abrafi laughed.
Behaver + process

Behavioural processes are mostly used in talking about paralinguistic elements of speeches. In narrative and literary writings, writers use the behavioural processes to describe the physical and psychological behaviours of characters. Example: John frowned and stared at the woman who smiled. The underlined words are behavioural processes and are very common in spoken discourse.

To sum up, the analysis of transitivity concentrates on describing the different types of process and their associated configuration of participant roles in particular clauses. By using transitivity analysis as a tool for analyzing political discourse, one will be able to find out the process types used and the meanings encoded in them.

2.2 Transitivity Analysis and Political Discourse

Many researchers have employed the transitivity framework in analysing literary texts and discourses from several and varying perspectives. The first to carry out a pioneering work on transitivity is Halliday (1971). However, studies on the transitivity analysis of political discourse particularly presidential sessional addresses, especially of African leaders, do not abound. Kondowe (2014) in a study of the transitivity model analyzes the inaugural address of the Malawian President, Bingu Wa Mutharika and observes that among the six processes outlined in the framework, the material processes highly dominate the speech, distantly followed by relational, while verbal processes come third.

Naz et al (2012) investigate the system of transitivity choices and functions in the political language of Benazir Bhutto. The study shows that the semantic function of each process type varies according to the context, giving more value to material clauses. Naz et al (ibid) states that Bhutto's use of 64% of material clauses depicts her

as a lady of action. In the study, mental and behavioural clauses occurred six times respectively representing 14% each whereas the relational clauses occupy 9%. The existential and verbal clauses recorded no frequency representing 0% respectively.

Alvi & Baseer (2011) in a study analyse transitivity in selected political discourse of Obama. The analysis and interpretation of the study reveal the way Obama became successful in persuading the people gathered around him. The results of the study show that Obama uses material processes of action and event as well as mental process of affection to physically gather the people around him. The study shows that Obama uses relational processes as well to create his positive image in the minds of people. Obama seems much interested in using circumstance of location, both spatial and temporal, and circumstance of reason to make his account objective and reliable.

Wang (2010) also in a study explores the language used in Barack Obama's political speeches from the perspective of Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar. The study indicates that Barack Obama uses more simple words and short sentences instead of difficult ones. Wang (ibid) claims that Obama's language is easy and colloquial. Thus, it can easily shorten the distance between him and the audience.

Secondly, from the transitivity analysis, the study finds that the material process, a process of doing, has been used most in his speeches. This result is similar to the findings in Alvi & Baseer (2011) which shows that Obama uses more material processes of action and event as well as mental process of affection to gather the people around him. From this process, the audience are shown what the government has achieved, what they are doing and what they will do. The study indicates that Obama's speeches are trying to arouse the American people's confidence toward the president and his government in the following four years. Similarly, through the

analysis of modality, the study finds that Obama persuaded his audience to understand and accept his political speeches by means of modal verbs, tense and first person pronouns.

Nadashkivska (2006) applies the transitivity model on the speeches of Ukrainian President Kuchma and the democratic leader Yushchenko. His study lays bare the facts that they competently exploit linguistic devices to physically gather the audience around them. Hernandez (2008) conducts a case study on the national identity of Gibraltar. The focus of this was the realization of Gibraltarian ideology presented by world print media. Transitivity analysis of the discourse shows that linguistic choices render great help in the perception of the ideological concerns. Political orators use diverse persuasive devices to sway the minds of the countrymen. Kulo (2009) in a research explores the relation between the form and function of language in political discourse. He analyzes two speeches i.e. one was by Barak Obama and the second one was by Mr. John McCain that was delivered during the election campaign of 2008.

Michira (2014) carries out a study on the 2013 Kenyan Presidential Campaign Discourse. He applied critical and descriptive methods of CDA to analyze the linguistic and persuasive strategies used in the presidential campaign discourses in Kenya leading to the 4 March, 2013 General Elections. Primary data (speeches, party manifestoes and campaign video clips) as well as secondary data (newspapers and on-line services) were used to analyze the rhetorical devices and strategies used by the main contenders for the presidency. The author argued and demonstrated that language was a powerful tool that politicians seeking political power used both to communicate their policies and ideological positions and to create certain perceptions in order to influence and manipulate the voters with a view to

gaining advantage over their opponents. The study analyzed the discourse at the levels of vocabulary/diction, grammar, semantics and pragmatic strategies including implicatures.

In Ghana, however, little is known about transitivity analysis of political speeches of both past and current presidents of the country. Boakye (2014) in a study analyses the use of assertives in five presidential inaugural addresses delivered by presidents of Ghana from 1993 to 2009 and concludes that the presidents of Ghana mainly employ assertives to contextualise the country in terms of its past, present and future circumstances: the presidents usually paint the past of Ghana as murky, the present as encouraging and the future as promising. The assertives are thus used by the presidents to inspire the confidence of the populace in their respective governments. Boakye's study applies basically the Speech Act theories rooted in Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) for the analysis.

2.3 Transitivity Analysis, Language and Media Representation

Dechaboon (2004) conducts an interesting study on language and representation. The study investigates hilltribes news in printed media in order to find out whether there is the use of pattern of language or representation from a particular angle that, in some extent, may lead to bias about the group. By employing the transitivity analysis and lexical choices analysis, the researcher finds out that hilltribes are portrayed in many negative ways. They are portrayed as forest encroachers who cause problems to environment as well as the majority Thai people.

From Dechaboon (ibid), it can be concluded that, the representation of a particular group can be studied through the analysis of the part of grammar of the clause. According to the study, transitivity analysis is a useful linguistic tool for

conceptualising our world of experience. This assumption affirms Halliday's assertion that "A fundamental property of language is that it enables human beings to build a mental picture of reality, to make sense of their experience of what goes on around them and inside them" (Halliday, 1985, p.101). Besides, the review of this study has proved that newspapers are another interesting source to study about language and representation and language being used in contemporary life.

Rodriguez (2006) is of the view that newspapers play an influential role in the realization of ideological, social, political and cultural practices. He focuses his study on two British newspapers "*The Times*" and "*The Sun*" applying Systemic Functional Model on them. The study shows that news items are patterned to attain social ends. Su (2007) held a comparative study of English and Chinese newspapers "*People's Daily*" and "*New York Times*". This study is helpful in the understanding of two opposite ideological and political concerns of the respective countries.

Teo (2000) explores the racial differences presented by the Australian newspapers "The Sydney Morning" and "*The Daily Telegraph*." This study centres on language and representation in the issues of racism and power hegemony presented through print media. It brought forth the political, social and cultural differences and controversies between Australian natives and the immigrants.

Manan (2001) studies the Malaysian media coverage of Mr. Anwar and his reformist movement. She uses Halliday's model of transitivity analysis on the Malaysian newspaper "New Straits Times" to find out how social and political identity can be explored through linguistic choices. The study focuses on the persuasive aspect of language that could change and reshape the ideology of the masses. The analysis shows that Mr. Anwar is the main actor in almost all the

material processes. This implies that Anwar is very powerful, resilient, active and an action oriented person who is poised to bring transformation.

Adampa (1991) investigates the way the two main participants of a physical assault, the female victim and the male perpetrator, and their actions are represented in the media. The study applies the transitivity model for the representation of social actors and their actions and tries to examine the linguistic representation of the two social actors. The linguistic analysis, with particular emphasis on passivization and nominalization, is complemented with the analysis of the social practice of violence against women, because some linguistic choices in the media are ideologically significant by reproducing the existing asymmetrical relations between the two sexes in the context of this specific social practice. The paper concludes with some suggestions for the news coverage of violence against women, which can influence the public's perception and response to this social phenomenon.

Chew (2001) studies political women and their representation in the media. The socio-linguistic analysis model is used for the study. The study reveals that political women in Singapore are portrayed in two ways. First, they are portrayed through the creation of a stereotype, packaging the political woman as a type of woman *and like all women*, operating within the framework of the family, such as, their role as wives, as they helped, as mothers and as ~~the~~ weaker sex". The other is through the medium of language itself, for example, such as the use of address terms, over lexicalization, and the tabloid commentary style.

2.4 Transitivity Analysis and Literary Stylistics

Halliday (1971) analyses the stylistic significance of transitivity patterns in William Golding's *The Inheritors* from a socio-cognitive perspective. He

systematically examines the transitivity patterns in the novel to reveal that the novel presents two different world views. The review of Halliday's analysis shows that in-between these two extreme textual configurations of world views lies a third one whose syntactic organisation marks a smooth transition from the first part of the narrative to the second part, reflecting the characteristics of both parts. Halliday (1971) shows that Golding uses transitivity patterns to characterise the people's world and to mark the shift of the world view presented in the novel, from that of an inferior culture to that of a superior culture. The transitivity patterns in the first passage show that the actions and movements of people (actors) do not have any effect on the things in the environment. The study further reveals that half of the subjects of the clauses in the passage are not people; rather, they are either parts of the human body or inanimate objects. With regards to the human subjects, half are found in clauses which are not clauses of action (e.g. *he smelled along the shaft of the twig*).

Similarly, there is a strong preference for processes which have only the subject (or Agent) as the nominal element in the clause. Again, whilst there are very few complements, there is an abundance of adjuncts and most of these have some spatial reference serving as circumstance. Halliday (1971) observes that the combination of these transitivity patterns creates an atmosphere of ineffectual activity.

The second passage simply shows the point of transition between the first and the third passages. Halliday (1971) further sub-divides second passage into two parts and observes that the first part is very much like the language of the first passage; yet it gives the analytical reader some clues of the shift which is yet to follow. There are a few cases in which the actor in a transitive clause is human. From the study it is realised that majority of the clauses (48 out of 67) have a human subject and of these more than half are clauses of action, most of which are transitive. There is also a

significant increase in the number of instances in which a human agent is acting on an external object. The ending of Golding's *The Inheritors*, is represented by the third passage. Halliday (ibid) explains that references to the people are encoded in terms of the world view of the tribe and transitive structures predominate; yet the only member of the people who is present is the captured baby whose infant behaviour is described in intransitive terms.

Halliday's (1971) study on Golding's *The Inheritors* is very crucial for being a pioneering study in modern literary stylistics. It is the first study that applied the transitivity framework to a literary text and, as noted by Simpson (2004), it has demonstrated the importance of stylistic analysis in exploring both literature and language. This methodological procedure employed by Halliday (1971) has become part of the guiding principles in linguistic and literary stylistic studies, especially among researchers working within the transitivity framework. Halliday's study is very relevant to this work because it applied the transitivity model to analysing the types of participants which act on the different processes and the circumstances under which those processes occurred in Golding's *The Inheritors*. Halliday's work also shows the applicability of the transitivity model to other fields of study aside literary works.

Kennedy (1982), following Halliday (1971), employs the transitivity model to explore characterisation in a climactic episode in Joseph Conrad's novel, *The Secret Agent*. He observes that in over four hundred words of narrative description, no mental processes are attributed to the heroine (Mrs. Verloc) in the novel. The study indicates that there is virtually no indication of what the heroine feels, thinks and perceives. In addition, the study observes that most of the material processes in which Mrs. Verloc occupies the subject position are Goal-less. The heroine is, therefore, presented as a character whose actions are done seemingly without reflection and

without directly affecting the entities that surround her, even her husband, who she kills.

The study reveals that the transitivity patterns that are associated with Mr. Verloc present a contrary picture. Kennedy (1982) claims that Mr. Verloc is the Actor in a few intransitive material clauses, however the majority of processes in which he participates are mental processes which feature him in the role of Sensor, and which normally include a Phenomenon element.

Burton (1982) and Iwamoto (2008) employ the transitivity framework in analysing literary texts from the perspective of feminist theory. Burton (1982) analyses a passage from Sylvia Plath's autobiographical novel *The Bell Jar* which focuses on four participants in the clause structure, namely, the doctor, the nurse, the patient (who is also the narrator) and the electric equipment used in performing the operation. Her analysis takes three stages. First, she isolates the processes in the clauses and finds out the key participant in each process. Second, she identifies the specific process types of the processes she has isolated and determines which participant is engaged in which type of process. Finally, she finds out who or what is affected by each of the processes. Thus, each further stage in the analysis revealed more delicate choices in the transitivity system.

Burton's (1982) study depends on an old version of the transitivity framework which includes some processes that are slightly different from those of the version adopted in this study. The material process of the version adopted by Burton (1982) is quite elaborate. It draws a distinction between event processes, where the Actor is inanimate, and action processes, where the Actor is animate. Action processes are further subdivided into intention processes, where the process is performed voluntarily, and supervening processes, where the process of doing happens

involuntarily. The supervening sub-type of the material process was replaced by the behavioural process in later versions (Simpson, 2004).

Iwamoto's (2008) exploration is a replication of an analysis by Carter (1997). Carter explores the same passage by considering how the distribution of verb types in terms of transitive and intransitive among the two characters tend to portray an unequal representation of the female and male genders. Carter (1997) postulates that while Stefan de Vaux ~~t~~akes actions and initiatives," Claire ~~h~~as things done to her and is cast in a passive and helpless role" (p. 13). He concludes that ~~the~~ syntactic choices made in the text encode a conventional gender positioning of men and women, one frequently patterned in romances and stories in similar genres" (p.13).

By using the transitivity framework she aims to give a more detailed account concerning the type of processes by which each of the two main characters is depicted. A comparison of Carter's (1997) work and Iwamoto's (2008) work, however, reveals that there is no significant difference between them, particularly in the literary interpretation given to the lexico-grammatical elements. The use of the transitivity framework in Iwamoto's (2008) study seems rather cosmetic. Nonetheless, Iwamoto's (2008) study is significant for demonstrating that even though different linguistic models can be used to arrive at the same literary interpretation of a text, the transitivity framework provides an in-depth account of the processes used.

Rodrigues (2008) and Silva (1998) examine the relationship among the linguistic model of transitivity, characterisation in literary discourse, and translation. Rodrigues (2008) studies the transitivity choices in both the original English text and the translated Portuguese text in a bid to uncover the differences and similarities in how the protagonist is represented in each version of the story. The second objective is to reveal the way the protagonist is represented through the choice of transitivity

patterns vis-à-vis the other gay characters with whom he is discursively constructed. The analysis shows consistency in the frequency distribution of process types in both texts. It also reveals a high percentage of material processes. The table below presents a summary of Rodrigues' findings.

Table 2:1 Distribution of Transitivity Patterns in Rodrigues' Study

Process Type	English N	Text %	Portuguese N	Text %
Material	50	36.29	39	32.50
Mental	28	20.29	26	21.67
Verbal	28	20.29	26	21.67
Behavioural	21	15.22	22	18.33
Relational	11	7.97	7	5.83

Different languages tend to have different ways of construing experience or representing reality. This observation is suggested by the variation in the frequency of the process types across English and Portuguese. It can, however, also be argued that the differences are the result of the difference in individual stylistic preferences between the author of the original English version of the story and the translator. Second, it shows that the transitivity system is a general characteristic of human language. Finally, the study has implications for translation practice. Translators need to give attention to the experiential dimension of texts and try to see which lexicogrammatical resources of the target language can best capture the processes construed in the source language.

Silva (1998) studies the first scene of the 1951 cinematographic version of Tennessee Williams' *A Streetcar Named Desire* and the Portuguese subtitling of the first scene of this film. The objective of Silva's (ibid) study is to investigate the

correlation between transitivity patterns and the construction of Blanche DuBois in the English version and the translation version. Silva (ibid) finds that, in both texts, Blanche is presented as a self-centred and ineffectual character that is unable to extend her actions, feelings, sayings to anyone beyond herself. She also observes that due to the difference between the structures of the two languages some processes underwent modification in the translated text. She concludes that both the source text and the target text realised similar meanings, thus construing similar pictures of the protagonist.

Adika and Denkabe (1997) integrate the transitivity framework with Grice's (1975) co-operative principle and the concept of referring terms to analyse the opening scene of Ayi Kwei Armah's *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born*. Adika and Denkabe's (ibid) analysis involves three stages. The first stage, which they term 'level one', is a raw analysis of the transitivity patterns such as isolating the verbs, the subjects and objects in the passage. The second stage, level two, is a pragmatic analysis of the transitivity patterns. This was done by categorising and coding the verbs identified in the first stage. The third level of the analysis is an interpretation of the first two levels in an integrated manner. They observe that characters are designated by reference to expressions which are determined from participant roles and also from the different processes. The study examines the pragmatic effects of lexico-grammatical resources used to realise participant roles in the transitivity patterns of a narrative discourse, thereby explaining how texts may be processed and why readers arrive at certain interpretations of the selected text.

The review has provided a good basis for the design of the topic and research method of the present study, which will be elaborated in the following chapter. It has also identified a gap in the literature of political discourse in the context of Ghana.

Previous studies have focused on media and women representation, assertives in presidential inaugural addresses, power relations in political discourse, persuasion in political discourse and many others. Though much work has been done in these areas, the SONA has been an area which has not received much attention in terms of research. The present study is therefore meant to contribute to the repertoire of knowledge in the field of transitivity analysis in political discourse in Ghana. The present study is also, to the best of my knowledge, one of the few studies to apply transitivity to analyse a state of the nation's address in Africa.

Again, as a contribution to previous studies, the present study investigates whether transitivity choices have implicit meanings. This dimension of the study will add up to our knowledge on the interplay between language and politics.

2.5 Summary of chapter

This chapter has discussed theoretical concept, and conceptual frameworks of transitivity analysis. A review of previous studies on transitivity has also been provided in terms of relevant research topics and research methods used in those studies. The review showed that transitivity model can be applied in almost all spectra of human endeavour, notable amongst them are literary stylistics and literature, media discourse, political discourse to mention but a few. The review has also exposed a yawning gap that exists in literature in the context of Ghana as far as transitivity analysis is concerned. The next chapter will discuss the methodology used for the study which includes the research design, data collection procedure, and methods and procedures for data analysis.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

The methodology used in the study is segmented into three parts: research design, data collection procedure, and methods and procedures for data analysis. The details of each part are discussed as follows:

3.1 Research Design

The qualitative research design is employed for the present study. The focus of qualitative research, according to Merriam (as cited in Creswell, 1994, p. 145), is on meaning. This means that qualitative researchers investigate “how people make sense of their lives, experiences, and their structures of the world” (Creswell, 1994, p. 145). Qualitative research is also descriptive in that the interest of the researcher is in making meaning of a phenomenon and understanding a process by analysing words or pictures. Another characteristic of qualitative research is that it is inductive. That is, the researcher analyses the data and, from the findings, he draws conclusion on the study.

Owu-Ewie (2012) considers qualitative data as the raw materials researchers collect to solve a research problem. They are the particulars that form the basis of analysis, and they include photos, objects, videotapes, observations, interviews and documents. However, words are often the raw materials that qualitative researchers analyze (ibid). Analysing qualitative data involves what Creswell (1994, p.157) calls “explanation building”, in which the researcher looks for casual links and explores plausible or rival explanations and attempts to build an explanation about patterns. Given this interpretative nature of qualitative research, the biases, values and

judgement of the researcher become explicitly stated in the research report (Creswell, 1994).

Owu-Ewie (2012) explains that how qualitative data is analyzed and interpreted has major implications on the result of the study so it must be done with the needed precaution. He outlines the reasons for analysing data qualitatively. He postulates that the analysis:

- a. takes the researcher and readers beyond the raw data;
- b. provides evidence to convince readers;
- c. makes the familiar strange;
- d. sheds light on the research questions.

The main reason for choosing the qualitative design is that the present study, as demonstrated by the research questions, is exploratory in nature so the content of the text (SONA) was analysed and the findings described. As noted by Creswell (1994), qualitative research, with its flexible procedure, is the appropriate design for exploring and describing phenomena that are inconspicuous to the researcher. The specific type of qualitative research method employed for the study is content analysis.

Qualitative content analysis is defined as a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The researcher looks at the themes emerging from the data as he codes them and then puts them into conceptual categories in a way which describes what is happening. The researcher then re-examines the categories identified to see how they are linked, and translates the conceptual model into a story line that will be meaningful to readers. This approach pays attention to the features of language as communication with

particular focus on the content or contextual meaning of the text. Owu-Ewie (2012) outlines the steps below to describe the basic elements of analyzing and interpreting qualitative data:

- a. Get to know the data. This means that the researcher has to invest time and effort to get in-depth understanding of the data by acquainting himself with the data through reading.
- b. Focus on the analysis. To begin with the analysis, the researcher has to review the purpose of the research and what he wants to find by identifying a few key questions that he wants his analysis to answer.
- c. Categorize information. This involves identifying themes and patterns in the data - ideas, concepts, behaviours, interactions, and incidents that are used and organize them into coherent categories with descriptive labels for each category.
- d. Identifying patterns and connections within and between categories. Here, the researcher organises his data into categories either by question or by case to identify patterns and connections both within and between categories. This can be done by:
 - i. Capturing the similarities or differences in the given data.
 - ii. Creating larger super categories that combine several categories.
 - iii. Showing categories which appear more frequent by counting.
 - iv. Showing the consistent relationship between two or more themes in the data.
- e. Interpreting – bringing it all together. The researcher has to use the themes and connections to explain the findings.

Kaid (1989) also outlines seven steps that are involved in doing content analysis, namely, formulating research questions to be answered; selecting the sample to be analysed; defining the categories to be applied; outlining the coding process; implementing the coding process; determining trustworthiness or credibility; and analysing the results of the coding process. It can be observed that central to doing content analysis is coding, which refers to the process of putting tags, lines, names or labels against the pieces of data. The point of assigning such codes is to attach meaning to these pieces of data. This approach also enables the researcher to reduce the data into sizeable and meaningful units. Thus, doing content analysis in qualitative research means examining language intensely for the purpose of classifying large amounts of text into sufficient number of categories that represent similar meanings (Weber, 1990).

The present study uses content analysis approach to examine the language in the 2009 SONA. The speech is analyzed by first identifying and isolating clauses which contain the process types. The simple clause is used as the unit of analysis in this research. The motivation for the choice of the simple clause is that it is meaning potential and is capable of expressing any strand of meaning in a given language. Aside from this, it is at the clausal level that the transitivity system operates. The clause is capable of presenting vividly the specific processes in the language and the structures by which they are expressed.

The identified clauses are then categorized into various syntactic-semantic units, using the six main process types in the transitivity framework. Patterns and recurrent patterns were then counted and their percentage distribution calculated using tables. The statistical information from the analysed data was used in examining the process types that are used predominantly in the 2009 State-of-the-nation address in

Ghana and the communicative meanings that are encoded in them. The categorisation was also used to examine how language has been used to present the message in Mills' 2009 SONA.

The content analysis is most suitable for addressing the concerns of this study. Sarantakos (2004) and Fraenkel & Wallen (2000) state that a person's or group's conscious or unconscious beliefs, attitudes, values and ideas often are revealed in their communications through a rigorous content analysis. The present study assumes that political discourse is "ideologically constituted to make certain kinds of statements or transport meanings of particular social, cultural and political value" (Syal, 1994, p. 6). This means that the meaning that a text projects will always have an ideological orientation, which depends on the social, cultural and historical framework within which the text is produced. By employing content/textual analysis, the study aims to reveal the linguistic and non linguistic meanings encoded in the packaging and delivery of the SONA.

3.2 Data Collection Procedure

The data used in this study was the 2009 SONA delivered by the late President Professor John Evans Atta Mills on February 19, 2009 barely one month after he had been sworn in as Ghana's third President under the Fourth Republic. The speech under study was obtained from www.parliament.gh/publications/49, the official website of Ghana's Parliament. This website provides news and information database with comprehensive content which is easy and convenient to access.

3.3 Sampling

The study used the convenience sampling technique to select the 2009 SONA delivered by the late President John Evans Atta Mills. This technique is a non-probability sampling technique where data are selected because of their convenient accessibility and proximity to the researcher. The researcher visited www.parliament.gh/publications/49, the official website of Ghana's Parliament, to search for any political speech by any Ghanaian President, former or present. What popped up first from the website was the 2009 SONA by President J. E. A. Mills. The researcher scanned through it and found that the address contained important linguistic elements which could be studied from the functional linguistics perspective. The address was printed out and studied thoroughly.

The researcher could have selected the inaugural addresses or the state of the nation's addresses by any of Ghana's past and current presidents or political figures, living or dead. However, the 2009 state of the nation's address was the one which the researcher could easily access from the website at the time of gathering the data. The others were not available to the researcher.

3.4 Methods and Procedure of Analysis

The data analysis consisted of two main stages and is in line with the two research questions posed by the researcher. The first stage was the identification of the process types used in the 2009 State of the-nation address. The transitivity analysis, the analysis of clause as representation, is applied and interpreted focusing on verbs and associated processes in clauses. The analysis of transitivity concentrates on describing the different types of process and their associated participant roles and

tries to identify the participants as actors and goals. An actor is a participant who plays an important role in a particular clause.

The second stage was the investigation of the communicative functions of the linguistic choices made in the 2009 address. This was done by examining the roles played by participants in relation to the process types used in a given context in a particular clause. The analysis was done by isolating the process types and categorising them into six groups as already explained in the transitivity method.

3.5 Transitivity Method of Analysis

Transitivity analysis, which is concerned with the transmission of ideas, refers to an analysis of clause focused on process types or verbs used in clauses. The clause was used as the unit of analysis in this research. Its function is that of representing processes or experiences like actions, events, processes of consciousness, and relations that cover –all phenomena and anything that can be expressed by a verb: event, whether physical or not, state, or relations” (Halliday, 1985; Halliday, 1976, p.159).

Transitivity specifies the different types of processes that are recognized in the language and the structures by which they are expressed. In this model, the central participant roles are actor and goal, and the interest is on whether or not the process is directed by the actor towards a goal. Transitivity structure can be characterized as agent + process + goal configuration that represents the function of language expressing the speaker’s experience of the external world or his own internal world.

The transitivity analysis of processes, participants and circumstances followed the following three steps: (1) the text was parsed into its constituent clauses, (2) processes were then isolated, and the study determined which participant is doing

each process; finally (3) the study examined what sorts of processes they are, and which participant is engaged in which type of process. A discussion focuses on the first three most frequent process types as they are statistically distributed in the introduction, the main body, and the conclusion of the address.

In this text, processes, participants, and circumstances are analyzed in line with the three steps developed by Burton (1982, p. 202) which are (1) isolating the processes, and determining which participant (who or what) is doing each process; (2) determining what sorts of processes they are, and which participant is engaged in which type of process; and (3) verifying who or what is affected or seems to be affected by each of these processes.

As a guide, this research accounts for the process types by adopting the criteria set by Halliday (1994, p.173). In the transitivity system, there are six types of process, namely: *material*, *mental*, *relational*, *verbal*, *existential*, and *behavioural*. The processes can be seen from table 3.1 below according to category of meaning, the potential number and nature of participants.

Table 3.1 Process type, Category of Meaning and Nature of Participants

PROCESS TYPE	CATEGORY MEANING	PARTICIPANTS
material: action event	<u>doing</u> <u>doing</u> <u>happening</u>	Actor, Goal
behavioural	<u>behaving</u>	Behaver
mental: perception affection cognition	<u>sensing</u> <u>seeing</u> <u>feeling</u> <u>thinking</u>	Sensor, Phenomenon
Verbal	<u>saying</u>	Sayer, Target
relational: attribution identification	<u>being</u> <u>attributing</u> <u>identifying</u>	Token, Value Carrier, Attribute Identified, Identifier
Existential	<u>existing</u>	Existent

3.6 Summary of Chapter

This chapter has described the research design, data collection procedures, sampling technique, methods and procedures for analysis, and explained the motivation for choosing them for the study. The next chapter will present and discuss the results from the two main sections of the analysis. The first section will present the results obtained from the transitivity analysis of the process types used predominantly in the 2009 SONA. In addition, the next chapter will examine the communicative implications encoded in the process types used in the SONA.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the results from the two main sections of the analysis. The first section presents the results obtained from the transitivity analysis of the process types used predominantly in the 2009 SONA. The findings of a transitivity analysis of the address are presented in detail with tables illustrating the results of the processes rated to each participant in the form of frequency, percentage and the meaning of the rating. In addition, the chapter examines the communicative meanings encoded in the process types used in the state of the nation address and presented the results in detail.

4.1 Transitivity Analysis

The concept of transitivity in Halliday's grammatical system is a powerful tool in the analysis of meanings expressed in clauses. According to Halliday (2002), the system of transitivity consists of the various types of processes together with the structures that realize these processes. The analysis of clause as representation is applied and interpreted focusing on the verbal elements in the clauses which are termed as processes.

The analysis of transitivity focuses on describing the different types of process and their associated communicative implications encoded in them, the participant roles and the accompanied circumstantial elements. Transitivity systems see clause along the "experiential line of organization" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Transitivity systems choose from choices available to them in the three following components:

- The processes
- Participants
- Circumstances

These three elements of a clause are recognized as follows:

- Verbal groups realize the processes
- Nominal groups realize the participants
- Adverbial group or prepositional phrases realize the circumstances

The results of the analysis are explained first by identifying the process types used in the 2009 state of the nation address, followed by the results of the analysis of the communicative functions encoded in the process types used in the address. The table below illustrates the process types used in the address and their frequencies.

Table 4.1 Frequency of Occurrences of the Process Types Used in the Address

PROCESS TYPE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE (%)
Material	317	59.14
Relational	111	20.71
Mental	77	14.37
Verbal	26	4.85
Existential	5	0.93
Behavioural	0	0
TOTAL	536	100

As can be seen from Table 4.1, the total number of processes used in the state of the nation address is 536. The process types that appear to be used the most predominantly are material processes with a frequency of 317 representing 59.14% of

the data analysed. The second most frequently used in the address are relational processes with a frequency of 111 representing 20.71% of the data analysed. The third most frequently used process type is the mental group with a total frequency of 77 representing a percentage of 14.17 of the total data analysed. The mental process type is distantly followed by the verbal process with a frequency of 26 representing 4.85% of the corpus analysed. The existential process type follows with an insignificant frequency of 5 representing 0.93%. The Behavioural process, however, did not record any occurrence in the corpus analysed. The results affirm that “Material, mental and relational are the main types of process in the English transitivity system” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p.171) whereas the verbal, existential and behavioural types represent the peripheral process types in the transitivity system. The results of analysis of each participant, their associated processes and their functions are discussed in detail with some tables below.

4.1.1 Analysis of Material Processes Used in the SONA

These are processes of doing or action which are divided into *actor* and *goal*. *Actor* is one who does something and *Goal* is an entity where process is extended. Material processes are process of ‘doing or actions’, usually concrete and tangible ones. The material processes involve what is going on outside oneself. They express the idea that a participant (the Actor/Agent) does something to another participant (Goal/object). In the address, we identify 317 ‘material’ clauses however 50 of such clauses are randomly selected for this analysis. The underlined expressions indicate the various components of the clause whereas the subscripts refer to the functional names assigned to the components. The various participant roles are illustrated in the following clauses as used in the address:

Mt2. You Actor occupy Material process a unique position Goal in our nation's history

Circumstance

Mt10. Your work Actor meets Material process expectations Goal only to the extent that it

helps us build A Better Ghana Circumstance

Mt14. I Actor extend Material process a hand of friendship Goal to our brothers and sisters of

the Minority Circumstance

Mt15. We Actor must work Material process together to fashion the requisite legislation that

will help this country face and overcome her many challenges in these times of

domestic and global uncertainty Circumstance

Mt21. As the third President in Ghana's Fourth Republic Circumstance I Actor will play

Material process my part Goal to add to their legacy Circumstance

Mt23. We Actor will depart Material process from the practice of undoing the valuable

contributions of our predecessors Circumstance

Mt29a. All too often Circumstance We Actor celebrate material process successful elections Goal

Mt32a. Our 1992 Constitution Actor established Material process a number of institutions

Goal to foster effective balance of powers Circumstance

Mt34a. We Actor will engage Material process these independent governance institutions

Goal in a peer review of their conditions Circumstance

Mt36. We Actor will address Material process transparency Goal through a three dimensional

approach during this administration Circumstance

Mt46. We Actor shall introduce Material process a Bill Goal as promised in our manifesto to

amend the Public Office Holders (Declaration of Assets and Disqualification) Act,

1998, Act 550 Circumstance

Mt50. Government Actor will support Material process such developmental projects, law reform and anti-corruption initiatives Goal

Mt53c. We Actor will organise Material process a broad National Stakeholders' Conference Goal this year to mark the 20th anniversary of the coming into existence of the District Assemblies Circumstance

Mt58. We Actor will be holding Material process a series of durbars Goal with the officers and men of the Ghana Armed Forces, the Police Service, the Prisons and the CEPS Circumstance

Mt60. I Actor made Material process a firm commitment Goal to stamp out drug trafficking Circumstance

Mt61. We Actor will review Material process the Narcotics Drugs Control, Enforcement and Sanctions Law Goal

Mt68. I Actor will begin Material process a monthly radio broadcast Goal to the nation as part of measures to enhance communication with the citizenry Circumstance

Mt80. An economic management team Actor has been reviewing Material process our situation Goal thoroughly over the last one month of assuming office Circumstance

Mt89. Our stock of external debt Actor increased Material process from US\$2.2billion to US\$3.9billion in the space of two years i.e. between 2006 and 2008 Circumstance

Mt112. A lot of this growth Circumstance will be provided Material process by the private sector Actor

Mt121a. The private sector development agenda Goal will be driven and monitored Material process at the heart of Government business at the presidency Circumstance

Mt132. The government Actor will invest Material process adequately to maintain the production level of those crops Circumstance

Mt135a. We Actor will move Material process beyond rhetoric Circumstance

Mt137. The Accra Plains Irrigation Project Goal will be pursued Material process vigorously
to make it available for all year round production Circumstance

Mt149b. The current mass cocoa spraying exercise Goal will be extended Material process
to include brushing, pest and disease controlCircumstance

Mt153. We Actor will continue Material process with programs such as the Urban Transport
project Circumstance

Mt155a. Government Actor will work Material process to eliminate duplication Circumstance

Mt155b. That Ghana Actor obtains Material process the maximum benefits Goal from these
initiatives Circumstance

Mt164. We Actor will work Material process to make the scheme truly national Circumstance

Mt165a. One Actor must pay Material process an annual premium Goal

Mt165b. We Actor will seek to implement Material process a Universal Health Insurance
Scheme Goal

Mt168. We Actor will pursue Material process the policy of de-linking children from their
parents Goal

From the analysis above, we observe that material processes rank first in the analysis. Let us analyse these material clauses to see which actors impinge on the various material processes used by Mills.

4.1.1.1 Analysis of Actors in the Material Clauses

We realise from the analysis that Mills uses different actors to carry out the various material processes in the clause. The table below gives a vivid description of the choice of actors in the 2009 SONA.

Table 4.2 Frequency of Occurrences of the Actors in the Material Clauses

TYPE OF ACTOR	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
I	12	6.12
You	3	1.53
We	88	44.90
Ghanaians/Ghana/the country/Nation	10	5.10
My administration/ the government	35	17.86
The House/Parliament	3	1.53
Others(Demonstratives and other non-human actors)	45	22.96
TOTAL	196	100

As can be seen from Table 4.2, the total number of actors used in the state of the nation address is 196. The type of actor that appears to be used the most predominantly is *we* with a frequency of 88 representing 44.90% of the data analysed. The second most frequently selected actor is *others* which consists of some non-human actors including demonstratives, nominal phrases etc. This group has a frequency of 45 representing 22.96% of the data analysed. The third most frequently used actor is (*The Government/My administration*), with a total frequency of 35 representing a percentage of 17.86 of the total data analysed. The next most preferred actor is the personal pronoun *I* with a frequency of 12 representing 6.12% of the corpus analysed. The fifth preferred actor used in the 2009 SONA was

Ghana/Ghanaians/Country/Nation. This group has an insignificant frequency of 10 representing 5.10%. The least actors used in Mills' address are the personal pronoun *you* and *The House/Parliament* with a frequency of 3 each representing 1.53% respectively.

A closer examination of actors and their roles indicate that they are ideologically motivated. Actor *we* dominates the majority of clauses in the material clauses of the SONA. The use of the pronoun *we* as an actor is traditionally associated with the ideology of inclusiveness (Halliday, 1994), and here it is anaphorically employed in the speech to represent Mills himself and his administration, and sometimes the citizens of Ghana. Analysis of actors in the material clauses implies that Mills' administration is the main actor and sole doer of main material processes identified in the address.

Analysis of the actors in the material clauses also portrays Mills as a democratic participant who cherishes communal values and would continue to be guided by them. Mills is seen to assuring the masses, that his administration has the sole responsibility of developing the nation and that he would continue to tap ideas from other sources (*others*), including the private sector and other non-governmental bodies, to enhance his governance. He foregrounds himself as a leader with democratic ideological principles and credentials, and thus delegates certain key responsibilities to his subordinates and other people and institutions that are not part of his government. Here are examples of such clauses:

Mt60. I Actor made Material process a firm commitment Goal to stamp out drug trafficking
Circumstance

Mt68. I Actor will begin Material process a monthly radio broadcast Goal to the nation as part of measures to enhance communication with the citizenry Circumstance

Mt155a. Government Actor will work Material process to eliminate duplication Circumstance

Mt164. We Actor will work Material process to make the scheme truly national Circumstance

Mt80. An economic management team Actor has been reviewing Material process our situation Goal thoroughly over the last one month of assuming office Circumstance

Mt168. We Actor will pursue Material process the policy of de-linking children from their parents Goal

Actor *I* comes fourth in the speech and it reveals that Mills is not too powerful and cannot be seen as the sole doer of many of the main processes. This also implies that he can impinge on the material processes only when he is given support by people except on few occasions where he is seen as acting independently. This also indicates that he may not singularly take glory in what he is capable to do under his regime because he may not have done it independently. Similarly he will not accept any blame as an individual as far as his stewardship is concerned because he does not act alone. The use of the actor *we* in the majority of main clauses denotes collective responsibility in the process of governance and Mills alone cannot be held responsible if his government fails. Aside being used traditionally to depict inclusiveness (Halliday, 1994 and Thompson, 2004), the actor *we* is used by Mills to show consensus building in his government. This may imply that Mills' administration was an all inclusive one. Mills' dominant use of *we* is indicative of the fact that he includes the citizenry and non government functionaries in the policies he intends to implement in line with the ideal democratic principles of creating a government of the people, for the people and by the people. However, unlike Duran's (2008) study on Senator John Kerry and Kondowe's (2014) study on Bingu wa Mutharika which see the respective characters as powerful, robust and active, Mills is

seen in this study as an inactive participant and a leader who seeks other people's views before acting on the major processes.

4.1.1.2 Analysis of Goal in the Material Clauses

Analysis of the material clauses in the SONA shows that majority of the clauses have *goal*. This indicates that majority of the actions performed by the actors are directed towards a *goal*. The *goal* in these material clauses are non-human participants comprising projects, developments and strategies which the Mills led government plans to implement in their tenure of office. The *goal* position in the address is occupied predominantly by nominal phrases such as *a bill, a series of durbars, a firm commitment, a monthly radio broadcast, the Narcotics Drugs Control, Enforcement and Sanctions Law*.

The analysis of the *goal* indicates that the roles played by the major actors in the address do not affect the citizens of the country directly. This also means that the citizens will benefit from the actions of the government when such policies outlined in the *goal* position are implemented. Here are examples of such clauses:

Mt46. We Actor shall introduce Material process a Bill Goal as promised in our manifesto to amend the Public Office Holders (Declaration of Assets and Disqualification) Act, 1998, Act 550 Circumstance

Mt50. Government Actor will support Material process such developmental projects, law reform and anti-corruption initiatives Goal

Mt58. We Actor will be holding Material process a series of durbars Goal with the officers and men of the Ghana Armed Forces, the Police Service, the Prisons and the CEPS Circumstance

Mt60. I Actor made Material process a firm commitment Goal to stamp out drug trafficking
Circumstance

Mt61. We Actor will review Material process the Narcotics Drugs Control, Enforcement and Sanctions Law Goal

Mt68. I Actor will begin Material process a monthly radio broadcast Goal to the nation as part of measures to enhance communication with the citizenry Circumstance

4.1.1.3 Analysis of Passive Constructions in the SONA

We realise from the analysis that nine of the material clauses have passive constructions. These clauses are agentless because they do not have actors. Here are examples:

Mt134. The Aveyime Rice Project Goal will be restored Material process to boost rice production for internal consumption and for export Circumstance

Mt137. The Accra Plains Irrigation Project Goal will be pursued Material process vigorously to make it available for all year round production Circumstance

Mt141. Large scale cultivation of maize and soya beans Goal will be supported Material process to drastically reduce the cost of feed for poultry production Circumstance

Mt149b. The current mass cocoa spraying exercise Goal will be extended Material process to include brushing, pest and disease controlCircumstance

From the clauses above, we realise that Mt134 and Mt137 have similar structures. They begin with a goal –“The Aveyime Rice Project”, –“The Accra Plains Irrigation Project”, passively used material processes –“will be restored” and –“will be pursued”, and circumstances –“to boost rice production for internal consumption and for export” and –“vigorously to make it available for all year round production” respectively. Clauses Mt141 and Mt149b also have similar structures. Both begin with a goal which is closely followed by the passively used material process and ends with

a circumstance. In clause Mt141, we have the goal “Large scale cultivation of maize and soya beans”, passively used material process “will be supported” and circumstance “to drastically reduce the cost of feed for poultry production”. Clause Mt149b also has a goal “the current mass cocoa spraying exercise”, a material process “will be extended” and circumstance “to include brushing, pest and disease control”.

In passive constructions such as those above, Sekyi-Baidoo (2003) claims that the agent or the real subject (Actor) is removed completely, or it is placed to the rear of the construction where its importance is apparently reduced. The choice of this clausal construction has a lot of linguistic and ideological implications. The passive voice is very effective in political discourse because it highlights action and what is acted upon rather than the agent (actor) performing the action. Sekyi-Baidoo (ibid) further explains that the passive voice has implications for politeness, and it is therefore used very effectively in formal discourse such as sessional addresses. The omission of the actors may indicate that authorial personality is excluded and the goal of the clause is fore-grounded to convey the impression of objectivity and prominence of the address.

In Mills’ address, he uses passivisation to hide agency, that is, he effaces himself and puts in his place the idea mooted by the general public. It is indeed a way of highlighting the information and decisions taken consensually by his government thereby pushing the speaker (the President) to the background or removing him altogether. In situations where the names of the speakers are completely removed, individuals cannot usually take too much glory for the success of their suggestions or actions. This alludes to the fact that Mills wants to act in connection with other members in his government, party and all stakeholders involved in national development.

On the contrary, Mills will not accept too much blame when his decisions or actions cost the nation. After all, there is no record of his responsibility in getting the idea through. This also implies that if Mills fails to implement those policies and promises he made during the electioneering campaign, he cannot be held accountable for he is not the sole actor. In clause Mt121a, Mills claims that ~~the~~ private sector development agenda will be driven and monitored". The construction above does not have an actor acting or impinging on the material process ~~drive~~" and ~~monitored~~". The president disassociates himself from the statement and cannot be held responsible for any shortfall in the implementation of his promised policies. In a similar vein, in clause Mt72 Mills assures the people that ~~The~~ implementation of the following planned projects will commence". In this clause, nobody is seen as responsible for implementing those planned projects. Again, since there is no circumstance we are not told of the exact time and place those projects will commence.

According to Wang (2010), material process as a process of doing, is a good choice in presidential addresses to demonstrate what the incumbent government has achieved; what project and development it is carrying out and what the government will do in different aspects of the economy, home and abroad. In a similar manner, Mills uses the material processes to recount the contributions made by distinguished personalities in the country with special references to the former presidents of Ghana and other non-political figures. The president uses the material processes to arouse the confidence of the people towards his government and to get their support in stringent and austere measures the government will take in his tenure of office. He concretises his vision and calls on the people to rally behind the government in the implementation of set target. It is important to note that the material processes are used to set new vision for accomplishment.

In sum, Mills uses material processes to set out his political and economic principles that would govern the new administration by demonstrating what the new government has put in place in terms of policy, what they are doing in terms of projects, and what they will do in different aspects of affair. Through the processes of doings and actions, he affirms his commitment to values the nation has pursued so far by creating a sense of continuity between the glories of the past chalked by past leaders and the challenges of the present he is poised to face, and to reassure his audience that the transition to the new tenure in office will not pose any threat to the nation's historic legacy.

4.1.2 Analysis of Relational Processes Used in the SONA

These are processes of being and becoming. These processes have two modes, attributive mode and identifying mode. Attributive processes describe the entity and contain two participants, *Carrier* and *Attribute*. Identifying processes are the kind of processes which identify one entity in terms of another. Identifying processes also contain two participants, *Token* and *Value*. They use verbs such as ~~be~~”, ~~have~~”, ~~become~~”, etc. The relational processes involve classifying and identifying one experience with other experiences. They relate two or more terms in a variety of ways. The relational processes are similar to how the verb to be“ is used in English. They serve to identify and characterize, and are further subdivided into processes of being“ (intensive and circumstantial) and having“ (possessive), (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999).

In the address, we identify 111 relational clauses; however 50 of such clauses are randomly selected and parsed for this analysis. The underlined expressions indicate the various components of the clause whereas the subscripts refer to the

functional names assigned to the components. The various participant roles as used in the address are illustrated in the following clauses:

Rp3a. It Token is Circumstantial relational process a position which you and indeed all women of Ghana should be justifiably proud Value

Rp3b. All women of Ghana Carrier should be Intensive relational process justifiably proud
Attribute

Rp16a. Consensus-building Carrier is Intensive relational process vital Attribute

Rp16b. Time Carrier is Intensive relational process very precious Attribute

Rp19. Ghana Carrier is Intensive relational process indeed grateful to them for their service to our Nation
Attribute

Rp20. We Carrier are intensive relational process also grateful to them Attribute

Rp24. A house that is constantly rebuilding its foundation Carrier is Intensive relational process doom to remain stuck to the foundation level Attribute

Rp33. They Carrier are Intensive relational process under resourced Attribute

Rp35. Transparency in government and the fight against corruption Carrier are Intensive relational process cardinal for sustainable development Attribute

Rp45. The Bills Token are Circumstantial relational process Public Financing of political Parties Bills etc
Value

Rp56. Law and order, human safety and security and protecting the people Token remain Circumstantial relational process the cornerstone of our internal security policy Value

Rp74. Institutions of global economies and financial management Token are Circumstantial relational process under enormous stress Value

Rp77. The initial impact Token has been Circumstantial relational process volatility in commodity price Value

Rp83. The fiscal deficit Token was Circumstantial relational process Gh¢2.5 Billion in 2008 Value

Rp84. This figure Token is Circumstantial relational process over 15% of Gross Domestic Product Value

Rp100. I Carrier am Intensive relational process optimistic Attribute

Rp101. I Carrier am Intensive relational process committed Attribute

Rp110. This Token is Circumstantial relational process the beginning of a rescue plan for building A Better Ghana Value

Rp115a. It Token is Circumstantial relational process largely the private sector Value

Rp115b. That Carrier will be Intensive relational process central in creating jobs and increasing government revenue Attribute

Rp115c. Clinics that the NDC Government Carrier is Intensive relational process deeply committed to delivery Attribute

Rp117b. The private sector Carrier is Intensive relational process socially responsible Attribute

Rp118. My pledge to the private sector Carrier is Intensive relational process clear Attribute

Rp129. The National Youth Employment Programme Carrier is Intensive relational process essential to Ghana's overall national employment strategy Attribute

Rp132a. Which we Possessor have Possessive relational process surplus production Possession

Rp132b. Which we Possessor have Possessive relational process deficit production Possession

Rp138. It Token will be Circumstantial relational process the flagship of the agricultural revolution of this administration Value

Rp160. Municipal Assemblies Carrier will be Intensive relational process important in resolving identified congestion bottlenecks Attribute

Rp164. The one-time NHIS enrolment fee Token remains Circumstantial relational process an achievable goal Value

Rp175. Some of these Token are Circumstantial relational process gender disparities... Value

Rp180. I Carrier am Intensive relational process aware of the different opinions on this matter

Attribute

Rp188. That all Ghanaian children of school going age Token are Circumstantial relational process in school value

Rp195. The 38 Teacher Training Colleges Token are Circumstantial relational process now diploma awarding institutions value

Rp212. The TOR Possessor has Possessive relational process a mountain of debt.... Possession

Rp217. The VRA also Possessor has Possessive relational process a mountain of debt total exceeding 800 million dollars Possession

From the analysis, we realise that there are three kinds of relational clauses relational clauses as shown in the table below

Table 4.3 Analysis of Types of Relational Clauses

KIND OF RELATIONAL CLAUSE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Possessive	4	8
Intensive	18	36
Circumstantial	28	56
TOTAL	50	100

4.1.2.1 Analysis of Possessive Relational Clauses

From the table, we observe that there are four possessive relational clauses in the address representing 8%. Here are the four possessive relational clauses used in the address:

Rp132a. Which we Possessor have Possessive relational process surplus production possession

Rp132b. Which we Possessor have Possessive relational process deficit production Possession

Rp212. The TOR _{Possessor} has _{Possessive relational process} a mountain of debt.... _{Possession}

Rp217. The VRA also _{Possessor} has _{Possessive relational process} a mountain of debt total exceeding 800 million dollars _{Possession}

Clauses Rp132a and Rp132b have three elements each: ~~which we~~” as *possessor*, ~~have~~” as *possessive relational process* and ~~surplus production~~” and ~~deficit production~~” as *possession* respectively. These clauses are used in the Agriculture sub-section of the SONA. The *possessor* in these two clauses refers to all the citizens in the country. In clause RP132a, we are told by Mills that we have surplus production which is indicative of the fact that Ghana as an entity and Ghanaians in general own excess food in some sectors of agriculture. This also suggests that the citizens of Ghana possess certain abilities and qualities that have enabled the nation to have surplus production of food crops. However, in clause Rp132b, the same *possessor* is seen as owning ~~deficit production~~”. This may implies that the citizens of Ghana are not doing much in some areas of agriculture. A negative possession in agriculture owned by a country is a recipe for disaster. It is based on this deficit production in agriculture that the President reminds the citizens to channel more energy and commitment towards other sectors of agriculture in order to stem the tide in production. It is in line with this that his government will invest much in agriculture in order to maximise yield. As the government invests adequately in the agricultural sector, the citizenry from whom the resources came from should anticipate surplus production. These two clauses are relative clauses which function to describe the objects ~~the~~ “production level of those crops” respectively.

In a similar vein, clauses Rp212 and Rp217 have ~~the TOR~~” and ~~the VRA~~” as *possessor* respectively. TOR refers to Tema Oil Refinery and VRA, Volta River Authority. Both clauses have ~~has~~” as their *possessive relational process*. The

possessive relational process serves to link the possessors and the possessions. Clause Rp212 has the possession –a mountain of debt....” while clause Rp217 has the possession –a mountain of debt total exceeding 800 million dollars”. These two possessors are dear to the heart of all Ghanaian since they are the power hub of the country.

Unfortunately, what these two key institutions share in common is a mountain of debt which has adversely affected their operations. It may be seen that these two state owned institutions are inefficient and produce below capacity. Having institutions whose debts are compared to the height of a mountain is very alarming. TOR and VRA are expected to own some positive images which will be beneficial to all but we see them sinking in debts. This negative possession may have rippling effects on the country because they may not be able to supply the needed energy for domestic, commercial and industrial purposes in the country. The country underwent rampant power outage and fuel shortages rendering most industries stagnated in production and most people unemployed. In summary, these two clauses used by Mills describe the then deplorable state of these two key national assets which serve as the fulcrum of energy and power generation in the country. The condition of these national assets was that of liability and bankruptcy. Analysis of the four possessive relational clauses used in the SONA indicates that Ghana cannot boast of any positive possession as far as the operations and management of TOR and VRA are concerned. In Agriculture, the country breaks even because while we have surplus production in some areas, in other areas we record deficit production.

4.1.2.2 Analysis of Intensive Relational Clauses

The analysis shows that there are 18 intensive relational clauses in the address representing 36%. The intensive relational clauses establish a relationship of

sameness between the *carrier* and the *attribute*. In these clauses, we see that attributes are ascribed to entities, and the entities include nominal participants. These participants include both human and non-human participants acting as *carrier* or *token*. The *carrier* or *token* position is occupied predominantly by *I* and *We*, and this shows that the Mills led administration assigns attributes of positivity and hope to itself thereby creating a positive image of itself to the general public. Here are examples of intensive relational clauses:

Rp16a. Consensus-building Carrier is Intensive relational process vital Attribute

Rp16b. Time Carrier is Intensive relational process very precious Attribute

Rp19. Ghana Carrier is Intensive relational process indeed grateful to them for their service to our Nation Attribute

Rp20. We Carrier are intensive relational process also grateful to them Attribute

Rp64. The law-enforcement agencies Carrier must be Intensive relational process uncompromising in their pursuit Attribute

Rp100. I Carrier am Intensive relational process optimistic Attribute

Rp101. I Carrier am Intensive relational process committed Attribute

Rp115c. Clinics that the NDC Government Carrier is Intensive relational process deeply committed to delivery Attribute

Rp117b. The private sector Carrier is Intensive relational process socially responsible Attribute

Rp118. My pledge to the private sector Carrier is Intensive relational process clear Attribute

We analyse the above clauses to identify the participants and the roles these participants play in relation to other elements of the clause. Clause Rp16a also has –consensus-building” as carrier, –is” intensive relational process and –vital” as attribute. –Consensus building”, as a carrier, indicates that the responsibility of addressing the myriad challenges in Ghana is everybody’s. This is so because it is that

part of the clause that carries the said responsibility in relation to the people of Ghana (MPs). “Vital” as an attributive clause element denotes a certain quality that is linked with the idea of “consensus building”. This quality is that of essence, giving the understanding that “consensus building” is essential for national development. In essence, Mills uses this clause to call on both the majority and minority of the House to build consensus in order to arrest the challenges in those times of domestic and global uncertainty.

Clauses Rp16a and Rp16b are paratactic in nature. This means that two clauses of the same grammatical weight have been linked by the help of a coordinator “and”. So in clause Rp16b, we have “time” as carrier, “is” as intensive relational process and “very precious” as attribute. “Time” as a carrier denotes that our consensus building to ensure national development must be time bound and that people of Ghana cannot afford to delay in building consensus. The relational process “is” serves to link the carrier and the attribute together in order to make their relationship clearer to both the reader and the listener. Thus, through the relational process “is”, we are able to see tell that there is an element carrying a certain idea and this is being described by the attribute as a precious idea. Without the relational “is”, the relation might not be of quality.

In clause Rp19, “Ghana” is carrier, “is” the intensive relational process, and “indeed grateful to them for their service to our nation” as the attribute. Ghana is seen as a carrier of gratitude that is being expressed by the attribute through the relational process “is”. In clause Rp20 the human carrier “we” denotes inclusiveness and further carries the load of gratitude to Mills’ predecessors who helped in the entrenchment of democratic governance in Ghana. This load is made clear by the attribute through the relational process “are”. In effect, these two clauses are used by Mills to express the

nation's gratitude to former Presidents Jerry John Rawlings and John Agyekum Kufour for their service to Ghana more especially in the maturation of Ghana's democracy.

Clause Rp64 has the nominal phrase ~~the~~ "the law-enforcement agencies" as carrier, ~~must~~ "must be" as intensive relational process and ~~un~~ "uncompromising in their pursuit" as attribute. We observe that the carrier carries an obligation which is expressed in the attribute through the relational process ~~must~~ "must be". The ~~must~~ "must" which is part of the relational process expresses a sense of urgency and swiftness with which the carrier must carry the idea of pursuing those who violate the laws of the country.

Interestingly, clauses Rp100 and Rp101 have the same carrier ~~I~~ "I" and intensive relational process ~~am~~ "am", but different attribute ~~optimistic~~ "optimistic" and ~~committed~~ "committed" respectively. The carrier is seen to carry the load of optimism and commitment. This load is made manifest in the attribute through the relational process ~~am~~ "am". This relational process establishes a symbiotic relationship between the carrier and the attribute. Mills identifies himself as a positive thinker who has a sense of responsibility to perform to renew the hopes and aspirations of his people whose expectations are squashed in a dying economy. Mills is hopeful that the burden of sacrifice will result in great opportunities and progress for the people of Ghana. Again, he stresses that he is committed to bringing the fiscal excesses under control. Here, Mills identifies himself as the sole person who has been charged with the responsibility to restoring hope to his people, hence we see him as the main carrier of the idea for restoring lost hopes and aspirations.

In a similar vein, Rp115c has the carrier ~~that~~ "that the NDC Government", intensive relational process ~~is~~ "is" and ~~deeply~~ "deeply committed to delivery" as attribute. In this clause we see the NDC government as the main carrier of the ideology of

infrastructure and service delivery which is made manifest in the attribute. The carrier and the attribute enter into a relationship which enables us to get a better understanding of what the speaker means. Clause Rp117b has a non-human carrier “the private sector”, the copular verb “is” as intensive relational process and “socially responsible” as attribute. In this clause, the president sees the private sector as the main carrier charged with the load of helping create employment and economic growth. The attribute denotes that the carrier has a social role to play in ensuring that majority of the citizenry get jobs to do in a stable economy. The connectivity between the carrier and its attribute is made possible through the intensive relational process “is”. We also realise that clause Rp118 has the carrier “my pledge to the private sector”, intensive relational process “is” and “clear” as attribute. Here, the carrier carries an unambiguous load of clarity of mind. The president reiterates his assertiveness and commitment in helping the private sector to expand so as to grow the economy. The attribute “clear” indicates that the president does not have any shred of doubt in the pledge he had made to the private sector.

4.1.2.3 Analysis of Circumstantial Relational Clauses

From the table, it can be seen that the circumstantial relational clauses are used predominantly in the address with a total frequency of 28 representing 56%. These clauses have two participants: token and value, and a circumstantial relational process. Both the token and value slots are normally occupied by the nominal group. Some of these nominal groups that occupy the token and value slots are single lexical items or phrases. This clause type defines and specifies the entities in terms of location, time, manner, etc. The circumstantial relational clauses used in the address contain information and details that strongly suggest that the promises Mills and his government are making to the people are definite, true and time bound. From the

analysis we observe that President Mills uses the pro-nominal elements such as ~~It~~, ~~It~~ among others at the token slot. Besides, he also uses demonstrative and relative pronouns such as ~~these~~, ~~that~~, ~~which~~, ~~this~~, ~~whose~~, ~~where~~ and the determiner ~~such~~ at the token column. The token slot is also occupied by noun phrases such as ~~this figure~~, ~~the fiscal deficit~~, ~~the initial impact~~, ~~institutions of global economies and financial management~~, ~~the criticism of the executive starving of funds~~, ~~the bills~~, ~~the measure of the accomplishments of this House~~, ~~law and order, human safety and security and protecting the people~~ among others. Out of the twenty-eight elements that occupy the token slot, only two are human. They are clauses Rp162a and Rp188. All the rest are either institutional token such as ~~the TOR~~, ~~the VRA~~ or an event, entity or phenomenon such as ~~the bills~~, ~~that a national constitutional review conference~~, ~~this figure~~, ~~where the private sector~~, ~~the dominant mode of transport~~, ~~that the health of our nation~~, to mention but a few. Here are examples of clauses which make use of circumstantial relational processes:

Rp65...whose murder Token remains Circumstantial relational process a national mystery Value

Rp122. This Token is Circumstantial relational process a promise Value

Rp162a. I Token am Circumstantial relational process of the conviction Value

Rp162b. That the health of our nation Token is Circumstantial relational process the wealth of the nation Value

Rp116. It Token is Circumstantial relational process the men and women in the private sector Value

Rp117a. Where the private sector Token becomes Circumstantial relational process a pro-active partner in development Value

Rp115a. It Token is Circumstantial relational process largely the private sector Value

The analysis further discovers that Mills evenly distributes attributive and identification clauses in the introductory part, but hugely preferred identifications in the main body of the address. He further uses most relational clauses to identify himself as the main carrier who spearheads the government's "Better Ghana Agenda". Mills uses these relational clauses to provide definitions and explanations of the current power he wields and the current political and economic state of the nation. He, therefore, renders himself an interpreter of the current situation that assigns attributes to the participants involved.

Just like Obama's speech, as observed by Wang (2010) cited in Kondowe (2014), Mills chooses processes of being as an appropriate way to explain the complex relationship between some abstract items because they sound definite. These processes elaborate the relationship between ideals and speaker's beliefs which can reach their aim of making the reasoning naturally and unconsciously accepted by the audience. In relational clauses, Mills is portrayed as an interpreter of the then Ghanaian situation that assigns attributes to the participants involved by tactically choosing identifications of positive values to create good impression to the citizens and solidify his political image.

We further observe from the twenty-eight circumstantial relational clauses that they are predominantly occupied by the process "to be" notable amongst them is the "be" element "is", which occurs thirteen times in the circumstantial relational clauses. Other verbs which occupy the process slot are "am", "are", "must be", "has been", "will be" and other stative processes such as "remains", "becomes", "made up of" among others. These process types are not action-oriented but show the state or condition of being. These relational processes serve to link the carriers and their attributes and make their relationship clear to both the reader and the listener. We see

that the inherent ideological loadings found in the carriers are made manifest through these relational processes.

Finally, we take a look at the value slot of the twenty-eight circumstantial relational clauses. Like the token, the value slot is predominantly occupied by the nominal group. Some of these nominal groups are phrasal or clausal in nature. For instance, in clause Rp195, the value “now diploma awarding institutions” complements the token “the 38 Teacher Training Colleges” through the circumstantial relational process “are”. The token serves to represent the fact that Ghana has 38 Teacher Training Colleges and that all of them have been upgraded to diploma status. The linguistic meaning of the value is that of having the same reference as the token. The clause is solidly governed by a circumstantial relational process to make the meaning of the clause complete. The ‘phasal’ value describes the volatile commodity prices in the country, “the cornerstone of our internal security policy”, “the beginning of a rescue plan for building A Better Ghana”, “largely the private sector” etc. The ‘dausal’ value also includes “the gravity of the crises that no nation can traverse these hard times alone”, “a position which you and indeed all women of Ghana should be justifiably proud”, “the degree to which its results benefit the nation”, and “the surest way to ensure our manifesto promises see fruition in a consensual manner”.

The study finds no single lexical item occupy the value position in the address. So in effect, the circumstantial relational clause has been analysed to contain a token which is traditionally the subject, a stative verb which is functionally the circumstantial relational process and the value is traditionally the complement. Clearly, we observe that there is no action transferred from the token to the value. The value refers directly to the token; the two are connected by a circumstantial relational process.

In essence, President Mills uses the relational processes to assert himself as the president by virtue of the power that he now holds, and to identify himself with the people, and to indicate his new position that will mandate him to carry out certain policies which hitherto he would not have been able to. Mills' use of relational processes is an effort to create a very positive image of himself in the minds of the masses. It is in this light that he needs to identify himself, his new position, authority and vision for the country. His use of the relational processes is in line with Halliday's relational assertions of *'being'* and *'having'* (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999). Mills' use of these relational processes explains how he is going to use his new position and authority to propel development and his party's *'Better Ghana Agenda'*.

4.1.3 Analysis of Mental Processes Used in the SONA

Mental processes encode the meanings of feeling or thinking. They are internalized processes, in contrast to the externalized processes of doing and speaking. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) observe that, unlike material processes, mental processes always involve at least one human participant who has the mind in which the process occurs. They involve the human senses - perception, affection, and cognition. They entail the processes of encoding meanings of thinking, feeling, perceiving or desiring. These are processes of sensing, thinking, feeling and perceiving, having *Sensor* and *Phenomenon*. *Sensor* is the person who senses, *Phenomenon* is the object involved in the process. It is the entity which is felt, thought, or perceived by the sensor.

The president uses seventy-seven mental processes in his address for different purposes. Out of this number, fifty-one of the mental clauses have been randomly sampled for analysis. The examples below are some of the mental clauses used in the 2009 SONA.

Mc12. I Sensor remind Mental process my brothers and sisters of the Majority in this House

Phenomenon

Mc13. We Sensor should never forget Mental process the men and women whose worries stretch from pay day to pay day Phenomenon

Mc28. We Sensor intend to honour Mental process Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's memory with a National holiday to be known as Founder's Day Phenomenon

Mc29b. We Sensor cherish Mental process the growth and maturity of our democracy

Phenomenon

Mc40a. We Sensor plan Mental process for the following areas of our Governance Agenda for the rest of the year Phenomenon

Mc40b. We Sensor would have known Mental process the true state of the nation that we have inherited Phenomenon

Mc43. The IEA-sponsored "Political Parties Programme" Sensor has agreed Mental process on several draft Bills that will respond to this need Phenomenon

Mc47b. I Sensor would urge Mental process this august House Phenomenon

Mc49b. We Sensor will encourage Mental process their work such as to assure expeditious dispensing of justice to all Phenomenon

Mc54. We Sensor believe Mental process also that Phenomenon

Mc67. We Sensor recognise Mental process our responsibility to the media Phenomenon

Mc69b. We Sensor expect Mental process the media to look at its own inadequacies

Phenomenon

Mc79a. It Sensor must be understood Mental process that the world as we know it has changed

Phenomenon

Mc92. We Sensor have experienced Mental process since 2006 Phenomenon

Mc99. I Sensor assure mental process you that we shall all benefit when the good times come Phenomenon

Mc107. That we Sensor realise Mental process significant savings Phenomenon

Mc114. My administration Sensor sees Mental process the private sector as an active partner in our development Phenomenon

Mc117. We Sensor want Mental process this partnership to be built on shared responsibility Phenomenon

Mc159. Our country Sensor is experiencing Mental process economic losses Phenomenon

Mc181 I Sensor hope Mental process this will bring the matter to closure Phenomenon

Mc188. We Sensor must aim Mental process at ensuring that all Ghanaian children of school going age are in school Phenomenon

Mc228a. We Sensor intend Mental process to bridge the digital divide between the rural and urban communities Phenomenon

Mc230. We Sensor will encourage Mental process development of common telecom facilities Phenomenon

Mc237. The Ministry of Women and Children Sensor will witness Mental process a significant budget increase under my administration Phenomenon

Mc261b. That our people Sensor have desired Mental process for so long Phenomenon

Mc266a. We Sensor will honour Mental process all our legitimate international treaty obligations Phenomenon

Mc272. I Sensor want Mental process us to be kind and generous to each other Phenomenon

Mc273. I Sensor believe Mental process it is possible to bring back smiles to the faces of all Ghanaians Phenomenon

Mc285a. I Sensor believe Mental process that we can Phenomenon

4.1.3.1 Analysis of Sensors in the Mental Clauses

In the address it is realised that Mills uses different sensors in the mental clauses. The table below shows the types of sensors used in the 2009 SONA:

Table 4.4 Frequency of Occurrences of the Sensors in the Mental Clauses

TYPE OF SENSOR	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
I	10	19.61
We	22	43.14
The Government/My administration	4	7.84
Our country/Our people	2	3.92
Others	13	25.49
TOTAL	51	100

As can be seen from Table 4.4, the total number of sensors used for the analysis is 51. The type of sensor that appears to be used the most predominantly is *we* with a frequency of 22 representing 43.14% of the data analysed. The second most frequently selected sensor is *others* which consists of some non-human sensors including clausal participants, as in Mc81 –“The reality as we have found out”, phrasal participants such as *The current mass cocoa spraying exercise, The anticipated increase in generation, the above measures, The Ministry of Women and Children* etc and demonstratives etc. This group has a frequency of 13 representing 25.49% of the data analysed. The third most frequently used sensor is *I*, with a total frequency of 10 representing a percentage of 19.61 of the total data analysed. The next most preferred sensor is *the government/my administration* with a frequency of 4 representing 7.81%

of the corpus analysed. The least used sensor in the 2009 SONA is *our people/our country*.

A critical examination of sensors and their roles indicate that they are ideological underpinnings. The dominant use of the sensor *we* in the address implies that Mills is not the main sensor who perceives the happenings in the country at the time. The sensor *we* implies that the happenings and events in the country are perceived and felt by the Mills led government and the entire citizenry in the country.

Analysis of the sensors in the mental clauses portrays Mills' government and the entire populace of Ghana as agents who have much deeper mental feelings towards the events and happenings unfolding in the country at the time. This also means that everybody thinks about the state of the nation and will do their best to support the nation.

A further analysis of the clauses shows that President Mills uses five mental clauses in the introduction of the address. Clause Mc5 has the sensor I“, mental process wish“ and phenomenon you well Madam“. Mills uses this clause to congratulate the speaker of Parliament on her appointment. The clause has the potential of arousing the Speaker's emotion as a result of the goodwill message encapsulated in the clause. The human sensor *I* mentally acts on the desiderative subcategory of sensing *wish*. In clause Mc9, the non-human sensor Ghana“ cognitively senses through the mental process expects“ the phenomenon. The sensor can perceive that sometimes certain things done by the House are not in the interest of mother Ghana. Clause Mc12 also has a similar structure: a human sensor *I*, cognitive mental process *remind* and phenomenon *my brothers and sisters of the Majority in this House*. This clause indicates that the sensor sees from afar that politicians sometimes fail to keep faith with the men and women who gave them the mandate to

rule. The sensor is therefore using this endearment phrase to entreat his side of the House to remember the suffering masses on whose vote they are rejoicing.

Similarly, in clause Mc13, the president reiterates his empathetic feeling toward the ordinary Ghanaian citizen. He does this through the cognitive sub-category of sensing should never forget“ which serves as a bridge between the sensor and the phenomenon. The sensor has the phenomenon at heart and therefore reminds his government functionaries of the obligation to keep faith with the citizens at all times, not only in the campaign periods.

The president uses clause Mc28 to remind the House of his intention and that of his party to immortalize the memory of Ghana’s first president Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. He mentions this intention in the phenomenon Dr. Kwame Nkrumah’s memory with a National holiday to be known as Founder’s Day“. The emotive mental process, intend to honour“ is used in sensing the phenomenon and the sensing is done by the first person plural pronoun –We” which embodies the president himself, his government and party. The sensor has the intention of giving honour to the founder of Ghana. The emotive mental process serves to appeal to the audience’s inner heart to connect the political beliefs, ambitions with their expectation, hope in a clear and emphasized way. In this way, the audience’s emotion of promotion and willingness to devotion of work is aroused and strengthened.

Under governance, the President uses twelve mental clauses to construe a quantum of change in the flow of events taking place in our world of consciousness. Out of the twelve mental clauses used, nine of them have the human sensor we“, one has a human sensor I“ and two non-human sensors the IEA [Political parties programme] and the government“. The preponderant use of –we” indicates that when it comes to matters of governance the president, his government and party have

common beliefs and perceptions and their thinking is tilted toward a common political ideology. The use of the human sensor –F’ just once indicates that the president is making a personal passionate appeal to the House. This appeal of letting ministers of states to appear in person on the floor of the House to defend their own budgets is not enshrined in the NDC manifesto. From the analysis we realize that the president uses one emotive mental process cherish‘‘, five desiderative mental processes plan‘‘, has agreed‘‘, would urge‘‘, will ensure‘‘ and will encourage’ and six cognitive mental processes would have known‘‘, will consider‘‘, believe‘‘, recognize‘‘, value‘‘ and expect‘‘. There is no use of perceptive mental process under this section of the address.

The meanings of feelings and thinking encoded in these mental clauses under this section are many. First, the President uses clause Mc29b to appeal to the members of the House to help protect and care for the growth and maturity of our democracy‘‘. Clause Mc40a is used as a reminder to the populace of what the government intends to do in their Governance Reform Agenda in terms of infrastructure, policy formulation and implementation. He also uses clause Mc40b to remind the House that his government is not convinced about the true state of the nation it has inherited and requested for more time. He asserts that as time tickles gradually and his economic team puts finishing touches to their work, the whole country will know the true state of the nation that his government has inherited. In considering the phenomenon, we can imply that the sensor has a negative perception of the economy he and his government have inherited. This perception stems from the opposition party’s claim that the NPP government left behind a robust economy and surplus in revenue which any serious minded government can work with. Clause Mc43 is used by the president to remind the House about the IEA sponsored

programme which has agreed on several draft Bills concerning political parties. These Bills include public financing of political parties Bill, political parties Bill, and a presidential Transition Bill“ among others.

The President uses the cognitive mental clauses Mc67, Mc69a and Mc69b to remind the media to think about their responsibility and inadequacies. He assures the media of his government’s support in shaping public opinion in our democracy. In a similar vein, he uses Mc49a and Mc49b to remind the judiciary of his government desire to collaborate with the judicial service to ensuring expeditious justice delivery.

Under the global economic environment sub-section of the address, six mental clauses are used: Mc70, Mc79a, Mc81, Mc92, Mc99 and Mc107. Four out of the six mental clauses have human participants as sensor“. The first person singular pronoun I“ is used twice to refer to the president himself in clauses Mc70 and Mc99. The sensor perceives that the economic situation in Ghana is not rosy. He senses that the economic crisis will surely lead many people to lose their jobs. This implies that in as much as there is economic insecurity, it will be hard for the citizenry to pay the housing fee, tuitions, Medicare and above all taxes. This clause gives a signal to the audience that the murky economic period will not permit the sensor to function as he should and therefore entreats the people to exercise restraint.

In clause Mc99, the sensor gives assurance to the audience in order to calm their nerves after telling them of the economic situation that obtains in Ghana. The sensor hopes for good times to come. It can be inferred that before the good times come, the sensor is implicitly entreating Ghanaians to summon a new spirit of patriotism, of responsibility, where each of us resolves to pitch in and work harder and look after not only ourselves but each other. By so doing, the good times perceived by the sensor will come where there will be new energy to harness, new

jobs to be created, new schools to build, and threats to meet, alliances to repair. These two examples reveal that Mills hopes, Ghanaians can join together and rebuild their confidence and he also believes his government is capable of surmounting any unforeseen phenomenon against the nation.

In clauses Mc92 and Mc107, the first person plural pronoun we is used as sensor. We realize that clauses Mc79a and Mc81 have non-human sensors it and the reality as we have found out. The mental processes used here are have assumed, must be understood, calls, have experienced and assure. The various phenomena used in this section include office at the five of heightened anxiety and insecurity in the global economy, that the world as we know it has changed, into questions previous ascertain that Ghana is doing well, since 2006, you that we shall all benefit when the good times come and significant savings.

Furthermore, the president uses three mental clauses (Mc114, Mc117 and Mc128) under the private sector sub-section of the address. Two of the three sensors are human, represented by the first person plural pronoun we and the one left is an institutional sensor my administration. The sensors in these three clauses are Mills and his government. In clause Mc114, Mills' administration is conscious of the immense contribution it stands to derive from the private sector which he perceives as partners in development. The sensor acts perceptively on the phenomenon through the mental process which serves as a link between the sensor and the phenomenon. With regard to the mental processes, clause Mc114 uses the perceptive mental process sees; clause Mc117 uses the desiderative mental process want and clause Mc128 uses the cognitive mental process consider in sensing the phenomenon the private sector as an active partner in our development, this partnership to be

built on shared responsibility“ and it to be in the national interest“ respectively. The president claims that his administration recognizes the private sector as an active partner in our development in the country and wishes that a strong partnership is established between the private sector and his government. This he says could be done when these two partners see the partnership as something to be done to serve national interest.

As regards agriculture and cocoa sub-section of the address, one mental clause is used by the president as in clause Mc148a: the current cocoa spraying exercise will be intensified“. In this clause, no overt sensor is seen. We can therefore conclude that though an assurance has been given, there is no indication of commitment and responsibility. The clause has a passive construction with the phenomenon coming first followed by the emotive mental process will be intensified“. The passive construction of this clause can also mean that the president is foregrounding the phenomenon rather the sensor. The phenomenon in this clause is so dear to the hearts of all farmers who have enjoyed the mass cocoa spraying exercise under the out-gone government. They feared that the current government would discontinue the programme but to their surprise the government plans to intensify the programme.

Additionally, the president uses one mental clause under the transport infrastructure sub-section of the address. The clause, Mc159, has a sensor our country“, a cognitive mental process is experiencing“ and a phenomenon economic losses“. The sensor is seen to be feeling the rippling effects which traffic congestion has brought on the people. The phenomenon is also indicative of the fact, that what the country perceives in terms of productivity is not anything to be proud of.

In another development, one mental clause is used under the health sub-section of the address. The clause, Mc167, which occurs here has an implicit or

inferred human sensor we, a desiderative mental process will resolve and phenomenon the issues of claims management as well as those of portability. The sensor desires to settle the perceived bottlenecks militating against the national health insurance scheme. This clause indicates a possible future restructuring of the national health insurance scheme which will possibly consider the government's pledge to have a one-time premium payment to the scheme.

Under the education sub-section of the address, president Mills uses four mental clauses to construe his world of consciousness. These clauses are Mc178b, Mc181, Mc188 and Mc200. Clause Mc178b is a relative clause modifying the antecedent management inefficiencies in the main clause. So in this clause, the sensor is represented by the relative pronoun which, the emotive mental process affect and the phenomenon equity and quality in the education. Here, we can observe that the success of the phenomenon hinges greatly on the sensor. We also identify that the sensor impacts on the phenomenon through the emotive process of affectation. The president thinks that management inefficiencies greatly affect the quality and equity in the education system. In clause Mc181, we have the sensor I referring to the president, a desiderative mental process hope and phenomena this will bring the matter to closure. The sensor wishes and desires that the debate on the duration of senior high schools will end. From the analysis we can see that Mills is not doing anything pragmatic to end the fierce debate but rather makes wishful thinking and expects the debate to die naturally. The phenomenon alludes to the then educational reform which changed the duration of senior high school education which in turn generated heated debates among all stakeholders involved in education provision. The analysis shows that clause Mc188 has a human sensor we, a desiderative mental process must aim and phenomenon at ensuring that all

Ghanaian children of school going age are in school““. The president uses *we* to refer to his government, education administrators, parents and guardians who are the main stakeholders in education. Inferentially, we observe that all stakeholders have an obligation to ensuring that Mills‘ intention of increasing net enrolment ratios in all stages of basic education is met. Clause Mc200 has institutional‘ sensor Government“ with notes“ as its perceptive mental process. The phenomenon is represented as the on-going expansion at this level of education“. President Mills is making reference to tertiary institutions and the expansion being carried out there which aims at providing quality education that will give satisfaction to both graduates and employers““. The sensor is aware and conscious of infrastructural development and expansion in the education sector.

The analysis further shows that President Mills did not use any mental clause in talking about the energy situation in the country and Tema oil Refinery. Matters about these sectors need concrete and pragmatic solutions and not a matter of perception, feeling or wishful thinking which are sometimes impracticable in nature. On the contrary, he uses two mental clauses, Mc224 and Mc227, to talk about the power situation in the country. These two clauses have non-human participants as sensor the anticipated increase in generation“ and the above measures“. They have the same desiderative mental process will enable“ and different phenomena cost-effective supply to meet the nation’s requirements“ and a lowering of the cost of producing electricity in Ghana“ respectively.

The study shows that there are three mental clauses under the information technology sub-section of Mills‘ address. Clause Mc228a has a human sensor we“, a desiderative mental process intend“ and a phenomenon to bridge the digital divide between the rural and urban communities“. The study shows a similar

situation occurring in clause Mc230. It has we as its sensor, will encourage as its emotive mental process and to bridge the digital divide between the rural and urban communities as its phenomenon. Interestingly, clauses Mc230 and Mc234 have the same phraseology. Both clauses have we as sensor, will encourage as emotive mental process and development of common telecom facilities as phenomenon. The President stresses the need for his government to support the growth and development of the telecom industry so as to bridge the digital divide between the rural and urban communities. These clauses display stylistic feature of foregrounded which is used by Mills to stress the need to develop common telecom facilities so that Ghana catches up with other countries in the world of information.

In talking about special social interventions, Mills uses only one mental clause, Mc237. In this clause, the Ministry of Women and Children is the sensor, followed by will witness as the perceptive mental process impinging on the phenomenon a significant budget increase under my administration. The sensor wishes to see promises and intentions of the president translated into something visible and concrete such as the budget increase it is anticipating. Under equitable development sub-section of the address, Mills again uses one mental clause to talk about the perception of poverty and deprivation prevailing in the three regions of the north and the Central Region. Here, the sensor is the three regions of the north and the Central Region, sensing the phenomenon unacceptable levels of poverty and deprivation through the cognitive mental process show. Mills recognises that the level of poverty and deprivation endemic in the three regions of the north and the central Region is not a mere perception, but that which is backed by national statistics. Clause Mc241 is indicative of the fact that communities in these four regions exhibit worsening trends of infant, child and maternal mortality, yet these regions possess

great potential to propel the country into a more buoyant and vibrant economy. The mental process –show” used in this clause helps us to visualise the extent of deprivation prevalent in these four named regions.

Under sports, only one mental clause is used. Clause Mc256 which occurs here has Government“ as sensor, will ensure“ as desiderative mental process and a second appearance at 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa“ as phenomenon. Here, we see the sensor having the mental fortitude and the emotive desire to ensuring that the Black Stars appear in the World Cup for the second time. The sensor displays some sort of urgency and passionate desire through the use of the mental process –will ensure” which also has an element of futurity.

More importantly, four mental clauses are used under foreign affairs subsection of the address. These are Mc261b, Mc265 and Mc266a. Clauses Mc265 and Mc266a have we“ as sensor but different mental processes and phenomena. Clause Mc265 has the desiderative mental process intend“ and to maintain an active role in the United Nations and its specialized agencies“ as phenomenon. We find out that Mills and his administration have the mental acumen and what it takes to maintain Ghana’s position in the United Nations. The sensor has the intention of maintaining Ghana’s position at the United Nations but as to whether the intention will come into reality is probable. In a similar vein, clause Mc266a shows will honour“ as its emotive mental process and all our legitimate international treaty obligations“ as phenomenon. The sensor emotionally feels there is the need to keep a clean sheet in our country’s dealings with the international community. This clause is also a show of commitment to ensuring that the country’s image is not disdained in the sight of world bodies. Clause Mc261b has three clausal elements: sensor that our people“, desiderative mental process have desired“ and phenomenon for so long“. The

clause above indicates that the sensor has for so long been desirous to seeing the total unification of the entire African continent; yet there has not been any significant moves to make this desirous dream a reality. Clause Mc261b is a relative clause qualifying the object continental unity and Pan-Africanism in the main clause of the sentence. Clause Mc263b also has three clausal elements: that as sensor will encourage as emotive mental process and integration and economic development in our sub-region as phenomenon. The above clauses are used by Mills to allude to the fact that Ghana will continue to participate vigorously in all functional world bodies beyond the African union.

In the concluding part of the address, Mills uses six mental clauses to sum up his thought and his world of consciousness. Clause Mc269b has the relative pronoun which as sensor. The non-human sensor the vilification, back biting, political mischief making and divisiveness is part of the main clause which the relative clause qualifies. Clause Mc269b has have bedevilled as its mental process and politics in this country as phenomenon. This clause indicates that if the sensor has negative perceptions and divisive tendencies, the beauty of politics in Ghana is greatly affected. In a similar manner, clause Mc272 has I as sensor, want as desiderative mental process, and us to be kind and generous to each other as phenomenon. Mills uses this clause to appeal to the conscience of all Ghanaians to show kindness and generosity to one another. Clause Mc273, Mc278a and Mc285a have the same sensor I and cognitive mental process believe. However, they have different phenomena: it is possible to bring back smiles to the faces of all Ghanaian that all Ghanaian would join me to elevate Ghanaian politics beyond pettiness and that we can respectively. In clause Mc273, the sensor is of a strong conviction that all hope is not lost and that it is possible to restore hope to the

hopeless and perplexed Ghanaians. He is of a strong conviction that Ghanaians will back him to move politics in Ghana from triviality to serious-mindedness.

Clause Mc280b has the relative pronoun who as sensor. This relative pronoun together with the clause it introduces modifies the object Ghanaians which is the implicit sensor in clause Mc280b. Mills uses the perceptive mental process should see in clause Mc280b whose phenomenon is your teamwork as a prime example of peaceful and productive co-existence. The meaning encoded in this clause is that Members of Parliament should strive to ensure unity in diversity. Though members differ with regard to political ideology and ethnicity, our speech and deeds must show clearly to Ghanaians that our law makers are at peace with one another. The sensor will want to perceive the kind of co-existence amongst our legislators.

In clause Mc285a, the president, who is the sensor I, affirms his belief in a cognitive mental process believe and assures the people in the phenomenon that we can. The phenomenon embodies our ability to build a unified country where all citizens have the opportunity to give off their best to Mother Ghana while earning a good education and a dignified standard of living, to live under the Rule of Law, whereby we are all governed by the same set of Laws and are equal before the law, to build a better and prosperous Ghana that works in the interest of all Ghanaians.

These wishes are what the president thinks we can do as a people with a common destiny. From clause Mc269b to Mc285a, we are able perceive what Mills thinks about the country. First, he perceives that many factors militate against politics in this country and wants us to be kind and generous in resolving those perceived problems. By so doing, he believes it is possible to restore hope to all Ghanaians. He further believes that all Ghanaians should join him to uplift Ghanaian politics beyond

triviality. He enjoins parliament to begin this step for others to see and imitate. These are the things he believes we can“. From the analysis, it can be concluded that mental processes have the potential of arousing the emotions of our audience (Kondowe, 2014).

4.1.4 Analysis of Verbal Processes Used in the SONA

These processes represent human experience ~~in~~ the form of language” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p.253). Verbal process is a process of saying and there are three primary participant roles associated with it, namely, Sayer, Receiver and Verbiage. Verbal processes are manifested by words such as say, tell, warn, argue, ask, command, narrate etc. The Sayer is the one who gives the message and ~~can~~ be anything that puts out a signal” (ibid, p.254). The Receiver is the one who receives the message and the Verbiage is the function that corresponds to what is said, representing it as a class of things rather than as a report or quote. It may construe the topic of what is said or may be the name of the saying which includes speech functional categories such as question, statement, order, or command (ibid). In other words, it is either the content of the message or the name of what is said.

There is however one other type of verbal process, in which the sayer is in a sense, acting verbally on another direct participant, with verbs such as: *insult, praise, slander, abuse, curse, blame, congratulate, describe* and *flatter*. This is termed as Target and it occurs only in a sub-type of verbal‘ clause; this function construes the entity that is targeted by the process of saying. Here, the sayer is as it were acting verbally on another party. The Target participant refers to the one who is cursed, praised, blamed, congratulated or described. The verbal clauses are numbered with the

letters VC, plus the clause number in the address. The underlined below are the various clausal elements as used in the address:

VC1a. Thank Process: Verbal you Receiver for receiving me in this august House Verbiage.

VC6. I Sayer greet Process: Verbal you Honourable Members of both sides of the House, Receiver.
new members as well as returning Members Receiver.

VC34b. ...we Sayer will define Process: Verbal the solutions Target that will propel them to fulfil their constitutional mandates, within reasonable limits of our national resource endowments Verbiage.

VC38 We Sayer promised Process: Verbal many things Receiver in our Governance Reform Agenda in our manifesto Verbiage.

VC46. As we Sayer promised Process: Verbal in our manifesto Verbiage.

VC71. As we Sayer speak Process: Verbal.

VC75b. ...we Sayer cannot blame Process: Verbal any person or government Target for causing this Verbiage.

VC103. The Finance Minister Sayer will announce Process: Verbal in detail the specific measures aimed at achieving macro-economic stability Verbiage.

VC105a. Permit Process: Material me Implicit objective Sayer commend Process: verbal organised labour Receiver

VC105b..... Organised Labour Sayer is calling Process: Verbal for broader consultation on the implementation of single spine salary structure Verbiage.

VC123. I Sayer argued Process: Verbal the concept of justifiable continuity Verbiage.

VC152. We Sayer propose Process: verbal to fast track the West Africa transport and transit project Verbiage

VC184. The government Sayer will propose Process: Verbal amendments Receiver as we may deem necessary following the outcome of an all-party consultation Verbiage.

VC200. Government Sayer commends Process: Verbal the efforts of the private tertiary institutions Receiver.

VC218. The findings Sayer was to inform Process: Verbal the development of a Comprehensive Financial Recovery plan for the power utilities Verbiage.

VC221. ... that Sayer is to inform Process: Verbal Government of Ghana budgetary decisions on re-capitalization of the two power utilities plus the NED Verbiage.

VC267. We Sayer make Process: Verbal such a declaration Verbiage.

VC269. I Sayer pledged Process: Verbal to make a difference in the politics of Ghana Verbiage.

VC273. Ghanaians Sayer will say Process: Verbal of this government Receiver that we are truthful, honest and sincere Verbiage.

VC285c..... I Sayer thank Process: Verbal you all Receiver for the opportunity to lead our Nation Verbiage.

VC286. I Sayer invite Process: Verbal my fellow citizens Receiver to join together in the process of re-generation of our country Verbiage.

VC290. I Sayer thank Process: Verbal you Receiver for your attention Verbiage.

VC291. May modal God Sayer bless Process: Verbal Ghana Receiver.

There are 26 verbal clauses in the address; however, 24 of them were selected for the analysis.

4.1.4.1 Analysis of Sayers in the Verbal Clauses

In the address it is realised that Mills uses different sensors in the mental clauses. The table below shows the types of sensors used in the 2009 SONA:

Table 4.5 Frequency of Occurrences of the Sayers in the Verbal Clauses

SAYER	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
I	8	33.33
We	7	29.17
Financial Minister	1	4.17
The Government	2	8.33
Ghanaians	1	4.17
Organised Labour	1	4.17
Others	4	16.66
TOTAL	24	100

As can be seen from Table 4.5, the total number of sayers used for the analysis is 24. The type of sayer used maximally in the address is *I* with a frequency of 8 representing 33.33% of the data analysed. The second most frequently selected sayer is *we* with a frequency of 7 representing 29.17. The third and fourth frequently used sayers are *others* and *the government* with frequencies 4 and 2 representing 16.66 and 8.33 percent respectively. The minimally used sayers in the address are *the Financial Minister*, *Ghanaians*, and *Organised Labour*.

A critical observation of sayers and their roles indicate that they are ideologically motivated. The dominant use of the sayer *I* in the address implies that Mills is the main sayer who has the capacity to report to the citizens of the country the real state of the nation. Mills is seen in the verbal clauses to be giving promises, pledges, invitations, propositions and gratitude to his countrymen. The sayer *we* and *I* imply that Mills and his government are the key people who assure the citizens of development and transformation in the country. This also means that because he has

the final authority in the country, whatever he tells the people is true and therefore should be trusted.

From the analysis verbal clause VC1a has three clausal roles: the verbal process ~~thank~~”, the receiver ~~you~~”, and the verbiage ~~for receiving me in this august House~~”. The clause has an imperative structure and therefore does not have a direct sayer which is also the subject. The objective form of the implicit sayer ~~me~~” is recoverable from the verbiage. The President uses the verbal process ~~thank~~” to express his gratitude to the Speaker of Parliament and members of the House in whose tenure he, being the main sayer at the moment, is in the chamber to present his first State of the Nation Address to Parliament as President of the Republic of Ghana.

In verbal clause VC6, we identify three clausal roles namely sayer, verbal process and receiver. The sayer takes advantage of the verbal process to express his inner most feeling towards his victory. He does so by using the verbal process ~~greet~~” to express a gesture of respect and recognition to honourable members of both sides of the House, new members as well as returning Members, who are going to be the addressees or receivers of the message in the address. So the sayer salutes the Members of Parliament (receiver) in order to acknowledge their presence.

In verbal clause VC34b, we identify four clausal roles: sayer, verbal process, target and verbiage. The sayer ~~we~~” denotes the President himself, his government including his NDC party and the entire citizenry of Ghana. The sayer ~~we~~” implies that there are other stakeholders who are expected to be on board in the process of finding solutions to the country’s myriad of problems. In this clause, the sayer ~~we~~” is seen acting verbally on another direct participant ~~the solutions~~” which is termed as target. The target precedes the verbiage in this clause.

Although verbal clause VC38 also has four clausal elements, it differs slightly from clause VC34b. It has a sayer ~~we~~”, verbal process ~~promised~~”, receiver ~~many things~~”, and verbiage ~~in our Governance Reform Agenda in our manifesto~~.” Mills and his government made numerous promises in their electioneering campaign to the electorates. These pledges are codified in the NDC manifesto which seeks to ensure reforms in our governance system. In clause VC38, we observe that the sayer does not act verbally on the participant ~~many things~~” which is the receiver. The president reminds the House that his government promised many things in their governance reform agenda in their manifesto. The use of verbal process ~~promised~~” is a verbal assurance which the President gives to the citizenry with regard to what his government has spelt out in their manifesto and what he intends to do to make the promises a reality. The act of promising many things comes from the sayer and it is situated in the verbiage, which is the content of what is said.

In clause VC46, there are three clausal roles. The clause has a sayer, a verbal process and verbiage, but has no receiver or target. The clause begins with the subordinator ~~as~~” followed by the sayer ~~we~~”, verbal process ~~promised~~” and ends with the verbiage. As a subordinate clause, its full meaning resides in the main clause, which is a material clause type. The act of promising was made by the sayer ~~we~~” which represents the president and his government which was accentuated in the party’s manifesto delivery. Mills is using the verbal clause to remind the people of what his party has in store for them in their manifesto. Clause VC71 also has two main clausal elements and has something in common with clause VC46. In clause VC71, we identify a plural sayer utter a verbal process ~~speak~~”. In as much as it is a subordinate clause, its full meaning is retrievable from the main clause. In the main clause the sayer tells the audience about the severe economic downturn and its

associated recession which will hamper growth during his tenure of office. The sayers therefore admonishes the House to desist from the blame game and rather accept the challenge of finding solutions to the problems facing the country holistically. The clause does not have verbiage or a receiver.

The transitivity analysis of clause VC75b shows that it has four elements; the obligatory and non-obligatory elements are present. The sayers –we” transmits the content of what is said (verbiage) to another participant called the target through the verbal process –blame”. In this clause, the sayers is of the view that Ghanaians cannot blame any person or government for causing the severe global economic downturn. The sayers expresses the fact that the cause of the economic crises in the country cannot be attributed to one person or institution.

Mills often refers to himself as a direct sayers of verbal processes using pronoun *I*. In some cases, he sounds democratic and inclusive with his use of the pronoun *we*. However, the analysis indicates that there are very few clauses which have been said by ‘others’. An example of such clauses is VC103. In this clause, the President singles out the Finance Minister as the sayers who will announce in detail the specific measures aimed at achieving macro-economic stability. This denotes that though the president is in the helm of affairs, in matters of financial management, his Finance Minister will be the one who is very competent and astute in its handling. The verbiage encompasses the measures which the sayers will announce to the people. Inferentially, this proposition will include reducing state protocol budget by half; reducing official foreign travel budget by half; reducing official seminars and workshops budget by half; close monitoring of targets and dividends of state-owned companies and enterprises. Other propositions that the sayers will assure the populace of include reviewing the exemptions regime; increasing efficiency in revenue

collection, and negotiating the single spine wages and salaries regimes among others. These measures were the very things the president and his campaign team promised the citizenry in their attempt to capture political power. Now that they are in power, the president charges the Finance Minister to articulate in detail the specific measures aimed at achieving macro-economic stability for the people of Ghana.

In analysing clauses VC105a and VC105b, we realise that they are two paratactic clauses in a clause-complex structure. Clause VC105a begins with a material process –permit” followed by an implicit objective sayer –me”. The verbal process –commend” is used in relation with the receiver –organised labour”. The act of commending is articulated by the sayer and it is received by organised labour. The president’s inner feeling of satisfaction with regard to the work of organised labour is openly declared in his address in VC105a. In contrast to clause VC105a, clause VC105b shows –Organised labour” as sayer with a verbal process of –is calling” and verbiage –for broader consultation on the implementation of single spine salary structure”. The sayer is seen as being in the process of acting verbally on the verbiage through a verbal process –is calling”. This verbal process shows the progression with which the sayer is acting on the verbiage. The verbiage will be welcoming news to all Ghanaians if the government is able to fast track steps to implement the single spine salary structure.

The president is seen as the sayer in clause VC123. He uses the saying mode –argued” to present the verbiage. The President declares that too often new governments stop without justification, projects or programmes which previous administrations initiated. It is in the light of this that the President argues that there is the need for justifiable continuity when a new government is sworn into office.

Under the transport infrastructure sector, the President reiterates his proposition to fast track the West Africa transport and transit project. A critical observation of clause VC152 reveals that the sayers make a proposal by means of the verbal process *propose*. The content of what is said which is the verbiage is represented as *to fast track the West Africa transport and transit project*. The sayers here refers to the president and his government who make the proposal of quickening steps to complete the West Africa transport project.

The analysis further reveals that there are some clauses which have sayers which are non-human entities. In clause VC184, for instance, the sayers *the government* is the non-human entity which puts out the signal. This affirms the assertion by Halliday & Matthiessen (2004, p. 254) that the sayers *can be anything that puts out a signal*. In clause VC184, it is realised that the sayers is *the government* which triggers the signal through the verbal process *will propose*. Clause VC184 has four clausal elements. The sayers is *the government*, the verbal process *will propose*, the receiver *amendments* and the verbiage *as we may deem necessary following the outcome of an all-party consultation*. He declares in clause VC184 that the government will propose amendments as it may deem necessary to stem the tide in the education sector. This, he says, will be done *following the outcome of an all-party consultation*.

The analysis also shows that clause VC200 has three clausal elements. The first participant is the sayers *government* followed by the verbal process *commends* and ends with the receiver *the efforts of the private tertiary institutions*. The President uses this clause (VC200) to praise the efforts of private tertiary institutions for the complementary roles they play in making tertiary education accessible to Ghanaian students. We see that proposition of commendation

is transferred from the president to private tertiary institutions which are making giant strides in complementing government's effort in the arena of education. In that regard, Mills pledges his government's support to the on-going expansion at the private tertiary level which aims at providing quality education that would give satisfaction to both graduates and employers.

Again, we discover that clause VC204 has four clausal elements. The sayer ~~the~~ "government" is a non-human entity which is acting verbally on the target ~~GNPC~~ through a verbal process of ~~has directed~~". The sayer directs the target to carry out the verbiage of exercising its option to acquire a unitized paid interest of 3.75% in the Jubilee field venture. The analysis shows that clause VC218 also has a non-human sayer ~~The findings~~", verbal process ~~was to inform~~", and the verbiage ~~Government of Ghana budgetary decisions on re-capitalisation of the two power utilities plus the NED~~".

In furtherance to the above, clause VC221 has the relative pronoun ~~that~~" as its non-human sayer with a verbal process ~~is to inform~~", and verbiage ~~Government of Ghana budgetary decisions on re-capitalisation of the two power utilities plus the NED~~". Clause VC267, on the other hand, has a human entity ~~we~~" as sayer acting verbally on the target ~~such declaration~~" through a verbal process ~~make~~" which is a material process in structure but verbal process in function.

The President uses six verbal clauses for different shades of meaning in the concluding part of the address. Here, he uses different modes of saying such as pledge, say, thank, invite and bless in clauses VC269, VC273, VC285c, VC286, VC290 and VC291 to represent human experience in the form of language (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). In analysing clause VC269, we realise that the clause has a human sayer ~~I~~", a verbal process ~~pledged~~" and verbiage ~~to~~ make a difference in the

politics of Ghana”. The President avers in this clause that all throughout his political campaign, he pledged to make a difference in the politics of Ghana. Making a difference in Ghana’s politics will mean that he will depart from the politics of insult, mischief making and divisiveness which are deeply endemic in the body politic of Ghana. Clause VC273 also has a human sayer –Ghanaians”, verbal process –will say”, receiver –of this government” and verbiage –that we are truthful, honest and sincere”. In this clause, Mills is of the view that when his government is able to fulfil all the promises it made to Ghanaians, the entire Ghanaian population will attest to the fact that the NDC government has been truthful, honest and very sincere in its campaign promises. Clauses VC285c and VC290 have similar structures but are used to express different meanings in different contexts. For example, they both have the same human sayer –I” and verbal process –thank”. With regards to the receiver, the two clauses differ narrowly. Clause VC285c has a receiver –you all” whereas clause VC290 has –you” as its receiver. The receiver –you all” in clause VC285c refers to the electorates of Ghana, who have given the President the mandate to lead the nation with the hope, that he will be capable of finding solutions to the problems the masses were facing some time past. On the contrary, the receiver –you” in clause VC290 refers to the Speaker and Members of Parliament who granted the president audience to present his first state of the nation address. In terms of verbiage, clause VC285c uses –for the opportunity to lead our Nation” as its verbiage whilst clause VC290 represents its verbiage with –for your attention”. The opportunity to lead the nation was granted to Mills by the Ghanaian voters and he sounds thankful to them. The verbiage also implies that getting the opportunity to lead the nation comes from the common voters and as one gets the platform to lead, those voters must be acknowledged verbally as Mills has done in clause VC285c.

Clause VC286 has four clausal elements: a human sayer ~~I~~, verbal process ~~invite~~, receiver ~~my fellow citizens~~ and verbiage ~~to join together in the process of regeneration of our country~~. In this clause, we see a hand of invitation being stretched forth from the sayer to the receiver. Here, Mills is calling on all citizens of Ghana to come on board in the process of developing the country Ghana.

The concluding part of the address shows that there are five human sayers in the six verbal clauses. Four out of the five human sayers are represented by the first person pronoun ~~I~~ whereas the one left, clause VC273, has a plural human sayer ~~Ghanaians~~. This means that the president asserts himself as the main sayer in assuring the people of better times under his leadership. He claims that he has pledged to make Ghana a better place to live in and when that has been done, ~~Ghanaians will say of this government that we are truthful, honest and sincere~~.

The analysis further shows that the president uses the saying mode of ~~thank~~ to express his gratitude to Parliament for their attention and ~~for the opportunity to lead our Nation~~. He also uses the verbal process ~~invite~~ to send a clarion call to his fellow Ghanaians to join together in the process of regeneration of our country. Similarly, he uses the verbal process ~~pledge~~ to remind the citizenry on what he plans to do differently in the politics of Ghana so as to change the status quo. He ends his speech by asking God to bless (verbal process) his nation Ghana. This alludes to the fact that Mills needs the hand of God in his administration to enable him properly superintend over the nation Ghana. The choice *God* as sayer also implies that Mills is religious and believes in the existence of a supernatural that has the power to bless the nation, Ghana.

In sum, Mills uses verbal processes for a number of reasons: to thank, to express his appreciation and to appeal to the people. He also uses the verbal processes

to mark a shift in topic. They have been so useful in holding the speech together and his audience all along. Verbal clauses have also been used to emphasize his commitments and to stress his proposition of a Better Ghana. These clauses are meant to capture the attention of his audience as he makes his address. He asserts himself as a man of his words and a main agent of change that should be trusted and in whom people should have confidence. The processes also concretize what could otherwise be viewed as abstract happenings in making them appear more vivid by appealing to the audience's sense of hearing. He acknowledges the voters for his victory through the ballot. While he continues to mention himself as the main sayer of the main verbal clauses, he wishes his audience to remember the promises he has made to them while assuring them of his commitment to ensuring the fruition of such promises.

Halliday & Matthiessen (2004, p.252) argue that verbal processes are very significant in three ways. They postulate that when narrative passages are constructed in conversation, 'verbal' clauses are often used to develop accounts of dialogue on the model of 'x said, then y said' together with quotes of what was said. They further assert that in news reporting verbal clauses allow the reporter to attribute information to sources, including officials, experts and eye witnesses. They explain that verbal clauses play an important role in academic discourse, making it possible to quote and report from various scholars while at the same time indicating the writer's stance. Matthiessen (1995) is of the view that verbal processes have their own characteristic traits that set them apart from the other process types. They have their own schema for construing the clause (Lavid, Arus & Zamorano-Mansilla, 2010, p.135-7).

4.1.5 Analysis of Existential Processes Used in the SONA

They are the processes concerned with existence, *the existential*, by which phenomena of all kinds are simply recognized to *be* — to exist, or to happen (e.g. *today there's Christianity in the south*) (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p.171). The table below illustrates the existential clauses used in the address.

Table 4.6 Analysis of Existential Processes Used by President Mills in the SONA

CLAUSE NO.	DUMMY SUBJECT	PROCESS	EXISTENT	CIRCUMSTANCE
53	There	is	national consensus	on the direction and scope of these amendments.
78	There	is	imminent danger	of substantial reduction in economic growth.
126	There	is	a huge amount of money to be paid	in respect of legal rulings both local and international against the Government of Ghana.
270	There	is	a new way	to look at our problems.
289	There	is	only one Ghana.	

From the table above it can be seen that the president uses five existential clauses in the address. The principal meaning of existential clauses is to refer to the existence of something, or the presence of something in a particular place or time. In English, existential clauses usually use the dummy subject construction also known as expletive with *there*. It must be noted that existential clauses can be modified like other clause types in terms of tense, negation, question formation, modality (modality), finiteness, etc. Existential clauses have the dummy subject *there* and the *be* as its existential process. From the table, it is seen that the present tense form of the process *is* is used in all the five clauses without any inflection. The following

are the *Existents* that the President claims to exist: “national consensus”, “imminent danger”, “a huge amount to be paid”, “a new way” and “only one Ghana”. All the existential clauses in the address have circumstantial elements except clause 289 as can be seen from the table above.

In clause 53, the President states that there is the need to build a national consensus on the direction and scope of amendments in the Local Government Act, 1993 and the Local Government Service Act, 2003 in order to deepen local level democracy. This national consensus the president claims will be built by organising a broad national stakeholders’ conference on decentralisation where proposals will be made by participants for the necessary deliberations and amendments. In the clause, the word *there* is the dummy subject and therefore has no representational function in the transitivity structure of the clause. However, it serves to indicate the feature of existence, and it is needed interpersonally as subject (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p.257). Similarly, the Existent, “National consensus” is the second part of the clause which is being said to exist. The circumstantial element of the clause is not obligatory; however in the address four out of the five identified clauses have circumstantial elements. Still on the existential clause 53, we realise that the prepositional phrase “on the direction and scope of these amendments” serves as the circumstance to the existential process —is.

From existential clause 78, the President claims that “there is an imminent danger of substantial reduction in economic”. He was making reference to the challenging global economic environment which was prevailing at the time. This situation had led to severe economic stagnation in the economic growth of the country, and more especially the advanced and donor countries. He feared that a similar situation or phenomenon could obtain in our country which will adversely

affect the economic growth of Ghana while he is the head of leadership. He cited volatility in commodity prices, reductions in foreign aid and in remittance flows from citizens working abroad who have lost their jobs as some of the initial negative impact that developing countries such as Ghana are likely to encounter in the face of the global economic downturn. While he reminds us of the rippling effects of this economic stupor, he advises the citizenry to brace themselves and desist from banking our fortunes on generosity of donor countries and individuals for our national survival. He feared that if we bank our economic prosperity on foreign donors, Ghana's economy will be stifled.

The president uses the existential clause 126 to remind the populace about ~~a~~ huge amount of money to be paid in respect of legal ruling, both local and international against the Government of Ghana". He claims that this huge debt exists as a result of culture of discontinuity by new governments. This occurs when new governments unjustifiably discontinue planning and projects initiated by previous governments through the illegal abrogation of contracts, ~~there~~ is a huge amount of money to be paid in respect of legal rulings" both externally and internally by the Government of Ghana.

Similarly, existential clause 270, which is part of the concluding statements of the address, points to the fact that the government's message of change which he claims had begun, should be met with new ways of doing things, especially ~~there~~ is a new way to look at our problems and use politics as an instrument to shape our future. The president asserts that there exists a new way of solving problems, new orientation and new sense of thinking under his administration. The Existent, *a new way*, should depart from the existing phenomena of vilification, back biting, political mischief making and divisiveness which have bedevilled politics in this country". *The new way*

also includes restoring a sense of community in the country where the citizenry –share in the responsibility of shouldering the common good.”

The last existential clause 289 is very crucial in the presidential address. The clause, –There is only one Ghana” reminds Ghanaians to assert themselves in the process of finding and implementing durable answers to the numerous challenges confronting the nation. The Existent, *one Ghana*, must work for the betterment of all her citizens. This reminder by the president is a clarion call to all Ghanaian citizens to work together to –lift Ghana to greatness of which we all can be proud.” In a similar vein, he charges the citizenry to forget the past and forge ahead in honesty and integrity as his government leads the process of re-generation of the country.

The clause, –There is only one Ghana,” is also a call to duty of all and sundry to unify and work together as one people with a common destiny. The process of regenerating the country should be devoid of ethnic and divisive tendency which seems to have polarised the nation beyond repairs thereby killing the national cohesion and unity that the country is striving hard to achieve. A sober reflection of our nationhood is a key factor in ensuring peaceful co-existence of the ethnic divide in the country. The president, therefore, urges the citizens to work hard and live in unity alluding to the fact that unity in diversity is the surest way of building –a better Ghana.”

4.1.6 Analysis of Behavioural processes

Halliday & Matthiessen (1999, p.514) assert that in English the grammar postulates a third type of process intermediate between these two [material and mental]: –behavioural” processes, in which inner events are externalised as bodily behaviour, like staring, thinking (in the sense of pondering or crying). These

processes are –those that represent the outer manifestations of the inner workings” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). These processes have *Behaver* as an obligatory participant. Behavioural clauses are typically intransitive, involving only the Behaver as participant. If there are two participants, the second participant is Behaviour. They are the physiological and psychological behaviours and include processes like laugh, sneeze, cough, smile, dream, stare, yawn, belch, sleep, cry, breath, doze etc.

The address, however, does not contain any ‘behavioural’ clause as shown in table 4.1 above. In the analysis of the address, paralinguistic elements which include non-lexical components of communication are not taken into consideration. These non-lexical aspects of speech include intonation, hesitation noises, gestures and facial expressions including smiling, frowning, among others. Halliday (1985, p.128) states that behavioural process relates the physical and psychological behaviours such as breathing, coughing, smiling, dreaming, staring etc. These behavioural processes are mostly used in narrative writings and literary texts to describe the actions of characters. They are, however, uncommon in political text analysis. The study does not analyse the spoken discourse of Mills’ address hence features of spoken interaction such as turn-taking, topic control, intonation, persuasion, discourse markers, repetitions and other patterns of spoken discourse are not visible.

The behavioural process is a hybrid process- a material + mental process. Behavioural clauses involve verbs that are clearly psychological. They permit the progressive form of the verb and the cause can be probed with –“What did the behavior do?”

4.2 Summary of Chapter

This chapter has presented the results from the two main sections of the analysis. The first section presented the results obtained from the transitivity analysis of the process types used predominantly in the 2009 state-of-the nation address. The chapter has also parsed the various clauses of the address to identify the various participants and their functions in such clauses under the transitivity model. In addition, this chapter has examined the communicative implications encoded in the process types used in the SONA.



CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This final chapter of the thesis summarises the major aspects of the study and draws conclusions and implications from the research findings. Specifically, the chapter begins with a summary of the aims, methods and approaches adopted in the study and then proceeds to highlight key findings of the study. This is followed by the conclusions and implications drawn from the study. The chapter ends with recommendations for further research.

5.1 Summary of Aims and Methods

The general aim of the study was to conduct a transitivity analysis of language use in the 2009 SONA in Ghana. In light of this, the study sought to address two particular concerns. First, it aimed to identify the process types used predominantly in the 2009 SONA. The second concern was to examine the communicative implications encoded these process types.

To this end, the study employed two notions in Systemic Functional Linguistics, namely, ‘system network’ and ‘the metafunctions of language’ as a theoretical framework. A System network is an interconnection of sets of linguistic signs simultaneously entering into both paradigmatic and syntagmatic relationships with one another. This network is a representation of the meaning potential available to the language user. Language users make systematic choices from each set of items in a particular network to make preferred meaning.

The notion of the metafunctions of language, on the other hand, claims that language performs three functions that are intrinsic to its organisation. These functions are the ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions. The ideational metafunction is the experiential function of language; through language a writer/speaker encodes his experience or perception of the real world as well as the experience of the internal world of his own consciousness (Halliday, 1971). Language serves an interpersonal function in that it is a tool for establishing social relations, for creating and enacting identities and for creating social worlds. The textual function of language is the actualisation of its meaning potentials in the creation of text; that is, its internal organisation of information.

Being descriptive and exploratory in nature, the study adopted the qualitative research design. This type of design is interested in deriving and interpreting meaning from signs such as words or texts, pictures and/or observable behaviour. The particular qualitative approach employed by the study was the textual analysis and transitivity analysis was the method used in analysing and interpreting the text. Transitivity analysis progresses from identifying and isolating simple clauses in which the process types are. These clauses are categorised and coded into syntactic-semantic units using the six main process types in the transitivity framework. Patterns and recurrent patterns were counted and their frequencies and distribution counted.

The above procedures were used in order to answer the two research questions in this study: –What process types are used predominantly in the 2009 SONA?” and –What communicative implications do these process types have?” The data used in this study was the 2009 SONA delivered by Ghana’s late President J.E.A. Mills. This document was obtained from the website www.parliament.gh/publications/49. The data analysis consisted of two main stages.

The first stage involved the identification and quantification of processes used in the 2009 SONA in terms of types and frequencies of occurrence. The study employed the transitivity analysis introduced by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) as the analysis framework. The analysis of transitivity concentrated on describing the different types of processes and their associated configuration of participant roles. The different types of processes studied were: Material processes, Mental processes, Relational processes, Verbal processes, Behavioural processes and Existential processes.

The second stage was the analysis of the intrinsic communicative functions of the processes identified in the first stage. This stage aimed to reveal the communicative implications of the actors and verbs used in the address. A manual textual analysis was used for the study and the frequency of words found in the corpus were recorded and calculated for the percentage.

5.2 Summary of Findings

The aim of the study was to identify the process types used predominantly in the 2009 SONA and to examine the communicative functions of such processes as used in the address. The study employed the transitivity model for the textual analysis of the address. The overall results showed that material processes are used most predominantly in the address covering 59.14% of the total processes analysed.

These material processes are used by Mills to set out his political and economic principles that would govern the new administration by demonstrating what the new government has put in place in terms of policy; what they are doing in terms of projects; and what they will do in different aspects of affair. Through the processes of doings and actions, he affirms his commitment to values the nation has pursued so

far by creating a sense of continuity between the glories of the past chalked by past leaders and the challenges of the present he is poised to face. The material processes are also used to reassure the audience that the transition to the new tenure in office will not pose any threat to the nation's historic legacy. These processes are used to celebrate the heroic deeds of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah; to unify the audience and the nation which seemed polarised after the general election; to acknowledge the contributions of the previous government and to recount the contributions made by distinguished personalities in the country with special reference to former Presidents of Ghana and other non-political figures.

The second most frequently used processes are the relational processes covering 20.71% of the total processes analysed. President Mills uses the relational processes to assert himself as the president by virtue of the power that he now wields, and to identify himself with the people, and to indicate his new position that will mandate him to carry out certain policies which hitherto he would not have been able to. Mills used the relational process type to create a positive image of himself in the minds of the masses. It is in this light that he needs to identify himself, his new position, authority and vision for the country. These relational processes explain how Mills is going to use his new position and authority to propel development and his party's "Better Ghana Agenda".

The third most frequently used process type is the mental group with a total percentage of 14.17%. Mills uses the mental process type to appeal to the people of Ghana to support his government. He uses this process type to remind the citizens of their responsibility in ensuring unity. He assures the various governmental institutions of the government's support. He perceives challenges in his tenure of office and

enjoins Ghanaians to come on board to help him restore hope to the people. Mental processes are capable of arousing the emotions of audience.

The fourth most frequently used process type is the verbal group with a total percentage of 4.85% of the total processes analysed. Mills used these processes to express his gratitude to the electorates of Ghana and Members of Parliament for the opportunity given him to serve. He made several pledges, promises and propositions using verbal processes. These processes are used by Mills in his address to make commendations and to articulate his vision for the country. Mills is seen as the main sayer in assuring the people of better times under his stewardship.

The least used process type is the existential group with an insignificant representation of 0.93%. The existential process types are used by Mills purposely point to some of the challenges his government has inherited. They are also used to remind Ghanaians that there is only one Ghana, and that unity is vital in propelling growth. He again uses the existential processes to point to the need to have new ways of doing things.

The address, however, did not identify behavioural processes. This is because behavioural processes are mostly used in narrative writings and literary texts to describe the actions of characters. They are, however, uncommon in political text analysis. Though they may be common in spoken discourse of Mills' address, this study did not consider the paralinguistic elements of the address, hence features of spoken interaction such as turn-taking, topic control, intonation, persuasion, discourse markers, repetitions and other patterns of spoken discourse are not visible.

5.3 Conclusion of the Research Results

The aim of the study was to identify the process types used predominantly in the 2009 SONA. The study employed transitivity analysis to study the process types used by president Mills and the meanings they carry in them. From the analysis, we realize that Mills uses more material processes than any other process type in the address. Material processes of transitivity are processes of doing, usually physical and tangible actions. These are action clauses expressing the fact that something or someone undertakes some action or some entity –does” something – which may be done to some other entity. Most of the concrete developmental projects outlined in the address are presented in material processes.

In addition, relational processes are found to be the second highest used process type in the address. This means that Mills identifies himself with the people; asserts himself as the third president of the fourth republic which mandates him to carry out certain policies which hitherto he would not have been able to do. Mills’ use of relational processes is an effort to create a very positive image of himself in the minds of the masses. His use of these relational processes explains how he is going to use his new position and authority to propel development and his party’s agenda during his first tenure of office.

Additionally, Mills usually encodes mental reactions such as perception, thoughts and feelings using mental processes. These processes give insight into Mills’ consciousness and how he senses the experience of the reality. Mills again represents the art of saying and its synonyms in verbal processes. The verbal clauses usually have three participants: the Sayer is responsible for verbal process; the Receiver is the person at whom the verbal process is directed; and the Verbiage is the nominalised statement of the verbal process. Mills uses different modes of saying such as pledge,

say, thank, invite and bless in these clauses. He also uses existential clauses to indicate that there is only one Ghana and that there is a huge debt in the country which all must come together to pay. In essence, existential processes show states of being, existing, and happening. They are realized by the *There-construction* in English which has no representational function and there are no human participants in existential processes. They typically employ the verb be or its synonyms such as exist, arise, occur. The only participant in this process is Existent which follows the *there is /are* sequences.

Behavioural processes characterize the outer expression of inner working and reflect physiological and psychological behaviours such as breathing, laughing, sneezing etc. They usually have one participant who is typically a conscious one, called the Behaver. They are, however, uncommon in political text analysis. Since the study does not consider the spoken discourse of Mills' address, features of spoken interaction such as turn-taking, topic control, intonation, persuasion, discourse markers, repetitions and other patterns of spoken discourse are not visible.

The study confirms that the choice of linguistic forms in any discourse is motivated (Halliday, 1971; Simpson, 2004). There are often several ways in which a writer can use the resources of language to express the same experience or event in a text. In the creative process and the political arena, literary writers and politicians respectively either consciously or unconsciously choose certain linguistic items over others to represent experiences or events for stylistic effects. A text will, therefore, always have an ideological orientation, which depends on the social, cultural and historical framework within which the text is produced.

There is no priority of one process type over another so Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) portray the interrelationship between transitivity processes as a

sphere which enables us to construe and portray our experiential meanings of the world, how we perceive what is going on (1976, p. 172). The study affirms that the transitivity system helps users of language to express their experience, or what Bloor and Bloor (1995, p.107-109) call as “represent their perceptions of reality”. This affirms Halliday’s (1985b, p.101) assertion that “Transitivity specifies the different types of processes that are recognized in the language, and the structures by which they are expressed.”

Using transitivity analysis, the study has revealed that language structures can produce certain meanings and ideologies which are not always explicit for readers. This means that transitivity system has proven very useful in uncovering the participants involved, how the speaker/writer locate himself in relation to the others, and whether they take an active or passive role in the discourse. The analysis has further been used to discover the relation between meanings and wordings that account for the organization of linguistic features in the address.

The study concludes that the 2009 SONA uses more primary process types than the secondary process types. It uses the material processes maximally and the existential processes minimally. However, the SONA recorded no behavioural process type because the study did not analyse the paralinguistic elements of the text.

5.4 Implications of the Study

The research findings and the conclusions established above have varied implications.

First, the study confirms SFG’s claim that language users make systematic choices from the systemic organisation of language to realise preferred meanings (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). What this study has done in this direction is to illustrate how

Mills has constructed his vision of the country through the systematic choices he makes in the transitivity system.

Another implication of the study is the contribution it makes to the scholarship on political discourse. The study has contributed to the growing explorations on the interface between language and politics. The study employs transitivity, a functional linguistic concept, to analyse power relations in political discourse. The knowledge, particularly, about transitivity and language use in such speeches will contribute to the on-going debate on critical discourse analysis based on Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG).

The findings of the study also have implications for the theoretical application of transitivity to the study of linguistic choices used by political figures and the communicative implications that are encoded in the process types used in such speeches. Linguistically, I hope this study has contributed towards understanding how linguistic analysis of a text can be used to interpret meanings in a literary text or discourse.

The knowledge, particularly about transitivity, in this study has implication on the field of academia in the teaching and learning of English Language. The daily classroom interactions among teachers and students depend on the use of language with the process types as central in every clause. The study will impact positively on the teaching and learning of clauses at all levels of the academic ladder. Again, the study has implications on pedagogy in the teaching and learning of Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis at the tertiary level. In a similar vein, once this research has been undertaken, the findings that are concerned with language and political discourse would be a useful tool for critics and analysts of discourse to consider the linguistic and the extra linguistic elements of political speeches in their analysis.

5.5 Limitations and Recommendations for Further Research

This study was inevitably limited to a certain degree. Since it focuses only on transitivity analysis of the 2009 SONA in Ghana, it could not be generalized to all political discourses. Nevertheless, it might be possible that the results from this study could help point out some interesting developments with regard to the relationship between language and politics. It would also be interesting to further the study as follows:

1. The study will help other researchers who are interested in this field to further study the language of political discourse in order to identify the political assumptions encoded in the words used in such speeches.
2. It would also be useful for a comparative study of transitivity analysis to be carried out in order to compare the linguistic imports of two presidents from different political parties as far as the SONA and other political discourses are concerned.
3. Apart from transitivity analysis, other models of linguistic analysis, for instance, genre analysis, thematic analysis, structural analysis etc. are also useful for studying English Language texts.
5. Apart from the transitivity analysis, there are other topics such as mood-residue, theme-rheme, clause-complexing which can be studied under Halliday's SFG by other researchers in order to provide detailed analysis on political discourse and other discourses.
6. Based on the numerous benefits that one stands to gain from SFG with respect to textual and meaning analysis, I recommend that the Ministry of Education in collaboration with the Ghana Education Service and the Curriculum Research and Development Division integrate the teaching of functional grammar in the English Language syllabi at all levels of education in the country.

7. Since teachers use language as a medium of instruction in the classroom, it is recommended that they undergo series of seminars and workshops to brainstorm the need to make SFG an integral part of the English curriculum. This will enable the teachers to be in season with the requisite skills for textual analysis.



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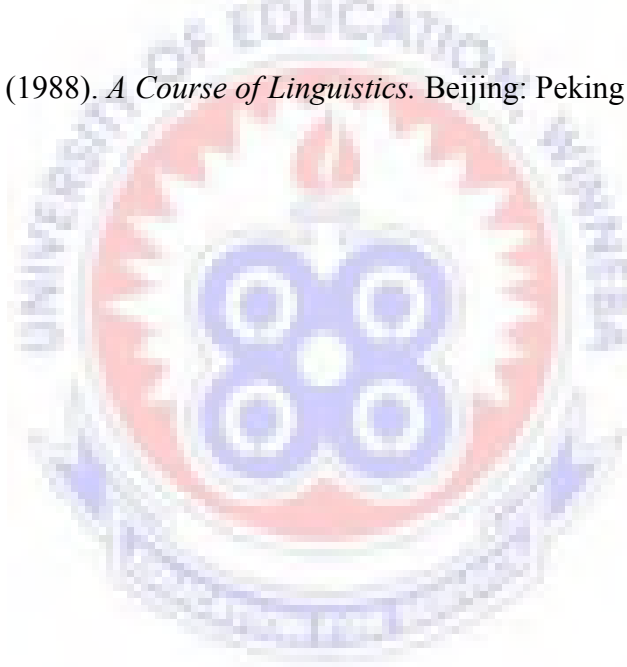
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APPENDIX

STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN EVANS ATTA

MILLS, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GHANA

Madam Speaker,

Thank you for receiving me in this august House to present my first State of the

Nation address to Parliament as President of the Republic of Ghana.

Madam Speaker,

As the first Lady Speaker of Parliament, you occupy a unique position in our Nation's history. It is a position of which you and indeed all women of Ghana should be justifiably proud. You exemplify the fulfilment of my wish to see Ghanaian women rise to assume even more prominent positions in our land. I wish you well Madam.

I greet you Honourable Members of both sides of the House, new members as well

as returning members.

Together you constitute a blend of experience and new perspectives that should

inure to the benefit of this House.

The measure of the accomplishments of this House must be the degree to which

its results benefit the Nation.

Ghana expects that you will work in the National Interest.

In a real sense your work meets expectations only to the extent that it helps us

build A Better Ghana.

Madam Speaker,

Last December, the People of Ghana sat in judgement and ruled in favour of the

NDC and our agenda for A Better Ghana. And so I remind my Brothers and Sisters

of the Majority in this House of our obligation to keep faith with the people at all

times. We should never forget the men and women whose worries stretch from

pay day to pay day.

I extend a hand of friendship to our brothers and sisters of the Minority.

We must work together to fashion the requisite legislation that will help this country face and overcome her many challenges in these times of domestic and

global uncertainty.

In this quest consensus-building is vital and time is very precious.

True collaboration in this House must produce solutions that address Ghana's challenges in a qualitative and timely manner.

Madam Speaker,

Permit me to acknowledge my predecessors; President Jerry John Rawlings and

President John Agyekum Kufuor. Ghana is indeed grateful to them for their service to our Nation. We are also grateful to them for moving our democracy further along the path to maturation. As the third President in Ghana's Fourth Republic I will play my part to add to their legacy. We will learn as a Nation to add to what is working, and to change course only when it is in the National Interest to do so. We will depart from the practice of undoing the valuable contributions of our predecessors. A house that is constantly rebuilding its foundation is doomed to remain stuck to the foundation level, never to reach completion and decoration, let alone occupation. Ghana deserves better.

Madam Speaker,

Let me also acknowledge our first President, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, that illustrious Founder of our nation. His selfless leadership serves as a point of reference in our determination to build a better Ghana.

Incidentally, this year marks the 100th anniversary of Dr. Nkrumah's birth and as a Country we should commemorate the event in an appropriate and befitting manner.

Among others, we intend to honour Dr. Nkrumah's memory with a National holiday to be known as Founder's Day and we will be presenting legislation to Parliament to this effect.

GOVERNANCE

Madam Speaker,

All too often, we celebrate successful elections and cherish the growth and maturity of our democracy. However, we tend to invest far less in the development of our democratic governance than we reap from it. Under my administration, we will take seriously into account the needs of our governance institutions.

Our 1992 Constitution established a number of institutions to foster effective balance of powers, provide ample expression for the representatives of people,

guarantee access to Justice, Human Rights, Independence of the media and the

right of the citizens to be empowered with knowledge about civic education.

While

these institutions have performed relatively well, they are under resourced, their

leaders and staff poorly motivated and their institutions thinly spread, such that

ordinary citizens in remote areas are unable to access many of their services.

We

will engage these independent governance institutions in a peer review of their

conditions and together with them define the solutions that will propel them to fulfil their Constitutional mandates, within reasonable limits of our national resource endowments.

Madam Speaker,

Transparency in government and the fight against corruption are cardinal for sustainable development. During this administration, we will address transparency through a three dimensional approach

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

Together these measures will enable both citizens and statutory Constitutional bodies to access the needed information to demand accountability from officeholders

in the public and private sectors.

Madam Speaker,

We promised many things in our Governance Reform Agenda in our Manifesto and

we shall systematically work to fulfil these. For this year, we have already delivered on our promise to establish a lean but effective government by realigning and reducing the number of Ministries. For the rest of the year, we plan

for the following areas of our Governance agenda most of which will actually be

commenced next year when we would have known the true state of the nation that we have inherited.

Regarding Parliament and Parliamentarians, we will embark on the following:

- * The construction and furnishing of a standard “Member of Parliament Duty Post Office” in each of the 230 constituencies and the payment of an Administrator appointed by the Member of Parliament to man the office;
- * The establishment of a “Member of Parliament Constituency Development Fund separate and apart from the District Assemblies Common Fund in order to release the District Assemblies Common Fund for the exclusive use of the District Assemblies and to remove one of the sources of tensions between the District Chief Executives and the Members of Parliament ;
- * The assignment of National Service graduates to Members of Parliament as Research Assistants.

Madam Speaker,

Several areas of our governance agenda require legislative intervention.

Fortunately, The IEA-sponsored “Ghana Political Parties Programme” which is made up of all the political parties with representation in Parliament has agreed

on several draft Bills that will respond to this need. Consequently, the Government will consider these draft Bills for possible Parliamentary enactment in

order to fill the void. The Bills are:

* Public Financing of Political Parties Bill, including the creation of an Election Fund

for political parties and guaranteed funding for the Electoral Commission;

* A new Political Parties Bill; and

* A Presidential Transition Bill.

As promised in our Manifesto, we shall also introduce a Bill to amend the Public

Office Holders (Declaration of Assets and Disqualification) Act, 1998, Act 550, in

order to make it more functional and effective in ensuring probity and accountability.

In our desire to safeguard the guaranteed constitutional independence of these

institutions, I would urge this august House, through an appropriate amendment

of its Standing Orders, to consider permitting the leadership of these important

national institutions to appear in person on the floor of the House at least to defend their own Budgets. That way, the criticism of the Executive starving them

of funds will be a thing of the past.

Madam Speaker,

Regarding the Judiciary, we will ensure adequate collaboration without sacrificing

the independence of the Judiciary and encourage their work such as to assure

expeditious dispensing of justice to all.

In this vein Government will support such developmental projects, law reform and

anti-corruption initiatives, as will promote the dignity of our Judiciary.

In preparation for the new District Assemblies to be established after the District

Assembly elections of 2010, we will implement programmes to deepen local level

democracy, accelerate decentralization and empower the people for local development. These will require major amendments to the Local Government Act,

1993 and the Local Government Service Act, 2003. To ensure that there is national

consensus on the direction and scope of these amendments, we will organise a

broad National Stakeholders' Conference on Decentralization this year to mark the

20th anniversary of the coming into existence of the District Assemblies and to

make proposals for the amendments.

We believe also that a National Constitutional Review Conference is the surest

way to ensure that our Manifesto promises as well as those of some of the other

political parties which require constitutional amendments see fruition in a consensual manner. In preparation towards this Conference, we shall this year

establish a Constitutional Review Committee to collate views on amendment proposals and to work towards the Conference.

Madam Speaker,

Law and order, human safety and security and protecting the people remain the

cornerstone of our internal security policy. For far too long, Governments have sought to provide for the security of the people without the involvement of the agencies responsible for security.

We will be holding a series of durbars with the officers and men of the Ghana Armed Forces, the Police Service, the Prisons Service and the CEPS to elicit from

them directly and at first hand what their concerns and needs are.

The feedback will assist in the present conditions of work for Officers and Men in

order to boost morale and improve efficiency.

Madam Speaker,

I made a firm commitment to stamp out drug trafficking. In line with this, we will

review the Narcotics Drugs Control, Enforcement and Sanctions Law of 1990 (PNDC LAW 236). We aim to create a more potent drug enforcement agency that

will collaborate more effectively with International drug enforcement agencies to

arrest and prosecute offenders. We will bring to closure investigations into the numerous high profile drug trafficking cases of recent years and bring to book all

those involved.

The law-enforcement agencies must be uncompromising in their pursuit of those

who violate the human rights of others. Justice must therefore be brought to bear

on those who took the lives of the Ya Na and many of His elders, Issa Molbilla and

the over 30 women whose murder still remains a national mystery to mention a

few.

Madam Speaker,

We will continue to respect the diversity and independence of the media and in

shaping opinion in our democracy. A credible media is reflected in the quality of

information they process for the consumption of the public and as a Government,

we recognize our responsibility to be accessible to the media in order to bridge

the information gap. In the course of the year, I will begin a monthly radio

broadcast to the nation as part of measures to enhance communication with the citizenry.

In as much as we all value accountability of government and free expression, we expect the media to look at its own inadequacies and endeavour to reconnect with the mass of citizens and to live by the tenets such as its own ethical code and the constitutional obligations enshrined in the 1992 Constitution.

CHALLENGING GLOBAL ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT

Madam Speaker,

I have assumed office at a time of heightened anxiety and insecurity in the global

economy. As we speak, the whole world has been gripped by the severe global

economic downturn and associated recession. Millions of jobs have been lost in

many countries.

The financial meltdown has defied logic and economic rationality. As things fall

apart, institutions of global economies and financial management are under enormous stress. Such is not the gravity of the crises that no nation can traverse

these hard times alone, nor can we blame anyone person or government for causing this. The world needs a radical re-thinking of the rules, institutions and

processes for global, social and economic management.

For the developing world, the initial impact has been volatility in commodity prices, reductions in foreign aid and in remittance flows from citizens working abroad who have lost their jobs. There is imminent danger of substantial reduction

in economic growth.

While the exact impact of these changes on our economies are yet to be determined, it must be understood that the world as we know it has changed beyond recognition and we should not, and cannot, bank on previous arrangements, such as the generosity of donors, for our national survival.

Madam Speaker,

Over the last one month of assuming office, an economic management team has

been reviewing our situation thoroughly. The reality as we have found out calls

into question previous assertion that Ghana is doing well in spite of the global economic crisis.

Let me highlight the fundamentals of our current economic status and predicament.

* The fiscal deficit, meaning the excess of expenditure over revenue, was GH¢ 2.5

Billion in 2008. This figure is over 15% of Gross Domestic Product. In layman's

terms, we have spent a great deal more than what we earned.

* The external deficit or balance of payments for 2008 is estimated at GH¢3.42 Billion, or 18% of GDP. Here too, it means that we owe our foreign creditors far more than is fiscally prudent for an erstwhile HIPC country.

* The rate of inflation accelerated from 12.7 percent at the end of 2007, to 18.1 percent at the end of December 2008.

* In the space of two years i.e. between 2006 and 2008, our stock of external debt increased from US\$2.2 billion to US\$3.9 billion. This contributed to an increase in the overall national debt to US\$7.6 billion in 2008, from US\$5.3 billion in 2006. This is in spite of the over US\$5.0 billion debt write off enjoyed by the nation from 2001.

* Over the last few months the cedi has lost substantial value with respect to the US dollar which is attributed to the delayed effect of excessive spending and trade imbalances we have experienced since 2006. We have used up foreign exchange resources which have accrued from various debt relief arrangements to shore up the value of the cedi. In recent months as the foreign exchange inflows have dried up the cedi has come under enormous pressure. Indeed, the decline in the value of the cedi is negating benefits which could otherwise have accrued from low world crude oil prices. We are resolved to achieve an early restoration of stability in the foreign exchange market. This requires that we expand our exports, cut down our import bill and manage our finances carefully and live within our means. Honourable members must join me in managing this period of economic difficulty. I assure you that we shall all benefit when the good times come, as they surely will. I am optimistic that the burden of sacrifice, if properly shared, will result in great opportunities and progress for the people of this country. I am committed to bringing the fiscal excesses under control. Without it, this country cannot pursue the aim of creating prosperity for our people. We are working on a number of measures and the Finance Minister will announce in detail the specific measures aimed at achieving macro-economic stability in the budget statement to be presented shortly. The measures will include:

* Reducing State Protocol budget by half.

- * Reducing Official foreign travel budget by half.
- * Reducing Official seminars and workshops budget by half.
- * Close monitoring of targets and dividends of state-owned companies and enterprises
- * Reviewing the exemptions regime.
- * Increasing efficiency in revenue collection.
- * Negotiating the single spine wages and salaries regime. And here Madam Speaker, permit me to commend organized labour, which obviously aware of the economic realities, is calling for broader consultation on the implementation of the single spine salary structure.

I am making sure that expenditure at the Presidency does not constitute an undue burden on the Ghanaian taxpayer

I will impose austerity measures throughout the Government machinery, to ensure that we realize significant savings. As part of these measures we will review the decision to purchase two executive Presidential aircrafts. Ghana simply cannot afford the expenditure at this time and we certainly do not need two Presidential Jets.

This is the beginning of a rescue plan for building A Better Ghana.

PRIVATE SECTOR DEVELOPMENT

Madam Speaker,

Whilst we face these challenges our resolve should be to ensure that we continue to drive economic growth to provide opportunities for the poor. A lot of this growth will be provided by the private sector. A vibrant, globally competitive private sector must play a key role in the economic transformation and social development of Ghana

My administration therefore sees the private sector as an active partner in our development. It is largely the private sector, formal and informal, indigenous and foreign, that will be central in creating jobs and increasing government revenue through taxation which in turn will fund the social investments such as roads, schools and clinics that the NDC Government is deeply committed to delivering. It is the men and women in the private sector that my administration intends to partner, develop and grow, not only for the near term but in the longer term to secure the future and well-being of our people.

We want this partnership to be built on a shared responsibility where Government provides the conditions necessary for private sector growth and where the private sector becomes a pro-active partner in development; is socially responsible and

innovative so that together we can generate growth and employment and provide incomes especially for the poor. My pledge to the private sector is clear. My administration will build a robust economy and address the challenges which the private sector faces in investing, growing and expanding. In view of the breadth of our challenges, we intend to build on the multi-sectoral strategic framework for the development of the private sector which should provide the vehicle for driving and delivering the changes so urgently required in making Ghana's private sector locally and globally competitive. Given the urgency of this, the private sector development agenda will be driven and monitored at the heart of Government business at The Presidency. This is a promise I made to the private sector and the Government will translate it into action.

Madam Speaker,

In my address to the Economic Retreat at Akosombo a few weeks ago, I argued the concept of justifiable continuity. This nation must stop the discontinuities in planning that result from changes in Governments. Too often new Governments have stopped without justification, projects or programmes which previous administrations have initiated. As a result there is a huge amount of money to be paid in respect of legal rulings both local and international against the Government of Ghana. In conducting the business of Government we will be guided by these experiences. Whenever we consider it to be in the national interest we will renegotiate agreements using laid down procedures.

Madam Speaker,

The National Youth Employment Program is essential to Ghana's overall national employment strategy, and it will be continued. However, the programme will be revised to extend employment eligibility to tertiary, vocational and other targeted groups.

AGRICULTURE

Madam Speaker,

The Government will address simultaneously the issues of food availability, access to food, response to crises situations and malnutrition. The Government will invest adequately to maintain the production level of those crops for which we have surplus production and put in measures to increase significantly the production level of those crops for which we have deficit production. We will also put in place

measures to increase significantly the production level of the staple crops for which consumption demand exceeds domestic production.

The Aveyime Rice Project will be restored to boost rice production for internal consumption and for export.

We will move beyond rhetoric and execute a programme to rehabilitate existing

irrigation schemes to ensure their efficient utilization.

We will construct additional dams, boreholes and other water harvesting facilities

in areas with high agricultural potential.

The Accra Plains Irrigation Project will be vigorously pursued to make it available

for all year round production. It will be the flagship of the agricultural revolution of

this administration.

Madam Speaker,

Government will pursue a policy of direct intervention to make available production inputs for small farmers on credit. In addition to the credit support, Government will continue the fertilizer subsidy programme.

To address the situation of cheap poultry and meat imports, large scale cultivation

of maize and soya beans will be supported to drastically reduce the cost of feed

for poultry production. Tariff and non-tariff barriers will be used to give local poultry production a competitive edge over cheap imports.

Government will review all existing agreements on fishing within Ghana's territorial waters to ensure that the livelihood and long-term interests of our fishermen and the residents of the coastal communities are guaranteed.

Government will also enforce the prohibition of the unorthodox fishing methods

currently used by some foreign and local fishing trawlers which are leading to the

depletion of our marine fish resources.

We will enhance the capacity and capability of the Ghana Navy and Air Force to

enforce the prohibition.

We will also enforce regulations on pair trawling and we will enforce the ban on

the use of light and explosives for fishing.

COCOA

Madam Speaker,

Government will aim to increase the yield of cocoa from 1,250kg to about 1,750kg

per hectare through better farm management application of hi-tech production systems and better producer prices.

The current mass cocoa spraying exercise will be intensified and extended to include brushing, pest and disease control, shade management, pollination and

fertilization.

In pursuance of the objective to process at least 60% of the cocoa produced locally, the NDC Government will begin negotiations for the establishment of a cocoa processing factory in the heart of the cocoa producing area of the Western

Region. This will reduce the burden of transporting large quantities of cocoa beans to the ports.

TRANSPORT INFRASTRUCTURE

Madam Speaker,

Starting with our decision to merge all transportation-related Ministries except Roads and Highways under one Ministry of Transport, we are beginning the process of harmonizing our infrastructure development towards a common purpose of accelerating our national development effort with national unity and

regional integration as twin-purposes.

To this end we propose to fast track

* The West Africa Transport and Transit project which will improve sections of the

Central Corridor from Kintampo to Paga.

* The Eastern Corridor project which will improve the Tema – Yendi-Tamale road links.

* Completion of the Bole-Bamboi road and continue work on the entire Western Corridor Project.

* Implementation of the road projects supported by the Millennium Challenge Account.

We will also continue with programs such as the Urban Transport project which

aims at providing mass transit facilities and services in metropolitan areas.

The

project will also provide the framework for better management of urban road transport services in Ghana.

Government will work to eliminate duplication and streamline the policy direction

for mass transit to ensure that Ghana obtains the maximum benefits from these initiatives.

Madam Speaker,

The vehicle population is growing at about 8% per annum, with cars and buses

contributing 30% and 8% respectively to the growth. In areas such as Accra and

Kumasi, the dominant mode of transport is the car with occupancy levels of about

2 per car.

The vehicular volumes of about 55,000 per day on the Airport Road, 20,000 per

day on the Spintex Road and 30,000 per day on the La-Teshie road make traffic congestion is inevitable. Consequently, our country is experiencing economic losses in terms of loss of productivity, high cost of transport services and high operating costs of transport services. Collaboration of the road sector managers, enforcement agencies and the Metropolitan and Municipal assemblies will be important in resolving identified congestion bottlenecks and avoid the creation of new ones.

HEALTH

Madam Speaker,
During the 2008 campaign I made several commitments to the health sector. I am of the conviction that the health of our nation is the wealth of the nation. The National Health Insurance Program will be enhanced and expanded. The onetime NHIS enrolment fee still remains an achievable goal, and we will work to make the scheme truly national. In place of the current District Mutual Health Insurance Scheme to which one must pay an annual premium, we will seek to implement a Universal Health Insurance Scheme which will reflect the universal contribution of all Ghanaian residents to the Scheme. Since every person in Ghana contributes to the NHIS through the National Health Insurance Levy, the Universal Health Insurance Scheme will allow for a one-time premium payment to the Scheme. The National Health Insurance Scheme will be restructured to respond to the needs of the population and resolve the issue of claims management as well as those of portability. We will also pursue the policy of de-linking children from their parents and the provision of free maternal care.

Many of the common ailments and diseases affecting Ghanaians can be eliminated or controlled through better sanitation, nutrition and lifestyles. Accordingly, we will encourage all MDAs to embark upon major multi-sector collaboration with the view to improving sanitation and targeting safe food and water. It will ensure that District Assemblies, besides developing relevant regulations and guidelines will also implement and enforce them.

Madam Speaker,

The Implementation of the following planned projects will commence:

- * Rehabilitation and Upgrading of the Tamale Teaching Hospital;
- * Construction of a 100-bed General Hospital with a Malaria Research Centre at

Teshie;

- * Construction of a Regional Hospital with staff housing at Wa;
- * Construction of six (6) District Hospitals with staff housing at Adenta/Madina, Twifo-Praso, Konongo-Odumase, Wenchi, Tapa, and Salaga;
- * Construction of two (2) District Hospitals at Bekwai and Tarkwa;
- * Construction of Blood Transfusion Centres in Accra, Kumasi and Tamale
- * The second phase for the Rehabilitation of the Bolgatanga Hospital project.

Preparatory works involving site selection, feasibility studies, needs assessment, appraisal and surveys and fund mobilisation for the following projects would be

undertaken in the course of the year:

- * Medical Assistants Training School in the Northern, Western and Volta Regions;
- * Upgrading of the Regional Hospital in Cape Coast into a fully fledged Teaching Hospital;
- * Schools of Allied Health Sciences with emphasis on the training of Health Care Assistants;
- * Further expansion of existing training Schools and development of new Nursing and Midwifery Training Colleges;
- * Expansion of Radiotherapy and Nuclear Medicines Centres in Accra and Kumasi into centres of excellence;
- * Setting up of a New Urology Centre of excellence at Korle-Bu; and
- * Construction of Staff accommodation nationwide.

EDUCATION

Madam Speaker,

A number of critical factors continue to threaten progress in education delivery.

Some of these are gender disparities, geographical differentiations, school dropout

retention, poor transition from primary to junior high school, poor teacher deployment, and inadequate and poor school infrastructure. We will address these concerns.

We will also strive to improve in a more concerted manner, the situation of second cycle education especially conditions in many of our high schools. We will address

management inefficiencies which affect equity and quality in the education system and take a critical look at the utilization practices of the GETFUND.

One of the most significant of the challenges facing education is the recent reform, which changed the duration of senior high school education.

I am aware of the different opinions on this matter, and I am committed to providing a forum for a very dispassionate discussion on the matter. I hope this

will bring the matter to closure and chart a more permanent structure that will serve the interest of learners, parents and the country at large

The newly enacted Education Act 2008 Act 778 sets out the new outlook of the education system. The Act introduces some new components, such as the establishment of the National Inspectorate Board, National Teaching Council and the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment.

The Government will take a second look at the Act and propose amendments as we may deem necessary following the outcome of an all-party consultation. At the same time, we will endeavour to implement the new structures proposed in the Act to ensure quality in the teaching and learning process.

The Government will pay special attention to pre-tertiary education, particular to Basic Education including Special Education, in order to build a strong foundation for learning and continued education.

Net enrolment ratios in all the stages of basic education requires intensive effort on the part of Government, education administrators, parents and guardians. Together we must aim at ensuring that all Ghanaian children of school going age are in school and that Ghana achieves the target of full enrolment and completion at the basic level.

Government will pay special attention to the teaching and learning of science (including environmental science), technology, technical and vocational education as well as entrepreneurial skills at this level of education.

The National Apprenticeship Programme proposed for this level of education will be examined and an appropriate structure developed for its implementation.

In this regard, the Council for Technical and Vocational Education Training (COTVET) will be empowered to perform its functions to provide the direction for technical and vocational education in Ghana.

Government will provide funds in the budget to revamp the Science Resource Centres in some selected schools during the year. In addition, mindful of its equity principle, Government will adopt a phased continuation of the construction and rehabilitation works started in the Senior High School.

The teacher will remain at the centre of attention in the effort to improve on the performance of the sector. The 38 Teacher Training Colleges, which are now

diploma awarding institutions will be strengthened to achieve standards required of them.

The GES will be expected to revise its teacher deployment programme by focusing attention on the undeserved areas. We will ensure that all allowances

promised to teachers are paid to them. Besides, Government will support the distance learning programmes for teachers.

Government will continue to support tertiary institutions to provide quality education that would give satisfaction to both graduates and employers.

Government notes the on-going expansion at this level of education and commends the efforts of the private tertiary institutions.

The jobs of the future require skilled minds and products of our tertiary institutions must reflect this. The National Accreditation Board must therefore insist on the highest standards of excellence.

The Non-formal Education Division has contributed to a reduction in adult illiteracy

and Government will build on the progress made by resourcing it.

ENERGY

Madam Speaker,

The government has directed the GNPC to exercise its option to acquire a unitized

paid interest of 3.75% in the Jubilee field venture. The value of this share is \$161

million. In addition to establishing a regulatory framework for managing revenues

for the benefit of Ghanaians, GNPC will also focus on expense management for

the Jubilee project to ensure that development costs are fair and reasonable.

GNPC will enforce local content policy where Ghanaians will be able to participate

significantly in oilfield support services towards the development of the Jubilee field and other new prospects.

Revenues from oil and gas will be used to address challenges of poverty in Ghana

through expenditures in priority areas of education, health, rural development, infrastructure, water and sanitation. Other priorities will include investment in physical and social infrastructure within communities close to the oil and gas production activities, investment in a Future Generation Fund to ensure sustained

well being into the long-term and investment in technical training, scientific research and development.

Future Exploration

Further intensification of exploration in the years ahead will be achieved by GNPC

continuing the active promotion of investment in the capital-intensive petroleum sector.

In addition to the Tano-Cape Three Points basin where recent discoveries have been made in deep water areas, other sedimentary basins that GNPC will be encouraged to promote will include the onshore Voltarian basin which covers a large part of Ghana's surface area but where very little exploration has been undertaken to date.

TEMA OIL REFINERY

Madam Speaker,

The TOR has a mountain of debt which currently stands at GHC1146 million or

11.46 trillion old cedis. The current debt profile at TOR compares with a total debt

of GHC318.6 million or 3.18 trillion cedis as at December 31, 2000. The current

debt is due to unpaid debts on TOR's books, interests accumulated on the old debt and subsequent losses as a result of under-recovery from the ex-refinery pricing.

The TOR Debt Recovery Fund Levy had up to December 31, 2008 accumulated

GHC720 million or 7.2 trillion cedis. The Government will review and get a full account of the utilization of the TOR Debt Recovery Fund.

Financial Recovery Plan for VRA and ECG

The VRA also has a mountain of debt total debt exceeding \$800 million. At the

insistence of creditors of VRA and ECG the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MFEP) had undertaken in May 2008 to conduct a Power Sector Financial

Restructuring and Recovery Study, the findings of which was to inform the development of a Comprehensive Financial Recovery Plan for the power utilities.

The study has still not been completed. Clearly, the current state of affairs is unsustainable and should not be allowed to continue under the proposed 2009

Budget. To arrest this deteriorating financial situation, Ministry of Energy will work

with the Ministry of Finance to:

- * Develop and implement comprehensive remedial measures, especially recapitalization,

that will ensure the long term financial viability of the power utilities

- * Complete without further delay, the Power Sector Financial Restructuring and

Recovery Study that is necessary to inform Government of Ghana budgetary decisions on re-capitalization of the two power utilities plus the NED.

- * Develop a Comprehensive Financial Recovery Plan for the three power utilities.

POWER

Ghana's installed electricity generation is about 1800 MW, excluding the

emergency power plants. We will increase generation capacity in the country to at least 5000MW within the medium term. The anticipated increase in generation will enable cost-effective supply to meet the nation's requirements including that of VALCO.

Our policy outlook for the electricity sector involves the following:

- * Generation of electric power shall be fully open to private and public investors

as Independent Power Producers.

- * We shall restore the momentum to the NDC programme to progressively provide access to electricity to all parts of the country.

- * Regional co-operation and integration in electricity supply as is being developed within the West Africa Power Pool (WAPP).

The above measures will enable a lowering of the cost of producing electricity in

Ghana and therefore a lowering of electricity tariffs to consumers.

INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY

Madam Speaker,

We intend to bridge the digital divide between the rural and urban communities to

complement the promotion of the attainment of the goals and objectives of the four thematic areas of Government.

We also aim to improve telephone subscription in both fixed and mobile sectors to

reach the rural and underserved areas.

We will encourage development of common telecom facilities that will enable Telecom Operators extend their services to many more communities.

We intend to accelerate a programme for common transparent ICT platform to enhance Government business and promote transparency and accountability.

Through the use of ICT, Government will build a reliable database on all Government assets especially vehicles and landed properties

We aim to improve telephone subscription in both the fixed and mobile sectors to

reach the rural and underserved areas.

We will encourage development of common telecom facilities that will enable Telecom Operators extend their services to many more communities. By encouraging co-location of facilities and mutual technical collaboration, telecom

service providers will benefit from economies of scale and improve communications penetration to rural areas within the next four years.

Additionally GIFTEL will embark upon a schools connectivity project and so many

more schools would be provided with connectivity and ICT equipment to enhance

community and distance learning.

SPECIAL SOCIAL INTERVENTIONS

Madam Speaker,

Under my administration, the Ministry of Women and Children will witness a significant budget increase and be strengthened to establish Gender Units in all

District Assemblies and provide them with capacity to function optimally.

At the national level, we will give Cabinet authorization to the establishment of a

Gender Budget Monitoring Unit in the Ministry of Women and Children in collaboration with Ministry of Finance. This unit will be given the mandate of facilitating the development of gender based budgets in all MDAs and monitoring

the implementation of such budgets to ensure that the gender-equity commitments are respected and adhered to. We will revise, adapt and implement

our affirmative Action Policy for Women of 1998, making sure that we have incorporated the key demands of the 2004 “Women’s Manifesto for Ghana” as well as those of other political parties consistent with our women’s empowerment agenda.

ENSURING EQUITABLE DEVELOPMENT

Madam Speaker,

By all measure of our national statistics, the three regions of the north – Northern,

Upper East and Upper West Regions and the Central Region show unacceptable

levels of poverty and deprivation. Communities in these regions are increasingly

exhibiting worsening trends of infant, child and maternal mortality. Yet at the same time, these regions possess enormous potential to propel Ghana into a more

diversified and vibrant economy. In accordance with a long-standing social contract with our people, we will undertake rapid efforts to bridge the developmental gap between the north and south and re-vitalize the Central Regional Developmental Commission (CEDECOM)

Specifically, my administration will in 2009 establish the Savannah Accelerated

Development Authority (SADA) as a more holistic development agency to harness

the development of the three Northern regions and Districts in the Brong-Ahafo

and Volta Regions contiguous to the Northern Region. Using proceeds appropriated under the Northern Development Fund and with support from Development Partners, we will begin urgent development interventions in the three Northern Regions to bring the needed relief for farmers and residents whose

livelihoods were destroyed by 2 successive floods. We will also begin the process

of enabling the private sector and civil society in these regions to accelerate

development that enhances incomes and provide employment for the youth. In the Central Region we will revive CEDECOM to develop a poverty reduction and employment generation master plan, especially targeted at the marginalized fishing communities. Seed funds will be created to enable CEDECOM to become a more reliable development catalyst for development and poverty reduction in the Central Region.

SPORTS

Madam Speaker,

We have come to meet a draft Sports Bill from the past administration. We will review it with various stakeholders and present it to Parliament in line with our Manifesto of developing a comprehensive Sports Policy and related legislation to

regulate and guide sports development in Ghana. Our goal is to move away from

the over-concentration on soccer and to some extent boxing. We must unearth

and harness potential in track and field by giving inter-collegiate sports a new impetus

We will also structure management set-up to maximize returns from the four (4)

new stadia built for the Ghana 2008 Africa Cup of Nations and the new Cape Coast

stadium that obviously the NDC Government has to complete.

The immediate preoccupation of Government, apart from the draft sport bill and

the sports policy is to collaborate with the Ghana Hockey Association to successfully host the 2009 Africa Hockey Cup of Nations. Government, in partnership with the Ghana Football Association will not only ensure a second appearance at 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa, but be one of the four nations

that will play in the semi-finals and finals.

Our hearts and minds will also be with the Black Satellites, who will participate in

the FIFA World Cup Youth Tournament in Egypt, come September. The ultimate

target of the Government is to draw up and execute a strategic plan that will

aim at Ghana capturing the commanding heights of not only sports in Africa but

the world as a whole.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Madam Speaker,

It is a matter of considerable satisfaction that Ghana's foreign policy has continued to follow the principled paths delineated by the Founders of the Nation,

in spite of the occasional changes in nuances over the years. And so the foreign policy of this administration will continue to be defined in its detail by the traditional features of very strong bilateral and multilateral ties, international treaty obligations and a firm commitment to the principles and objectives of the United Nations Charter. We will participate in international affairs with a strong penchant for championing the causes of economic integration,, continental unity and Pan-Africanism, causes that our people have desired for so long. In that regard, our immediate focus will be on activities within ECOWAS which are likely to stimulate a more vigorous interaction at the people's level. The concept of the free movement of persons and goods throughout our respective countries must progress from mere slogans to result oriented actions that will encourage integration and economic development in our sub-region. Ghana will continue to be engaged vigorously with the world beyond the African Union. We intend to maintain an active role in the United Nations and its specialized agencies as well as in other multilateral organizations such as the Commonwealth, the Non-Aligned Movement etc. in order to shoulder our share of the responsibilities devolving on us as member of the international community. We will honour all our legitimate international treaty obligations while we seek our objectives among friendly countries that share our commitment to good governance, peace and democracy. We make such a declaration because our governance model and service to the international community will continue to be defined by an unflinching support for world peace as well as social and economic justice for all. To these ends, Madam Speaker, we are currently engaged in reassessing Ghana's diplomatic representation around the world in order to make Ghana's diplomacy efficient and cost-effective

CONCLUSION

Madam Speaker,
All throughout my political campaign, I pledged to make a difference in the politics of Ghana; to depart from the vilification, back biting, political mischief making and divisiveness which have bedevilled politics in this country.

Indeed our message of change begins with the fundamental realization that there is a new way to look at our problems and use political power as an instrument to shape our future. I am determined to restore a sense of community in this country; a community in which we all share in the responsibility of shouldering the common good.

I want us to be kind and generous to each other. I believe it is possible to bring back smiles to the faces of all Ghanaians, that even if economic prosperity is slow in coming, Ghanaians will say of this Government that we are truthful, honest and sincere.

We will hold ourselves and all other public officials strictly accountable and that principle is non-negotiable. I will be an example to the nation. I will be an example by being time-conscious.

And because it is hypocritical for those in political office to exhort people to sacrifice for the common good when we are not prepared to do same, I will lead by example.

I believe that all Ghanaians would join me to elevate Ghanaian politics beyond pettiness, and aim for something more sublime in the interest of Mother Ghana.

To this end, I extend a hand of friendship to all to join us on the path of unity and peaceful coexistence, even though we may differ in our political beliefs.

Madam Speaker,

This House should serve as a model to Ghanaians who should see your teamwork as a prime example of peaceful and productive coexistence. Our Nation is faced

with economic difficulties and many challenges.

Can we build a unified country where all citizens have the opportunity to give off

their best to Mother Ghana while earning a good education and a dignified standard of living?

Can we all live under the Rule of Law, whereby we are all governed by the same

set of Laws and are equal before the Law?

Can we build a Better and Prosperous Ghana that works in the interest of all Ghanaians?

I believe that we can, and I thank you all for the opportunity to lead our Nation in

the process of finding and implementing durable answers to these questions.

I invite my fellow citizens to join together in the process of re-generation of our

country. We have to do it together – the past is gone – let's together build a better Ghana underpinned by honesty and integrity. Working together we can lift Ghana to greatness of which we all can be proud. There is only one Ghana, and it must work for the betterment of all Ghanaians.
Madam Speaker,
I thank you for your attention.
May God Bless Ghana.

