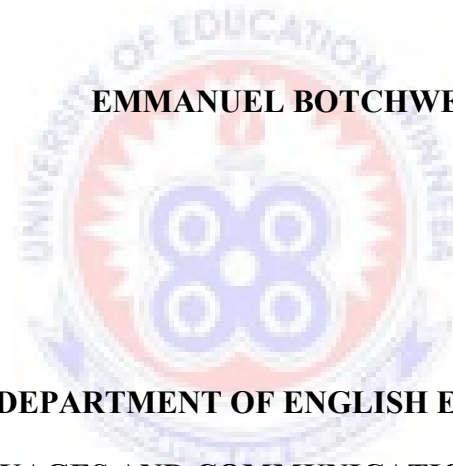


**UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA**

**A SPEECH ACT ANALYSIS OF SELECTED PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURAL  
ADDRESSES IN THE 4<sup>TH</sup> REPUBLIC OF GHANA**

**EMMANUEL BOTCHWEY**



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

**OCTOBER, 2015**

## DECLARATION

### DECLARATION OF STUDENT

I, Emmanuel Botchwey, 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: .....

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### DECLARATION OF SUPERVISOR

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

NAME:

.....

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## **DEDICATION**

To Olivia, my love, the strength of whose love and encouragement has motivated the successful completion of this study.



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## ABSTRACT

With the establishment of democratic cultures in Africa, the need for a deeper appreciation and application of the communicative functions (as the fundamental principles of rhetoric) which the linguistic choices of a political speaker are able to generate within a particular social context is not only essential but also critical. This study explores the illocutionary acts performed in Presidential Inaugural Addresses (PIAs) by some Ghanaian presidents of the 4<sup>th</sup> republic and their intended communicative effects on the audience. It also investigates the indicators that give rise to these acts. This is a qualitative study which adopts an exploratory design. The sample speeches used are President J. E. A. Mills' 2009 inaugural speech and President Mahama's 2013 inaugural speech. Rooted in Austin's (1962) and Searle's (1969) Speech Act Theory, four out of the five classes of illocutionary speech acts delineated by Searle are significant in the speeches. They include assertives (60.89%), commissives (20.51%), expressives (11.54%) and directives (7.05%) of the total data. The study concludes that Presidential Inaugural Speeches (PIAs) are characterized by dominant performing of assertives and no declaratives. These illocutionary acts are used to depict past, present and future situations in the country and to inspire public confidence in the governments. The acts are indicated by the interplay of the time, the mood and the subject of the verb phrase of the proposition and the use of performative verbs. The study has implications for literature on African political speeches in general and particularly, presidential speeches. It also has implications for the Speech Act Theory.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0 Overview

Within all types of political system (autocratic, oligarchic, democratic, etc.), political leaders and heads of nation-states, by virtue of their position, play a critical role in national development and international politics. They often rely on the spoken word to influence and mobilize their followers and convince people of the benefits that can arise from their leadership. Political speeches are motivated by the desire to persuade and convince the nation or society and familiarize the audience with their socio-economic policies, plans and actions (Denton & Hahn, 1986; Teittinen, 2000). As Burns (1978) explains:

Leadership over human beings is exercised when persons with certain motives and purposes mobilize, in competition or conflict with others, institutional, political, psychological and other resources so as to arouse, engage, and satisfy the motives of followers. (p. 18)

The understanding of the motives behind utterances, generally, is very crucial to successful communication. But the relationship between the surface form of an utterance (the semantic meaning) and its underlying purpose is not always straightforward, as Searle (1975, as cited in Asher & Lascarides, 2006) demonstrates:

(1) Can you pass the salt?

Sentence (1) is an interrogative and so expresses a question. Usually, the speaker's goal in asking a question is to get an answer. But (1) plausibly has a different purpose: it is a request, where the speaker's goal is for the interpreter to pass the salt.

The idea of political discourse analysis had been approached by different disciplines from different perspectives. Our concern in this paper is the linguistic perspective of political discourse analysis, specifically, the use of speech acts in such discourse.

An exploration of the use of speech acts (also, illocutionary acts (Searle, 1969)) in a speech is an investigation into the communicative force or power that is used to accomplish varying ends or goals in different circumstances. Such investigation is important to the understanding of the intentions of the communicator with reference to his or her linguistic choices and the context within which the communication is taking place (Medhurst, 2010). The goals of a given speech can be determined through its communicative functions, exhibited in the kinds of speech acts performed (Trosborg, 2000) since speech acts constitute the verbal actions accomplished with utterances (Yule, 2002). With presidential inaugural addresses, the communicative functions or goals are diverse as the presidents attempt to perform a plethora of functions with their speeches (Campbell & Jamieson, 2008). Inaugural addresses of African presidents are typically imbued with a variety of communicative functions, spanning a wide spectrum of life.

In this study, we seek to analyze selected inaugural addresses of the most recent presidents in the 4<sup>th</sup> republic of Ghana: H. E. John Evans Atta Mill's January 7, 2009 Inaugural Address and H. E. John Dramani Mahama's January 7, 2013 Inaugural Address: with a view to seeing how these leaders persuaded their audience concerning the expediency and urgency of their policies, plans and actions towards Ghana's socio-economic and political development. Within the framework of Austin's and Searle's pragmatic model of Speech Act Theory (SAT), the study tries to uncover the ideological preoccupations inherent in the speeches, the devices which aided the successful

communication of these intentions, and the primary conditions that authenticated the realization of the speech acts.

### **1.1 Background to the Study**

From the Aristotelian perspective of genres of rhetoric, presidential inaugural addresses are kinds of epideictic speeches delivered by presidents on their day of inauguration (Ryan, 1993; Campbell & Jamieson, 2008) into high office of heads of states. These inauguration ceremonies mark the beginning of their tenure of office. Due to the celebratory nature of inaugural addresses, the communicators attempt to accomplish many tasks with their speeches. These tasks constitute the verbal activities in the inaugural which Austin (1962) describes as the speech acts of an utterance. So, a speech act analysis has been a useful tool to the understanding, first, of the personal motivations or intentions of these presidents; second, the presidential inaugurals as a social activity that acts out interpersonal relationships, assigns social roles and exposes ideological constructs of the presidents; and third, the necessary and sufficient conditions that qualify an utterance as a particular speech act.

Studies on presidential speeches as an aspect of political discourse have been from wide range of perspectives. Undoubtedly, political discourse has been a major domain of language use that has attracted the interests of researchers for a long while. This is because political discourse is a complex human activity that deserves critical study particularly because of its central place in the organization and management of society.

Since political speeches play crucial roles in determining the destiny of economies all over the world, it is obvious that serious linguistic study of such vital corpus is long

overdue. This is because linguistic communication is a very powerful mechanism for social control; citizenry attitudes, whether to favour or to oppose some national policies are greatly shaped by the kind of speech delivered to them. And since a speech act is the basic unit of linguistic communication (Searle, 1969), understanding the speech acts carried in inaugurals of African democratically elected presidents is very paramount in our quest to appreciating the social attitudes of the citizenry towards socio-economic agenda of a nation. Such an investigation is very much lacking in making linguistic study actively involved in charting the course for socio-economic development of Africa. Obviously, through effective communication citizens are best controlled by such speeches to rally support for government policies. Similarly, failure to articulate effectively and efficiently government's intension and priority areas spells doom for the economy.

From Hallidayan perspective of language as a meaning making potential and a resource for acting out one's ideals, thoughts, motives, intentions, beliefs and social relationships, a functional analysis of such vital speech as a president's address will be more relevant to linguistic study and politics as well. It is, therefore, imperative that developing economies like Ghana begin to do scholarly analysis of political speeches, especially inaugural addresses of presidents both past and present, for their communicative functions in the light of social contexts in which they are produced to determine as well as influence their effectiveness. Such has been the call to carry out a speech act analysis of the presidential inaugural addresses of presidents of Ghana in the 4<sup>th</sup> republic.

A very legitimate question, now, is “What do we mean by the expression, ‘4<sup>th</sup> Republic of Ghana’?” A brief diversion to highlight the concept of a republic, in my view, would be very useful to our understanding of the use of the expression.

## **1.2 The Concept of a Republic**

A republic, from the general sense, is a regime of governance in which power resides in the people, and the government of a state rules through democratically elected leaders and runs according to the constitutional law. Therefore, the Concept of Republic means a constitutional regime under a democratically elected president. Since independence, leadership in Ghana has moved from one constitutional regime to another with some military interventions along the line. These military interventions had led to the abrogation of the constitutions, thereby marking off one era of constitutional rule as one republic.

Ghana gained her independence from Britain, in 1957, and ever then there has been four constitutional regimes, marked off one another by military dictatorships. The first republic was from 1960 to 1966 under the government of Dr Kwame Nkrumah as President; the second is from 1970 to 1972 under the government of Edward Akufo-Addo as President; the third is from 1979 to 1981 under the presidency of Dr Hilla Limann; and the fourth republic is from 1993 to date. This latest republic has recorded the highest number of presidents – four – with varying terms of office, starting from Jerry John Rawlings (1993 to 2000), John Agyakum Kuffour (2001 to 2008), John Evans Atta Mills (2009 to 2012), and John Dramani Mahama (2012 to date), and it is this republic that we are investigating in this study.



### 1.3 Statement of the Problem

Even though political discourse is widely studied in linguistic analyses, not much seems to have been done in the field of speech act analysis of Ghanaian political speeches generally and presidential inaugural addresses particularly. Speech act analyses do not abound in the study of political discourse generally. Many have examined the political discourse for the communicative strategies employed in political processes. Even with these much of the data are speeches of non-African presidents. Skoniecki and College (2004), for example, examined President Ronald Regan's of the United States of America's speech, calling for action against communism, to the people of West Berlin and the world. The study shows the effectiveness of Regan's persuasive use of language in facilitating the opening of the Berlin wall. Bullock (2003) examines the rhetorical strategies employed by President Bush as the means of persuasion for the prosecution of the Iraqi war and to justify America's interest in prosecuting the war. In a related work, Rudyk (2007) examines power relations in Bush's union speech.

However, scholarly studies of presidential inaugurals of African leaders have been a new field of interest among academics in the last decade due perhaps to the advent of multi-party democracy in several parts of the continent. Even among these, studies on speech acts enacted in presidential inaugurals, especially of African heads of states, have been very few.

Much of the studies done on political speeches of diverse kinds have focused on the linguistic choices made to represent events in a way that fits the ideology of the politicians (Alo, 2012; Al-Faki, 2014) and to exhibit power. Only few have attempted to

investigate the communicative force (i.e. the illocutionary speech acts) carried in such linguistic choices.

Among the few works done on speech acts in African presidential speeches, to the best of my knowledge, are studies on the 2007 inaugural address of President Umaru Yar Adua of Nigeria by Olaniyi (2010) and Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere (2012), Adetunji's (2006) study of speech acts and rhetoric in the Second Inaugural Address of President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria and President George Bush of America, Josiah's & Johnson's (2012) study of the inaugural address of President Goodluck Jonathan of Nigeria, and exploration of the use of assertives in Ghanaian presidential inaugurals (Boakye, 2014), most of whom have concluded that assertive acts are dominant in presidential inaugurals. However, even with these few works, questions of methodological variations have been accounting for varying findings by different studies on the same speech. Olaniyi (2010) and Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere (2012), for example, both though, studied President Umaru Yar Adua's 2007 inaugural speech, ended up obtaining different findings due to differences in their sample population. Olaniyi selected 20 sample sentences for his analysis and identified that President Yar Adua's inaugural was preponderated by commissives (32.5%), followed by assertives (30%), directives (15%), expressives (12.5%) and verdictives (10%). On the other hand, Ayeomoni's and Akinkuolere's study, however, shows that, in President Umaru Yar Adua's 2007 inaugural address, assertives dominate other speech acts, constituting 60% and followed by directives, 35%; expressives, 15%; verdictives, 40%; commissives, 30%; and declaratives, 20%. Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere picked the first five and the last five sentences of the speech they studied. Boakye's (2014) analysis of Ghanaian Presidential Inaugural Addresses, focused only on the identification of the distribution of the speech acts in all the inaugurals of the presidents of the 4<sup>th</sup> Republic of

Ghana, starting from the 1993 inaugural address of President Jerry John Rawlings. He, however, restricted his discussion to only the use of assertives to the neglect of the remaining speech act categories. There is, therefore, the need to take a second look at the Ghanaian presidential inaugural addresses to ascertain to what ends all the various categories of Searle's illocutionary acts are used to achieve.

From the foregoing discussion, it is established that speech acts analysis of presidential inaugural speeches of Ghana in particular and Africa in general have received very little scholarly attention. This study is, thus, intended to fill this gap in the literature of speech act analysis on presidential inaugural addresses, particularly of Ghanaian presidents of the 4<sup>th</sup> republic.

#### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

This study intends to reflect politicians' use of linguistic elements to achieve their goals, including gaining the audience to their side and gaining their confidence. In summary, the specific aims of the study are to:

- identify the distribution of illocutionary speech acts in the inaugural addresses of Ghanaian presidents of the 4<sup>th</sup> republic
- identify the ends that the use of illocutionary speech acts in each category was intended to achieve
- identify the functional indicating devices which give rise to the realization of each class of illocutionary acts

#### **1.5 Research Questions**

The study aims at answering the following questions:

1. What is the distribution of speech acts in the inaugural addresses of the Ghanaian presidents of the 4<sup>th</sup> republic?
2. What ends was the use of the speech acts in each category of the illocutionary speech acts intended to achieve?
3. With what functional indicating devices are these illocutionary forces realized?

### **1.6 Significance of the Study**

Although research on political discourse analysis is quite extensive, this area of research, which focuses on the African political discourse, has the potential to contribute to our understanding of political discourse in general, and of the African political discourse, in particular. This research assesses the speech acts of political speeches, particularly, presidential inaugurals. The significance of the study of speech acts in Ghanaian presidential inaugural addresses is huge. The results of this study are beneficial to all language users, particularly language scholars, political analysts and politicians. To language scholars, for example, the study provides an insightful avenue on how intentions of various presidents acted out in their inaugural addresses. This is in consonance with Hallidayan claim that the content of one's thought, experience, social and relational perspective act out in their language either consciously or unconsciously.

In the broader sense, the study negotiates support for Austin's (1962) claim that when we speak, we not only communicate meaning, but actually DO or ACT with words. It, therefore, contributes to the understanding of the ways in which language is employed to execute verbal actions. It is, thus, a part of the growing scholarly interest in functional

linguistic analysis of language of leaders in society to point out the motives underlying their policy directions.

The study, also, underscores the importance of the study of speech acts in the philosophy of language. It consolidates Searle's (1969) claim that the production of linguistic token in the performance of speech acts constitutes the fundamental unit of linguistic communication rather than the symbols, words, sentence or their linguistic token.

Besides, the study informs the role of context (linguistic and non-linguistic) in determining the shape of language use, especially in public circles since it is intended to confirm how the correlation between the communicative force in a speech and the context within which the speech is delivered aid language analysts to judge the appropriateness of language use.

The study, similarly, exposes politicians or would-be politicians, public speakers, journalists, political analysts and other language users to the fact that they perform verbal actions with their utterances rather than just communicating meaning. With such knowledge, their communicative effectiveness and efficiency is bound to improve. Reporting on speeches of politicians, for instance, by journalists will be accurate since such reporters are required to understand the communicative functions (intentional aspect of meaning) beyond the grammatical meaning (conventional aspect of meaning) of the utterances.

### **1.7 Delimitation of the Study**

This study focuses on investigating the distribution of illocutionary speech acts in the January 7, 2009 inaugural address of President John Evans Atta Mills and the January 7,

2013 inaugural address of President John Dramani Mahama, both in the 4<sup>th</sup> republic of Ghana, the perlocutionary intended ends of these illocutions and those function indicating devices for the performance of these illocutionary acts. Only the well-constructed independent clauses, excluding the vocatives, are used in the analysis.

### **1.8 Organization of the Study**

This research is organized into five chapters. Chapter one is the general introduction to the study under which the background to the study, the statement of the problem, the objectives, the significance and the scope of the study.

Chapter two reviews exiting literature in the field of political discourse analysis in general and presidential inaugurals specifically using speech acts.

Chapter three discusses the methodology adopted in this study. It covers the research design used, population, sample technique, data collection and analysis procedures.

Chapter four presents and analyzes data.

Chapter five is the conclusion. It presents the findings, summary and makes recommendations. It also suggests areas of further study to draw the main threads of the discussion together.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.0 Introduction

Making speeches is a vital part of politicians' roles in announcing their policies and persuading people to agree with them. Like all political actors, presidents extensively rule through speeches: inaugural addresses, state of the nation addresses, press releases and many more. One of the most important speeches to all presidents is their first speech upon assumption of the office – presidential inaugural address (PIA). This is because the PIA is made a few days after polarized electoral process, which is sometimes marked by verbal attacks on opponents. A newly installed president is, thus, confronted with a huge task of inspiring national confidence in him as one capable of leading the nation/state to socio-economic progress, and of rallying support from all sides of the political divides for his policies and programmes. Obviously, PIA is primarily intended to unify the country for common socio-economic and political goals.

Undertaking a pragmatic analysis of a presidential inaugural speech draws on the understanding of the following key concepts: presidential inaugurals as apolitical discourse, political discourse analysis, and pragmatic (specifically, speech act) analysis of political discourse.

#### 2.1 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this study is rooted in Austin's and Searle's Speech Act Theory (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969). Speech Act Theory (SAT) is central to Pragmatics

as it is concerned with specific social acts performed in making utterances. It is traced to the view expounded in J. L. Austin's seminal publication, *How to Do Things with Words* (1962). Austin proves that there are many utterances whose production constitutes, partly or wholly, the performance of an action.

The Speech Act Theory is a theory of meaning that holds that meaning of linguistic expressions can be explained in terms of the rules governing their use in the performing various speech acts – e.g., admonishing, asserting, commanding, promising, requesting, warning. It is widely admitted that Austin expounded the theory as a modification of his performatives. Austin classified speech acts into three components which constituted the basic assumptions of the SAT.

This fundamental assumption is that the meaning of a sentence or of an utterance is made up of locution, illocution and perlocution. First, the locutionary act is the act of saying something; it is the act making a grammatical utterance. Second, there is Illocutionary act, which is an act performed in saying something e.g. promising, naming, requesting, etc. It is the intention the speaker has in uttering a statement. The third is perlocutionary act, which acts on the addressee, i.e. the response of the listener on his/her understanding of the illocutionary force of an utterance. A perlocutionary act makes reference to the effects that illocutionary acts is intended to have on the hearer (Carter & Simpson, 1989).

Central to SAT is the Illocutionary act. In fact, SAT has become synonymous with illocutionary act. According to Thomas (1995) illocutionary Act, illocutionary force, pragmatic force, or just Force are used to mean the same thing because the communicative purpose of utterance has been seen as the focal point in the performance



of SA. The illocutionary meaning of an expression indicates the intention behind that expression (Searle, 1969; Halliday, 1975). As noted by Sekyi-Baidoo (2002), illocutionary act is what the speaker intends or conceives as his intention or what the hearer makes out of an expression.

### 2.1.1 Searle's Taxonomy of Illocutionary Acts

Illocutionary acts have been categorized variously. Austin (1962) categorized them into five classes – verdictives, exercitives, commissives, habitives and expositives. However, he has been criticized on the basis of his claim that English verbs correspond to these SA categories. Hence, Searle (1969; 1975) modified this classification upon the recognition of the illocutionary force of utterances. Searle logically enumerated the five possible categories of speech acts for which he strictly delimited certain conditions. Searle pointed out that Austin's taxonomy was of English verbs, rather than of linguistic acts. Whereas Austin viewed his taxonomy as “not the least definitive” (Austin, 1962), Searle claimed his is exhaustive. Searle's taxonomy broke illocutionary acts down as follows (Searle, 1975):

1. **Assertives:** speech acts that commit a speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition. They have a truth value and express speaker's belief that P. This type of speech acts is otherwise known as Representatives. The assertive acts include asserting, stating, describing, suggesting, concluding, boasting, affirming, alleging, announcing, answering, attributing, claiming, classifying, concurring, confirming, conjecturing, denying, disagreeing, disclosing, disputing, identifying, informing, insisting, predicting, ranking, reporting, stipulating.

2. **Directives:** speech acts that are to cause the hearer to take a particular action. They are attempts the Speaker makes in order to get the addressee engage in a certain action. They express speaker's wish that Hearer do the act A. These acts include requesting, advising, commanding, inviting, challenging, daring, entreating, advising, admonishing, forbidding, instructing, asking, ordering, permitting, suggesting, requiring, urging, excusing, warning.
3. **Commissives:** speech acts that commit a speaker to some future action. These include acts of promising, pledging, vowing, offering, threatening, agreeing, guaranteeing, swearing, volunteering.
4. **Expressives:** speech acts that express the speaker's attitudes and emotions towards a proposition. Expressives include greeting, thanking, apologizing, complaining, congratulating, welcoming, condoling, accepting.
5. **Declaratives:** speech acts that change the reality in accord with the proposition of the declaration. They effects immediate changes in the institutional state of affairs and tend to rely on extralinguistic institutions. Declarations include declaring, baptizing, resigning, firing from employment, hiring, arresting, excommunicating, declaring war, christening, marrying.

The performance of every illocutionary act is validated by 'necessary and sufficient conditions' (Searle, 1969). Besides the conditions, there are indicators of the illocutionary force (also, function indicating devices) that show how the proposition is to be taken. From this point, our focus will be to discuss the felicity conditions necessary for performing a speech act the propositional content and the function indicating devices

which realizes the illocutionary acts, and the connection between intentional and conventional aspects of meaning of utterances.

### **2.1.2 Felicity Conditions**

In pragmatics, felicity conditions are the conditions that must be in place and the criteria that must be satisfied for a speech act to be performed. Several kinds of felicity conditions have been identified, including:

1. A preparatory condition, meant to establish whether or not the circumstances of the speech act and the participants in it are appropriate to its successful performance. This includes the status or authority of the speaker and the situation of the other parties involved in the communication act. For example, in order to confirm a candidate, the speaker needs to be a bishop. In the case of marriage, “I pronounce you husband and wife” acts as a declaration if neither of the couple is already married.
2. An executive condition, meant to determine whether or not the speech act has been properly executed.
3. A propositional content condition which focuses on the textual content. It is a limitation on the nature of the state of affairs described by the propositional content of an illocutionary act due to the nature of the illocutionary force employed. For example, the condition in a commissive act that the commitment to an action must concern a future state of affairs is a propositional content condition.
4. A sincerity condition, involving a speaker’s responsibility for the illocutions in the utterance. Normally, hearer will assume that speaker is being sincere unless s/he has

good reason to believe otherwise. Sincerity (here, as genuine intention now), in taking an oath for example, is determined by the presence of witnesses.

5. An essential condition focuses on the illocutionary force.
6. A fulfillment condition, determined by the perlocutionary effect of the speech act.

These conditions are general headings under which specific conditions and rules are delineated. In performance of speech acts, these specific conditions apply to specific acts even within the same class of speech acts.

### **2.1.3 Function Indicating Devices**

The sentence has two (not necessarily separate) parts, the illocutionary clause and the propositional clause (Searle, 1969). Each part has indicators; the propositional indicators and the indicators of illocutionary force (also, function indicating devices). The function indicating device shows how the proposition is to be taken, or, to put it in another way, what illocutionary force the utterance is to have, that is, what illocutionary act the speaker is performing in the utterance of the sentence. Searle (1969) postulates that the function indicating devices in English include word order, stress, intonation contour, punctuation, the mood of the verb, and finally a set of so-called performative verbs.

The performative verbs are verbs that express which illocutionary act the speaker attributes to his or her utterance. For instance, one may indicate the kind of illocutionary act he or she is performing by beginning the sentence with 'I apologize', 'I warn', 'I state', etc. According to Austin (1962), the performative verb must be in the present tense because the illocutionary act is being performed and denominated at the moment of utterance. For example, I promise to take you to the game tomorrow

counts as a promise on the part of the speaker and its performative verb is ‘promise’ which is in the present tense. However, I promised to take you to the game tomorrow only reports on a past promise, and it does not have a performative verb.

Often in actual speech situations the context will make it clear what the illocutionary force of the utterance is, without its being necessary to invoke the appropriate function indicating device (Searle, 1969).

## **2.2 Presidential Inaugural Address (PIA) as a Political Discourse**

Studies on presidential speeches (PIA) as an aspect of political discourse have been from a wide range of perspectives: politics, linguistics, economics and psychology. Political discourse has undisputably been a major domain of language use that attracts the interests of researchers. This is because political discourse is a complex human activity that deserves critical study particularly because of its central place in the organisation and management of society.

Perhaps more than with other areas of discourse, one needs at the outset to consider the reflexive and potentially ambiguous nature of the term *political discourse*. The term is suggestive of at least two possibilities: first, a discourse which is itself political due to its reference to political content and context; and second, a political discourse as simply an example discourse type, without explicit reference to political content or political context. But things may be even more confusing. Given that on some definitions almost all discourse may be considered political (Shapiro, 1981), then all *analyses* of discourse are potentially political, and, therefore, on one level, *all* discourses are political discourses and, on the other, *all* discourse analyses are political engagements.

This potentially confusing situation arises, primarily, from definitions of political in terms of general issues such as *power*, *conflict*, *control*, or *domination* (see Fairclough, 1992; 1995; van Dijk, 1993; Chilton, 1997), since any of these concepts may be employed in almost any form of discourse. In a study, for example, of a psychotherapeutic training institution, Diamond (1995) refers to her study of the discourse of staff meetings as “political,” simply because issues of power and control are being worked out. They are being worked out at different levels, however: at interpersonal, personal, institutional, and educational levels for example, and in different strategic ways (Chilton, 1997). By treating all discourse as *political*, in its most general sense, we may be in danger of significantly overgeneralizing the concept of *political discourse*.

Perhaps, we might avoid these difficulties if we simply delimited our subject matter as being concerned with formal/informal political contexts and political actors; with, that is, politicians, political institutions, governments, political media, and political supporters, operating in political environments to achieve political goals. This approximation makes clearer the kinds of limits we might place on thinking about political discourse. Even with this consideration, we still face the challenge of wide diversity of discourse that come under this umbrella.

Political discourse will, thus, include a wide and diverse set of discourses, or genres, or registers, such as policy papers, ministerial speeches, government press releases or press conferences, parliamentary discourse, party manifestos, speeches delivered on platforms or gatherings, electoral speeches, and so forth (Bayley, 2008). They are all characterised

by the fact that they are spoken or written by (or for) primary political actors – members of the government or the opposition, members of parliament, leaders of political parties and candidates for office.

A political discourse, therefore, may be delimited to a discourse in any political forum, such as campaigns, parliamentary debates, interviews, speeches, writing and so forth. This largely agrees with Wilson's (2001) cited in Al-Faki (2014) description of a political discourse as language used in formal and informal political context with political actors, such as politicians, political institutions, government, political media and political supporters operating in political environments with political goals (Moreno, 2008). For the purpose of this discussion, issues of enactment of power, control, domination, resistance (Chilton and Schaffner, 1999) are embedded in the concept of political goals.

In summary, political discourse can be defined as the written or spoken language, verbal or non-verbal, used in politics to steer the emotions of audience to affect their opinions and attitudes (Al-Faki, 2014). The actors must be political actors of a sort and the utterance must be made in a political context. Even though it is equally difficult to specify which is political context from which is not, for the purpose of narrowing the scope of our discussion, a political context is delimited to formal political environments: parliamentary proceedings and briefing, government/opposition press conferences, cabinet meetings, inaugurations and swearing-ins, campaign meetings and electoral activities.

With such a working definition, it is easy to describe a presidential inaugural address as a political discourse, relying on Campbell's and Jamieson's (2008) description of

presidential inaugural addresses as kinds of epideictic speeches delivered by presidents on their day of inauguration into the office of heads of states.

### **2.3 Political Discourse Analysis**

The study of political discourse, like that of other areas of discourse analysis, covers a broad range of subject matter, and draws on a wide range of analytic methods. The study of political discourse has been around for as long as politics itself. The emphasis that the Greeks placed on rhetoric is a case in point. From Cicero (1971) to Aristotle (1991) the concern was basically with particular methods of social and political competence in achieving specific objectives. While Aristotle gave a more formal twist to these overall aims, the general principle of articulating information on policies and actions for the public good remained constant. This general approach is continued today.

Modern rhetorical studies are more self-conscious and they interface with aspects of communication science, historical construction, social theory, and political science (Gill & Whedbee, 1997). While there has been a long tradition of interest in political discourse, if one strictly defines political discourse analysis in broadly linguistic terms, it is only since the early 1980s or 1990s that work in this area has come to the fore. Indeed, Geis (1987) argues that his work is the first text with a truly linguistic focus on political language/discourse. There is some merit in this argument, but without opening up issues about what is and what is not linguistics, many of the earlier studies in *social semiotics* and *critical linguistics* should also be included in a general linguistic view of political discourse (Chilton, 1985; Steiner, 1985). While language is always clearly central to political discourse, what shifts is the balance between linguistic analysis and political



comment. Distinguishing the direction of this balance, however, is not always straightforward.

In more modern times it was perhaps Orwell, as Willson (2003) puts it, who first drew our attention to the political potential of language. This is seen in his classic article "Politics and the English Language," where he considers the way in which language may be used to manipulate thought and suggests, for example, that "political speech and writing are largely the defense of the indefensible" (Orwell, 1969). His examples are a type of inverted logic (reflected in literary detail in his book – *Nineteen Eighty Four* – (Al-Faki, 2014) and they echo through much of the present work on political discourse. Instances include the use of "pacification" to refer to the bombing of defenseless villages, or the use of "rectification of frontiers" to refer to the relocation or simply removal of thousands of peasants from their homes.

However, it is not simply manipulation that is at issue in the case of political language; it is the goal of such manipulation which constitutes the centre of attraction for researchers. Politicians' linguistic choices at various levels – phonological, lexical, syntactical or semantical – are geared at realizing some communicative effects. Among these effects are persuasions, enacting power, control and dominance, inciting citizenry for some course of action, covering up truth or downplaying the significance or enormity of a situation and so forth. Politicians seem to want to hide the negative within particular formulations such that the population may not see the truth or the horror before them. This is the general thrust of Orwell's comments, and it emerges again and again

throughout work on political discourse, but with perhaps different levels of emphasis and analysis.

The influential work of the political scientist, Murray Edleman (1971, 1977), mirrors Orwell's concerns and looks at the symbolic manipulation of reality for the achievement of political goals. In a more directed political sense, Pecheux (1982,) claims that ideology is not just an abstract system of thought but becomes actualized in a variety of material forms, set about studying discourse as one type of material form. Pecheux argues that the meanings of words become transformed in terms of who used them, or, in Foucault's (1972) terms, in relation to particular "discourse formations." Here words (and their interaction) in one formation are differently interpreted within another. For example, conservative or right-wing views of terms like "social benefit" and "defense spending" may differ radically from interpretations available within a socialist or left-wing discourse. The general principle here is one of transformation. Similar words and phrases may come to be reinterpreted within different ideological frameworks.

Linked directly to this process is the concept of "representation." Representation refers to the issue of how language is employed in different ways to represent what we can know, believe, and perhaps think. Based on Hallidayan functional theory, political speeches have been studied for the speaker's conceptualization of the world or interpersonal relationships that exist between the speaker and the audience.

There are basically two views of representation: the universalist and the relativist (Montgomery, 1992). The universalist view assumes that we understand our world in relation to a set of universal conceptual primes. Language, in this view, simply reflects

these universal possibilities. Language is the vehicle for expressing our system of thought, with this system being independent of the language itself. The relativist position sees language and thought as inextricably intertwined. Our understanding of the world within a relativist perspective is affected by available linguistic resources. The consequences here, within a political context, seem obvious enough. To have others believe you, do what you want them to do, and generally, to view the world in the way that is most favorable for your goals, you need to manipulate, or, at the very least, pay attention to the linguistic limits of forms of representation.

In Fairclough's (1989) view of critical linguistics/discourse, for example, political discourse is criticized as a form of social practice with a malign social purpose. The alternative goal is a discourse which has no underlying instrumental goals for any participant, but is genuinely undertaken in a co-operative spirit in order to arrive at an understanding and a common ground.

A similar and related point to that noted in Montgomery's work has been made specifically in the case of syntax (Montgomery, 1992; Chilton, 1997). The system of "transitivity," for example (Halliday, 1985), provides a set of choices for describing "what is going on in the world."

Issues of representation, however, need not only revolve around specific syntactic transformations: without any seemingly manipulative intent one can achieve personal and political goals by relatively uncontroversial structural selections. Consider the general area of evidentiality. Evidentiality refers to the way in which forms of evidence become grammaticalized in different languages and to the attitude one takes or adopts toward this

evidence (Chafe & Nichols, 1986), since not all evidence is of a similar type. There is a complex interaction here between such things as beliefs, assumptions, inferences, and physical experiences (sight, hearing, smell, touch, etc.). For example:

- i. *Ama saw Kobby on my farm last night.*
- ii. *I believe Ama saw Kobby on my farm last night.*
- iii. *I was told Kobby was seen on my farm last night.*
- iv. *It is true that Kobby was seen on my farm last night.*

One of the core goals of political discourse analysis is to seek out the ways in which language choice is manipulated for specific political effect. In our discussions we have clearly seen that almost all levels of linguistics are involved; i.e. most samples of political discourse may be mapped onto the various levels of linguistics from lexis to pragmatics. At the level of lexical choice there are studies of such things as loaded words, technical words, and euphemisms (Graber, 1981; Geis, 1987). In grammar, there are studies of selected functional systems and their organization within different ideological frames (Fowler & Marshall, 1985). There are also studies of pronouns and their distribution relative to political and other forms of responsibility (Pateman 1981; Maitland & Wilson 1987; Lwaitama 1988; Wilson 1990) and studies of more pragmatically oriented objects such as implicatures, metaphors, and speech acts (Holly 1989; van Dijk 1989; Wilson 1990). Our present interest is not as much in the various ways in which language has been manipulated as in communicative functions intended to be achieved with such manipulations, interfacing the context of the speeches, hence the pragmatic study of PIA for the speech acts.

## 2.4 Speech Act Analysis of Political Discourse

Speech acts (also referred to as illocutionary acts or illocutionary speech acts) are those acts performed by a speaker which includes making statements, asking questions, issuing commands, giving reports, greeting, and warning (Searle, 1969). The theory of speech acts starts from the assumption that the minimal unit of human communication is not a sentence or other expression, but rather the performance of certain kinds of language acts, such as requests and promises. For example, the communication of a request by a speaker, S, to a hearer, H, is an attempt by S to get H to do something. This communication is called successful if H does perform the requested act. It is essential to any specimen of linguistic communication that it involves a linguistic act. It is not, as has generally been supposed, the symbol or word or sentence, or even the semantic meaning of the symbol or word or sentence, which is the unit of linguistic communication, but rather it is the production of the meaning in the performance of the speech act that constitutes the basic unit of linguistic communication. Precisely put, the production of the sentence meaning under certain conditions is the illocutionary act, and the illocutionary act is the minimal unit of linguistic communication.

Speech Act Analysis (SAA) of utterances is typically a study of language use with its focus on the intentions for making such utterances. However, since the linguistic elements used have their conventional meanings in the language in which they occur, there has always been the need to consider the interplay between the conventions of the language as the circumstances within which the utterances are made which gives credibility to understanding what the speaker intends the listener to hear.

Bach (2014) postulates that such way of studying a text was built upon Jakobson's (1960) work, but was primarily inspired by Wittgenstein's philosophical theories which placed premium on language use. Jakobson had described six functions of language: referential, emotive, conative, phatic, metalingual and poetic: and their relational factors which operate these functions. The factors include addresser, addressee, message, contact, code and context. However, in my view, if we are talking about analysis of language use beyond just statement-making, then available literature dates back to Aristotle even though Aristotle had confined his study of language uses to the peripheral realms of rhetoric and poetry. His philosophical perspective greatly informed the attempts to develop general theory of uses of language.

Two philosophers who initiated the effort to develop a general theory of language uses are Thomas Reid and Adolf Reinach. Reid (1895) cited in Schuhmann and Smith (1987) formulated the term 'social operations' (or sometimes 'social acts) to describe such uses of language as promising, warning, forgiving and the likes, and contrasted it from the term 'solitary acts' such as judging, desiring, deliberating and the likes. He explained social acts as those directed to some other person, and for this reason, it constitutes a miniature 'civil society', a special kind of structured whole, embracing both the one who initiates it and the one to whom it is directed (Schuhmann & Smith, 1990).

Reinach's (1913) cited in Schuhmann and Smith (1987) philosophical reflections on language centred on meaning and intentionality. As an effort to formulate a framework within which to analyze meaning of such special kinds of uses of language involved in promising, questioning and commanding, Reinach developed the first systematic theory of performative uses of language, not only in promising and commanding but also in

warning, entreating, accusing, flattering, declaring, baptizing, etc. – phenomena which Reinach, like Reid, called ‘social acts’ (Smith, 1990). His work comprehends many of the elements we find in the writings of Austin and Searle.

However, the contemporary use of the term ‘Speech Acts’ is traced back to John L. Austin. Speech Act Theory (SAT) was first developed by J. L. Austin in a series of lectures at Oxford University on *How to do Things with Words* (Austin, 1962; Osoba & Sobola, 2014). Austin was advancing a philosophy of language that directly critiqued the prevailing notion (the “age-old assumption of philosophy”) that “to say something ... is always simply to *state* something” (Austin, 1962).

As his achievement, Austin successfully situated the argument on “meaning” into the use perspective. The argument concerning meaning had been founded on the referential theory of meaning, which assumes the linguistic system that connects the signifier (what is actually uttered) with the signified (what the speaker intends). It is Austin that went beyond the referential theory and considered the context in which language was actually used.

It is from this philosophical background that Austin and his student, Searle, formulated the SAT. The underlying theme behind Austin’s philosophy is that a statement not only describes a situation or states some facts, but also performs a certain kind of action by itself. The tradition to view a statement as a mere description of state or fact has been pursued by a number of philosophers for a long period of time. In this way of thinking, each statement itself should hold either truth or falsehood. For instance, the sentence *Gina is beautifully dressed* is in one sense either true or false in light of the real world,

namely whether the person's dressing really has the kind of beauty or not. Yet, Austin points out that this utterance is more than mere description and statement; it does things on its own. The sentence *Gina is beautifully dressed* can function depending on contexts as praise, telling irony, or even expressing affection for her in a certain situation.

To Austin, philosophers had been neglecting the "utterance-as-action" (Masaki, 2004, p. 28) aspect, which he categorizes as *performative sentence* or *performative utterance*. Austin presents some cases in which an utterance functions as action:

1. admitting to accept a woman as one's wife by saying, *Yes, I do*, in a wedding ceremony;
2. naming a ship "The Queen Elizabeth" by saying, *I name this ship "The Queen Elizabeth"*, with a bottle smashed against the stem.

Proposing that uttering a sentence includes actually doing things, Austin makes a distinction between constative and performative.

In effect, Austin, initially, advanced two broad categories of utterance, namely constatives and performatives. The former is an utterance-as-description view – that is, utterances are used to describe the world. The latter is an utterance-as-doing view. Performatives do not *report about* doing something, their utterance actually constitutes performing an action, that is, performatives are themselves a kind of action whose utterance brings about some result. Because performatives are actions, they cannot be considered to be either true or false but only "felicitous" or "infelicitous". Austin, thus, postulated that utterances do more than reflect meaning; they get things done (Littlejohn, 2009). The theory explains linguistic meanings in terms of the use of words and



sentences in the performance of speech acts. This is in contrast with theories that maintain that linguistic expressions have meaning by virtue of their contribution to the truth contributions of the sentence where they occur.

By the end of his series of lectures on *How to Do Things with Words*, however, Austin had reached the conclusion that all utterances are in any case performative in nature. Thus, instead of categorizing them into constatives and performatives, he initiated a perspective of investigating utterances as actions. As an alternative to the referential study on meaning, Austin (1962) called for the doctrine of 'illocutionary forces' (p. 99) that focuses on the performative linguistic function in which speech is regarded as action.

He, then, catalogued three levels on which speech acts can be analyzed, namely a locutionary act, an illocutionary act and a perlocutionary act. They include both the semantic and pragmatic aspects of any meaningful utterance. The locutionary act is the actual utterance and its ostensible meaning. This is an act of constructing an utterance by following grammars and vocalizing the sentence. For example, if a person says to you, *You can't do that*, the locutionary act is to construct a sentence that literally means that you cannot do something by making relevant physical sounds. The illocutionary act is the pragmatic force of an utterance. It is the utterance's intended significance as a social valid verbal action. In this sense, one actually performs an act in uttering the sentence. Searle (1969) explains that the illocutionary act is the conventional relation between the utterance and the intention of the speaker. That is to say that to understand language, one must understand the speaker's intention. The perlocutionary act is the actual effect, such as persuading, convincing, scaring, enlightening, inspiring, otherwise getting someone to do or realize something, whether intended or not. Masaki (2004) explains it as that which

one tries to accomplish by uttering a sentence. That is, by saying the sentence, *You can't do that*, the speaker stops you from doing that.

We can draw a relationship between such classification of speech acts and the three key components of communication, namely the speaker (addresser), the listener (addressee) and the message. Diagrammatically, this relationship could be represented as follows:

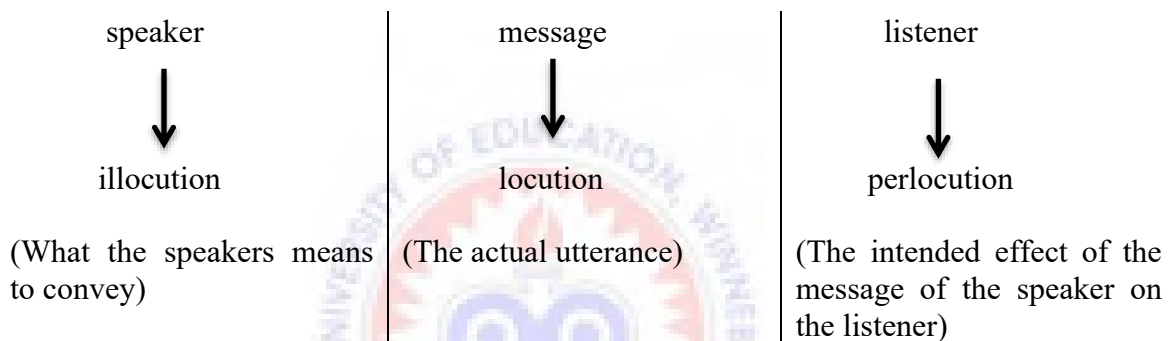


Fig1: Comparison of Speech Acts and Elements of Communication

Among locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary acts, Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) focus on the importance of illocution and extend their analysis by making a distinction between illocutionary and perlocutionary acts: “illocutionary acts are conventional acts; perlocutionary acts are not conventional” (Austin, 1962. 120). In order to perform an illocutionary act, the speaker must rely on the socially accepted convention without which the speaker cannot inspire a social force into his or her utterance. In other words, it is conventional in the sense that at least it could be made explicit by a performative formula. On the other hand, a perlocutionary act is an effect of the illocutionary act. The consequential effects of perlocutions are really consequences, which do not include such conventional effects as, for example, the speaker’s being

committed by his promise (which comes into the illocutionary act). This distinction is reflected in whether a person performs an act in-saying (illocutionary act) or by-saying (perlocutionary act). In an illocutionary act, “in saying *I would shoot him* I was threatening him,” and in a perlocutionary act, “by saying *I would shoot him* I alarmed him” (p. 121, italicized mine).

Austin, then, reached the bold conclusion that a description of situations or a statement of facts is merely one type of illocutionary force. He further presented five general classes of illocutionary forces of utterances, including verdictives, exercitives, commissives, behabitives, and expositives. Verdictives can be observed when juries, mediators, or judges, for instance, are giving a verdict. They also include “estimate, reckoning, or appraisal”(p. 150). Exercitives are related to executions of right, authority, and influence, such as order or designate. Commissives are those by which the speaker is obliged to do some acts by uttering the sentence, e.g., promise or intend. Behabitives are concerned with attitudes and social behaviors, such as congratulating or cursing. Expositives clarify the way utterances fit the proceedings of conversation or arguments, including describe, accept, or explain. For Austin, illocutionary acts are based on the existence of convention, while perlocutionary acts are not.

Based on Grice’s conception of non-natural meaning and the integration of intention (Grice, 1957), Strawson (1969) conducted a critique on Speech Act Theory. Strawson viewed speech acts as not necessarily dependent on conventions that function as connecting factors between utterance and what is meant by it. In other words, a person can act without using an existing convention all the time in order to perform an act in and by saying something. Instead, the contention by Strawson as well as Grice is that it is

“intention” that takes a role of acting by saying something. Strawson phrases it in the following way.

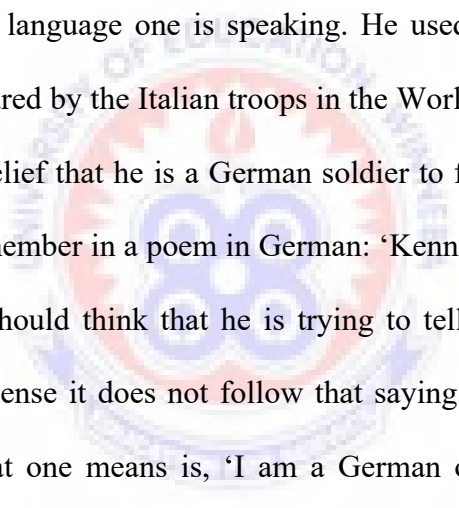
S non-naturally means something by an utterance x if S intends (i1) to produce by uttering x a certain response (r) in an audience, A, and intends (i2) that A shall recognize S’s intention (i1) and intends (i3) that this recognition on the part of A of S’s intention (i1) shall function as A’s reason, or a part of his reason, for his response r. (pp. 386-387)

i1) is the speaker’s intention, i2) is the intended effect on the hearer and i3) is the realized effects. Here Strawson rejects the illocution-perlocution distinction that is based on the existence of conventions and presents three layers of intentions like those above.

Such notion of non-natural meaning advanced by Grice in 1957 inspired Searle also. In an article entitled ‘Meaning’, Grice had given the following analysis of one sense of the notion of ‘meaning’. To say that A meant T by x is to say that ‘A intended the utterance of x to produce some effect, T, in an audience by means of the recognition of this intention. The fundamental notion of meaning that characterized Searle’s stream of thinking, therefore, is that of intentionality. The notion of intentionality states that when one makes a noise or a mark on paper to be an instance of linguistic communication, as a message, one of the things that is involved in his so making that noise or mark is that it should be regarded as having been produced by a being with certain *intentions* (Searle, 1969).

However, unlike Strawson, Searle did not completely relegate the notion of convention to the background. According to Searle, meaning is more than a matter of intention; it is also a matter of convention of the language.

Searle revised analysis of meaning from two key perspectives. First, Searle's analysis distinguishes the different kinds of effects – illocutionary and perlocutionary – the speaker may intend to produce in the hearer and establishes how the effects are related to the notion of meaning. Like, Austin, Searle equated speech act analysis to analysis of the illocutionary acts. He rather established the relationship between the illocution and the locution.

With his focus on the illocutionary acts, Searle drew the conclusion that one's meaning something when one says something is more than just contingently related to what the sentence means in the language one is speaking. He used the scenario of his being an American soldier captured by the Italian troops in the World War II. With the intention to produce in them the belief that he is a German soldier to facilitate his release, he recites an only line he can remember in a poem in German: 'Kennst du das Land' (Searle, 1969). He intends that they should think that he is trying to tell them is that he is a German officer. But in actual sense it does not follow that saying 'Kennst du das Land, wo die Zitronen blühen?' what one means is, 'I am a German officer'? Not only does it not follow, but in this case it seems plainly false that when the soldier utters the German sentence, what he means is 'I am a German officer', or even 'Ich bin ein deutscher Offizier', because what the words mean is, 'Knowest thou the land where the lemon trees bloom?' Of course, he wants his captors to be deceived into thinking that what he means is 'I am a German officer', but part of what is involved in the deception is getting them to think that such meaning is what the words which he utters refers to in German. At one point in the philosophical investigations, Wittgenstein says 'Say "it's cold here" and mean "it's warm here"'.  


Searle admits that the reason why we are unable to do this is that what we can mean is a function of what we are saying.

So, in any analysis of illocutionary acts, we must capture both the intentional and the conventional aspects and especially the relationship between them. That is to say that once we embark on analysis of illocutionary acts of a speaker, we must (1) establish the intention of the speaker (illocutionary) as well as the actual semantic meaning of the utterance (locutionary) and how the two combine to realize the effective recognition of the intention of speaker by the hearer (perlocutionary). He, thus, took the analysis of meaning beyond stating just the intentions of the speaker to accounting for the connection between intentions (i.e. one's meaning something by what one says) and convention (i.e. what that which one says actually means in the language).

Second, Searle accounts for the extent to which meaning is a matter of rules or conventions. He posited that:

We learned how to play the game of illocutionary acts, but in general it was done without an explicit formulation of the rules, and the first step in getting such a formulation is to set out the conditions for the performance of a particular illocutionary act. Our inquiry will therefore serve a double philosophical purpose. By stating a set of conditions for the performance of a particular illocutionary act we shall have offered a partial explication of that notion and shall also have paved the way for the second step, the formulation of the rules.

It follows that a speech act can only be achieved only if some necessary conditions and rules are in place or some criteria are satisfied. Like Austin before him, Searle referred to such conditions as Felicity Conditions. Austin had posited that a performative utterance

(and by extension an utterance performing a speech act) can neither be true nor false, but can instead be deemed *felicitous* or *infelicitous*. Upholding such view, Searle added that the consideration must be based on a set of conditions adequate enough to set one illocutionary act apart from the others. For example, the sentence, *Sign this document* will be considered as an order only under certain conditions where as it will be considered an advice under another. Searle's major achievement in this direction was formulation of clear-cut rules for performing a speech act.

His analysis then reads as follows:

To say that a speaker utters a sentence, T, and means what he says is to say that:

- a. the speaker has an intention, I, that his utterance produces in the hearer the awareness that the state of affairs corresponding to T obtains,
- b. the speaker intends to produce this awareness by means of the recognition of the intention, I,
- c. the speaker intends that this intention, I, will be recognized in virtue of the rules governing the elements of the sentence, T.

That the state of affairs corresponding to T obtain is what Searle states elsewhere as 'normal input and output conditions obtain'. The terms *input* and *output* are used to cover the large and indefinite range of conditions under which any kind of serious linguistic communication is possible. Output covers the conditions for intelligible speaking and input covers the conditions for understanding. Together they include such things as that the speaker and hearer both know how to speak the language; both are conscious of what they are doing; the speaker is not acting under duress or threats; they have no physical

impediments to communication, such as deafness, aphasia, or laryngitis; they are not acting in a play or telling jokes, etc.

The central hypothesis of Searle's work on speech acts can now be formulated as that speech acts are acts characteristically performed by uttering expressions in accordance with certain constitutive rules. That is to say that the semantics of a language can be regarded as a series of systems of constitutive rules and that illocutionary acts are performed in accordance with these sets of constitutive rules. He defines constitutive rules as rules that, in addition to regulating, create or define new forms of behavior, and have the form *X counts as Y*. He distinguishes it from regulative rules which solely regulate antecedently existing forms of behavior, and have the form '*If Y do X*' or simply '*Do X*'.

Searle, then, formulated a set of constitutive rules, particularly, for promising. He did that by first identifying conditions under which a sincere or insincere promise could be said to have been made. From this point, he was able to formulate what, in his view, could be a useful beginning for formulating general conditions for all forms of speech acts. Three central conditions are identified, namely, the preparatory conditions, the sincerity conditions and the essential conditions.

## **2.5 Speech Acts and Their Felicity Conditions and Rules**

Searle's achievements include formulating necessary and sufficient conditions for the performance of a particular kind of illocutionary act and extracting from these conditions the constitutive rules for the use of the expression which marks the utterance as the illocutionary act of the kind, formulating dimensions for the identification of



illocutionary acts and classifying these acts based on their purposes. Searle (1969; 1979) expanded on and codified his teacher's work. Searle reclassified speech acts based on their illocutionary purposes, i.e. what the speaker is doing with the utterance, their fits to the world, their psychological state, and their propositional content (Nastri et al., 2006). His taxonomy of the illocutionary acts is as follows:

1. Assertives: speech acts that commit a speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition. Assertive acts include asserting, stating, describing, concluding, and boasting.
2. Directives: speech acts that are to cause the hearer to take a particular action. They include requesting, advising, commanding, inviting, challenging, daring, and entreating.
3. Commissives: speech acts that commit a speaker to some future action. These include acts of promising, pledging, vowing, and offering.
4. Expressives: speech acts that express the speaker's attitudes and emotions towards a proposition. Expressives include greeting, thanking, apologizing, complaining, and congratulating.
5. Declarations: speech acts that change the reality in accord with the proposition of the declaration. Declarations include declaring, baptizing, resigning, firing from employment, hiring, and arresting.

He, through his analysis on promising succeeded in formulating necessary and sufficient conditions for enacting a particular speech act. For promising (and by extension, commissives), Searle posits that for a promise to be sincere, the following conditions must be met – i.e. given that a speaker, S, utters as sentence, T, in the presence of a

hearer, H, then, in the utterance of T, S sincerely (and non-defectively) promises that p to H if and only if:

1. Normal input and output conditions obtain.
2. S expresses that p in the utterance of T.
3. In expressing that p, S predicates a future act, A, of S.
4. H would prefer S's doing A to his not doing A, and S believes H would prefer his doing A to his not doing A.
5. It is not obvious to both S and H that S will do A in the normal course of events.
6. S intends to do A.
7. S intends that the utterance of T will place him under an obligation to do A.
8. S intends that the utterance of T will produce in H a belief that conditions (6) and (7) obtain by means of the recognition of the intention to produce that belief, and he intends this recognition to be achieved by means of the recognition of the sentence as one conventionally used to produce such beliefs.
9. The semantic rules of the dialect spoken by S and H are such that T is correctly and sincerely uttered if and only if conditions (1)—(8) obtain.

He describes conditions (2) and (3) as *propositional content conditions*; (4) and (5) as *preparatory conditions*; (6) as *sincerity condition* and (7) as *essential condition*.

From these conditions, he was able to extract the following semantic rules for the use of any function indicating device P for promising:

*Rule 1:* P is to be uttered only in the context of a sentence (or larger stretch of discourse) the utterance of which predicates some future act, A, of the speaker, S.

He called this rule the *propositional content rule*; it is derived from the propositional content conditions (2) and (3).

*Rule 2:* P is to be uttered only if the hearer, H, would prefer S's doing A to his not doing A, and S believes H would prefer S's doing A to his not doing A.

*Rule 3:* P is to be uttered only if it is not obvious to both S and H that S will do A in the normal course of events.

Rules (2) and (3) he called *preparatory rules*; they are derived from the preparatory conditions (4) and (5).

*Rule 4:* P is to be uttered only if S intends to do A.

He called this the *sincerity rule*. It is derived from the sincerity condition (6).

*Rule 5:* The utterance of P counts as the undertaking of an obligation to do A.

He called this rule the *essential rule*.

From the foregoing, Searle drew the following conclusion which has been very useful in the analyses of utterances:

If this analysis is of any general interest beyond the case of promising then it would seem that these distinctions should carry over into other types of speech act, and I think a little reflection will show that they do. Consider, e.g., giving an order. The preparatory conditions include that the speaker should be in a position of authority over the hearer, the sincerity condition is that the speaker wants the ordered act done, and the essential condition has to do with the fact that the utterance is an attempt to get the hearer to do it. For assertions, the preparatory conditions include the fact that the hearer must have some basis for supposing the asserted proposition is true, the sincerity condition is that he must believe it to be true, and the essential condition has to do with the fact that the utterance is an attempt to inform the hearer and convince him of its truth. Greetings are a much

simpler kind of speech act, but even here some of the distinctions apply. In the utterance of 'Hello' there is no propositional content and no sincerity condition. The preparatory condition is that the speaker must have just encountered the hearer, and the essential rule is that the utterance indicates courteous recognition of the hearer (Searle, 1969. 15).

It follows that breach of the necessary and sufficient conditions and rules accounts for failure to perform a specific speech act. Austin had explained such failures as *infelicities*.

## **2.6 Dimensions for Classifying Speech Acts**

Besides his achievement with formulating conditions and rules for performing speech acts, Searle further advanced the dimensions for classifying the speech acts. He applied three primary dimensions. These are the illocutionary point, the direction of fit, and the sincerity condition.

What is meant by the illocutionary point of a speech act can best be explained by defining the point of some types of acts. The point of a request, for example, can be specified by saying that it is an attempt to get the hearer to do something. The point of an assertion is that it is a representation of an actual state of affairs. The point of a promise is that it is an undertaking of an obligation by the speaker to do something.

The direction of fit of a speech act regards the relationship between the propositional contents and the referred world. Some illocutionary points are directed at getting the contents (the words) to match the world, others at getting the world to match the words. Assertions are in the former category, promises and requests are in the latter. Searle cites an excellent illustration of this distinction which refers to the situation of a shopper in a supermarket who selects items according to his shopping list. This shopper is followed by

a detective who writes down everything the shopper takes. When the shopper leaves the shop, both have identical 'shopping' lists, but the functions of the two lists are different. The detective's list has a word-to-world direction of fit (as do assertions); the shopper's list has a world-to-word direction of fit (as do requests, commands and promises).

The sincerity condition of a speech act is defined as the psychological attitude of the speaker to the propositional contents. In the case of an assertion, for example, the speaker expresses the belief that the content is true. In the case of a request for an action, the speaker expresses a want that the hearer performs the action, and if a person promises to perform an action, he expresses the intention to do it.

Below is discussion on these dimensions in the perspective of Searle's taxonomy of the illocutionary acts:

**Assertives:** Examples of which include *It is raining* and *There is a horse in the hall*. The illocutionary point of the members of this class is to commit the speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition. The direction of fit is word-to-world, and the sincerity condition expressed is 'belief that p'.

**Directives:** Examples of which are *Can you give me the salt* and *Close the window*. The illocutionary point of these acts consists in the fact that they are attempts by the speaker to get the hearer to do something, expressed by the propositional content. The direction of fit is world-to-word, and the sincerity condition is 'want that H takes a course of action establishing the truth of p'. Searle, therefore considers questions to be a subclass of directives, since they are attempts by S to get H to provide an answer.

**Commissives:** Examples of commissives include *I promise to take the horse away* and *I will be there*. Their illocutionary point is to commit the speaker to some future course of

action. The direction of fit is world-to-word, and the sincerity condition is 'intend to act such that p becomes true'.

**Expressives:** Examples of expressives are *I apologize for stepping on your toe* and *I congratulate you on winning the race*. The illocutionary point of this class is to express the psychological state specified in the sincerity condition about a state of affairs specified in the propositional content. In expressives there is no direction of fit. In performing an expressive, the speaker is neither trying to get the world to match the words nor the words to match the world. The case is rather that the truth of the expressed proposition is presupposed. There are several possible sincerity conditions expressed in the performance of the speech acts in this class. The propositional content ascribes some property to either S or H.

**Declaratives:** Examples of declaratives are *I appoint you umpire* and *The ball is out*. The illocutionary point of a declarative is that its successful performance guarantees the correspondence between the proposition p and the world. The state of affairs expressed by p is brought into existence by merely declaring it to exist. Because of this peculiar character of declaratives the direction of fit is both word-to-world and world-to-word. There is no sincerity condition.

## 2.7 Criticism on Austin-Searle's Speech Act Analysis

There have been a number of criticisms on the Speech Act Theory. Our attention is on those which are very relevant to this study. We have earlier on discussed Strawson's criticisms on Austin's dependability on convention to perform a speech act or to determine that a speech act has been duly performed. Even though, Strawson, from Gricean perspective of meaning, contents that it is the intention of the speaker that takes

the role of acting by saying something, their argument gains ground in their admission that the notion of intention does not set aside the dependability on convention to perform some speech acts; the two, at times, work complementarily. When, for example, a party chairman declares the party's presidential candidate a winner in a national presidential election, the mere intention will not be sufficient to change the state of the candidate to president since a convention needs to be satisfied. The convention is that only the chairman of the independent electoral commission has the mandate to declare a winner in a presidential election. However, convention is not a fixed requirement for performing a speech act; some acts are performed without any convention. In the dialogical context, "the existence of conventions of particular languages [is] not a necessary condition for the performance of speech acts in general" (Searle, 2002. 152).

Masaki (2004) seems to disagree with Strawson and Searle. He is of the view that the concept of convention is inevitable to explicate the mechanism of meaning-making process: When the speaker is conscious of his or her illocutionary act, the speaker certainly utilizes a convention in the execution; and, for the listener to interpret the illocution of the speaker, the listener cannot help relying on a certain schema already given to him or her. Where he departs from Austin is on what he refers to as 'the ontological base of convention' (p.37). Austin's convention is depicted as something used to refer to speaker's intention; convention is treated as a set of linguistic rules available for an instrumental purpose. In that sense, convention becomes such static rules that exist independently of human agents and that simply connect the intention with the utterance. Masaki proposes that convention has to be a dynamic concept since meaning

arises in terms of how the language is used in a specific context. The convention must, thus, be context-based.

Another major criticism that Masaki (2004) raises against SAT is the centralization on the speaker when analyzing utterances. In his article “Critique of J. L. Austin’s Speech Act Theory: Decentralization of the Speaker-Centered Meaning in Communication”, he opposes Austin and others after him. His problem with Austin, Searle and Strawson is that all of them rely on the speaker-centered model of meaning in communication, which downgrades the listener’s meaning and the dialogical communication process – i.e. traditionally, SAT has been speaker-oriented because it emphasizes the speaker’s influence on the listener, or the speaker’s strategic move based on intention. He contends that what actually happens between participants in communication situations is so complicated, at times, that the speaker-centered speech act theory obviously cannot capture the dynamics of speech acts. There is, therefore,

no essential reason why the speaker’s meaning is more privileged than that of the listener, because both the speaker and the listener are equally active participants of communication. By giving priority only to the speaker concerning the ownership of meaning, the listener is reduced to a mere passive decoder of the message, located out of the speaker’s meaning system. Communication is dialogical in nature. Speech Act Theory has to integrate this dialogical nature of communication when it conceptualizes speech acts. (Masaki, 2004. 36)

He urges the necessity to decentralize the speaker’s ownership of meaning and integrate the listener’s meaning into the theory. Thus, the ownership of meaning by speaker needs to be decentralized by being exposed to the glance of the listener. In the sense that communication is dialogical rather than monological, the meaning of an utterance is open



to multiple interpretations. The speaker does not possess an ownership to determine what his or her utterance means, while the listener also joins the process of meaning creation. Therefore, the same utterance can be interpreted in various ways, depending on listener's past experiences, present moods and interests, or future concerns.

Masaki's argument raises serious concerns in the analysis of speech act. First is the question of equating a speech act with an illocutionary act. The decentralization perspective strikes the importance of the listener reaction. Such reaction can be as a result of the perlocutionary effect due to the kind of interpretation the latter imposes on the utterance of the former. Even as Masaki's philosophical perspective does not set aside the relevance of analyzing the intentions of the speaker based on the speaker-intended meaning, it opens a fresh way of thinking of analyzing speech acts: looking beyond the speaker.

However, the critical issue raised from Masaki's argument is the scope of utterance to consider in a speech act analysis. Should one look beyond the sentence or within it? So, for a sentence like *I wonder who she is*, which Masaki cited in his analysis, does the analyst need to look within or beyond the sentence to observe the listener's response to be able to determine the possible speech acts? Since a sentence in larger discourse derives its meaning mostly from other portions of the discourse, It seems extending speech acts analysis beyond the sentence in context to 'extra-sentence' will enhance adequate determination of 1) speaker's intention, 2) the intended effect on the hearer, 3) the realized effects and 4) what might account for the disparity. Even Austin (1962) clearly presupposes the embedded gap between the execution of illocution and the actual effect, admitting that:

Since our acts are acts, we must always remember the distinction between producing effects or consequences which are intended or unintended; and (i) when the speaker intends to produce an effect it may nevertheless not occur, and (ii) when he does not intend to produce it or intends not to produce it, it may nevertheless occur (p. 105).

It seems rather better to investigate the perlocution of a sentence under intended and unintended effects still centralizing on the speaker, especially in the monological discourses like the presidential inaugural speeches, state of the nation addresses and party manifestoes. However, decentralization model is more useful in conversational situations. Searle (1975) advanced similar consciousness and effectively advanced the Indirect Speech Acts even though he actually expresses that an utterance may indicate one speech act, and indeed performs this act, but also performs a further speech act. The speaker communicates to the hearer more than he actually says by way of relying on their mutually shared background information, both linguistic and non-linguistic, together with the general powers of rationality and inference on the part of the hearer.

The difficulty that we are bound to face with Masaki's proposal, if it is generalized to all analysis of speech act, is the fact that analysis of some utterances like speeches such as the presidential inaugurals does not readily lend itself to the interpretation of the listener if our analysis focuses on the text. To investigate the meaning imposed on the text of this kind, one needs to perhaps follow the listeners to observe their behaviour. Presidential inaugural is more monological. The audience may respond with boos and cheers though, those may be characterized by a lot of circumstances which may not be directly related to the illocutionary force of the utterance. Those responses are often as a result of the prevailing political atmosphere within which such address is made.

## **2.8 The Gap in Literature**

From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that Austin's and Searle's analyses relegates to the background discussion on the perlocutionary effects, which in the speech situation is the primary objective of the speaker; the speaker utters a sentence with the intention to produce an effect in the hearer. It is, thus, necessary to investigate this effect alongside the illocutionary force that realizes the effect. The perlocutionary effects are not necessarily hearer's reactions, and for that reason, their determination cannot be hearer-centered. It is still speaker-centered. It is what the speaker intends the hearer to do. The hearer may understand otherwise, but such misunderstanding does not affect the speaker's intended meaning in any way. We contend that analyzing dialogical and monological utterances from the speaker-centered perspective, as has been the case with speech act analysis, permits a safer path for analyzing both the illocutionary and the perlocutionary acts realized explicitly and implicitly. This accounts for why we think it appropriate to use Austin's (1962) theoretical framework in this study.

## **2.9 How Different this Study is from the Others**

However, this study takes the Speech Act Analysis beyond illocutionary act analysis to the perlocutionary analysis. The study, unlike Masaki's, focuses on the speaker's intentions carried in his linguistic choices against the context in which the utterances are made and the prevailing social conventions.

## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present the methodological procedure, in terms of the description of the research design, the population, the nature of data, the process of the data collection and the data analysis procedures, used in this study.

#### 3.1 Research Design

This is a qualitative study. It adopts an exploratory research design with a survey method since our intention is not to offer final and conclusive answers to the research questions, but merely to contribute to the understanding of communicative implicatures with in-depth interrogation of the elements of communication discovered in the sample population, Presidential Inaugural Addresses in the 4<sup>th</sup> republic of Ghana. Our primary concern is contributing to the building of the theory of language use.

Priest (1996) has described the qualitative design as any method for doing social science research that uses general observation, depth, and verbal description in place of numerical measure. Since this study is a social science research, it requires more qualitative analysis than quantitative one. The strength of the qualitative technique allows a broader view to be taken and so, makes the research approach more flexible. This is justified by the fact that the study included studying the socio-human underpinnings of linguistic communication and so, absolute result was not our target.

### **3.2 Population and Sample Population**

The study was completely library-based. Our population is the six (6) Presidential Inaugural Addresses (PIAs) of presidents of the fourth republic of Ghana, out of which two, the January 7, 2009 and January 7, 2013 inaugural addresses of Presidents John Evans Atta Mills and John Dramani Mahama respectively, are sampled purposively for our investigation. The choice of these two addresses is as a result of, primarily, the presence of the linguistic elements that inform this research, and, secondarily, an attempt to prevent this study from being perceived as a comparative study between the political polarities of present Ghana. The speeches belong to the non-spontaneous category of oral speeches. In other words, they were formally prepared and written for oral delivery. Of particular importance were the communicative goals and the contexts of these speeches.

### **3.3 Data Collection Procedure**

The written texts of the inaugural addresses were retrieved from archives both electronically and manually. Electronically, President John Evans Atta Mills's inaugural address was retrieved from <http://www.ghc-ca.com>>Animation>speech while that of President John Dramani Mahama was retrieved from <http://politics.myjoyonline.com/pages/news/201301/99556.php> and <http://www.gaf.mil.gh>>catid=82:speeches. Manually the addresses were retrieved from the Daily Graphic's 8<sup>th</sup> January 2009 and 2013 editions respectively. This was to ensure that we had the faithful copies of the original selected inaugural speeches. The complete speeches are presented at the Appendix: Speech 1 and Speech 2.

### 3.4 Data Analysis Procedure

The researcher coded each sample speech into clauses. A complex sentence was coded as one clause since our focus is the main clause. However, a compound sentence was broken down into the number of simple sentences it carries.

Data were analyzed on three levels: first, illocutionary act analysis (for the illocutionary forces); second, the perlocutionary act analysis (for the intended effects such illocutionary forces could produce on the hearer); and third, analyzing the function indicating devices.

To identify the illocutionary acts in the inaugural addresses, a theory-driven coding of the sentences in the speeches was adopted. Here, three of Searle's (1969) dimensions for the identification of speech acts informed the selection of utterances as constituting a particular illocutionary force. These dimensions are the illocutionary point, the direction of fit and the expressed psychological state of the speakers. The illocutionary acts are validated in the light of the Searle's (1969, 1975) felicity conditions.

However, there were a number of issues to be resolved in the coding of speech acts. The first concerned the repetition of an utterance. Speech act theory distinguishes between an utterance act and a speech act. If utterance 'X' performs a particular speech act, then every time the speaker says 'X', there is a new utterance of 'X', but the same speech act. Thus, if someone repeated the same request, commitment, assertion, etc., there may have been many utterance acts, but there was only one speech act. So, repeated utterances were assigned only one speech act except the context dictated otherwise.

The second issue was in the coding of indirect and overlapping speech acts. A statement, for instance, *We need to take the destiny of Ghana into our own hands* could be coded as an assertive that is simply expressing the need to take certain action. Alternatively, it could have been a directive to the hearer to actually perform the desired action. This may seem an awkward theoretical problem, but it is less problematic in reality because speech act theory permits recognition of the context in which a speech act occurs. The final statement on what type of speech act this actually was would depend upon the function indicating device, the context (i.e. setting, participants and norms) and, where possible, knowing how the hearer(s) perceived it – i.e., the "uptake" of the listener.

To identify the function devices which indicate the illocutionary acts, a distinction, first, was drawn between the propositional clause on one hand and the illocutionary clause on the other. From this point, the function indicating devices (i.e. the indicators of illocutionary force) and then the illocutionary acts were discussed in the light of the rules and conventions for using certain kinds of function indicating devices.

The second category of analysis was the perlocutionary acts analysis to determine the intended effect(s) each clause-utterance could produce on the target audience.

Besides the researcher's coding, two independent volunteers, who are linguists, did the coding for both the illocutionary and perlocutionary acts based on Searle's (1975) felicity conditions and the dimensions for the identification of speech acts. These dimensions are the illocutionary point, the direction of fit and the expressed psychological state of the speakers. The felicity conditions according to Austin (1962) and Searle (1969, 1975), are

those conventional characteristics that accounts for the valid performance of particular speech acts.

All text was coded by both volunteers to permit quick determination of any possible degree of inconsistency in coding among coders. To ensure that the instructions were adequate, the coding was checked and compared with that of the researcher to ensure that at least 75% of the coding was the same. This is to ensure that varying hearer interpretations were not dominantly imposed on the determination of the illocutionary act or the speaker intended effect carried by the utterance. The rationale is to attain validity.





## CHAPTER FOUR

### FINDINGS

#### 4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of data for the various illocutionary speech acts that act out in the inaugural speeches selected for this study, their communicative goals (i.e. perlocutionary effects intended on the hearer) and the indicators of the illocutionary forces in the light of the felicity conditions that give credibility to the enactment of such illocutionary forces within the context in which the utterances are made. The analysis will bring out the answers to the research questions. It begins with a presentation of data which is followed by a discussion done with reference to the theoretical framework – Speech Act Theory by Austin and Searle.

#### 4.1 Distribution of Illocutionary Acts

The distribution of Searle's taxonomy of illocutionary acts are. Here, three of Searle's (1969) dimensions for the identification of speech acts informed the selection of utterances as constituting a particular illocutionary act. These dimensions are the illocutionary point, the direction of fit and the expressed psychological state of the speakers. For assertive acts, the illocutionary point of the members of this class is to commit the speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition. The direction of fit is word-to-world, and the psychological state of the speaker expressed is the 'belief that proposition (p) is true'. Here are some of the utterances in which the Presidents perform assertives:

1. A short while ago, I took the oath of office as the Third President of the Fourth Republic. [**App Speech 1 No. 6**]
2. Our democracy has been tested to the utmost limit. [**App Speech 1 No. 11**]
3. This is our moment; Ghana's time, once again, for greatness. [**App Speech 2 No. 101 & 102**]
4. We are moving forward at a rapid pace. [**App Speech 2 No. 61**]

The illocutionary point of commissive acts is to commit the speaker to some future course of actions. The direction of fit is world-to-word, and the psychological state of the speaker is 'intend to act such that p becomes true'. Examples of utterances in which Presidents Mills and Mahama make commissive acts include:

1. I intend to pursue relentlessly all avenues for entrenched peace and unity in all parts of the country as I am enjoined by the constitution to do so. [**App Speech 1 No. 23**]
2. ... we will recognize the contribution of our compatriots in other political parties. [**App Speech 1 No. 20**]
3. ... I will work hard to place us on the right path. [**App Speech 2 No. 48**]
4. I will lead us over the hurdles and past the obstacles that might threaten to keep us from meeting our goals. [**App Speech 2 No. 49**]

The illocutionary point of directive acts consists in the fact that they are attempts by the speaker to get the hearer to do something, expressed by the propositional content. The direction of fit is world-to-word, and the psychological state of the speaker is 'want that H takes a course of action establishing the truth of p'. Here are some examples:

1. ... we must avoid the syndrome of one set of laws for one group and another for the others.” [App Speech 1 No. 34]
2. ... let us join in this great challenge that the almighty has laid before us, to transform our nation in the years to come” [App Speech 1 No. 58]
3. We need to look beyond the temporary fixes to find lasting solutions for the complications we’ve experienced with power, water and sanitation. [App Speech 2 No. 41]
4. We must continue to invest in our agriculture sector... [App Speech 2 No. 42]

The illocutionary point of expressive acts is to express the psychological and emotional states specified in the sincerity condition about a state of affairs specified in the propositional content. In expressives there is no direction of fit. In performing an expressive, the speaker is neither trying to get the world to match the words nor the words to match the world. The following are examples of expressive utterances:

1. We give thanks and praise to the Almighty. [App Speech 1 No. 13]
2. I wish to extend a special welcome to our distinguished guests ...” [App Speech 1 No. 5]
3. Good Morning” [App Speech 2 No. 1]
4. We rightfully memorialize the names of many, many individuals whose singular contributions have elevated the profile of this nation and enriched the lives of its citizens.” [App Speech 2 No. 10]

A frequency distribution of the illocutionary acts (using Searle’s taxonomy) in the selected inaugural addresses was collated. Table 1 below presents the frequency

distribution of illocutionary acts in the inaugurals of Presidents John Evans Atta Mills (2009) and John Dramani Mahama (2013).

**Table 1: Frequency Distribution of Illocutionary Speech Acts in Presidential Inaugurals of J. E. A. Mills (2009) and J. D. Mahama (2013)**

President	Speech Acts										Total
	Assertives		Commissives		Directives		Expressives		Declaratives		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
J. E. A. Mills	22	38.59	21	37.84	5	8.77	9	15.79	0	0.00	57
J. D. Mahama	73	73.74	11	11.11	6	6.06	9	9.09	0	0.00	99
<b>Total</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>60.89</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>20.51</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>7.05</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>11.54</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>156</b>

Table 1 shows a domination of assertives in Ghanaian presidential inaugurals studied. In all, assertives constitute 60.89% of all speech acts in the inaugurals. This indicates that, generally, assertives are the most utilized speech acts in Ghanaian inaugurals studied. Particularly, the assertives are very dominant in President Mahama's inaugural address, constituting nearly three-quarter of the total illocutionary acts carried in his address. The predominance of assertives is in consonance with the findings of Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere (2012) which identified the majority of assertive illocutionary acts in the similar speeches.

However, the picture is quite different in President Mills' 2009 inaugural; even though the President performed more assertives, the number of commissives nearly equates that of assertives. Such picture in President Mills' speech nearly agrees with Olaniyi's (2010) findings which identified dominance of commissives in presidential inaugurals. The personal inclination of President Mills to constantly reassure Ghanaians of his preparedness to tackle responsively the numerous socio-economic challenges of Ghana

and the exigencies of the context might account for this great number of commissives in his address.

As indicated in the table, there are no declaratives in both inaugurals studied.

## 4.2 Distribution of Specific Types of Illocutionary Acts in each Class

### 4.2.1 Assertive acts

Using Searle's (1969) dimensions for identifying illocutionary acts, Table 2 shows the frequency distribution of assertive acts in inaugurals of Presidents Mills and Mahama respectively.

**Table 2: Frequency Distribution of Assertive Acts in Presidential Inaugurals of J. E. A. Mills (2009) and J. D. Mahama (2013)**

Assertive Acts	J. E. A. Mills (2009)		J. D. Mahama (2013)		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Asserting	1	4.55	10	13.70	11	11.58
Admitting	2	9.09	13	17.81	15	15.79
Affirming	3	13.64	6	8.22	9	9.47
Describing	2	9.09			2	2.11
Acknowledging	1	4.55			1	1.05
Stating			3	4.11	3	3.16
Suggesting			3	4.11	3	3.16
Concluding			3	4.11	3	3.16
Claiming	2	9.09	6	8.22	8	8.42
Reporting			8	10.96	8	8.42
Explaining			4	5.48	4	4.21
Confirming	5	22.73	1	1.37	6	6.32
Identifying			2	2.74	2	2.11
Predicting			2	2.74	2	2.11
Insisting			2	2.74	2	2.11
Disclosing			1	1.37	1	1.05
Alleging	1	4.55	3	4.11	4	4.21
Recognizing			1	1.37	1	1.05
Boasting			2	2.74	2	2.11
Announcing	5	22.73	2	2.74	7	7.37
Giving examples			1	1.37	1	1.05
<b>Total</b>	<b>22</b>		<b>73</b>		<b>95</b>	

From Table 2, President Mills used 9 different types of assertive acts – asserting, admitting, affirming, acknowledging, announcing, alleging, confirming, describing and claiming – in varying proportions. Confirming and announcing constitute 22.73% each of

the assertive acts and it is the dominant assertive act in President Mills' inaugural. They are followed by affirming, 13.64% and describing, claiming and admitting, 9.09% each.

The rest are 4.55% each. Below are some examples:

1. A short while ago, I took the oath of office as the Third President of the Fourth Republic. [**App Speech 1 No. 6**] – AFFIRMING the speaker's new position.
2. We have emerged from one of the most keenly-contested elections.” [**App Speech 1 No. 10**] – ASSERTING the state of affairs in the country.
3. Our democracy has been tested to the utmost limit.” [**App Speech 1 No. 11**] – CONFIRMING general claims about the milestone achievement of Ghana's democracy.
4. You have changed the face of the Presidency, Parliament and the political process itself. [**App Speech 1 No. 8**] – ADMITTING to the important role played by the speaker's predecessors.

From the table, President Mahama performed quite a number of assertive types; he used 20 different assertive acts, including admitting (17.81%), asserting (13.70%), reporting (10.96%), affirming and claiming (8.22% each), explaining (5.48%), alleging, stating, suggesting, concluding (4.11% each), boasting, assuring, insisting, predicting, identifying (2.74% each), confirming, disclosing, recognizing and giving example (1.05% each).

Here are few examples of utterances and the assertive types performed with them:

1. Ghana's past is filled with one example after the other of courage, sacrifice and perseverance. [**App Speech 2 No. 4**] – REPORTING a past event.

2. The majority of individuals who have had the greatest impact on this country came from humble beginnings. [**App Speech 2 No. 14**] – DISCLOSING what seems not a common knowledge among to the hearer until now.
3. If this is the case, then Ghana has in store a wealth of achievement. [**App Speech 2 No. 3**] – DRAWING CONCLUSION based on background conditions.
4. Nevertheless, there is a tremendous amount of work that still needs to be done. [**App Speech 2 No. 34**] – ANNOUNCING a mission.

#### 4.2.2 Commissive acts

Table 3 shows the frequency distribution of commissive acts in inaugurals of Presidents Mills and Mahama respectively.

**Table 3: Frequency Distribution of Commissive Acts in Presidential Inaugurals of J. E. A. Mills (2009) and J. D. Mahama (2013)**

Commissive Act	J. E. A. Mills (2009)		J. D. Mahama (2013)		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Promising	6	28.57	2	18.18	8	25.00
Pledging	6	28.57	2	18.18	8	25.00
Vowing	2	9.52	3	27.27	5	15.63
Assuring	7	33.33	4	36.36	11	34.38
<b>Total</b>	<b>21</b>		<b>11</b>		<b>32</b>	

Table 3 shows that both Presidents Mills and Mahama used the same commissive act types – promising, pledging, vowing and assuring – but in varying proportions in their inaugurals. Comparatively, President Mills made more promises and pledges which constitute approximately 28.57% each of the total 21 commissive acts performed in his inaugural. The rest are assuring (33.33%) and vowing (9.52%). President Mahama, on the other hand, used relatively few commissives. Of the 11 acts, assuring constitute 36.36%,

vowing, 27.27% and promising and pledging constitute 18.18% each. The following are some utterances and their commissive act types.

1. ... I make a pledge to you, my brothers and sisters, that I will strive to make a difference in the politics of our nation. [**App Speech 1 No. 15**] – PLEDGING
2. We will not let the fear of crime rob law-abiding citizens of their freedom. [**App Speech 1 No. 24**] – VOWING to confront crime.
3. As president, I will take to heart those very words that I have just extended to you. [**App Speech 2 No. 88**] – PROMISING
4. I want to assure the business community that I will be an ally. [**App Speech 2 No. 96**] - ASSURING

#### 4.2.3 Directive acts

Table 4 shows the frequency distribution of directive acts in inaugurals of Presidents Mills and Mahama respectively.

**Table 4: Frequency Distribution of Directive Acts in Presidential Inaugurals of J. E. A. Mills (2009) and J. D. Mahama (2013)**

Directive Acts	J. E. A. Mills (2009)		J. D. Mahama (2013)		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Entreating	1	20	1	16.67	2	18.18
Encouraging	1	20	1	16.67	2	18.18
Inviting	2	40	1	16.67	3	27.27
Reminding	1	20			1	9.09
Challenging			2	33.33	2	18.18
Requiring			1	16.67	1	9.09
<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>		<b>6</b>		<b>11</b>	

Table 4 shows that President Mills used four directive acts – inviting (40.00%), entreating, encouraging and reminding (20.00% each). President Mahama used five directives – challenging (33.33%), requiring, inviting, encouraging and entreating



(16.67% each). Below are some of the utterances with the directive act types they each perform:

1. ... let us join in this great challenge that the Almighty has laid before us, to so transform our country in the years to come that we may be the ultimate beneficiaries of a prosperous nation under God. [**App Speech 1 No. 58**] – INVITING
2. I remind them [members of the Judiciary, security services and public service] of their obligations to the state ... [**App Speech 1 No. 40**] - REMINDING
3. We need to look beyond temporary fixes to find lasting solutions for the complications we've experienced with power, water and sanitation. [**App Speech 2 No. 41**] – ENTREATING
4. We must all do our part, every single day, whether it is by reducing the amount of plastic waste that is in our environment, by driving responsibly and courteously to ensure that our roads are safe, or by sharing kindness with a stranger or someone less fortunate. [**App Speech 2 No. 85**] - CHARGING

#### 4.2.4 Expressive acts

Table 5 shows the frequency distribution of expressive acts in inaugurals of Presidents Mills and Mahama respectively.

**Table 5: Frequency Distribution of Expressive Acts in Presidential Inaugurals of J E A Mills (2009) and J D Mahama (2013)**

Expressive Acts	J. E. A. Mills (2009)		J. D. Mahama (2013)		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Greeting	1	11.11	2	22.22	3	16.67
Thanking	3	33.33			3	16.67
Welcoming	1	11.11			1	5.56
Hoping	2	22.22			2	11.11
Well wishing	1	11.11	2	22.22	3	16.67
Recognizing	1	11.11			1	11.11
Praising			1	11.11	1	11.11
Appreciating			1	11.11	1	11.11
Congratulating			3	33.33	3	16.67
<b>Total</b>	<b>9</b>		<b>9</b>		<b>18</b>	

Table 5 shows President Mills was very thankful in the delivery of his inaugural; the thanking constitutes 33.33% of the total nine expressive acts. Likewise, President Mahama was more congratulatory in his inaugural with 33.33% congratulations. In all, President Mills used six expressive acts and President Mahama used five expressive acts.

The following are some of the utterances with expressive acts:

1. On behalf of our nation, I salute you, Your Excellencies. [**App Speech 1 No. 2**] – GREETING
2. We give thanks and praise to the Almighty. [**App Speech 2 No. 13**] – THANKING
3. May God bless you [**App Speech 2 No. 103**] – WELL-WISHING
4. We respectfully extol their virtues ... [**App Speech 2 No. 11**] – PRAISING

Across the five categories of the illocutionary acts, President Mills used 23 types of illocutionary acts and President Mahama used 34 types of the illocutionary acts. Table 6 shows the frequency distribution of different types of illocutionary acts in inaugurals of Presidents Mill and Mahama.

**Table 6: Frequency Distribution of Types of Illocutionary Speech Acts in Presidential Inaugurals of J E A Mills (2009) and J D Mahama (2013)**

President	Illocutionary Act Type				Total
	Assertives	Commissives	Directives	Expressives	
J. E. A. Mills	9	4	4	6	23
J. D. Mahama	20	4	5	5	34
<b>Total</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>57</b>

From Table 6, President Mills used 11 less distinct acts than President Mahama. He used more expressive types than President Mahama. President Mahama rather used more assertive and directive types than President Mills.

### 4.3 Felicity Conditions

At this point of the analysis of the illocutionary acts, we take a look at the conditions that confirm appropriate enactment of a particular taxon of illocutionary force in an utterance of a clause. Such analysis of the necessary conditions that sufficiently enact illocutionary forces in the two inaugurals under review is done in the light of the four basic felicity conditions by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969). These conditions include the propositional content conditions, the preparatory conditions, the sincerity conditions and the essential (or executive) conditions. Studying sample sentences from the two inaugurals justifies proper determination of illocutionary forces in presidential inaugurals delivered in English within the Ghanaian socio-cultural context.

#### 4.3.1 Assertives

With assertive acts Searle (1969) delineates the following conditions. The propositional content conditions are that the speaker (S) expresses the proposition (p) in the utterance of the sentence (T), and in expressing p, S predicates a truth. The preparatory conditions include the fact that the hearer (H) must have some basis for supposing the asserted

proposition is true. The sincerity condition is that the S must believe p to be true. The essential condition has to do with the fact that the utterance is an attempt to inform H and convince him of the truth of the proposition.

In our analysis, we take two assertive sentences of each inaugural speech. We, as usual, begin with President Mills' 2009 inaugural speech.

a. A short while ago, I took the oath of office as the Third President of the Fourth Republic. [**App Speech 1 No. 6**]

The propositional content condition is that by the utterance of the above sentence, President Mills expresses a multiple proposition including:

- He has earlier taken an oath of office as President (of Ghana).
- He and his audience are in the 4th Republic.
- He is the 3rd President of the 4th Republic.

By expressing these propositions, the speaker predicates true facts to the best of his knowledge.

The preparatory condition is that the audience must have the basis for supposing that the propositions are true. The primary basis for this supposition is the context of the formality of the occasion. It demands stating facts and not guesses. Besides, there are other secondary bases for supposing the propositions to be true. First, that John Mills has taken an oath of office as President of Ghana is true is on the basis that Mills is the president elect in the December 7, 2008 presidential election. Also, in Ghana, as protocol demands, one is first sworn into office at Parliament House in the presence of the

lawmakers by the Chief Justice before his official outdoorings as president of the nation. The audience are aware of this; Mills would not have this opportunity if he were not president of Ghana. Second, that Ghana is in the 4th Republic is true. History of the nation is an evidential basis for the veracity of the asserted proposition. Similarly history affirms the third claim that the speaker is the 3rd President of the 4th Republic.

The sincerity condition is that the president believes the truth of the propositions. The essential condition is that these propositions are considered as an attempt to inform the audience of investiture of the 3rd presidency of the 4th Republic of Ghana on John Mills.

b. Our democracy has been tested to the utmost limit. [**App Speech 1 No. 11**]

The propositional content condition is that in the utterance of sentence (b) above, President Mills expresses the proposition of the extent to which the democracy in Ghana has been tested – the utmost limit. The preparatory condition is that the basis upon which the audience suppose the assertion to be true includes the fact that the 4th Republic has been the longest since Ghana's Independence in 1957 (i.e. sixteen years) and has witnessed two peaceful successful transmissions of power from one political party to the other. In 2001 Jerry John Rawlings of the NDC handed over power peacefully to John Agyakum Kufour of the NPP who in turn hands over power to John Evans Atta Mills of the NDC at this inaugural ceremony. The sincerity condition is that the president believes that Ghana's democracy has finished its test phase; it is now a force to reckon with. The essential condition is that, by the utterance, the president attempts to inform the audience of the fact that Ghana's democracy has come to stay.

We now turn attention to President Mahama's 2013 inaugural speech.

a. Ghana's past is defined by heroic men and women – pioneers, visionaries, patriots. [**App Speech 2 No. 5**]

Propositional content condition: In the utterance of the sentence (a), President Mahama makes a proposition that Ghana's past is defined by patriotic visionary heroic men and women pioneers.

Preparatory condition: The audience must have some basis to suppose the assertion is true. This basis includes the status of the speaker and the social context in which he speaks. As a head of state at such a solemn occasion, one is trusted to speak only the truth. The Ghanaian social context dictates the truthfulness of persons in authority.

Sincerity condition: The speaker, the president, must have a belief that the expressed proposition is true.

Essential condition: The utterance of the sentence is an attempt by the speaker to inform the hearer of the definition of Ghana's past.

b. We are now the keepers of that flame. [**App Speech 2 No. 83**]

Propositional content condition: The president by the utterance in (b) makes a proposition that he and some others (contextually, his Ghanaian compatriots) are the present keepers of a flame (of the torch of rich tradition passed on from the earlier generations).

Preparatory condition: What the audience must have as the basis for supposing the proposition to be true includes the personality of the speakers as the head of state perceived literally to be in the position to know better matters of state.

Sincerity condition: The president by the utterance expresses his belief that the responsibility of maintaining the success story of the past generation is now in the hands of the present generation.

Essential condition: By the utterance, the president attempts to inform the hearer about the responsibility that lies in their hands.

#### 4.3.2 Commissives

The propositional content conditions are that the speaker (S) expresses the proposition (p) in the utterance of the sentence (T), and in expressing p, S predicates a future action of S. The second part of proposition distinguishes a commissive sentence from one that asserts a future action. The preparatory conditions are that the hearer (H) would prefer the speaker's (S's) doing the act (A) to his not doing A, S believes H would prefer S's doing A to his not doing A, and it is not obvious to both S and H that S will do A in the normal course of events. The sincerity condition is that S intends to do A. The essential condition is that S intends that the utterance of T will place him under an obligation to do A.

Most of the commissive acts of both inaugurals seem to satisfy a number of these conditions thereby accounting for their appropriate performance. We take two sentences each for the analysis.

First, examples from President Mills' 2009 inaugural speech:

- a. I make a pledge to you that I will strive to make a difference in the politics of our nation. [App Speech 1 No. 15]

The propositional content conditions are that by the utterance of the above sentence, the president expresses the proposition that he (in his capacity as president) will strive to make a difference in the politics of Ghana. By expressing this proposition, the president predicates a future action of the president. The semantic rule of English Language is such that the use of the modal “will” in conjunction with the 1st person subject as it is the case in sentence (a) indicates a future action by the speaker (who is the 1st person “I”).

The preparatory conditions are that the audience (primarily Ghanaians) would prefer the president making a difference in the politics of the nation in so many respects to his not doing so. Basically, Ghanaians would prefer a paradigm shift from the politics of winner-takes-all, neglect of constructive views from the members of the opposition, insults and personality attack and vendetta. It is obvious, then, that the president believes that Ghanaians prefer this change in the way politics is done in the country. Taking into account the political temperature at the time of making the speech, it is not quite obvious to the audience as well as the speaker that the president would transform politics in Ghana. The tenure of office of Mills’ predecessors – J J Rawlings (1993 to 2000) and J A Kofour (2001 to 2008) – were characterized by political sidelining, abuse of power and intimidation of the people perceived to be affiliated to the opposition parties. During President Kufour’s tenure, for instance, former ministers like Victor Solomey and Kwame Peprah were jailed on charges of corruption, but members of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) had contended that the circumstances surrounding the conviction of these gentlemen were politically motivated. So, it was generally anticipated that the coming to power of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) under the



presidency of John Mills would retaliate by throwing into prison some members of the John Kufour's New Patriotic Party (NPP) government.

The sincerity condition is that President Mills intends to change the way politics is done in the country. It is assumed that he means to do this since he is inclined to fostering peace and unity in the nation. He has also demonstrated in his campaign messages and strategies that he is a politician who always looks for a new and better way of doing politics. He is credited with the door-to-door campaigning which has proven to be very effective.

Essential condition: Obviously, the president consciously and sincerely by the proposition places himself under the obligation to make a positive difference in the politics of Ghana. His position as the president of the country places him in such a position as the one to take the ultimate responsibility for the way politics is conducted in the country. In that sense, his proposition unambiguously spells out his commitment to such responsibility.

b. It will be my duty as President to heal wounds and unite our dear nation. [**App Speech 1 No. 22**]

Propositional content conditions: President Mills makes a proposition to heal wounds and unite Ghana. By the proposition, he announces a future action of his in his new capacity as a president. The futurity is indicated by the use of the word "will" which is very conventional in English usage even though there are other means of predicating future action.

The preparatory conditions are such that the electioneering campaign has been full of personality attacks and character assassination as well as some cases of physical attacks. These have contributed to deepened political divisions which threatens peace and security in the country. In such circumstance, the audience would prefer healing and unification efforts from the president as a father of the entire citizenry. Not even his opposers would prefer otherwise. By making this proposition, President Mills expresses his belief that Ghanaians prefer reconciliation, peace and unity in the country. Considering the fact that the then candidate Mills is one such individual who had come under severe attacks, especially concerning his health status and capability to rule on his own, it is not obvious to the audience and the speaker that he would choose the path of unity in the normal course of events.

The sincerity condition is that based on the personality of President Mills as an advocate of peace, whatever the price one has to pay to achieve peace, it is quite obvious that he really intends to pursue national reconciliation and unity.

The essential condition is that by the proposition, the president places himself under the obligation to work to heal and unite Ghana. His position as father of the nation (and not a leader of a political party) affirms his authority to play the role of a healer and unifier.

Now, we take a look at examples from President Mahama's 2013 inaugural.

a. I will work hard to place us on the right path. [**App Speech 2 No. 48**]

The sentence is basically a promise. Its propositional conditions is that President Mahama by the utterance of sentence (a) expresses the proposition that he will work hard to place Ghanaians on the right path. By expressing this proposition, he predicates a future action

of his. This is made possible through the use of the future-indicating modal auxiliary “will”.

The preparatory conditions is that the audience (basically Ghanaians) would prefer the president’s working hard to place Ghanaians on the right path to his not doing so. It is generally accepted that Ghana has lost the right path in terms of the attitude of the citizens towards national issues, economic growth and social relations as they pursue parochial interests. The president, thus, believes that Ghanaians would prefer his working hard to fix the problem on hand. It is obvious to the president and his audience that following the normal course of things, the president would not want to make the attempt to change things in the country, particularly the selfish attitude of the people, since that will make him very unpopular with the citizenry.

The sincerity condition is that by making this proposition, the president demonstrates his intention to work hard as president to place Ghana on the right path. This is taken as a sincere pledge or promise made by the speaker whose position as president and head of state offers him every opportunity and authority to determine which path the nation follows.

Essential condition: By the proposition, President Mahama intends the utterance to place him under an obligation to work hard for the purpose of placing the country on the right path. His office as president and leader of the nation firmly qualifies him to be an appropriate individual to bear that responsibility.

b. I want to assure the business community that I will be an ally. [**App Speech 2 No. 96**]

The sentence is an assurance and basically a promise. Its primary audience is the 'business community'. The propositional content condition is that, by the utterance of the sentence, the president expresses the proposition that he will be a collaborator to the business community. This delimits the scope of his audience at this particular instance to the members within the business community bracket. By expressing this proposition, he predicates a future action of his to them. This is made possible through the use of the future-indicating modal auxiliary "will".

The preparatory condition is that the business community would certainly prefer the head of state being an ally to his not being an ally. It assures them of, first, their continuous stay in business in the country and also, their possible growth and expansion since, as an ally, the president, who has the ultimate control over the state resource, might offer them the opportunity to exploit these resources for their mutual benefits. The proposition shows that the president believes the members of the business community would prefer him to be an ally. And it is quite obvious that, in the normal course of things, the president will not be an ally; rather he will be a supervisor to rigidly regulate the business atmosphere. Often the business community is perceived as exploiters of national resources for personal gains and so, governments will usually prove their superiority over them.

The sincerity condition is that by the proposition, the president intends to be an ally to the business community in his capacity as president of Ghana. Taking into account the formality of the occasion, such pronouncement is taken as a sincere pledge from the speaker to the target audience. The essential condition is that, by expressing this

proposition, the president intends the utterance of the sentence to place him under the obligation to be of assistance to the business community.

### 4.3.3 Directives

The propositional content condition is that the speaker (S) in the utterance of sentence (T) makes a proposition (p). The preparatory conditions include the status relationship between the speaker and hearer. This condition is a distinctive feature that marks off one directive act from the other. For instance, in ordering, the speaker should be in a position of authority over the hearer while in requesting the speaker is assumed to be in subordinate position. The sincerity condition is that the speaker wants the ordered act done. And the essential condition has to do with the fact that the utterance is an attempt to get the hearer to do it. The determination of a sentence as a directive depends on the fact that it satisfies these conditions. We at this point analyze two sentences from each of the inaugurals under review.

First, examples from President Mills' 2009 inaugural speech

- a. We must avoid the syndrome of one set of laws for one group and another for the others. **[App Speech 1 No. 34]**

The president basically performs ordering by the utterance of the sentence. The propositional content condition is that, by making the utterance as in (a), President Mills makes a proposition that his hearer, including himself, should avoid the practice of selective justice. The preparatory condition is that, considering the power relationship between the interlocutors, the speakers as president is in position of authority over the hearer, so, the proposition has an illocutionary force of ordering. The sincerity condition

is that the president actually wants the hearer to carry out the proposition of avoiding the syndrome of one set of laws for one group and another for the others. The formality of the occasion makes it impossible for the proposition to be a mere unintended remark. The essential condition is that the utterance is an attempt by the speaker to get the audience to avoid the syndrome of one set of laws for one group and another for the others.

b. Let us join in this great challenge that the Almighty has laid before us. [**App Speech 1 No. 58**]

For the sentence, the propositional content condition is that the president, by the utterances of the sentence (b), makes a proposition that his hearer should join in a great assignment given to them by God. The preparatory condition is that the speaker is in a position of authority over the hearer; his position as the president of Ghana places him at the zenith of authority in the country. Once the utterance is made in that capacity as president in a formal national context, it carries the illocutionary force of ordering. The sincerity condition is that the president really wants the hearer to join in this great challenge that the Almighty has laid before them. The essential condition is that the utterance of the sentence is an attempt by the speaker to get the hearer to partake in the great challenge that the Almighty has laid before them.

And now, examples from President Mahama's 2013 inaugural speech

a. We must continue to invest in our agriculture sector ... [**App Speech 2 No. 42**]

The propositional content condition is that by the utterance of this sentence, the president makes a proposition that his hearer, including himself, must continue to commit resources to their (i.e. Ghana's) agriculture sector. The preparatory condition is that the president is

in a position of authority over the hearer (i.e. his country men and women). As President, he occupies the highest hierarchy of the Ghanaian society as the constitutional of the country mandates him the office of the Commander in Chief of the Ghana. In this regard, the utterance basically carries ordering illocutionary force. The sincerity condition is that by the utterance, the president intends the proposition to be carried out by the hearer and he feels he has that audacity to instruct them as such. The essential condition is that he utterance of the sentence is an attempt by the president to get the audience to do an act – i.e. to continue to invest in Ghana’s agriculture sector.

b. Let us all stand, not as separate entities, but as partners. [**App Speech 2 No. 98**]

The propositional content condition is that by the utterance of this sentence, the president makes a proposition that the hearers should stand together as one. The preparatory content condition is that the president is in a position of authority over the hearer (i.e. his country men and women). The constitution of Ghana mandates him as President to occupy the highest hierarchy of authority in the Ghanaian society. In this regard, the utterance basically carries ordering illocutionary force. The sincerity condition is that the president wants the hearer to carry out the act; they should stand as partners rather than separate entities. The formality of the occasion and personality of the speaker give the utterance a formal context which means the president intends the hearer to do the act. The essential condition is that by the utterance of the sentence, the president attempts to get the hearer to “stand, as separate entities, but as partners”.

#### 4.3.4 Expressives

Expressives are much simpler kinds of illocutionary speech act, but even here some of the distinctions apply. There are some expressives, for example, greetings which have no propositional content and no sincerity conditions (Searle, 1969). There are still others like wishing which have propositional content that predicates the reference to the subject (usually, the speaker in such occasion, the proposition content condition is that the speaker (S) in the utterance of sentence (T) makes the proposition (p). The preparatory condition depends on the circumstance of the situation and marks one type of expressive act from the other. For instance, the preparatory condition for greeting is that the speaker must have just encountered the hearer and for thanking, congratulation and well-wishing, the addresser must have been aware of a worthwhile act of the addressee. The essential condition is that the utterance indicates courteous recognition of the hearer or the act of the hearer. Sincerity conditions may or may not exist depending on the particular expressive act. Greeting, for instance, do not have sincerity conditions. However, with thanking, congratulation, and wishing for instance, we can talk of the sincerity of the speaker as to what the utterance of the sentence express of the speaker to his hearer. We now discuss these conditions for the performance of expressive acts in the utterance of two sentences each in the inaugurals under review.

Here are examples from President Mills' 2009 inaugural speech

a. On behalf of our nation I salute you, Your Excellencies. [**App Speech 1 No. 2**]

The sentence is a greeting and the primary addressee is the former presidents – Jerry John Rawlings and John Agyekum Kufour – who are present at the inauguration. For the



propositional content condition, the president by the utterance of the sentence makes the proposition that he salutes the hearers. The preparatory condition is that the president has just encountered the audience. In the circumstance of the inauguration, the president's encounter with the audience is taken as his moment of opportunity to address them. The essential condition is that the president's utterance indicates his courteous recognition of the addressee.

b. We give thanks and praise to the Almighty. [**App Speech 1 No. 13**]

By the sentence the president performs thanking or appreciating and the primary addressee is 'the Almighty'. The propositional content condition is that the president, by the utterance of sentence (b) makes a proposition that he thanks and praises the Almighty [God]. The preparatory condition is that the president must have recognized a worthwhile act (perhaps, ensuring peaceful election and transition, and successful inauguration) of the primary addressee, God. The sincerity condition is that the president wants to express his appreciation to God. The essential condition is that the utterance of the sentence is recognition of the effort of the addressee.

We now take instances from President Mahama's 2013 inaugural speech.

a. Good morning. [**App Speech 2 No. 1**]

The utterance is a greeting in English. Unlike the greeting performed by President Mills to his predecessors in his 2009 inaugural, there is no propositional content condition for the utterance. There is also no sincerity condition. For the preparatory condition, the president, formally, has just encountered the audience since this is the first opportunity

allowed by the occasion to have verbal communication with the audience. The essential condition is that the utterance is a courteous recognition of the audience.

b. May God bless you. [**App Speech 2 No. 103**]

The sentence is a well-wishing to the audience. The propositional content condition is that the president by the utterance of sentence (b) makes the proposition that God blesses the addressee. The preparatory condition is that the president must have been aware of some worthwhile act of the addressee, and of the cordiality of the relationship between audience (most of whom are his supporters, sympathizers and family relations) and himself. The sincerity condition is that the president wants the addressee to be blessed by God. The essential condition is that the utterance is the expression of good wish for the audience.

#### **4.4 Perlocutionary (Intended) Effects**

In the following discussion, we take a look at some of the illocutionary forces and their intended perlocutionary effects on the audience. The analysis and discussion of illocutionary acts used in Ghana's inaugurals is done per a president, starting with President J. E. A. Mills' 2009 inaugural, and then, President J. D. Mahama's 2013 inaugural. The discussion is split among the presidents because of the need for attention to be paid to specific contexts of the inaugurals. On each inaugural, the analysis and discussion are further broken down into the four categories of illocutionary acts realized in it.

#### 4.4.1 President J. E. A. Mills' 2009 Inaugural Speech

##### 4.4.1.1 Assertive acts

From the speech act analysis of President Mills' inaugural, assertive acts occur in 22 instances. The assertives in President Mills' speech are used to accomplish a number of ends. The President attempts to depict situations to the audience. These situations included what was immediately transpiring during the inauguration, the President's observations of present events in Ghana and those that happened in the past and things that could happen in the future. Focusing on immediate past events, the President uses assertives like:

- a. "A short while ago, I took the oath of office as the Third President of the Fourth Republic." [App Speech 1 No. 6]
- b. "We have emerged from one of the most keenly-contested elections." [App Speech 1 No. 10]
- c. "Our democracy has been tested to the utmost limit." [App Speech 1 No. 11]
- d. "Thanks to the steadfastness of the good people of Ghana, sovereign will has prevailed." [App Speech 1 No. 12]

The statement in (a) is a comment on the immediate past event of the oath-taking. This pronouncement is verifiable and intended by the President to affirm his elevation to the higher office of the new President of Ghana. The President appears content with the fact that the Fourth Republican Constitution has succeeded in instituting a third successive President of Ghana. He hinted this with the inclusion of the phrase "the Third President of the Fourth Republic". Effectively, his utterance celebrates a milestone chalked up in

Ghana's political history. He confirms his satisfaction for the success of democracy in Ghana with the statements (b) and (c), in which the President once again observes that Ghanaians' resolution to adopt democracy has been stretched to its elastic limit. The main intention behind the expression of satisfaction is to announce to both the audience and the international community how advanced Ghana's democracy has been. To the President the elections in the country, like the one that had brought him to power, are "keenly-contested" and the outcome is a true reflection of the sovereign will of the people of Ghana. In statement (d), the President confesses that his election to the office of the president of Ghana is a reflection of the sovereign will of the electorates. The credibility of this assertions stems from the fact that on two consecutive times candidates of opposition parties have won presidential elections against candidates of incumbent parties and in all these occasions sitting presidents have willingly handed over power peacefully. Even the losing candidates have demonstrated maturity by accepting defeat even sometime before the final declaration of the results by the independent electoral commissioner.

These assertives come with highlights of some events that characterize the pre-election activities. Some are electioneering campaign and highlight of what constitute the core of the campaign messages which according to the President soured him to victory in the December 7 2008 presidential election. He makes the following assertives to that effect:

- e. "We made promises to Ghanaians on the strength of which they have reposed trust in me and elected me and the National Democratic Congress to lead our nation over the next four years and hopefully beyond." [App Speech 1 No. 47]

- f. “The core of the campaign message and our agenda for change was investing in people, job creation, infrastructure development and expansion, and open, transparent and accountable government.” **[App Speech 1 No. 48]**

They also include reminders of the president’s personal promise made before now, perhaps in the campaign. An instance is:

- g. I have always said that I will be President for all Ghanaians whether they voted for me or not, and without consideration for which part of the country they come from. **[App Speech 1 No. 21]**

By sentence (g), President Mills reminds the audience a promise which he believes he has made to the audience regarding the kind of impartial president he intends to be. In statements (e) and (f), he confirms to his audience across the globe the promises he and his political party had made to the Ghanaians which constituted the core of their electioneering campaign message. He is more specific as to what these key areas of interest are. Such an assertion becomes a vital reference point for future assessment of the competency of the Mills government. Statement (e) also confirms the maturity of the Ghanaian electorates who vote based on the strength of candidates’ campaign message. President Mills believes that the Ghanaian voter makes informed choice in voting to political office based on the message that politicians communicate to them. Thus, the statement seems to content the popular allegation of voting along ethnic considerations or under some form of material inducement. President Mills by this statement demonstrates great confidence in the integrity of the Ghanaian voter and by extension the progress in the electoral system in Ghana. Besides, the statement (e) confirms the number of years –

four – for the term of office and the president’s hopefulness to go for another term. By sentence (f), the president educates his audience of the details of the campaign message he refers to in (e).

Another area that the President’s speech asserted is the immediately transpiring events at the inauguration and what it means for the people of Ghana. He used the following assertive statements:

- h. “At this moment of joyful celebration, I hear a call to duty.” **[App Speech 1 No. 14]**
- i. “This is the dawn of a new era of change for better Ghana.” **[App Speech 1 No. 16]**
- j. “It is not a change for change sake.” **[App Speech 1 No. 17]**
- k. “It is a change in a new direction to enable us move forward with unity of purpose.” **[App Speech 1 No. 18]**

The statement (h) conveys the president’s description and assessment of the inaugural occasion as being “joyful”. This is an adequate description of the general euphoria that characterized the entire celebration amidst cultural displays and a number of performances. The statement indirectly reflects the president’s personal satisfaction as the eventual winner of the election he had described as “keenly-contested” after two consecutive failed attempts. The statement, centrally, affirms the President’s acceptance of the responsibilities which the office of president, into which he had shortly been ushered, places on him. In statement (i), he makes a strong claim to the effect that his election and elevation to the presidency marks the apparent beginning of “a new era of change” that would ensure a better Ghana. By implication, he laments socio-economic standard of the Ghana he has inherited by admitting in (i) that the previous change of

government from the National Democratic Congress (NDC) government in 2000 to the Kuffour-led New Patriotic Party (NPP) perhaps was a mere change. The statement (j) outlines what element gives credit to the superiority of the present change over the previous one – moving forward with unity of purpose.

President Mills, as part of describing what is transpiring at the inauguration, also informs his audience of the presence of some key dignitaries at the function; he acknowledges the presence of former presidents of Ghana at the inauguration and their significance to him as president.

- l. “I wish to begin by acknowledging the presence of my two predecessors: former President Jerry John Rawlings and former President John Agyekum Kufour.” [**App Speech 1 No. 1**]
- m. “... you will be important reference points during my tenure of office as the President.” [**App Speech 1 No. 4**]

In statement (l), the president informs his audience that such important personalities in the history of the politics in Ghana are present at his inauguration ceremony. However, his use of “former” in referring to them is a quick way to assert that there is only one president of Ghana presently, and that, in this reference, is John Mills. Effectively, he affirms his centrality in the ongoing ceremony – that is, he is the man in charge since their terms have elapsed. Their maximum value is to be “reference points”. The president uses such affirmation to prove his critics wrong. During electioneering campaign, one dominant allegation critical about the then candidate Mills was the claim by his main contenders that since Mills was Rawlings’ boy, electing him to office meant a re-election

of Rawlings to the presidency of Ghana; they had made claims that Rawlings would dictate to him and effect rule through him. It is against this backdrop that at such crucial moment, Mills asserts himself on the minds of both the local and the international community as the only sitting president of Ghana.

Touching on the present events in the country, President Mills confirms the oneness of Ghana.

n. “There is only one Ghana ...” [**App Speech 1 No. 37**]

In advancing the unification drive of the inaugural, President Mills makes it clear to his audience in (n) that there is only one Ghana and adds that “and that Ghana must work in the interest of every Ghanaian”. It is obvious the President asserts the superiority of the state over all ethnic or partisan affiliations and persuasions. As the country is just emerging out of deeply polarized election, such reminder of who Ghanaians are – one people in one nation with a common destiny – is one such vital force a Presidential Inaugural Address cannot overlook. Thus, he makes it clear that Ghanaians have nowhere but Ghana to seek solutions to their problems.

He also paints a picture of his personal capability and duty as president of Ghana in the following statements:

o. “The least I can do is to work to your satisfaction and deliver on my promise for a better Ghana.” [**App Speech 1 No. 9**]

p. “It will be my duty as President to heal wounds and unite our dear nation.” [**App Speech 1 No. 22**]



In sentence (o), President Mills defines the scope of his personal capacity which includes being able to do over and above the better Ghana promised in the electioneering campaign; his lowest performance would be merely working to their satisfaction. The implication is that of raising the confidence of the people in him as their able president. This seems as the president's attempt to dispute countless allegations from his detractors that he is physically not fit for the job. In (p), he recounts his role as president as a unifier. It is an admission to the fact that he now, in his new capacity, leads the nation rather than his political party. By informing the audience, he intends them to equally recognize him as such.

Focusing on things that could be happening in future, the President used a number of statements which announced the challenges that the Mills-led government has to scale and the goals it needs to attain. He uses the following assertive statements:

q. "We have a duty to ensure that our laws are administered without fear or favour."

**[App Speech 1 No. 33]**

r. "We have a challenge to ensure that our laws work in a system that is blind to one's place in society or one's political persuasion." **[App Speech 1 No. 35]**

s. "Our goal is to facilitate creation of business environment that balances the resuscitation and growth of local industries and enterprises with the operation of foreign businesses considered essential to the creation of a robust national economy.

**[App Speech 1 No. 43]**

t. "I know we have to face hard truths and take bold, strong measures." **[App Speech 1 No. 55]**

It is not quite surprising the fact that the first challenge the president envisaged worth tackling is the issue of law administration for two obvious reasons. One is the fact that the President is a Professor of Law. So, his interest in law administration in country could not have acted out in any better time. Two, the issue of bias in law administration in against members of the, then, opposition NDC during the Kuffour-led NPP dominated the electioneering campaign. The NDC alleged severally the trial and imprisonment of key functionaries in the Rawlings-led PNDC/NDC government was just a political vendetta, and that people like Kwame Peprah, Victor Solomey and Tsatsu Tsika were not given fair trial. On the heel of these, the NDC described the justice system in Ghana then as being selective, calling the courts “Kangaroo Courts”. From such academic and political background, President Mills asserts that equal justice in properly administered judiciary system is the way to go during his term of office.

Another area that the president hints by his assertive use as would be way to go in his government is the economy. By statements (s) and (t), President Mills confirms identification of the creation of balanced business environment for the growth of local and foreign businesses in Ghana. By this, the president indirectly promises a fair playing field for both local and foreign businesses; the statements enable him to inspire hopes in local business entrepreneurs and, at the same time, boost investor confidence in the economy of Ghana.

Although the number of assertive acts in President Mills’ inaugural are relatively few, by them, he successfully accomplishes a lot of ends expected of such address type; he highlights where Ghanaian were, where they are and where they are going. Most importantly, the assertives tell the audience who they are, “one Ghana”.

#### 4.4.1.2 Commissive Acts

From the speech act analysis of President Mills' inaugural speech under review, commissive acts occur in 21 instances. These acts in President Mills' speech are used to achieve a number of goals, including announcing the behavior to expect of his government functionaries, promising national security and decent politics in the country, assuring profitable commerce and active international relations. These are attempts to inspire hope of a cross-section of his audience in his government in such areas of the Ghanaian society.

Focusing on behavior of government functionaries, the president uses a number of commissive acts which promise, pledge and vow what to expect him and his government to do in their four-year term of office. This discussion centers on two aspects, namely the president's personal offers and offers on behalf of his government. Regarding what President personally offers to do in terms of governing the nation, he uses the following commissive statements:

- a. I intend to pursue relentlessly all avenues for entrenched peace and unity in all parts of the country as I am enjoined by the constitution to do so. [**App Speech 1 No. 23**]

. In sentence (a), President Mills pledges his commitment to unify the country under him. Amongst his major strategies is "to heal wounds" and pursuing to ensure peace prevails. These wounds might include character assassination through propaganda most of which might have worked to account for the president's victory in the election. He could not have promised better; certainly the audience would have preferred him do that. The

president's personal inclination to ensuring peace (which later won him the enviable title "King of Peace") is clearly acted out in these commissive statements.

Those commissives which, on behalf of the Mills government, promise what to expect as conduct of office for the government in general include:

- b. (i) Ours [i.e. our change] will be a consensus-agenda. **[App Speech 1 No. 19]**
- (ii) ...we will recognize the contribution of our compatriots in other political parties. **[App Speech 1 No. 20]**
- (iii) Willingness to put personal advantage aside will ... be one of the key demands on those who will serve in the Atta Mills government. **[App Speech 1 No. 28]**
- (iv) Honesty, fairness, compassion and sincerity will be the hallmark of my administration. **[App Speech 1 No. 29]**
- (v) The principles of accountability will be held. **[App Speech 1 No. 31]**

Focusing on the conduct of his government, President Mills, in statements (b(i) and (ii)), pledges a government that respects opinions and contribution of others who are outside the government. Such position consolidates his personal pledge to unify the nation for progress and development and affirms his government's intended open-door policy. In (b(iii)), the President outlines to all a major criterion he intend using to select people who will constitute his administration –that is, selflessness. He further enumerates the conducts he intends to insist on among these public officials some of which include honesty, fairness, compassion, sincerity and accountability. Coming from the background of a former Vice President in the Rawlings government, President Mills is very familiar with the way most public officials have conducted themselves in office; they are often

characterized by greed, self-centeredness, secrecy and corruption. Though often contested as mere allegations, the truth could not have eluded a holder of such high office as Vice President in government. The implication of the president's pledge to lead an administration with such clean hallmark is that it admits to the veracity of claims of corruption and misconduct of officials of past governments in Ghana.

Thirdly, on the commissives that hints on security, the president mainly employs them to promise Ghanaians of what is going to constitute the future acts to expect from his government regarding insurance of security in the country. Amongst the commissive sentences used for this end are as follows:

- c. (i) "We will not let the fear of crime rob law-abiding citizens of their freedom." [**App Speech 1 No. 24**]
- (ii) "Improving the internal security situation will ... be a top priority of the new Government ..." [**App Speech 1 No. 25**]
- (iii) "... the law will be allowed to take its course." [**App Speech 1 No. 32**]
- (iv) "We will do all in our power to ensure social justice, equity and equality under the laws of Ghana." [**App Speech 1 No. 36**]

To the president, freedom in justice will characterize his governance. In sentence (c(i)), he vows to confront issue of crime with adequate seriousness it deserved. Such position against crime is intended to promise safe Ghana to law-abiding dwellers and indirectly warns criminals and potential law-breakers. In the statements (c(ii) to (iv)), he identifies two cardinal strategies to ensuring that Ghana is safe. He identifies internal security as one such strategy and so, promises to give it a top priority area in his government. The

president seemed to possess a sound knowledge of how to achieve safety in the country. Such a quality is much expected of a Head of State. Besides improving the internal security, he also, identifies proper administration of law as a vital avenue to attain a safer country. Perhaps, his long experience in a former government and his academic background as a Professor of Law have taught him much about the state of administration of law in the country. He assures the people of judicial equality and freedom. His government would not pursue selective justice or interference in the administration of justice in the country.

The fourth area the president touches with his commissive acts is future of politics in the country. He used such commissive statements as:

- d. (i) "... I make a pledge to you, my brothers and sisters, that I will strive to make a difference in the politics of our nation." [App Speech 1 No. 15]
- (ii) "Our politics will not focus on power and privilege." [App Speech 1 No. 26]

Focusing on politics in the country, the president employs the above commissive sentences to pledge his personal commitment to redefine the art of politics in the country. It stands out clear that the politics he intends to achieve is that of tolerance and brotherliness as President Mills is notably inclined to the use of the expression "my brothers and sister". He, also pledges in (d(ii)) the kind of politics his government will practice. Unambiguously, he promises politics which is devoid of show of power and intimidation. On the contrary, he intends to improve the lots of all well-meaning Ghanaians. Such assurances of reconciliatory political atmosphere reflect the personality

of the president as a man of outstanding gentleness and consideration for others in all his endeavours.

Fifthly, President Mills' use of commissive acts deals with area of the prospects of commerce in Ghana for both local and foreign businesses. He outlines acts he and his government intend to and not do in that sector of the economy. The commissive statements used in such regard include:

- e. (i) "I also want to reassure the business community that the Government which I lead means well." **[App Speech 1 No. 42]**
- (ii) "We will not pursue a policy that sees Ghanaian industries suffering from unfair competition." **[App Speech 1 No. 44]**
- (iii) "Our local businesses will be encouraged to create jobs and play their role in growing the Ghanaian economy. **[App Speech 1 No. 45]**
- (iv) "We will strive to balance the efficiency of the market with the compassion of the state." **[App Speech 1 No. 46]**

The President raises the confidence of mostly local business operatives in his government. They could count on the new government to adopt and implement policies that would give fair playing field for both local and foreign businesses. President Mills, thus, assures local business of his government's support to enable them play active role in the quest to grow the economy of the country. He acknowledges the primary responsibility of his government to the sustainability of the local businesses in the highly competitive market place and offers to inspire the needed confidence of these, mostly, small scale business operators in this new government.

The sixth area addressed in President Mills's use of commissive acts is Ghana's international relations. He uses the following commissives:

- f. (i) "We will strengthen our relations with our neighbours. [App Speech 1 No. 50]
- (ii) "... [we will] help accelerate the process toward economic integration in the sub-region [App Speech 1 No. 51]
- (iii) "We will continue to be active in the African Union and in efforts to resolve conflicts on the continent." [App Speech 1 No. 52]
- (iv) "We will collaborate with the United Nations and other international and global institutions to make the world a better and safer place." [App Speech 1 No. 53]

Touching on international relations, President Mills, in (f(i) and (ii)), assures the international community of his country's commitment to the ECOWAS sub-region. And in (f(iii)), he pledges Ghana's active participation in the operations of African Union to resolve the numerous conflicts plaguing the continent. In (f(iv)), he assures the world of Ghana's continuous commitment to the quest for global peace and security. Such promises to the international community, assuring them of the new government's preparedness to cooperate with other countries and international institutions raise a renewed confidence in these bodies in the government in particular and Ghana as a whole. It affirms Ghana's active membership in most of these international and global bodies. After all, no country is an island in this age of globalization. And Ghana could not be an exception. Interdependability is a vital principle in international affairs. Ghana's international policies are as vital as its internal policies. The President, therefore scores a great point announcing to the world the policy direction of Ghana's international affairs.



From the foregoing discussion, it stands clear that President Mills' use of commissive illocutionary acts addresses six key issues, including his personal conduct in office, the conduct of his government, the nature of politics he would practice, solid internal security, vibrant commerce and commitment to international issues.

#### 4.4.1.3 Directive acts

From the speech act analysis of President Mills' inaugural under review, directive acts occur in 5 instances. These illocutionary acts in the president's speech are used to achieve some number of goals. The President attempts to get a cross-section of his audience to behave in a certain way. His target audience includes would-be members of his government, the entire Ghanaians and the personnel of the public and civil services.

Directing the would-be members of his government, the President entreated that:

- a. "... we must avoid the syndrome of one set of laws for one group and another for the others." [App Speech 1 No. 34]

His charge to them (i.e. "we", including himself) is that of abstinence from what, perhaps in his view, had become a usual practice of governments – discriminatory justice. The use of the word "syndrome" underpins the endemic nature of the practice in the governance of the country, and his personal repulsion for such practice.

Focusing on all Ghanaians, the president uses the following directive acts:

- b. "... Ghana must work in the interest of every Ghanaian." [App Speech 1 No. 38]

- c. “I want to tell you, my brothers and sisters across our nation ... let us join in this great challenge that the almighty has laid before us, to transform our nation in the years to come” **[App Speech 1 No. 58]**

In statement (b), the president calls on all Ghanaians to take into account the interest of every other Ghanaian in the discharge of their responsibilities. The call stems out of the fact that President Mills has a very strong disposition to prioritizing the well-being of Ghanaians generally. For two consecutive times, he had quickly accepted defeat in presidential elections all in the interest of Ghana. He is notable for admitting that he would prefer losing the election to losing any life for his victory. Now that he is the president and leader of government this attribute dictates his directive to Ghanaian to prioritize on national interest over personal one. In statement (c), President Mills invites citizens’ participation in the march to “transform our nation”. He admits that nation building is a challenge which requires communal efforts.

Turning attention to workers in the country, President Mills uses the following directive statements:

- d. “I extend a hand of cooperation to members of the judiciary, security service and public service.” **[App Speech 1 No. 39]**
- e. “I remind them of their obligations to state and urge them to be loyal and committed to the larger interest of the Ghanaian people.” **[App Speech 1 No. 40]**

The President, by sentence (d), invites the various working groups in the country to cooperate with his government, insisting their loyalty must be to the “interest of the Ghanaian people”. He sounds less authoritative in the directives for his position as the

Chief Executive Officer of the economy and Commander in Chief of the Ghana Armed Force. Despite his position in the country, the President actually employs a more persuasive element by first identifying himself with the members of the public services.

#### **4.4.1.4 Expressive acts**

From the speech act analysis of President Mills' inaugural speech, expressive acts occur in 9 instances. These acts in President Mills' speech are used to achieve a number of ends. The President attempts to welcome, greet and express hope in the prospects of the economy under his leadership. On welcoming, for example, he employs the use of the following expressive statements to appreciate the presence of some special personalities at the function:

- a. "I wish to extend a special welcome to our distinguished guests ..." [**App Speech 1 No. 5**]

He also greets them with the following statement:

- b. "On behalf of the nation, I salute you, Your Excellencies." [**App Speech 1 No. 2**]

In statement (b), President Mills, on behalf of the people of Ghana, greets and so, registers national gratitude to his predecessors – Jerry John Rawlings and John Agyekum Kufour – for gracing the occasion with their presence. Describing the inauguration as "momentous", the president, in statement (a), appreciates the contribution that the presence of his audience makes to the success of the occasion. It is quite obvious that the "distinguished guests" referred to here are the audience in general, considering the president's inclination to equal treatment for all regardless of one's social status.

He also, uses some of the expressive acts to express gratitude for his election and successful inauguration to God, Ghanaian electorates and the audience. He uses the following:

- c. “We give thanks and praise to the Almighty.” [App Speech 1 No. 13]
- d. “With grateful heart, I want to thank all Ghanaians for giving me the mandate to serve as President.” [App Speech 1 No. 7]
- e. “I thank you.” [App Speech 1 No. 59]

The president’s expression of gratitude to God is for a number of probable reasons primary of which might be the successful election and more likely the fact his personal ambition has been fulfilled; the success of the election has soured him to office as the Ghana’s 3<sup>rd</sup> President of the 4<sup>th</sup> Republic. The use of “We” portrays that the president speaks on behalf of some group of people. The context of the situation might explain this group to be either all Ghanaians or his political party who have been elected to government. In sentence (d), he extends his gratitude to the Ghanaian electorates for electing him to the presidency at last. It was his third consecutive run for the title. It was predicted that a loss would seal his political career. As a result, the president feels so indebted to the electorates, particularly those who voted for him. However to be more nationalistic as President Mills always projects himself, he offers an umbrella gratitude to every Ghanaian. In (e), he is thankful to the audience who have come out in their numbers to witness and celebrate with him.

On expression of optimism in the progress of Ghana under the Mills government, the president uses the following expressive statements:

- f. “I believe that as a nation, we will find the strength of character, love of country, and hope for our shared future as a nation, to accomplish even the most difficult of task.”

**[App Speech 1 No. 56]**

- g. “... I am confident that working together we will prevail, and Ghana will be the ultimate winner.” **[App Speech 1 No. 57]**

As President of a new government, he could not have wished less; success of Ghana even in the face of the numerous challenges facing the economy across several sectors is one thing every Ghanaian expected of the new government. President Mills prays for those attitudinal elements that could guarantee the most desired success. These he notices as “strength of character”, “love of country”, sense of nationality and togetherness.

#### **4.4.2 President John Dramani Mahama’s 2013 Inaugural Speech**

##### **4.4.2.1 Assertive acts**

President Mahama’s inaugural abounds in the use of assertive illocutionary acts. From the speech act analysis of that inaugural, assertive acts occur in 74 instances out of the total 99 identified acts. Evidently, the frequency of assertives in the speech outnumbers that of commissives, which are deemed to be the most recurrent speech acts in presidential inaugurals (Olayini, 2010). These acts in President Mahama’s speech are used to achieve quite a number of goals, including expressing optimism in the economy of Ghana, reflecting on some immediate past events in the country, announcing the challenges and responsibilities which are currently before Ghanaians to overcome and the potentials available to meet these responsibilities.

Most of the assertives used in President Mahama's inaugural primarily express the president's optimism in the economic success of Ghana and his recognition of the vital contribution that all Ghanaians need to make to realize such feat. Some of the assertives to this effect include:

- a. (i) "This is our moment; Ghana's time, once again, for greatness." [**App Speech 2 No. 101 & 102**]
- (ii) "Ghana is on the cusp of enormous transformation." [**App Speech 2 No. 60**]
- (iii) "We are moving forward at a rapid pace." [**App Speech 2 No. 61**]

The president in his assertives use contextualizes Ghana. He informs his audience about the present state of the economy. In statement (a(iii)), for instance, he describes Ghana as attaining rapid growth. Apparently, he seems debunk claims that nearly 57 years of independence does not measure up to our pace of development. Most critics of governance of Ghana have described the nation's growth as being very slow, considering the amount of resources at the nation's disposal. Such impression of the economy is responsible for growing loss of confidence in its prospects. President Mahama by his linguistic choice of "once again", reports to his audience that some landmark successes have been achieved before and that means a lot more can be achieved even now. In (a(ii)), he clearly announces his optimism regarding where the country has reached. He describes Ghana as being ready for enormous transformation. In (a(i)), he affirms indigenous responsibility towards attaining such transformation; it is the turn of every individual Ghanaian to contribute to the effort to shoot Ghana up to the lime light.

Ultimately, the president intends to boost sense of self-confidence, determination and commitment to do in the Ghanaian populace.

Coming from this perspective, President Mahama uses a substantial portion of his assertives to provide the reasons for his optimism in the success of Ghana's future. The first situation is historical in nature as the president focuses on the history of Ghana and on its positive impact to the development of the economy. Some of the assertives employed by President Mahama in his 2013 inaugural focuses on highlighting the heroism of some Ghanaians of the past. Even though much is believed to have taken place in the country – both pleasant and unpleasant situations, the president delimits attention to those positive aspects of history. He pays tributes to past people whose heroic deeds had had tangible landmarks in Ghana's developmental efforts. Some examples of the assertives that President Mahama uses are the following:

- b. (i) “Ghana’s past is filled with one example after the other of courage, sacrifice and perseverance.” **[App Speech 2 No. 4]**
- (ii) “Ghana’s past is defined by heroic men and women-pioneers, visionaries, patriots.” **[App Speech 2 No. 5]**
- (iii) “[They include] People like Nana Yaa Asantewaa, Naa Gbewaa, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and Dr. J.B. Danquah ..... Efua Sutherland, Dr. James Kwegyir Aggrey, Dr. Esther Afua Ocloo and Dr. Ephraim Koku Amu. **[App Speech 2 No. 8]**

The president mainly utilizes the tributes to set up the context of his address by recounting the specific contributions some of these individual had made to the nation. The careful

selection of these personalities to cut across diverse political, ethnic and professional groupings in the country hints about the intention of the president to draw audience from all to his speech. The rationale behind this posture may probably be the president's drive to use the inaugural to position himself as a man for all regardless of the then ongoing legal challenge of his election by some members of the opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP).

Now, such personalities may be described as belonging to the remote past. So, the president balances the situation with reports of achievements by people in recent past. He, thus, pays tribute to his predecessors for their exemplary achievements. He uses such assertive statements as:

c. (i) "... I have seen the works and achievements of my predecessors ..." [**App Speech 2 No. 72**]

(ii) "We were all witness to the way they were able to take what other said was impossible and to not only turn into something that was probable, but to realize their vision and get it done." [**App Speech 2 No. 73**]

The president informs his audience about the recognition of courageous efforts of former presidents of the 4<sup>th</sup> Republic – Jerry John Rawlings, John Agyekum Kufour and John Evans Atta Mills – and how these efforts have defied the warnings of impossibility. He hints on their leadership qualities of as leaders with vision and who are risk takers.

Moreover, he pays tributes to national efforts by recounting some of the successes Ghana has chalked in its march to attaining socio-economic progress. The following assertive sentences are used to that effect:



d. (i) “We have been the first before, the success story.” [App Speech 2 No. 68]

(ii) “We have blazed trails before for other to follow.” [App Speech 2 No. 69]

President Mahama, in these statements, declares to the world Ghana’s pacesetting role on the global stage as a leader in heralding change. This statement probably indirectly alludes to the foremost role Ghana played in in the fight with colonialists by being the first sub-Saharan African country to attain independence in 1957. Such achievement catalyzed and spearheaded the freedom struggle across Africa.

Using these tributes to provide the context for his inaugural means drawing a comparison between what they were able to achieve then and what the present generation are capable of achieving. Somewhere in the inaugural he admits that “It has been said that what is past is prologue, a mere introduction of what is yet to come”. So, in tracing what this past was and how it worked, the president discloses the ordinariness of these past heroes and heroines in (e(i) and (ii))

e. (i) “The majority of individuals who have had the greatest impact on this country came from humble beginnings.” [App Speech 2 No. 14]

(ii) “They were ordinary people who lived their lives to the fullest ...” [App Speech 2 No. 16]

The rationale for the exploitation of such assertives is possibly to demystify wrong assumptions that it takes some special elevated social background for one to be relevant in society. It hints that, the president, per his political background as once Member of Parliament, Vice President and President (after the demise of President Mills), has

enough reason to think that most Ghanaian count themselves out of the picture of relevance. To substantiate the claim of the humble beginnings of the past heroes and heroines, the example of Tetteh Quarshie and how his individual adventure has contributed to elevate the profile of Ghana in the area of cocoa production in the world come in handy.

President Mahama links the present to the past, establishing the footprints of the past efforts in present Ghana. He uses the following assertive statements:

f. (i) "... Ghana is the world's second largest exporter of cocoa ..." [**App Speech 2 No. 24**]

(ii) "... it [i. e. cocoa] is Ghana's leading export earner." [**App Speech 2 No. 25**]

He draws the conclusion as to the "effect that the life one ordinary citizen can have on an entire nation" across times. He announces the impact that Tetteh Quarshie's visionary effort of transporting a few cocoa beans from Fernando Po to Mampon-Akwapim continues to have in shaping the destiny of the economy of Ghana even several years after that incident. Ghana occupies an enviable position on the global market as the world's second largest producer and exporter of cocoa.

On the state of the country, President Mahama employs assertive acts to announce Ghana's achievements, paying much attention to gains made since Independence. He used assertives such as:

g. (i) "There is no denying the fact that in the past 55 years Ghana has made tremendous gains" [**App Speech 2 No. 31**]

(ii) “Over the course of the last four years, a tremendous amount of work has been done.” [App Speech 2 No. 33]

In (d(i)), the president hypothesizes the gains Ghana has made since during the 55 years as an independent state. In (d(ii)), he describes the previous four years of the Mills-Mahama government as a period within which much had been accomplished. This appears to be a response to the criticism of non-performance coming mostly from the collation of opposition parties. However, the over-generality of the statement seems to hint on the otherwise for lack of specificity.

The president comments on the immediate past events, pertaining to the ongoing inauguration, using the assertive:

h. “I have taken an oath ... as president of this nation ...” [App Speech 2 No. 48]

Looking at the illustration above, the president simply informs his audience about the oath-of-office he had sworn earlier that morning at the Parliament House. The pronouncement is vital to affirm the status of the speaker; as president of Ghana, he has the mandate to father activities of state. Nevertheless, this assertive comes with the admission of the responsibilities that oath places on him as president. The assertive in (h) is, therefore, informative and, thus, hints on people-centeredness of the speech.

Having provided the foregoing historic context for the overall intended goal of this inaugural, President Mahama devotes most of his assertive acts to inciting citizens’ action. He does this at three levels. First, he announces the need for consensus approach to tackling the development agenda of the country. He uses such assertive statements as:

i. (i) “We all, each and every one of us, have a role to play in the growth and development of our mother Ghana.” **[App Speech 2 No. 29]**

(ii) “In our hands – yours as well as mine – rests the success or failure of Ghana’s future.” **[App Speech 2 No. 30]**

The president admits to the fact that everybody’s participation in the effort to define the future of the country is paramount. He is explicit in his intention to mobilize support from Ghanaians by admitting that the success or failure of Ghana is the responsibility of every Ghanaian rather than that, perhaps, of only the president and his government.

Second, President Mahama alerts Ghanaians of the possible hindrances to their quest to attain the success Ghana desires. These hindrances could be internal (or inherent) as well as external. Focusing on the inherent obstacles, he asserts in (j) that:

j. “Complacency and frustration can entice us into believing that we are insignificant players stuck somehow in the background of a bigger picture, or that we are incapable of making a difference.” **[App Speech 2 No. 27]**

The president uses the assertive stated above to draw attention to the present state of affairs in Ghana. He indirectly hints on the feeling of apathy in national affairs and points out what he believes could be the root causes of the seemingly epidemic – “complacency and frustration”. It portrays the two as polar attitudinal deficiencies which adversely affect developmental drive in the Ghanaian society. While complacency gives a false sense fulfillment, frustration knocks out the courage to attempt anything. Such evils corrupt the sense of responsibility and significance of the citizenry. The rationale for this

assertion is to inspire the spirit of nationalism of all Ghanaians (This is the major theme of President Mahama's 2013 inaugural.) through awakening of their consciousness of relevance, and to caution against complacency and frustration.

Focusing on possible external hindrances, the president uses his assertive acts to caution Ghanaians against the operation of pessimists and skeptics. He uses the following assertives:

k. (i) "Of course, every society has its share of people who would rather talk and complain about what is wrong, than devote their time and efforts to do what it takes to make things right." **[App Speech 2 No. 55]**

(ii) "At every given opportunity, they will tell us all the things we cannot achieve and all the reasons why we should not even attempt." **[App Speech 2 No. 56]**

The president admits to the truth of the proposition that the pessimism is not limited to Ghanaians; rather, it is a universal phenomenon. He describes four key characteristics of pessimists, including failure to act, always criticizing, always seeing impossibilities, and advocating and justifying against adventure. It can be surmised from these assertive statements that, according to President Mahama, habitual critics are rather non-adventurists, hence cautioning the people against either paying heed to them or becoming one.

Third, the president announces and describes the volume and details of the task that confronts the nation. Quite a number of assertive sentences are employed for these ends.

Some are as follows:

1. (i) "... there is a tremendous amount of work that still needs to be done." [**App Speech 2 No. 34**]
- (ii) "More jobs must be created." [**App Speech 2 No. 35**]
- (iii) "More roads, bridges, schools and hospitals must be built." [**App Speech 2 No. 36**]
- (iv) "The infrastructure that we already have must be expanded, strengthened and made better to be able to withstand the increase usage." [**App Speech 2 No. 37**]
- (v) "Equipment should not be the only thing that is state-of-the-art in our institution ..." [**App Speech 2 No. 38**]
- (vi) "... systems, procedures and staff must be brought up to standard ..." [**App Speech 2 No. 39**]
- (vii) "... best practices must be implemented ..." [**App Speech 2 No. 40**]
- (viii) "We need to look beyond temporary fixes to find lasting solutions for the complications we've experienced with power, water and sanitation." [**App Speech 2 No. 41**]
- (ix) "We must continue to invest in our agricultural sector, and grow our economy so that it lifts the bulk of our most crippling financial burdens, especially among the poorest of the population." [**App Speech 2 No. 42 & 43**]
- (x) "... it is imperative that our citizens have access to good healthcare." [**App Speech 2 No. 45**]

(xi) “These issues and concerns are all works in progress...” [App Speech 2 No. 46]

(xii) “... they are realistic goals that have been set, and that are within our capabilities to be met, and in a timely fashion.” [App Speech 2 No. 47]

In (l(i)), the president describes to the audience the enormity of the task. He seems to offer the reason why citizen responsibility is paramount. Statements (l(ii) to (x)) give details of the national developmental agenda. He hints on the policy direction of the Mahama government which includes job creation, infrastructural provision, expansion and improvement, system and procedural efficiency, human resource development, best practice implementation, and finding permanent solutions to problems. The rationale for this is possibly to attractively persuade the audience to focus efforts on such areas of the economy. He further consolidates the persuasion with the admission to the truth in (l(xii)). The implication is to inspire positive mentality of possibility in the Ghanaian populace. The assertive statement (l(x)) employed by President Mahama enables him to inform his audience of present state of affairs in Ghana. It paints pictures of the ongoing developmental agenda of the Mills-Mahama four-year (2009 – 2012) government.

Moreover, some of the assertives that President Mahama makes use of in his 2013 inaugural draw a links between the past, present and future; they paint pictures of the legacies bequeathed to Ghanaians which ought to be preserved for posterity. These assertives include:

m. (i) “There is a torch that is passed from one era of Ghanaians to the next. [App Speech 2 No. 78]

(ii) “It is as fragile and as irreplaceable as any family treasure.” [App Speech 2 No. 79]

(iii) “That torch is the tradition of optimism and hope that we must carry on.” [App Speech 2 No. 81]

The president uses symbols to depict the responsibility of Ghanaians owning up their development process. His use of “torch” and “family treasure” in describing the legacy of responsibility allows the president to portray his optimism in attaining the success of Ghana through indigenous effort. In (m(ii)), for example, he admits to and highlights the delicacy of the responsibility to work to secure a brighter future for Ghana. He also draws interconnection between the past effort, the present responsibility and the future success of the country. The rationale is to instill in the audience optimism in self-help attitude by reminding them of similar efforts of earlier generations.

Another thing that the president’s use of assertive acts in his address accomplishes is the specifying of the national responsibilities for all Ghanaians.

n. (i) “My fellow countrymen and women, that torch is now in our possession.” [App Speech 2 No. 80]

(ii) “It is the responsibility that we have to take charge of our lives, and in so doing to determine the course of Ghana’s future.” [App Speech 2 No. 82]

(iii) “We are now the keepers of that flame.” [App Speech 2 No. 83]

(iv) “Your actions do matter.” [App Speech 2 No. 86]



(v) “You do make a difference.” [App Speech 2 No. 87]

(vi) “It is only by doing and being our best that we can make Ghana its best.” [App Speech 2 No. 84]

(vii) “... the change does not happen overnight.” [App Speech 2 No. 51]

In (n(i) (ii) and (iii)), the president announces to Ghanaians the charge on hand. It is the preserving of the tradition of optimism in attaining national progress for Ghana’s posterity. With statements (n(iv) and (v)), President Mahama places the responsibility of ensuring Ghana achieves its best right on the hands of every individual Ghanaian. The rationale is to sway public attention from always looking up to what government has to offer to what every individual Ghanaian has to contribute. He hints in (n(vi)) the non-automaticity of progress without conscious national effort while with (n(vii)), he admits to the fact that progress is a gradual process. He, thus, pleads with Ghanaians to be patient and hopeful in effort.

Also, the use of assertives in the president’s address highlights the resources available to Ghanaians which the president believes meet the task of national development. One such assertive to this effect is:

o. “We can look within ourselves and choose to see the lie of our powerlessness or we can see the unlimited horizon of our own potential.” [App Speech 2 No. 58 & 59]

The president’s main intention for making this assertive statement is to entice Ghanaians to have positive orientation of the capabilities. By this assertive, he expresses confidence in the abundance of potentials in Ghana. He describes any sense of powerlessness as

false. This is an open defiance to several misconceptions that the world, especially Africans themselves, nurse about the capability of the black African to take charge of his own affairs. President Mahama shares common Pan Africanists' perspective of Osagefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah who had in the 1950s advocated self-governance for Africa on the basis that the African is capable of managing his own affairs. The rationale is to raise the self-esteem of Ghanaian and by so doing whip up their confidence for national action.

In conclusion, President Mahama's use of assertive illocutionary acts enables him to deploy historical achievement made by Ghanaians to inspire confidence in the Ghanaian capability to take charge of Ghana's national developmental agenda. What has been achieved before, what are being achieved and what needs to be achieved are successfully linked to constitute the complete success story of Ghana. Citizens' potential and responsibility to ensuring such achievement are adequately proclaimed. These portray President Mahama's exploitation of assertives as a reflection of his personal belief in the capabilities of Ghanaians.

#### **4.4.2.2 Commissive acts**

From the speech act analysis of President Mahama's 2013 inaugural address, commissive acts occur in 10 instances, 9 of which are the President's personal commitments to the course of the national agenda. These commitments include pledge to lead Ghana appropriately, his personal conduct of office, promises to unify the country, and assurance to the business community.

Focusing on the direction of his leadership, the president's use of commissive acts enables him to assure his audience that they stand to get the best. Some of the commissive statements, the president uses include:

- a. "... I will work hard to place us on the right path." [App Speech 2 No. 48]
- b. "... I will lead us the over hurdles and past the obstacles that might threaten to keep us from meeting our goals." [App Speech 2 No. 49]
- c. "I will not let you down." [App Speech 2 No. 54]

In statement (a), President Mahama pledges the audience to work productively and purposely hard to place Ghanaians on the right path. The choice of the material process "place" implies Ghana is, perhaps, presently yet to take the appropriate course in its socio-economic pursuit. The statement indirectly indicts preceding governments of failing to lead Ghana on the right course despite those achievements the president attributes to them. It tends to convey the sense of self-heroism in the character of the speaker. Such sense of self-heroism is further advanced in the statement (b), where the president vows to be the adequate leader to surmount all probable impediments on the way. Such show of self-confidence in one's capability is usually expected in the president of the kind who inspires citizen responsibility. The people must be assured of a leader's own capability and resolve to face all possible challenges. In (c), the president vows to meet the expectation of the people. The rationale is to inspire the people's confidence in his leadership ability. This is, perhaps, to prove wrong his critics who advocate that he was not actually prepared for presidency since he only filled a vacuum owing to the demise of President Mills. President Mahama (formerly, Vice President in the Mills' government

from 2009 to July 23, 2013) was largely blamed for what critics claimed was the economic down-turn of Ghana during the Mills' administration for his role as the Head of Government Economic Team. So, at such opportunity, he needs to convince the people that he is the right man for the job and his advocacy for citizen participation is the right way to go and, above all, there is no way he is going to fail them. They could count on him for the best.

Another thing that the president also does with the use of commissives is the definition of the nature of his personal conduct of office. He uses such commissives as:

- d. "I will do and be my best." [App Speech 2 No. 89]
- e. "I will give my best." [App Speech 2 No. 90]
- f. "... I will ensure that my actions make a positive difference in the lives of Ghanaians." [App Speech 2 No. 91]

These commissives assures the people of Ghana and even the international community of the level of commitment to expect from President Mahama. He intends to be, as in (d) and (e), himself and his best. In (f), he promises the kinds of actions projected to positively impact the lives of his countrymen and women. As Head of State, he is expected by the citizens to go at every length to ensure socio-economic progress of the country. The president seems to send a clear message to the audience that as president, he can guarantee to work to the best of his capability and do only the things he foresees to have positive impact on the economy. The implication is a direct invitation to citizens to depart from the mentality of always looking up to the president alone, with his

government team, to solve all economic challenges of the country. The president will do his best; the rest are left for the citizens to also do their part to complement government effort at ensuring progress for the country. This is because he makes such pledges shortly after asserting that “Your actions do matter”.

Moreover, the use of commissive acts in the President Mahama’s 2013 inaugural address enables the president to assure the audience of his preparedness to unify Ghana. Some of the commissives used to this end are:

- g. “I will work to ensure that our society is less polarized and weighted down by pressures of political differences.” [App Speech 2 No. 92]
- h. “I will work to ensure that Ghana is a place where all citizens, regardless of their religious faith, ethnicity or political affiliation, will have the opportunities available to them to reach their full potential.” [App Speech 2 No. 93]
- i. “Ghana should, and will, be a place where economic opportunities are available to everyone.” [App Speech 2 No. 94]

Focusing on unification of the nation as vital element to heal wounds of character assassinations, tribal defaming, religious and political segregations which are often exploited by politicians in the run-up to the December 7, 2012 elections, the president assures the citizens of equal rights and opportunities in a relatively less polarized nation. He hints indirectly on the polarization of the country along political, religious and ethnic lines, and seems to share in the numerous calls for national unity as the starting point for consensus action. In consonance with this position, the president asserts that “This is our

country,” placing the ownership of Ghana in the hands of the general citizens contrary to the feeling that the resources of the country becomes a preserve for the ruling government. In (g) and (h), President Mahama pledges his personal effort as president of Ghana to achieving such necessary unity and feeling of belongingness among the people. The rationale is to place himself to be accepted by everyone as the father of the nation rather than just the Head of Government.

The fourth thing that President Mahama’s use of commissives enables him to do is identification with the business community. Some of the commissives are:

- j. “I want to assure the business community that I will be an ally.” [**App Speech 2 No. 96]**

By offering to be an ally, the president, perhaps, wants the cooperation of the business community which constitutes the engine of social and economic growth. He, therefore, assures them of his government’s support to their legal operations in the country. Since the National Democratic Congress (NDC) is considered as a socially democratic party, an NDC government is bound to be perceived to be tilted away from the private sector. The president’s assurance is probably intended to allay such apprehension and to rather foster hope for united front in the match to attaining economic advancement.

#### **4.4.2.3 Directive Acts**

From the speech act analysis of President Mahama’s 2013 inaugural address, directive acts occur in only 6 instances. These directives are employed by the president in his speech to reinforce the call for action by all towards accomplishing national development

agenda. The president thematizes in these directives the finding of permanent solutions to Ghana's economic challenges, investing in economic growth, maintaining of trust in him and exercising of social responsibility. Among the directive sentences used are:

- a. "We need to look beyond the temporary fixes to find lasting solutions for the complications we've experienced with power, water and sanitation." [**App Speech 2 No. 41**]
- b. "We must continue to invest in our agriculture sector..." [**App Speech 2 No. 42**]
- c. "[We must] grow our economy so that it lifts the bulk of our most crippling financial burdens, especially among the poorest of the population." [**App Speech 2 No. 43**]
- d. "... I will be counting on you to maintain the faith and the trust that you have placed in me as the president." [**App Speech 2 No. 53**]
- e. We must all do our part, every single day, whether it is by reducing the amount of plastic waste that is in our environment, by driving responsibly and courteously to ensure that our roads are safe, or by sharing kindness with a stranger or someone less fortunate." [**App Speech 2 No. 85**]
- f. Let us all stand, not as separate entities, but as partners." [**App Speech 2 No. 98**]

Against the background of how Ghana has managed its challenges over the years, the president in statement (a) advocates a paradigm shift from providing "temporary fixes" to finding permanent solutions to these problems. His spells out priority problem areas which require effort and cooperation from all citizens to tackle. These areas include

sanitation, power and water supply. The president seems to tell Ghanaians that finding lasting solutions is a necessary social responsibility of all and, therefore, appeals to them to consider that as the best option. This hints on the policy direction of the Mahama government as that which prioritizes providing long term or permanent solutions to the water, power and sanitation complications confronting Ghana. It, thus, clear that the kind of cooperation the president intends of the people is that of patience and endurance in the interim.

In sentences (b) and (c), President Mahama focuses attention on how to grow the economy and the possible effect for doing that. He advocates for a continuous investment in the agriculture sector as the one means to accelerate Ghana's economic growth. Achieving growth will bring financial emancipation to every Ghanaian. Perhaps, the president's stream of thought is influenced by the general perception that agriculture is the backbone of Ghana's economy, hence the need to facilitate growth of that sector. The rationale is possibly to direct the interest of people, especially the youth, into agriculture and, at the same time, to react to criticism against Mills-Mahama government's (2009 to 2013) Youth in Agriculture policy and other social interventions in that sector.

In (e) and (f), President Mahama's use of directive illocutionary acts alludes to the priority areas he wants Ghanaians to jointly apply their efforts – waste reduction, responsible driving and generous hospitality. He seems to affirm these areas as being directly linked to the attitude of the people. So, here, he tasks everyone to “do”.



#### 4.4.2.4 Expressive Acts

Expressive acts occurred in 9 instances in the analysis of President Mahama's 2013 inaugural speech. Among the goals intended to be realized with the use of the expressives are greeting, praising and well-wishing.

President Mahama opens his address with a warm welcome greeting to all his audience across the globe as in (a) below:

a. "Good Morning" [**App Speech 2 No. 1**]

b. "To them [i.e. my predecessors] I say "Ayekoo"." [**App Speech 2 No. 74**]

In (a), the audience are informed of the time of the day during which the occasion takes place – it is morning. In linguistic communication, Jakobson (1960) identifies greeting as an instance of phatic function of communication which serves to establish, prolong or discontinue contact with the audience. The president seems very clear in his intention, to get the attention of his audience with the greeting. In (b), the greeting is an indigenous Akan greeting to a person who has successfully completed a task or is returning from a work place (indigenously, the farm). Its use basically connotes an expression of appreciate for the job done. The president's use of "Ayekoo" to greet his predecessors – Presidents Jerry John Rawlings (1993 to 2001), John Agyekum Kufour (2001 to 2009) and John Evans Atta Mills (2009 to 2012, and of blessed memory) – demonstrates his appreciation for their satisfactory service as presidents of Ghana.

Another thing which the president's use of expressive illocutionary acts enables him to perform is praising past leaders and heroes and heroines. Some of the expressive statements used are:

- c. "We rightfully memorialize the names of many, many individuals whose singular contributions have elevated the profile of this nation and enriched the lives of its citizens." [App Speech 2 No. 10]
- d. "We respectfully extol their virtues ..." [App Speech 2 No. 11]
- e. "... [We] hold them in high esteem." [App Speech 2 No. 12]
- f. "I am ever grateful to have the advantage of your wisdom and the important lesson of your leadership." [App Speech 2 No. 75]
- g. "I would ... like to extend my gratitude and appreciation to my transition team for their time, their service and tireless efforts." [App Speech 2 No. 76]

President Mahama's main intention in sentence (c) is to express immortalization of memories of past citizens whose "singular contributions" have been great landmarks in the history of the world and particularly, Ghana. He describes them in (d) and (e) as worthy of national respect due to the enormity of the impact of their selfless efforts on the projection of the dignity of Ghana and its citizens. In (f), he eulogizes former presidents, some of whom were present at the ceremony, admitting they are his role models and mentors. In (g), the president turns attention to some deserving present civil and public servants congratulating them for their tireless services to the course of the nation building. The expanse of the homage covers from late individuals through living-but-not-

serving persons to serving persons. It seems to satisfy the adage “A nation that does not honour its heroes is not worth dying for”. The rationale for this extensive use of these expressive acts probably is to reveal a vital character trait of the speaker as someone who is appreciative of the efforts that the people around him make no matter how minimal that effort might be. That should be adequate motivation to everyone to attempt to do his best.

Moreover, some expressives are used to wish both the audience (primarily Ghanaians) and the nation well. These expressive sentences include:

h. “May God bless you.” [App Speech 2 No. 103]

i. “... May God continue to bless our homeland, Ghana.” [App Speech 2 No. 104]

Focusing on expressing of wishes, the president conveys through his expressive use how much well he wishes for the audience as well as Ghana. These expressives depicts the president’s belief in the sovereignty of God. Ghanaians are, dominantly, religious worshippers, who hold solid faith that without God’s divine support man’s effort counts little. As the president aligns himself with the people in their belief in the supernatural being, he becomes more a comrade than a demigod who himself alone is capable of resolving all complications overnight probably with just one act. In that way he is more likely to psychologically influence their maximum participation in the national development drive.

#### **4.5 Function Indicating Devices**

The sentence has two (not necessarily separate) parts, the illocutionary clause and the propositional clause (Searle, 1969). Each part has indicators; the propositional indicators

and the indicators of illocutionary force (also, function indicating devices). In speech act analysis, our attention is focused on the function indicators. The function indicating device shows how the proposition is to be taken, put differently, what illocutionary force the utterance is to have, that is, what illocutionary act the speaker is performing in the utterance of the sentence. Searle (1969) postulates that the function indicating devices in English include word order, stress, intonation contour, punctuation, the mood of the verb, and finally a set of so-called performative verbs. One may indicate the kind of illocutionary act she is performing by beginning the sentence with 'I apologize', 'I warn', 'I state', etc. Often in actual speech situations the context will make it clear what the illocutionary force of the utterance is, without its being necessary to invoke the appropriate function indicating device (Searle, 1969). Since this study analyzes the written text other than the oral rendition, we concentrate on such indicators as the word order, mood of the verb and performative verbs in the light of the context.

The word order involves the Subject (S) and the Finite verb (F) positions in both the illocutionary clause and the propositional clause. The analysis further studies the kinds of elements that constitute the S and the F as they seem to in some way influence the kind of illocutionary force a sentence carry. Even though available studies are quite silent on the time of the verb phrase (VP) of the propositional clause and its role in the determination of illocutionary force of a sentence, it is obvious in our consideration that it contributes in some way to the determination of an illocutionary act or at least the particular illocutionary class to assign a sentence.

The mood of the verb in the propositional clause occasions the intentional meaning of the sentence – that is the speaker’s intention or attitude. The indicative mood, for instance, gives information (assertives, commissives) or asks for information (directives).

The context includes the primary context (the text) and the secondary context (the social, cultural and historical circumstances). The primary context is vital in assigning a sentence with seemingly overlapping illocutionary acts to a specific act.

We take each inaugural and analyze the sentences under their illocutionary classes and later draw the pattern that prevails in these and that helps to redefine the consideration of indicators in the analysis of presidential inaugurals for their inherent illocutionary acts.

#### **4.5.1 President Mills’ 2009 Inaugural Speech**

##### **4.5.1.1 Assertives**

Some of the President Mills’ assertives sentences explicitly have separate parts for the illocutionary clause and the propositional clause. Examples are:

- a. I know // [that] we have to face hard truth ... [**App Speech 1 No. 54**]
- b. I wish to begin by acknowledging // the presence of my two predecessors ... [**App Speech 1 No. 1**]

For clarity, sentence (b) may be paraphrased as:

I wish to acknowledge // that my predecessors ... are present here.

The performative verbs (i.e. the main verb of the VP of the illocutionary clause) in (a) and (b) respectively are “know” and “acknowledge”.

President Mills’ sentences involve the use of the following sequential S and F arrangement. The typical pattern is S^F sequential arrangement for both the illocutionary and propositional clauses. Sentence (a) has two parts – the illocutionary clause “I know”, where “I” is the subject, S, and “know” is the Finite, F and the propositional clause “we have to face the hard truth ...”, where “we” is the S and “have to” is the F. In sentence (b), the Subjects are “I” and “my predecessors” respectively for the illocutionary clause and the propositional clause. The Finites are “wish to” and “are”.

From the two explicit assertives above, the Subject of the illocutionary clause of the assertive acts in President Mills’ speech is the 1<sup>st</sup> person “I”. The Finite is either an auxiliary verb (marginal modals) or lexical verb. The tense of the clause is simple present.

Very least can be said of the any specific pattern in the subjects of the propositional clause at this level as they range from 1<sup>st</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> person at no specific form that might interest our attention. The Finite of this clause as in sentences (a) and (b) are in the present tense.

Most of the assertive sentences do not have illocutionary clause. So, the determination of their illocutionary category largely depends on the elements that constitute the subject and the verb phrase, particularly the Finite and the tense of the verb phrase. Sometimes the Finite is also the main verb and its tense is either present or past. The present tense main verbs include:

- Linking verbs BE as in (c) and (d) below which the subjects ‘This’ and ‘Our goal’ to those elements that announce or describe state of affairs of the subjects. Effectively, linking verbs pragmatically descriptive.
- c. This is the dawn of a new era of change for better Ghana. [**App Speech 1 No. 16**]
- d. Our goal is to facilitate creation of business environment ... [**App Speech 1 No. 42**]
- Lexical verb HAVE as in (e) and (f) to announce confirmation of possession and custody:
- e. We have a duty ... [**App Speech 1 No. 33**]
- f. We have a challenge ... [**App Speech 1 No. 35**]

The simple present Finite of the propositional clause also includes the use of:

- Auxiliary HAVE as in (g) and (h) for present perfect aspect which accentuates the immediacy of the past events:
- g. We have emerged from one of the most keenly-contested elections ... [**App Speech 1 No. 10**]
- h. ... sovereign will has prevailed. [**App Speech 1 No. 12**]
- Modals as in (i) to announce future event of the hearer.
- i. ... you will be important reference point ... [**App Speech 1 No. 4**]

Some examples of the Finite are in the simple past to describe recent past events. They include instance as in (j) and (k):

j. ... I took the oath of office ... [**App Speech 1 No. 6**]

k. We made a promise to Ghanaians ... [**App Speech 1 No. 46**]

The verbs in both clauses of the sentences are in the indicative mood. Specifically, they are declaratives. They give information of the past (as in (j) and (k)), present (as in (e) and (f)) or future (as in (i)) above.

#### 4.5.1.2 Commissives

Some of the commissive sentences have separate illocutionary clause as in (a) and (b) below:

a. I make a pledge to you ... // that I will strive to make a difference ... [**App Speech 1 No. 15**]

b. I ... want to reassure the business community // that the Government ... means well. [**App Speech 1 No. 41**]

The performative verbs are the main verbs of the illocutionary clause “make (a pledge) (= pledge)” and “reassure”.

President Mills’ commissive sentences have S<sup>A</sup>F sequential arrangement for both the illocutionary and propositional clauses. In (a), the illocutionary clause is “I make a pledge to you ...”. Its Subject is the 1<sup>st</sup> person “I” and its Finite is “make”. The propositional clause is “I will strive to make a difference ...”. The Subject is 1<sup>st</sup> person, “I” and its



Finite is the modal “will”. In (b), the illocutionary clause is “I ... want to reassure the business community”. Its Subject is “I” and Finite is the marginal modal “want is “I” and Finite is the marginal modal “want is “I” and Finite is the marginal modal “want to”. The proposition is “the Government ... means well”. Its Subject is “the Government” and Finite is “means”.

The Finite in the illocutionary clause is in the simple present tense. It is either a lexical verb as in (a) or a modal as in (b). Similarly, the finite in the proposition is in the simple present tense. It is dominantly the future modal “will” as in the following instances:

- c. Ours will be a consensus-agenda. [**App Speech 1 No. 19**]
- d. We will do all in our power to ensure social justice ... [**App Speech 1 No. 36**]
- e. We will strengthen our relations with our neighbours. [**App Speech 1 No. 49**]
- f. We will collaborate with the United Nations ... [**App Speech 1 No. 52**]

The Subject of the proposition is dominantly the 1<sup>st</sup> person, “I” or “We”.

From Searle’s (1969, 1975) constitutive rule for promising, and by extension, performing commissives, futurity of the action of the proposition (usually expressed by the modal “will”) and the speaker as the performer subject of that future action are very cardinal to a successful performing of such acts. However, these may not be sufficient indicators; the tense of the verb phrase (VP) in the illocutionary clause is also a vital determinant of commissive acts. It must be a simple present. For instance, if the VP in sentence (a) were in the past tense, the sentence would be “I made a pledge to you ... // that I would strive

to make a difference ....". The sentence would, then, be a report (an assertive act) rather than a promise (a commissive act) and also the whole sentence would be only a proposition.

In view of this, sentence like *I have always said // that I will be a President for all Ghanaians* is adjudged to have an assertive other than a commissive illocutionary force. Even though the propositional clause possesses the futurity element, the illocutionary clause expresses a perfective aspect of the verb, accentuating the pastness of the sentence.

The mood of the verbs in both the illocutionary clause and the propositional clause is indicative (declarative). The verbs in the propositional clause give information pertaining to future action to expect of the president.

#### 4.5.1.3 Directives

Sentences used by President Mills to perform directive illocutionary acts mostly have inseparable illocutionary and propositional clauses. Paraphrasing is required to mark out the two. Some instances are:

- a. I extend hand of cooperation to members of the Judiciary, security services and public service. **[App Speech 1 No. 39]**

Paraphrased: I invite members ... // to [= that they should] cooperate with me.

- b. I remind them // of their obligations to state ... **[App Speech 1 No. 40]**

Paraphrase: I remind them // that they should keep their obligation to state ...

- c. ... [I] urge them // to be loyal and committed ... **[App Speech 1 No. 41]**

Paraphrase: [I] urge them // that they should be loyal and committed ...

Once the paraphrasing allows successful demarcation of the illocutionary clause, we can, then, identify the illocutionary clause and its performative verb as well as subject. The performative verbs include “extend (hand ... to) (= invite)”, “remind” and “urge” and their tense is simple present.

The sentences, dominantly, have S<sup>F</sup> sequential arrangement for both the illocutionary and the propositional clauses. The Subjects of the illocutionary clause in the sentences (a) to (c) above are the 1<sup>st</sup> person “I” and that of the proposition is “they”. The Finite of the VP of both clauses expresses presentness of the sentences.

The subject of the proposition is dominantly the 3<sup>rd</sup> person. However, our knowledge of the constitution of the audience informs the presence of the members of the security services, the judiciary and the public service. In that sense, referring to them in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person is just a stylistic construct, perhaps to achieve some communicative effect. In the actual sense, the Subject is contextually the 2<sup>nd</sup> person “You”.

The propositional VP expresses obligation or responsibility, usually marked by the modal should or must as in (d) and (e) below:

d. ... we must avoid the syndrome ... [**App Speech 1 No. 34**]

e. ... Ghana must work in the interest of every Ghanaian. [**App Speech 1 No. 38**]

The mood of the verb of both the illocutionary clause and the proposition is imperative. The verbs in the illocutionary clause “remind” and “urge” are inherently instructive.

Similarly the imperative verb in the proposition expresses suggestive instructions or demands obligation or responsibility of the hearer.

#### 4.5.1.4 Expressives

Most of the President Mills' expressive sentences have a zero illocutionary clause. So, the performative verbs are conspicuously missing. The determination, therefore, of the illocutionary force of the sentences as expressives depends on the S and F elements of the proposition. The proposition has S^F sequential arrangement. Some instances are:

- a. I recognize your invaluable experience ... [**App Speech 1 No. 3**]
- b. ... I salute you ... [**App Speech 1 No. 2**]
- c. ... I thank you. [**App Speech 1 No. 59**]
- d. We give thanks and praise to the Almighty. [**App Speech 1 No. 13**]

In the sentences (a) to (d) the S is the 1<sup>st</sup> person "I" or "We". The F is in the simple present tense. The VP expresses the emotion of the Subject (i.e. Actor) to the Goal (Halliday, 1974).

The mood of the verb is indicative (declarative). That is to say, the main verb expresses fact or provides information about the attitude of the speaker to hearer.

## 4.5.2 President Mahama's 2013 Inaugural

### 4.5.2.1 Assertives

The assertive sentences used by President Mahama in his 2013 inaugural address are mostly with zero illocutionary clause – that is, there is not a performative verb to tell explicitly the kind of the illocutionary force the speaker assigns to sentence's proposition.

Some of such sentences with zero illocutionary clauses are:

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

**[App Speech 2 No. 5]**

- b. It took less than twelve years for the country to start exporting cocoa. **[App Speech 2**

**No. 23]**

- c. ... There is a tremendous amount of work that needs to be done. **[App Speech 2 No.**

**34]**

- d. We are now the keepers of the flame. **[App Speech 2 No. 83]**

Few of the sentences have the illocutionary clause. They include:

- e. I believe // that with God, and in Ghana, all things are possible. **[App Speech 2 No.**

**71]**

- f. It is true // that other countries have met adversities ... **[App Speech 2 No. 65]**

Paraphrase: I admit to the truth // that other countries have met adversities ...

The illocutionary clauses in (e) and (f) are “I believe” and “It is true = I admit to the truth” respectively. The performative verbs, therefore, are “believe” and “admit” which convey the illocutionary force of believing and admitting. The VP in the clause is the simple present tense, expressing that the illocutionary act is being performed and denominated at the moment of utterance. The Subject is the 1<sup>st</sup> person “I”.

The propositional clause in (e) is “with God, and in Ghana, all things are possible” and in (f) is “other countries have met adversities ...”. They dominantly, have S<sup>^</sup>F sequential arrangement. The subject of the VP includes the 1<sup>st</sup> person as in (d) and the 3<sup>rd</sup> person as in (a). The VP of the propositional clause, however, includes both present and past tense and aspect. The Finite is very instrumental, conveying the tense and aspect of the verb. The verb “are” in the proposition (e), for instance, is in the present tense and simple aspect. The Finite includes:

- Linking verb BE in both the present and past tense forms. As in the instances (c), (d) and (e) above, BE is in the present tense. The presentness of the linking verb of the proposition conveys the speaker’s expression of currency and existence of the truth of the proposition. The past form reports the descriptive existence of phenomenon in the past time. Some instance of the use of the past form of BE in are as follows:

g. They were ordinary people ... [**App Speech 2 No. 16**]

h. That was the simple call ... [**App Speech 2 No. 17**]

- Lexical verbs to describe past actions as in (i) and express present habitual actions as in (j) and (k) below:

- i. It took less than twelve years for the country to start exporting cocoa. [**App Speech 2 No. 23**]
- j. ... we hold them in such a high esteem ... [**App Speech 2 No. 13**]
- k. We all ... have a role to play. [**App Speech 2 No. 29**]
- Auxiliary BE as in the instances below either to express a continual action as in (l) or simply to thematize the description of some elements to the audience as in (m) and (n):
- l. We are moving forward at a rapid pace. [**App Speech 2 No. 61**]
- m. Ghana's past is defined by heroic men ... [**App Speech 2 No. 5**]
- n. The names of our forefathers and foremothers are firmly etched in the world's memory. [**App Speech 2 No. 7**]
- Auxiliary HAVE as in the instance below to give perfective aspect to the VP.
- o. I have taken an oath ... as president of this nation ... [**App Speech 2 No. 48**]
- p. ... we have inherited a powerful legacy ... [**App Speech 2 No. 6**]
- q. We have blazed trails before ... [**App Speech 2 No. 69**]

The perfect aspect conveys the immediacy of the past and, by its use, establishes a link between the present and the past. Obviously, that is one such general theme of President Mahama's address; it uses the past to contextualize the present.

The mood of the verbs used in the assertives is indicative. The verbs express fact or provide information.

#### 4.5.2.2 Commissives

The commissive sentences used by President Mahama in his 2013 inaugural address, like the assertive acts, are mostly with zero illocutionary clause – that is, there is not a performative verb to tell explicitly the specific type of the commissive illocutionary force the speaker assigns to a sentence's proposition. Some of such sentences with zero illocutionary clauses include:

- a. I will work hard to place us on the right path. [**App Speech 2 No. 48**]
- b. I will do and be my best. [**App Speech 2 No. 89**]
- c. ... I will work to ensure that my actions make a positive difference in the lives of Ghanaians. [**App Speech 2 No. 91**]

Only one of the commissive sentences used by President Mahama has illocutionary clause. That sentence is:

- d. I want to assure the business community // that I will be an ally. [**App Speech 2 No. 96**]

The illocutionary clause in (d) is “I want to assure the business community”. The performative verb in the clause is “assure” which is in the simple present tense. It conveys the illocutionary force of assuring. The Subject is the 1<sup>st</sup> person “I”. The propositional clause in (d) is “I will be an ally”. The Subject in the propositional clause is



the 1<sup>st</sup> person “I” and the Verb Phrase (VP) is “will be” with the Finite as the future-indicating modal “will”.

In both illocutionary and propositional clauses, the sentences have S<sup>^</sup>F sequential arrangement for the word order. The Finite of the illocutionary clause in (d) is a marginal modal “want to”. The VP in the clause is in the simple present tense, expressing that the illocutionary act is being performed and denominated at the moment of utterance. Similarly, the VP in the proposition is in the present tense with future aspect made possible with the use of the modal “will”. Here are some instances of the propositional clause:

- e. I will not let you down. [**App Speech 2 No. 54**]
- f. I will lead us over the hurdles. [**App Speech 2 No. 49**]
- g. I will work to ensure that our society is less polarized ... [**App Speech 2 No. 92**]

In the above instances, the subject is the speaker (i.e. 1<sup>st</sup> person “I”) and the Finite is “will”. Their sequential arrangement is S<sup>^</sup>F.

The mood of the verb phrase (VP) is indicative in both the illocutionary clause and the propositional clause. Each expresses some amount of fact or gives some information. The information carried in the VP of the illocutionary clause is the kind of illocutionary force the speaker intends to perform. As stated earlier, this information is assurance. The information expressed in the proposition is the fact of the specifics of the content of the assurance – that is, WHAT the speaker intends to BE (be an ally) as in (d) above or DO

(not let the audience down) as in (e) and the fact that the action or state of being are set in the future time.

#### 4.5.2.3 Directives

All the directive sentences used by President Mahama in his 2013 inaugural address are with zero illocutionary clause. This means that there is not a performative verb to tell explicitly the kind of the illocutionary force the speaker assigns to sentence's proposition. Some of such sentences with zero illocutionary clause are:

- a. We need to look beyond temporary fixes ... [**App Speech 2 No. 41**]
- b. We must continue to invest in our agriculture sector ... [**App Speech 2 No. 42**]
- c. [We must] grow our economy ... [**App Speech 2 No. 43**]
- d. We must all do our part ... [**App Speech 2 No. 85**]
- e. Let us all stand ... as partners. [**App Speech 2 No. 98**]

The determination of the illocutionary force in these propositions and, more importantly the class they belong to, therefore, depends on the subject (S) and verb phrase (VP) situation of the proposition. For the word order, the sentences, dominantly, have S^F sequential arrangement. The S is dominantly the 1<sup>st</sup> person "We" (= You and I), depending on the context of the speech as in sentences (a) to (d). In sentence (e), the S is the implied "You". The Finite (F) of the VP includes the basic modal "must" as in (b) and (d), marginal modal "need to" as in (a) and the lexical verb "let" as in (e). The F, and by extension the VP, is in the present tense.

The mood of the verb is imperative, which means it expresses an obligation or demands a form of action or responsibility from the hearer who is the S of the proposition. Typically, the S of the imperative VP is “You”. In the president’s directive sentences, the “You” is inherent in the inclusive pronoun “We” as stated earlier. The implication is inclusiveness for the hearer.

#### 4.5.2.4 Expressives

Of the expressive sentences used in his inaugural, only a handful has the illocutionary clause. They include:

- a. I would ... like // to extend my gratitude ... [**App Speech 2 No. 76**]
- b. ... I would like // to acknowledge them ... [**App Speech 2 No. 77**]

The illocutionary clause in these sentences has the S<sup>F</sup> sequential arrangement. The S is the 1<sup>st</sup> person “I” and the F is the modal “would” (typically used to express a speaker’s wish). The performative verb, then, is “like”. The proposition, however, has no S or F. The VP is the “to infinitive”.

Like his predecessor’s, President Mahama’s expressive sentences, mostly, do not have the illocutionary clause. So, in such sentences, the performative verbs are conspicuously missing. The determination, therefore, of the illocutionary forces of the sentences as expressives depends on the S and F elements of the proposition. The proposition has S<sup>F</sup> sequential arrangement. Some of the sentences include:

- c. We ... memorialize the names of ... individuals ... [**App Speech 2 No. 10**]

d. We ... extol their virtues ... [**App Speech 2 No. 11**]

e. I am ever grateful to have the advantage of your wisdom ... [**App Speech 2 No. 75**]

In the sentences (c) to (e) the S is the 1<sup>st</sup> person “I” or “We”. The F is in the simple present tense. The mood of the verb is indicative (i.e. a declarative). That is to say, the main verb expresses fact or provides information about the attitude of the speaker to hearer as in (e) or the object of reference (usually a 3<sup>rd</sup> person) as in (c) and (d).

From the foregoing analysis, the following patterns are summarized as the indicators to the enactment of the various categories of illocutionary speech acts in the presidential inaugurals of Presidents John Mills and John Mahama.

Assertives

Assertive act indicators include:

1. The performative verb is also the main verb of the illocutionary clause and is in the present tense and time.
2. The Subject of the performative verb is a 1<sup>st</sup> person.
3. The VP of the propositional clause includes both present and past tense and future time.
4. When the VP of the proposition expresses a future time, its subject is not a 1<sup>st</sup> person.
5. The mood of the VP is declaratively indicative.

Commissives

The commissive act indicators include:

1. 1<sup>st</sup> person subject in both the illocutionary clause and the propositional clause.
2. The VP of the illocutionary clause is in the present tense and time. The verb with its complementation semantically promises.
3. The VP of the propositional clause expresses future time by the use of the modal “will”.
4. The mood of the VP of the propositional clause is declaratively indicative.

Directives

Indicators of directive acts include:

1. The subject of the illocutionary clause is a 1<sup>st</sup> person.
2. The subject of the propositional clause is basically the 2<sup>nd</sup> person explicitly or contextually inherent in the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural “We” (= You + I) or even the 3<sup>rd</sup> person.
3. The VP of both the illocutionary clause and the propositional clause is in the present tense and time.
4. The mood of the VP of the proposition is imperative. The VP is, thus, a present imperative.

Expressives

The indicators of the expressive acts include:

1. The subject of the propositional clause is a 1<sup>st</sup> person
2. The VP of the propositional clause is in the present time.
3. The mood of the VP is indicative.

Generally, the findings of this analysis agree with Austin (1962) that the performative verb is in the present tense to denominate the illocutionary force at the moment of the utterance and the subject of the performative verb is a 1<sup>st</sup> person, basically the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular “I”.

Also, the tense and time of the verb of the propositional clause are joint indicators of illocutionary acts. Past time, for instance, indicates an assertive act, while a future time indicates a commissive act.

Another indicator is the subject of the propositional clause in relation to the mood of the verb in the clause. For example, the 2<sup>nd</sup> person subject performs a directive act in relation to an imperative verb as in *You should work hard* or *[You,] Work hard*]; and an assertive act in relation to an indicative verb as in *You work hard*.

We, therefore, conclude that the time, the mood and the subject of the verb of the proposition are indicators of illocutionary acts.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND

### RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the findings of the study, the conclusion and makes recommendations, suggesting areas of further study to draw the main threads of the discussion together.

#### 5.1 Summary of Findings

With reference to the research questions, the study has produced the following findings:

##### 5.1.1 Distribution of illocutionary acts

Assertives are dominant in the Presidential Inaugural Address (PIA). In both President Mills' 2009 inaugural speech and President Mahama's 2013 inaugural speech, there are more assertive acts than any other acts. Assertives alone represent approximately 60.89% of the total number of acts; the rest are 20.51% commissives, 11.54% expressives, 7.05% directives and 0% declaratives. These findings are in consonance with the results of previous studies in this area which concludes on the complementary dominance of assertives and commissives in presidential inaugural speeches. For example, Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere (2012) identified the majority of assertive illocutionary acts in similar speeches while Olaniyi (2010) identified dominance of commissives in presidential inaugurals. However, the findings here agree more with that of Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere. Another striking finding is the zero performance of declaratives in PIA.

### 5.1.2 Perlocutionary effects

President Mills' use of assertive acts is employed to depict past, present and future situations in the country as well as his personal capabilities and responsibilities of his new role as President of the nation. Meanwhile, President Mahama used assertive acts to ultimately inspire sense of nationalism and self-confidence in the Ghanaian populace.

With commissive acts, Presidents Mills and Mahama inspire the confidence of both the Ghanaian citizens and the international community in his government.

President Mills' performance of directive acts is intended for soliciting public cooperation and responsibility. Likewise, President Mahama's directives are intended for playing advocacy.

With their expressive acts, the presidents intend to show gratitude and express optimism in the prospects on Ghana.

### 5.1.3 Indicators of the illocutionary force

Amongst the linguistic elements which are exploited to indicate the illocutionary act of a sentence in the presidential inaugural speeches of Ghanaian presidents include the time, mood and agent (subject) of the verb phrase (VP) of the proposition and the use of performative verbs. For assertives, the VP is the informatively indicative past, present or future with the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> person subjects (You, He, She, It and They) and the informatively indicative past or present with the 1<sup>st</sup> person subjects (I and We). For commissives, the VP is the indicative future with the 1<sup>st</sup> person subjects. For directives, the VP is the imperative present with the 2<sup>nd</sup> person subject. For expressives, the VP is



the emotively indicative present with the 1<sup>st</sup> person subjects. Where there is an illocutionary clause, its VP is constantly in the present tense form. Some of these indicating devices – the mood of the verb and the set of performative verbs – are among those identified by Searle (1969). The other function indicating devices include intonation contour, stress, punctuation and word order. However, from our analysis, it comes out that in PIAs, there are few situations in which performative verbs indicate the illocution of an utterance. The illocutions of an utterance which does not have the illocutionary clause is marked by a certain combinations of the time of the verb and the subject of the verb. Perhaps monological nature the formality of PIAs are responsible for such situation.

## 5.2 Conclusions

The speech acts analysis carried out on the two Ghanaian presidential inaugurals has made it more apparent the preponderance of assertive illocutionary acts in presidential inaugural speeches. That is to say that the data indicates that the presidents have a greater tendency to use more assertive acts mainly to put into perspective past, contemporary and future issues, usually to edify and stimulate the citizens' thoughts on such matters. Thus, the rationale behind the dominant use of assertive acts in the inaugural speeches of Ghanaian presidents is twofold. Primarily, the use is to simply describe to their audience the prevailing state of affairs in the country and also, it is to inspire confidence in their audience in the promising future that their respective governments were to usher the country into.

Second to the use of assertive acts is the use of commissive acts, which are employed by the presidents to outline their vision for the country. With these acts the presidents portray to their audience their intentions for the period of office. The rationale is to inspire in the citizens hope for better living standard and prospect of the country.

The use of expressive acts comes third. Expressives are employed to convey the presidents' emotions – that is their appreciation and gratitude to both past and present characters of the socio-economic story of the country. The rationale is to motivate the present generation to do their best however little.

The least frequently used are directive acts. It is employed to charge the citizens to take up the responsibility of building their country. The data indicates that the presidents admit that the challenge of nation building lies on all citizens rather than on the shoulders of the governments alone. Effectively, the people are persuaded to be responsible.

Maybe, one main reason why the presidents have a greater tendency to use more assertives in their inaugurals is that presidents are less compelled to be persuasive in their inaugurals than in campaign speeches (Trosborg, 2000 cited in Boakye, 2014). In this sense, unlike political speech genre such as campaign speeches which are more likely to use commissives to garner votes, presidential inaugurals, which are ceremonial speeches and do not require a lot of persuasion, will use more assertives. The findings disagree with the findings of Olaniyi (2010) which concludes that political inaugurals are used to make promises to the audience. Rather, it agrees with the findings of Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere (2012) which identified the majority of assertive illocutionary acts in the presidential inaugural speeches.

These illocutionary speech acts are with felicity conditions that are influenced by both the grammatical elements like the subject, mood and time of the verb phrase and the social context, including the occasion during which the speeches were made, the personality of the speaker, the social status of and the power relation between the interlocutors.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

With the establishment of democratic cultures in Africa, the need for a deeper appreciation and application of the fundamental principles of rhetoric (which is the communicative forces that the political speaker's linguistic choices are able to generate) has become not only essential but critical. As a result, more scholars should be encouraged to pay a critical attention to the shaping and formation of presidential political discourse in order to meet the communication demands of modern democratic governance in Ghana and the rest of Africa.

In addition, the study should be replicated in other political discourse genres – state of the nation addresses, independence speeches and others – and in other parts of Africa to establish the current prevailing trends of enactment of illocutionary acts in the language of the democratic Africa.

Lastly, as part of the effort to further contribute to the growing scholarly interest in the speech act investigations of pragmatic analysis, follow-up studies can investigate the distinctive felicity conditions of illocutionary acts within the same class of illocutionary category. Not only would this give us an analysis of concepts interesting in themselves, but the comparison of different analyses would deepen our understanding of the whole subject and incidentally provide a basis for a more serious taxonomy.

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## APPENDIX

The inaugural speech of President Mills is identified as *Speech 1* and that of President Mahama as *Speech 2*. For the sake of convenience, each simple sentence is numbered.

### *Speech 1*

INAUGURAL SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT PROFESSOR JOHN EVANS ATTA MILLS, WEDNESDAY, 7<sup>TH</sup> JANUARY 2009

Madam Speaker,

Vice-President John Dramani Mahama,

Her Ladyship Chief Justice,

Hon. Members of Parliament

Our Chiefs and Queen Mothers,

My Fellow Ghanaians,

1. I wish to begin by acknowledging the presence of my two predecessors: former President Jerry John Rawlings and former President John Agyekum Kufour.
2. On behalf of our nation, I salute you, Your Excellencies.
3. I recognize your invaluable experience and deep insight into matters of state and ...
4. ... you will be important reference points during my tenure of office as President.
5. I wish to extend a special welcome to our distinguished guests who have travelled far and near to witness this momentous occasion.

Madam Speaker,

6. A short while ago, I took the oath of office as the Third President of the Fourth Republic.

7. With a grateful heart, I want to thank all Ghanaians for giving me the mandate to serve as President.
8. You have changed the face of the Presidency, Parliament and the political process itself.
9. The least I can do is to work to your satisfaction and deliver on our promise for a better Ghana.
10. We have emerged from one of the most keenly-contested elections in the history of our country.
11. Our democracy has been tested to the utmost limit.
12. Thanks to the steadfastness of the good people of Ghana, sovereign will has prevailed.
13. We give thanks and praise to the Almighty.
14. At this moment of joyful celebration, I hear a call to duty ...
15. ... and I make a pledge to you, my brothers and sisters, that I will strive to make a difference in the politics of our nation.
16. This is the dawn of a new era of change for the better Ghana.
17. It is not change for change sakes.
18. It is a change in a new direction to enable us move forward with unity of purpose.
19. Ours will be a consensus-driven agenda, and...
20. ... in building that consensus, we will recognize the contribution of our compatriots in other political parties.
21. I have always said that I will be President for all Ghanaians whether they voted for me or not, and without consideration for which part of the country they come from.

22. It will be my duty as President to heal wounds and unite our dear nation.
  23. I intend to pursue relentlessly all avenues for entrenching peace and unity in all parts of the country as I am enjoined by the Constitution to do.
  24. We will not let the fear of crime rob law-abiding citizens of their freedom.
  25. Improving the internal security situation will, therefore, be a top priority of the new Government so that Ghanaians can begin to feel safer in their homes and community.
- Madam Speaker,
26. Our politics will not focus on power and privilege.
  27. On the contrary, we will not forget the concerns of the Ghanaian people, who want to see an improvement in their living conditions.
  28. Willingness to put personal advantage aside will, therefore, be one of the key demands on those who will serve in the Atta Mills government.
  29. Honesty, fairness, compassion and sincerity will be the hallmark of my administration.
  30. I have no wish to carry out political vendetta of any kind.
  31. The principles of accountability will be upheld, ...
  32. ... and the law will be allowed to take its course.
  33. We have a duty to ensure that our laws are administered without fear and favour, ...
  34. ... and to this end, we must avoid the syndrome of one set of laws for one group and another for the others.
  35. We have a challenge to ensure that our laws work in a system that is blind to one's place in society or one's political persuasion.

36. We will do all in our power to ensure social justice, equity and equality under the laws of Ghana.
37. There is only one Ghana, ...
38. ... and that Ghana must work in the interest of every Ghanaian.
39. I extend a hand of cooperation to members of the Judiciary, security services and public service.
40. I remind them of their obligations to the state ...
41. ... and [I] urge them to be loyal and committed to the larger interest of the Ghanaian people.
42. I also want to reassure the business community that the government which I lead means well.
43. Our goal is to facilitate creation of a business environment that balances the resuscitation and growth of local industries and enterprises with operations of foreign business considered essential for the creation of a robust national economy.
44. We will not pursue a policy that sees Ghanaian industries suffering from unfair competition.
45. Our local businesses will be encouraged to create jobs and play their role in growing the Ghanaian economy.
46. And we will strive to balance the efficiency of the market with the compassion of the state.
47. We made promises to Ghanaians on the strength of which they have reposed trust in me and elected me and the National Democratic Congress to lead our nation over the next four years and hopefully beyond.

48. The core of our campaign message and our agenda for change was:

- Investing in people
- Job creation
- Infrastructural development and expansion
- Open, transparent and accountable Government

49. Our success in accomplishing the agenda for change will be measured by the extent to which we realized our vision for a better Ghana where opportunities are available to all our people and where Ghana's prosperity will reach all, not just a few.

Madam Speaker,

50. We will strengthen our relation with our neighbours ...

51. ... and [we will] help accelerate the processes towards economic integration in the sub-region.

52. We will continue to be active in the African Union and in efforts to resolve conflict on the continent.

53. We will collaborate with the United Nations and other international and global institutions to make the world a better and safer place.

Madam Speaker,

54. When the political transition is completed, I will address the people of Ghana on the state of the economy which we have inherited, ...

55. ... but I know we have to face hard truths and bold, strong measures.

56. I believe that as a nation, we will find the strength of character, love of country, and hope for our shared future as a nation, to accomplish even the most difficult of tasks.



57. Though our task ahead presents many challenges, I am confident that working together we will prevail, and Ghana will be the ultimate winner.

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

59. I thank you.

60. May God bless our homeland Ghana and make her great and strong.



*Speech 2*

INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT JOHN DRAMANI MAHAMA ON THE  
OCCASION OF HIS SWEARING-IN AS PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF  
GHANA ON 7<sup>TH</sup> JANUARY 2013

Rt. Hon. Speaker of Parliament,

His Excellency the Vice President,

Her Ladyship the Chief Justice,

Your Excellencies our dear former Presidents,

Your Excellencies Visiting Heads of State and Heads of Delegations,

Hon. Members of Parliament,

Members of the Diplomatic Corps,

Nananom,

Distinguished Guests,

My Fellow Countrymen and women,

Family and Friends.

1. Good morning.
2. It has been said that what is past is prologue, a mere introduction of all that is yet to come.
3. If this is the case, then Ghana has in store a wealth of achievement.
4. Ghana's past is filled with one example after the other of courage, sacrifice and perseverance.
5. Ghana's past is defined by heroic men and women - pioneers, visionaries, patriots.
6. Indeed, we have inherited a powerful legacy, beneficiaries of a mighty history.

7. The names of our forefathers and foremothers are firmly etched in the world's memory.
8. [They include] People like Nana Yaa Asantewaa, Naa Gbewaa, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and Dr. J.B. Danquah. People like Efua Sutherland, Dr. James Kwegyir Aggrey, Dr. Esther Afua Ocloo and Dr. Ephraim Koku Amu.
9. These are but a few of the names of people who were fearless enough to fulfill their dreams, or to fight for the liberation of their people, or to envision change and then manifest it.
10. We rightfully memorialise the names of the many, many individuals whose singular contributions have elevated the profile of this nation and enriched the lives of its citizens.
11. We respectfully extol their virtues ...
12. ... and [we respectfully] hold them in high esteem.
13. In fact, we hold them in such high esteem that we often overlook entirely the reality that these heroes, these men and women, were as human as you and I.
14. The majority of individuals who have had the greatest impact on this country came from humble beginnings.
15. They were not so different from most Ghanaians, like those assembled here or those going about the events of their day in the homes, churches, mosques, and offices across the country.
16. They were ordinary people who lived their lives to the fullest, made use of their God-given talents, and took pride in their activities.

17. That was the simple call they answered, the call that placed them in extraordinary circumstances, events and experiences that led them to indelibly change the face and the very fabric of this nation.
18. Mention the name Tetteh Quarshie, for instance, and you will learn the story of an ordinary man, a blacksmith, the son of a farmer from Teshie.
19. In 1870, Tetteh Quarshie travelled to Fernando Po, an island that belongs to the nation of Equatorial Guinea and is now called Bioko.
20. At the end of that fateful trip, Tetteh Quarshie returned home with several cocoa seeds.
21. He planted those seeds on his property in Mampong-Akwapim to see if they would grow.
22. So well suited was this crop to the soil and climate that it grew abundantly.
23. It took less than twelve years for the country to start exporting cocoa.
24. Now, over one hundred years later, Ghana is the world's second largest exporter of cocoa, and ...
25. ... it [cocoa] is Ghana's leading export earner.
26. This is the effect that the life of one ordinary citizen can have on an entire nation.
27. Complacency and frustration can entice us into believing that we are insignificant players stuck somehow in the background of a bigger picture, or that we are incapable of making a difference.
28. But history itself has proven that nothing could be further from the truth.
29. We all, each and every one of us, have a role to play in the growth and development of our beloved mother Ghana.

30. In our hands - yours as well as mine - rests the success or failure of Ghana's future.
31. There is no denying the fact that in the past 55 years Ghana has made tremendous gains, ...
32. ...but there is also no denying the fact that Ghana is still a young country and every young country goes through its share of instability and difficulty as it struggles to find the direction toward permanence.
33. Over the course of the last four years, a tremendous amount of work has been done.
34. Nevertheless, there is a tremendous amount of work that still needs to be done.
35. More jobs must be created.
36. More roads, bridges, schools and hospitals must be built.
37. The infrastructure that we already have must be expanded, strengthened, and made better able to withstand the increased usage.
38. Equipment should not be the only thing that is state-of-the-art in our institutions; ...
39. ... systems, procedures and staff must be brought up to standard; ...
40. ... best practices must be implemented.
41. We need to look beyond temporary fixes to find lasting solutions for the complications we've experienced with power, water and sanitation.
42. We must continue to invest in our agricultural sector, ...
43. ... and [we must] grow our economy so that it lifts the bulk of our most crippling financial burdens, especially among the poorest of the population.
44. A country's most valuable resource is its human resource.
45. This is why it is imperative that our citizens have access to good healthcare.
46. These issues and concerns are all works in progress; ...

47. ... they are realistic goals that have been set, and that are within our capabilities to be met, and in a timely fashion.
48. I have taken an oath that as president of this nation, I will work hard to place us on the right path, and ...
49. ... I will lead us over the hurdles and past the obstacles that might threaten to keep us from meeting our goals.
50. The promises that I have made are promises that I intend to keep.
51. But change does not happen overnight ...
52. ... and sometimes, despite whatever progress has been placed in motion, it will appear to be darkest before the dawn of the new day makes that progress visible.
53. In such times I will be counting on you to maintain the faith and the trust that you have placed in me as president.
54. I will not let you down.
55. Of course, every society has its share of people who would rather talk and complain about what is wrong, than devote their time and efforts to do what it takes to make things right.
56. At every given opportunity, they will tell us all the things we cannot achieve and all the reasons why we should not even attempt.
57. The choice is ours to believe or not believe.
58. We can look within ourselves and choose to see the lie of our powerlessness or ...
59. ... we can see the unlimited horizon of our own potential.
60. Ghana is on the cusp of enormous transformation.
61. We are moving forward at a rapid pace.

62. New resources are at our disposal; ...
63. ... new alliances are being formed.
64. The opportunities posed by these gains could result in a self-sufficiency that was always imagined and desired, but was never a realistic occurrence in the foreseeable future, not in the way it is right now.
65. It is true that other countries have met adversity while trying to make the most of prospects such as the ones we have before us.
66. But those countries are not Ghana.
67. They do not have the benefit of our history or the example of our heroes.
68. We have been the first before, the success story.
69. We have blazed trails before for others to follow.
70. Nelson Mandela once said, "It always seems impossible until it is done."
71. I believe that with God, and in Ghana, all things are possible.
72. I believe this because I have seen the work and accomplishments of my predecessors, President Jerry John Rawlings, President John Agyekum Kufuor and, of course, the late President John Evans Atta Mills.
73. We were all witness to the way they were able to take what others said was impossible and to not only turn into something that was probable, but to realise their vision and get it done.
74. To them I say, "Ayekoo."
75. I am ever grateful to have the advantage of your wisdom and the important lessons of your leadership.

76. I would also like to extend my gratitude and appreciation to my transition team for their time, their service and their tireless efforts.
77. More than anything, I would like to acknowledge them for their morale and fair-mindedness, for their drive and their determination to place the good of the nation above all else.
78. There is a torch that is passed from one era of Ghanaians to the next.
79. It is as fragile and as irreplaceable as any family treasure.
80. My fellow countrymen and women, that torch is now in our possession.
81. That torch is the tradition of optimism and hope that we must carry on.
82. It is the responsibility that we have to take charge of our lives, and in so doing to determine the course of Ghana's future.
83. We are now the keepers of that flame.
84. It is only by doing and being our best that we can make Ghana its best.
85. We must all do our part, every single day, whether it is by reducing the amount of plastic waste that is in our environment, by driving responsibly and courteously to ensure that our roads are safe, or by sharing kindness with a stranger or someone less fortunate.
86. Your actions do matter.
87. You do make a difference.
88. As president, I will take to heart those very words that I have just extended to you.
89. I will do and be my best.
90. I will give my best, and ...
91. ... I will ensure that my actions make a positive difference in the lives of Ghanaians.



92. I will work to ensure that our society is less polarised and weighted down by the pressures of political differences.
93. I will work to ensure that Ghana is a place where all citizens, regardless of their religious faith, ethnicity or political affiliation, will have the opportunities available to them to reach their full potential.
94. Ghana should, and will, be a place where economic opportunities are available to everyone.
95. I recognise the vital role that our private sector, especially small and indigenous businesses, play in the expansion of our workforce as well as in the growth and stability of our economy.
96. I want to assure the business community that I will be an ally.
97. I will extend whatever support I am able to reinforce your contributions to our development.
98. Let us all stand, not as separate entities but as partners.
99. Together we will build a Ghana that will be a source of pride for all of us.
100. This is our country.
101. This is our moment; ...
102. [This is] Ghana's time, once again, for greatness.
103. May God bless you, and ...
104. ... may God continue to bless our homeland, Ghana.