

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST



THE PRONOUN 'WE' AND IDEOLOGICAL COMMITMENT: A  
CORPUS-ASSISTED CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE  
MANIFESTOES OF THE TWO MAJOR GHANAIAN POLITICAL  
PARTIES

BY  
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fulfillment for the requirements for the award of Master of Philosophy degree  
in English Language

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**DECLARATION**

**Candidate's Declaration**

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature..... Date: .....

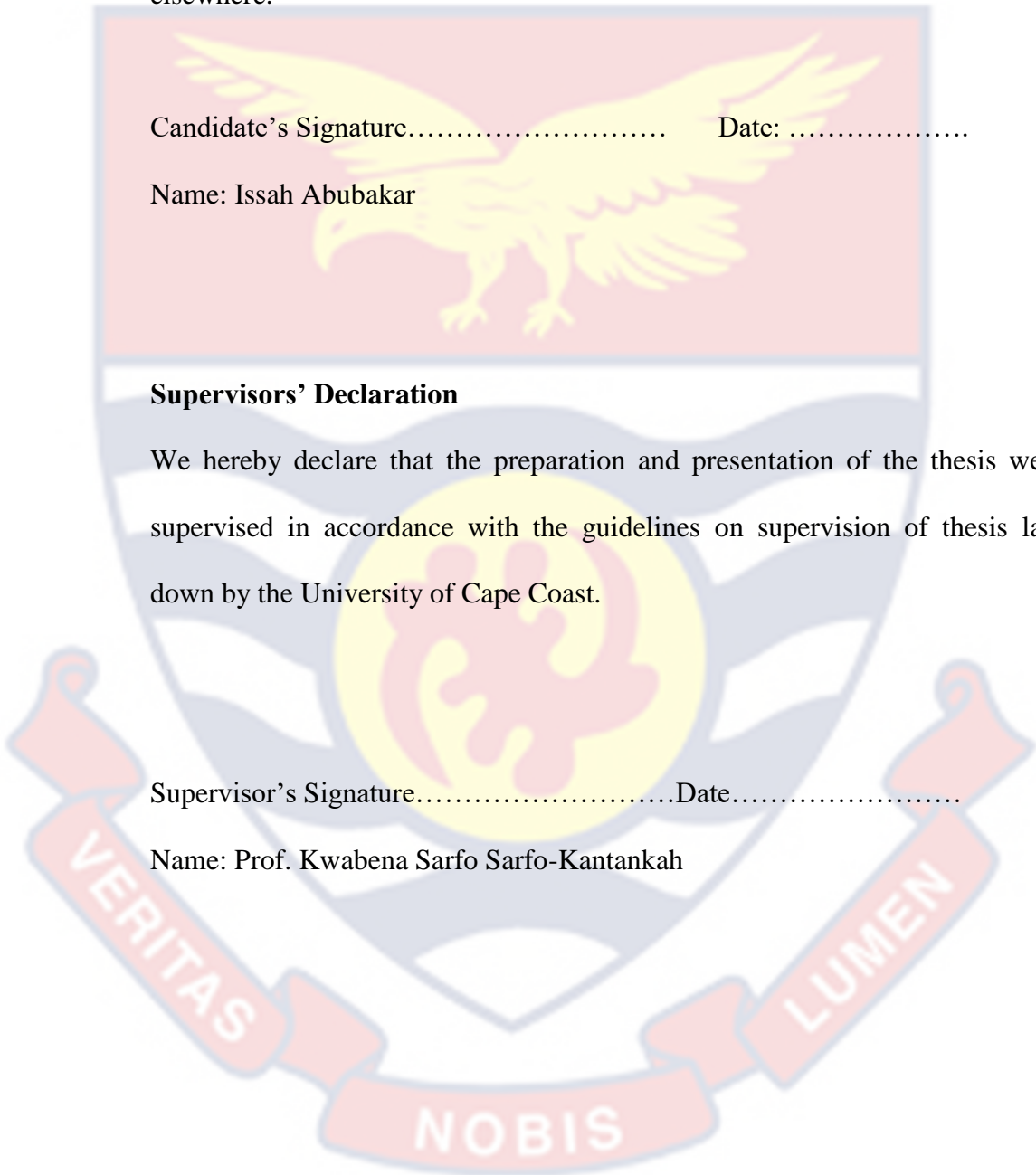
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**Supervisors' Declaration**

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

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## ABSTRACT

Over the years discourse analysts have developed interest in the analysis of political discourse, often focusing on campaign messages, state of the nation address, parliamentary debates, among others. However, in the context of Ghana, previous studies have not examined the use of first-person pronouns in party manifestoes. The present study, therefore, examined the use of first-person pronouns in the 2016 manifestoes of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP), with the view to revealing the ideologies of the selected political parties. The study relied on critical discourse analysis as its theory and employed corpus-linguistic methods through the corpus-analytical software AntConc version 3.5.7 for its analysis. I found that in the NDC manifesto, the pronoun “we” was used to express future intentions, past and present deeds, beliefs, commitments, past promises as well as obligations. On the other hand, in the NPP manifesto, the pronoun “we” expressed intention, recognition, commitment, beliefs, criticism and self-praise. Crucially, while the NDC focused more on past achievements, the NPP focused on self-praise and criticizing the incumbent administration. With regard to the second research question, it was found that the manifestoes presented promises and intentions with median commitment. This shows that with the exception of a few cases where high commitment was expressed, median commitment was dominant in the manifestoes. This study has implications for critical discourse analysis, ideology in political discourse, personal pronouns in political discourse, and corpus linguistics as an approach for critical discourse analysis.

## KEY WORDS

First-person pronouns

Ghana

Ideology

National Democratic Congress (NDC)

New Patriotic Party (NPP)

Party manifestoes



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## DEDICATION

To my lovely wife and children





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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an overview of the research and what it is all about. The chapter begins by giving a background to the study. This is done by giving an overview of the field of political discourses. After the background, I explain the research problem that occasioned the study, followed by formulated research objectives and questions. The chapter also highlights the relevance, delimitations and organisation of the study.

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

According to Adetunji (2006), language and politics are social stances: a society uses language for communication and cohabitation, while politics involves the distribution and use of power in a country. When language use in politics is subjected to empirical analysis, then we have political discourse analysis. That is, it seeks to explain language in use in the context of politics. Such political forums may be debate, speeches, rallies and manifestoes. In addition, political discourse may concern various political activities (van Dijk, 2007).

Political discourse analysis has been an interesting field of study, attracting the attention of both linguists and discourse analysts (Wodak & Menz, 1990). Though political discourse is a broad area, most political analysts have turned their attention on political communication and rhetoric, often adopting critical discourse analysis (CDA). CDA is a multidisciplinary, all-encompassing field, including a variety of theoretical methods for microanalysis of texts and conversations, which are related to social and/or political issues. However, these different methodological styles are unified

through macro-social analysis, which concerns how social inequality can be formulated, maintained and legitimized through the use of language (Beer & Landtsheer, 2004).

Largely, political discourse has unique features to reflect the dynamic nature of the political environment. Several researchers of political discourse have given it different denotations. Wilson (2015) believes that political discourse concerns the activities of political actors in various contexts, whether formal or informal. In addition, Alvarez-Cáccamo and Prego-Vásquez (as cited in Ayoola, 2008), treat political discourse as a phenomenon involving power relations. Van Dijk (1998) summarises the consensus definition of this research field as a class of genres defined by a social domain, namely, that of politics. This definition limits the concept of political discourse to the professional field of political events, involving activities such as governance, legislation and elections. Van Dijk (2011) pointed out:

A study of the topics, coherence, arguments, lexical style, ... of a political discourse may of course reveal much about the unique character of such a discourse, and also allows inferences about the cognitive, social and especially political functions of such discourse.

Many scholars have developed keen interest towards investigating how language is used in politics (Brokensha, 2011). In recent times, researchers within the field of CDA have been employing corpus linguistics (CL) as a method in their intellectual works. Mautner (2015) asserts that corpus linguistics methods can be applied in CDA projects to enrich research design and help in the interpretation of results.



Previous studies such as Taiwo (2010), and Pearce (2014) employed the CL approach in examining the language used in manifestoes. Pearce, who focused on the manifestoes of British political parties, found that the personal pronouns, “we” and “our”, can be fruitful grounds for the examination of party ideologies. It is, however, rare to find a study that examines the relationship between political party ideology and personal pronouns in the context of Africa. The use of language varies within its domain of use (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014), suggesting that the findings of studies in one socio-economic domain may not be applicable to another domain. This, therefore, makes it quite imperative for first-person pronouns to be studied in other contexts. In view of this, the present study seeks to examine the use of the subjective first-person plural pronoun in the 2016 election manifestoes of the two major political parties in Ghana, and how this pronoun reveals the ideologies and political commitment of the parties.

According to Allen (2007), the primary purpose of the use of pronouns is to influence the thinking and choices of the audience. This involves a juxtaposition of opposing views and, consequently, constructing or maintaining a sense of affiliation and loyalty between the audience and the particular community. Nonetheless, it is quite imperative to delve into the area of personal pronouns in relation to election manifestoes since it is clearly under-researched in political discourse analysis, particularly in Ghana, with reference to the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP).

This study is of the view that a manifesto is an all-important document written to serve as a message medium between political parties and the people



or the electorate in addition to the face-to-face campaign and the role played by mass media. During elections, most political parties, if not all, set up their election manifestoes as a statement of their political idealism, objective, commitment and promise. Ingeniously, these manifestoes are designed and intelligently crafted with a language to persuade the voters to offer them their favourable political support (Beard, 2000). This implies that in political manifestoes, ideas, ideologies, philosophies and intentions are uniquely conveyed through language use. Thus, with the focus on the subject first-person plural pronoun, the study seeks to examine manifestoes from the perspectives of the parties.

### **Statement of the Problem**

There has been an upsurge of research on political discourse. Previous studies on Ghanaian political discourse have examined genre such as presidential inaugural addresses (Ankrah, Dominic & Opoku, 2018), campaign speeches (Addy & Ofori, 2020), and manifestoes (Kyerewaa-Owusu, 2017; Sarfo-Kantankah, 2021). Such studies have revealed how ideologies are communicated through political discourse. In particular, this finding that manifestoes project party ideologies is also reported by several studies from other parts of the world, Kenya (Otieno, 2012), Britain (Edwards, 2012), Pakistan (Malghani & Shafiq, 2019) and South Africa (Bojabotseha, 2014). However, there remains a question as to the level of commitment these political parties give their ideologies.

Again, previous studies on party manifestoes in Ghana have focused on modal auxiliaries (Aning, 2020; Nartey & Yankson, 2014) as well as register and lexical cohesion (Adukpo, 2017), with little attention paid to the

use of personal pronouns. Generally, studies from various parts of the world have demonstrated that personal pronouns are key resources used to communicate ideologies in political discourse (Addy & Ofori, 2020; Allen, 2007; Bull & Fetzer, 2006; Moberg & Eriksson, 2013; Pearce, 2014; Proctor, Lily & Su, 2011). In Ghana, Addy and Ofori's (2020) study, for instance, revealed how Akuffo-Addo's use of personal pronouns in campaign speeches reflected his ideologies. It is, therefore, important to examine personal pronouns in Ghanaian political party manifestoes, if we are to get a complete view of political and ideological commitment of Ghanaian political parties. The present study seeks to examine the use of the subject first-person plural pronoun in the 2016 manifesto of the NDC and NPP in order to reveal their levels of political commitments. Given that ideologies represent the beliefs of socio-political groups (van Dijk, 2006), the present study focuses on first-person pronouns in order to reveal the ideological perspectives of the two political parties in questions.

### **Research Questions**

1. What are the discourse functions of "we" in the the NDC and NPP 2016 presidential elections manifestoes?
2. What levels of political commitment are evident in the use of the pronouns in the manifestoes?

### **Significance of the Study**

The study has both theoretical and practical relevance. The theoretical significance of the study lies in its contribution to the body of research on political discourse, especially party manifestoes. Specifically, it contributes to previous studies on political manifestoes globally (e.g., Pearce, 2014) and

Ghana (Nartey & Yankson, 2014). The theoretical/methodological strength of the study lies in its adoption of corpus linguistic methods alongside CDA, which allows for a fine-grained analysis of pronouns.

Practically, the findings of the study will be relevant to discourse analysts, sociologists, politicians, political analysts, academics and the public at large in order to have a further and better understanding of political manifestoes. This is significant, as it will open the eyes of people on discourse practices of political parties in Ghana, a fairly new democracy. Relatedly, academics who are interested in conducting further research on Ghanaian political discourse and on manifestoes will find this study useful.

### **Delimitations**

This study strictly falls under the domain of political discourse analysis (PDA), with focus on first-person pronouns. The study looks at the personal pronoun in the 2016 manifestoes of both NDC and NPP. The manifestoes of other political parties are not considered in this study. These political parties are considered in the present study because they have dominated the Ghanaian political firmament in the Fourth Republic of Ghana.

### **Organisation of the Study**

The study is divided into five chapters. Chapter One is about the background of the study, the problem statement, research questions, significance and delimitations of the study. Chapter Two is about the review of related literature that espouses the conceptual, theoretical and the empirical studies related to the present study. Chapter Three deals with methodology, including the study design and data analysis procedures. Chapter Four is

about the results and discussions of findings while Chapter Five presents the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study.

### Chapter Summary

This chapter, as the first chapter of the thesis, has provided the general background to the study. It has also provided the research problem. From the research problem emerged two research questions. The chapter has also presented the significance, delimitations and organisation of the study.



## CHAPTER TWO

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

#### Introduction

This chapter reviews literature related to the present study. This chapter begins with the theoretical framework which guides the study and goes further to review related empirical literature on the subject under study.

#### Theoretical Framework

Using the subject first person plural pronoun, the current study explores the speech functions and levels of political commitment. Given this emphasis, CDA is supported as a theoretical framework for the investigation. In order to comprehend how these ideologies and power relations relate to the larger socio-political context, CDA enables discourse analysts to disentangle the ideological and power ties implicit in discourse (Al-Munajjed, 2010).

Critical linguistics, psychology, sociology, politics, economics, and pragmatics are among the fields that are incorporated into the multidisciplinary discourse analysis theory known as CDA (Catalano & Waugh, 2020). With this interdisciplinary feature of CDA, discourse analysts who use it are able to investigate specific discursive practices and study the relationship among language, power and ideologies in specific contexts. This theory is “critical” because it enables a thorough inquiry into the various components of a discourse to uncover its underlying meanings and objectives. This theory provides a thorough analysis of the ideological commitment of the NDC and NPP as evidenced by their party manifestos in this study. Politicians make a lot of promises and proposals in their manifestoes but as to whether they invest a high level of commitment to them is another question. Using



CDA allows us to investigate the language, particularly the pronoun “we” in its environment, to see how committed these politicians are.

The CDA theory of discourse analysis views language as a type of social practice. This theory gives linguists the power to examine particular discourses in order to comprehend how power relations and ideologies are expressed in discourse. In this sense, CDA provides the ideal framework for discourse analysts to examine how social actors are portrayed in discourse as well as the attitudes, beliefs, and ideologies that underpin that portrayal. CDA, with its emphasis on ideology, is thought to be appropriate for the current investigation.

According to CDA, discourse has three levels of meaning: text, which involves the written or spoken form of the text; interaction, which necessitates the process of text generation and interpretation; and context, which primarily refers to the social and cultural setting in which the discourse is generated and interpreted. Fairclough (1989) distinguished three interrelated levels of discourse analysis based on these three levels of meaning: (a) description, (b) interpretation, and (c) explanation.

Examining a text’s structures and meanings is part of the first level, description. At this level, meaning is seen to be realized in structures of languages, and variations in meaning result in variations in language structures. The discourse analyst takes on the duties of an interpreter at the level of interpretation and extracts meaning from the text. The text’s description is seen to reflect the greater social environment at the level of explanation (Fairclough, 2003).



Given the variety of CDA approaches, including Fairclough's (1989) three-dimensional model and van Dijk's (1998) ideological square, CDA is not a singular discourse analytic framework. However, it is frequently assumed that the distinctions between the various analytical techniques are just a reflection of the amount of time that individual academics spend examining the micro (linguistic) and macro (social) components of discourse (Elyas & Aljabri, 2020). As a result, while some analysts lay more emphasis on deductive study of the large-scale social structures that enable or inspire discursive occurrences, others place more focus on inductive analysis of the micro-level, paying close attention to the individual linguistic components that make up these events. It must be emphasized that these preferences are a question of analytical attention rather than being mutually exclusive. Other researchers appear to alternate between these two analytical stances in addition to those who take these two perspectives (e.g., Luke, 2002).

New approaches to CDA have proliferated recently in the field of language studies as well. The social actor analysis by van Leeuwen (1993) stands out among these methods. Van Leeuwen suggests 24 aspects in this method for recontextualizing the social actors in discourse. Discourse analysts can use this socio-semantic inventory to identify candidates for representation. This approach has been used by many researchers (e.g., Elyas & Al-Zahrani, 2019; Elyas & Aljabri, 2020) to examine the representation of specific social actors in media as well as the ideologies behind such representations.

The word “critical” in CDA’s name distinguishes it from traditional discourse analysis techniques. This entails treating CDA as a viewpoint, stance, or attitude and establishing a marker for a particular study goal. In

CDA, the idea of “critical” and the idea of discourse in general are conceptualised simultaneously. Neo-Marxist criticism, according to academics who use the term (such as Fairclough, 2003), is based on the analyst’s particular political stance and seeks to bring about social change. This mindset is frequently questioned by researchers both inside and outside the CDA community (see Luke, 2002, for example).

On the definition of “critical” in CDA, other academics differ. For instance, according to Wodak (2011), being “critical” when conducting research means maintaining a certain distance from the data, integrating the data into society, outlining political stances, and emphasising introspection. Criticality also entails demonstrating how we specifically employ “language,” “causes,” and “effects.” Normally, we might not even be aware of these “causes” and “effects” (Fairclough, 2003).

Deciphering ideology allows CDA to demystify speech (Weiss & Wodak, 2003). In turn, CDA should be utilized to make decisions and make them clear at every stage of the research itself. According to Dahlan (2011), ideology is the process of condensing meaning to serve the interests of the dominant group in a society as a means of persuasion and to build widespread support for a particular goal. Van Dijk (1997) defined “ideology” as the fundamental framework of social cognition shared by members of social groups, made up of the selection of pertinent social and cultural values, and represented by a self-described ideological map of a group. Therefore, it can be said that an ideology reflects a personal belief system which constitutes one’s own values, goals and assumptions.

Van Dijk (1993) suggests that the primary focus of CDA is the analysis of both written and spoken texts to identify the origins of dominance, inequality, and bias. It investigates how these resources are produced through power dynamics in a particular social setting (Fairclough, 1989). In essence, it includes the integration of ideology into dialogue. The study of language use and language structure, the study of social practice, and the examination of the ideological significance embedded in language and communication are all included in discourse analysis. However, it reflects the fundamental characteristics of all CDA research, which is committed to a methodical, text-based investigation of language in order to shed light on how ideology and power operate in society (van Dijk, 2006). Discourse analysts can learn how discourse, genre, and texts change in connection to sociopolitical changes and, in general, grasp meaning through the recontextualization or transfer of given elements to new contexts development, by being aware of these interrelationships (Wodak, 2011).

Quantitative corpus linguistic tools have recently proven to be a reliable partner for critical discourse analysis as a qualitative theory and analytical attitude. Teuber (2004) claims that corpus linguists view language as a social construct. Critical discourse analysis can influence and guide the analysis of these findings, whereas corpus linguistics provides toolkits for measuring, visualising, and generalising patterns of meaning in data. Large-scale, systematic analyses of massive datasets including linguistic mathematics and statistical measurements are possible because to corpus linguistics (Baker, 2006).

Here, combining qualitative and quantitative analysis is the methodology. Combining CDA with corpus linguistic analysis can help analysts become less biased (Mautner, 2015), get a better understanding of the frequency of specific phenomena (Baker et al., 2013), and look beyond individual texts to gain insight into the cultural and ideological meanings that are frequently expressed (O'Halloran, 2010). In the current study, the pronoun will be cycled through the data using the corpus tool to derive frequencies based on the roles the pronoun plays in context.

Over the past 20 years, Fairclough's sociodiscoursal methodology has had a significant impact on CDA. The fundamental tenet of this theory is a "contribution to the overall strengthening of awareness of oppressive relationships in society, by emphasizing language" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 2). He provides a comprehensive strategy for societal advancement in addition to a positive discourse philosophy (Fairclough, 2003). For discourse analysis, Fairclough develops a structure with three dimensions to aid researchers in comprehending the relationships between language, social theory, and ideology. Discourse is taken into account as a text, a discursive practice, and a social activity.

This strategy has drawn some criticism. Widdowson (2004) asserts that although analysis does not support CDA-based interpretations, they might be accepted by individuals who share a similar discursive community. In other words, no matter how complete a linguistic description is, it is doubtful that the analyst will be able to definitively identify the speech in question. Although it can seem like a simple stance, some other researchers support it. For instance, Hoey (2001) points out that different people never perceive texts



in the same way. As a result, CD experts' interpretations should never be taken as truth.

In this study, I focus on discourse as text using Fairclough's three-dimensional methodology (Fairclough, 1989). According to Blommaert (2005), discourse as text focuses on the language characteristics and structure of specific instances of discourse. It also considers the sequence in which various claims are made in texts. By text layout or sequence, we mean the choice of linguistic patterns, in this case the pronoun in the current study (Blommaert, 2005). The application of textual analysis in CDA depends on the function that these forms serve in a text. As a result, when undertaking a critical examination of the text, analysts must look into the hidden intention that lies behind the linguistic nuances. Pronouns, rhetorical devices such as metaphor and similes are a few linguistic components that researchers need to pay attention to when interpreting a text (Addy & Ofori, 2020). I put the pronoun "we" in the center of this study.

I chose this approach because, by emphasizing the text's structure and function, how it relates to how it is produced and received, and how it connects to the larger society in which it occurs, it provides extensive details on working inside CDA (Addy & Ofori, 2020). I can undertake a critical textual analysis of the manifestos and connect them to the broader Ghanaian society by using discourse-as-text. This allows me to examine how the manifestos relate to the target society.

## Previous Studies

This section reviews literature on some previous studies. The section is further divided into sub-sections: corpus-based/assisted critical discourse analysis, personal pronouns in political discourse, ideology and political discourse, and political party manifestoes.

### *Corpus-based/assisted Critical Discourse Analysis*

Because this study adopted a combination of critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics for the analysis, it is crucial to review some empirical literature on corpus-based/assisted CDA. This section, therefore, reviews such studies.

There are many studies on corpus-assisted critical analysis. Wang (2018) carried out one study of this type. He looked at the topic of air pollution as it was presented in the English-language *China Daily* newspaper for his study. The relevant news articles were released between 2008 and 2015. The study demonstrates a significant shift in the public's perception of China's air pollution levels and associated public criticism around the end of 2011. This result shows how seriously the Chinese government has been trying to reduce air pollution over the past eight years. According to this study, Chinese media outlets were passive in their coverage of news on air pollution because the Chinese government criticizes them. It was also made clear that the 2008 Summer Olympics in Beijing had a significant impact on the news. The Olympic Games and the year 2010 in particular raised popular awareness of environmental issues. The study came to the conclusion that, in light of the Communist Party of China's strict censorship regime, the official Chinese press has a subordinate position in reporting on air pollution. The report also



emphasized the importance that international sporting events have in bringing environmental issues to the public's attention.

Tang (2021) looked into how China was portrayed in three major American newspapers using the corpus-based approach. With a look at concordance lines, collocations were employed to study the transitivity patterns of “who does what to China.” The study found that the study newspaper had inaccurate depictions of China. In certain instances, China was shown to be criticized. In some instances, China adopted a favorable persona as a nation that is applauded, supported, and persuaded.

Wang (2015) is a different study that used the corpus linguistic technique to undertake critical discourse analysis. Wang employed a mixed methods approach in his analysis, examining news articles from *China Daily* and the *New York Times*. The study, which contrasted the two publications, was solely concerned with news stories about the struggling Chinese economy. The study discovered that although the US-based daily provided more thorough information, the Chinese newspaper only provided generic information on the economy. The usage of neutral evaluative lexis further demonstrated the Chinese newspaper's impartial attitude toward the news reporting. On the other hand, both negative and positive attitudinal terms were used in the US media when reporting the news.

Li and Zhang (2021) looked into how Muslims and Islam were portrayed in the US media, concentrating on *The New York Times*. Additionally supported by corpus-based critical discourse analysis, their study. They concentrated on how Muslims and Islamic media are portrayed in media reports, and how this media depiction slowly erodes people's freedom of

speech. Most significantly, the study looked at whether stereotyping, bias, and discrimination were to blame for insults to Islam and Muslims. According to the study, *The New York Times* portrays Islam and Muslims in a derogatory and stereotypical way. Islam is viewed as an unrestrained foreigner, while those who cause turbulence and Muslims are viewed negatively.

Afzaal, Hu, IChishti, and Khan (2019) concentrated on how Pakistani newspapers depicted the relationship between China and Pakistan. The study found that irony is frequently used to present relationships in news articles. Additionally, the media in Pakistan portrayed China favorably, demonstrating its friendship with Pakistan. Pan, Lim, and Li (2020) focused on the ideological changes related to document translation in a study of a similar nature. The Foreign Languages Publishing Administration (FLPA) modified the ideas of documents it translated in order to support the organization and present a favorable image of China, according to the report.

Al Fajri (2017) investigated how immigration was constructed discursively using the “ukWac” corpus, a web-based corpus. Collocation and concordance analyses were used in the study's analysis. The study discovered that, save from a few cases, immigrants were primarily portrayed negatively, particularly as having traveled illegally, as victims, and as dangerous individuals. As the author points out, this portrayal will make it difficult for immigrants to integrate into society.

In addition to the media focus discussed above, several research have concentrated on other texts including education policy (Mulderigg, 2012). Mulderigg (2012) studied how pronouns were utilized to attain rhetorical goals in his critical critique of UK educational policy. He made particular note of

how the pronoun “we” contributed to the policy’s justification. This is due to the fact that by utilizing the pronoun, the politicians had a tendency to involve and influence the general population in the implementation of the program.

Mulderrig (2011) examined the evolution of social identities as they were portrayed in UK educational systems. The study concentrated on the regulations put in place between 1972 and 2005. It was discovered that the government created distinct roles for those who had important roles in the implementation of the policies as well as for the broader public by using the self-identification technique. The report concluded, in particular, that New Labour positioned itself as an enabling government by employing this method.

Kim (2014) outlines the benefits of combining corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis. He discovered that corpus linguistics is important for studying data, particularly when collocation is employed to look for recurring patterns. By employing critical discourse analysis to describe the patterns created, this can be strengthened. Based on this foundation, Kim (2014) looked at how US media portrayed the world and discovered that the nations were essentially portrayed as either pro- or anti-US.

This section has described studies that utilized CDA in conjunction with corpus linguistic techniques. The study makes it clear that research of this kind have concentrated on a variety of topics, such as air pollution news articles (Wang, 2018), newspaper representations of China (Tang, 2021; Wang, 2015), and media representations of Islam (Li & Zhang, 2021). The assessment suggests that more research needs to be done, particularly in Africa, on how political beliefs are represented using personal pronouns. This offers crucial justification for carrying out the current study.

### *Personal Pronouns in Political Discourse*

Given the present study's focus on the use of first-person pronouns, it is pertinent to review literature on the use of personal pronouns in political discourse. This will provide an empirical basis for the present study. This section, therefore, examines previous studies on the use of personal pronouns in political discourse.

According to Bull and Fetzer (2006), the meaning of personal pronouns will change with the changes in the interaction state of participants. They note that when listening or reading speeches, people may not reflect or even pay attention to the use of personal pronouns or rhetoric in these speeches. Personal pronouns make up a large part of political speeches because they can give ideas about who the speaker knows.

Allen (2007) reported that politicians are believed to be able to identify the wants, interests and needs of the audience. They present themselves in this way and are seen as good politicians, the right leaders of the country. Politicians can successfully persuade the audience to agree through self-introduction, audience and opposition expressions in their speeches. According to Allen, politicians tend to express their own positive aspects and the negative aspects of their opponents when giving speeches. One way to achieve this is to deliberately use specific personal pronouns that refer to oneself or others.

Traditionally, personal pronouns are perceived as reacting and a dichotomy involving "us" as against "them". These pronouns reflect the incumbent-opposition divide that is evident in politics. In this regard, pronouns reflecting "us", such as "we", are used to present the in-group in a



positive light while the “them” pronouns are used to underscore the negative aspects of the opponents or out-groups (Proctor, Lily & Su, 2011). The use of these pronouns is also contingent on other factors. For example, politicians use the inclusive pronoun, “we”, when they want to share responsibility and associate with their followers, while “I” is used to express personal opinions (Beard, 2000).

According to Karapetjana (2011), the speech and self-expression of politicians are part of their personality and a way of expressing themselves, as in the choice of pronouns. Thus, politicians can use personal pronouns to construct either positive or negative identities of themselves and their opponents. For example, in constructing an authoritative identity, a politician can use the pronoun, “I”. In addition, this pronoun can also show that the politician is showing personal commitment and responsibility, commitment and participation. Her research also shows that if politicians want to share responsibility and interact with the audience, “we” can be used. Karapetjana also pointed out that when a decision is controversial, the plural form of pronouns will be used to give collective consciousness and responsibility sharing. She went on to say that “I” is often used to make general statements, and politicians sometimes avoid using “I” because of distance.

In this regard, when politicians want to express their own viewpoint, they normally use the pronoun, “I”, because it is best to highlight a person’s good qualities and achievements (Bramley, 2001). “You” does not have a clear reference as it can refer to a wide range of people. It is normally used in reference of the audience as a whole (Bramley, 2001). “We” is used to assert collective identity and establish the differentiation between the in-group and



out-group (Bramley, 2001). “They” is used in political speeches to create images of others and divide people into categories (Bramley, 2001). Bramley (2001) implies that the pronoun choice of a politician indicates that his or her personal identity is different. In addition, Bramley (2001) pointed out that the primary consideration of politicians is to create realistic images based on them, and pronouns are crucial in doing so.

When making promises and commitments, political actors normally use “I”. This pronoun construct their identities as authoritative beings who have the capacity to deliver their promises. As noted by De Fina (1995), politicians make minimal use of second-person pronouns. This is because they hardly call on others to take up particular roles. On the other hand, they often use pronouns to construct their own identities and that of their opponents. In addition, De Fina (1995) showed the relevance of examining pronouns in context. This is because the functions of pronouns are contingent on the context of use. Taking a cue from De Fina’s study, the present study identifies the functions of the pronoun in context.

On his part, Bello (2013) aimed to investigate the construction of identities in political speeches in Nigeria. He grounded his research in critical discourse analysis. It was found that personal pronouns were used by politicians to declare their intentions. The pronouns were also used to engage their audience in order to persuade them. Thus, by the use of the pronouns, politicians are able to get their audience to sympathise with them.

Khan, Khurshid and Malik’s (2018) study is a critical evaluation of the political autobiography named “Daughter of the East” by a renowned Pakistani political leader, Ms. Benazir Bhutto. The evaluation focused on the

notion that the use of pronouns and parallel structures of sentences served the purpose of rationalisation or justification of one's role. The critical analysis was backed by Fairclough's (1989) three-dimensional framework. The study revealed that the said author used pronominal choices and parallel structures to enhance her political position. The said choices created collectiveness and a sense of inclusion with the common people of Pakistan. At the same time, the pronouns were used to share and claim responsibility on some crucial events and issues.

Similarly, Proctor, Lily and Su (2011) analysed self-identifications that particular American politicians develop through their employment of pronominal choice. The period that was of particular interest was during 2008 elections in the US and the subsequent year. The authors compared how the first person plural pronoun was used during the interviews and during the debate. It was found that American politicians make use of personal pronouns to evoke nationalistic emotions and achieve their career goals differently, depending on whether it is during the interview or during a debate.

Kim (2014) shed light on the perception of Arabs and Muslims from a western perspective. More specifically, the author analysed the speeches of George W. Bush, delivered between March 2003 and June 2004, and related to Iraqi War II, within Fairclough's socio-cultural approach to CDA. It was found that the use of political pronouns in G. W Bush's speeches reflected a We/They dichotomy that divided the referents into pro-US and anti-US groups. The selection of pronouns distorted the truth and misrepresented the referents by allocating negative/pejorative words to them and categorising them as proliferators of weapons of mass destruction.

In another study, Hasan (2013) examined the use of in-group and out-group pronouns in political discourse. Using Hosni Mubarak's speech given on 10 February, 2011 during what is later known as "January Revolution", the paper established how politicians can associate with and dissociate from actions taken by them or their government. The paper concluded by locating some of the strategies of political leaders, particularly the use of first person pronouns, to persuade their audiences into accepting their views and actions on crises, revolutions and controversial issues.

Hamdaoui (2015) investigated the use of person deixis in political discourse. The study specifically focused on President Obama's manipulation of the pronoun, "we", for persuasive ends. This study adopted a triangulation of quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative research was based on the use of a statistical approach to get empirical data. The statistical approach consisted of counting the number of occurrences of the deictic category, "we", in Obama's political speeches about the Financial Crisis. The qualitative method was used to analyse how the pronoun, "we", was used in the corpus under investigation. This paper revealed Obama's manipulative discursive power to persuade his audience and to share responsibility regarding certain actions to maintain his position, to strengthen a sense of unity and solidarity among the American citizens at a time of economic recession and to create a positive image of the American nation.

Addy and Ofori (2020) investigated the campaign speeches of Nana Akufo-Addo as an opposition leader. This qualitative research was underpinned by critical discourse analysis and Fairclough's three dimensional model, in particular. The study discovered a significant discovery regarding

personal pronouns that is relevant to the goal of the current investigation. It was discovered that the pronouns “I” and “you” were used to convey and commitment and bonding, respectively, “our” was used to convey to the electorate that they are all a part of a larger plan to free the nation from the control of the in power government. He also used the word “we” to foster a sense of shared accountability and group cohesiveness.

The concern of this section has been on studies that focused on personal pronouns in political discourse. It is clear that studies have focused on a variety of personal pronouns in many socio-political contexts, such as Nigeria (Bello, 2013), Pakistan (Khan, Khurshid & Malik, 2018) and United States of America (Hamdaoui, 2015; Kim, 2014; Proctor, Lily & Su, 2011). Ghana is yet to feature in a study of this kind. Again, it is evident that these previous studies have focused on speech genres, to the neglect of written political genres, such as the manifesto which the present study focuses on.

### ***Ideology and Political Discourse***

“The most elusive concept” is ideology (McLellan, 1986, p. 1). At several levels, ideology is used as a construct. Conflicting but socially accepted theories of life and how it should be governed are represented by many ideologies. Academics have defined and described ideology in a wide range of ways. Ideology is described by Downs (1957) from a normative and generative perspective. The normative is concerned with attitudes and ideals, which are both tangible and abstract. The second definition, generative, makes it easier to take a side in a particular discussion or topic. According to Martin (2015), political knowledge and ideological beliefs are combined to produce purposeful views about particular issues.



Ideologies, according to Erikson and Tedin (2003), are people's beliefs about the best way to organize the world. Ideology is best described as a "belief-system" by Converse (1964). According to Denzau and North (1994, p. 24), ideologies are "the shared framework of mental models that groups of individuals possess that provide both an interpretation of the environment and a prescription as to how that environment should be structured." Their definition can be analysed to demonstrate both the prescriptive nature of ideology and the function of social groups.

According to Eagleton (1991), ideology is generally understood to be the procedure of creating the beliefs that govern social life in a particular society. Ideology is defined cognitively by Molek-Kozakowska (2011) and connected to the social sphere. She makes the point that beliefs influence how people view the world. It is also ingrained in a number of cultural acts that include discourse production.

Similar perspectives on the cognitive side of ideology are shared by Str ath (2006). Ideologies might be viewed by him as cognitive frameworks that serve as justifications. He contends that their development must be contextualized and that their meanings must be analyzed through opposing viewpoints. In addition, ideology, according to Jost, Ledgerwood, and Hardin (2008), strengthens and reflects relational, epistemic, and existential motives. According to Todosijevi (2013), social scientists frequently refer to ideology as a reasonably organized collection of viewpoints on social and political issues that may be inferred from more general ideals.

Ideology is the foundation for how groups are portrayed in society, according to van Dijk (1998). Gerring (1997) outlines six strategies and



context-specific ways for identifying ideology. He enumerates them as operationalization, terminological redefinition, intellectual history, etiology, multivocality, and a fresh take on an old subject. Ideologies are visible in people's attitudes toward information, according to Jost, Federico, and Napier's (2009) research. Todosijevi's (2013) research, however, shows that there is debate over the attitudes of fundamental ideological elements.

From the foregoing explanations, it can be inferred that common ideology aids in understanding society and identifies approaches to addressing societal issues. However, Gerring (1997) asserts that the meanings of ideology have been overextended in order to colonize near-synonyms and muddle the semantic implications. I contend that people are driven by their ideologies to uphold, support, and defend the current social institutions as right and legitimate. Politics is influenced, if not directed, by ideologies. This renders attempts to investigate ideology as purely theoretical.

Discourse, as described by Crystal (2006), is a language expression that extends beyond a single sentence. Discourse is a socially defined concept and specific linguistic rules that govern how reality is organized and communicated at any given time. It is a tangible technique that exerts power relations (Foucault, 1972).

Political discourse is obviously ideological (van Dijk, 1998). Political discourse, according to Van Dijk (1998), is a class of genres that politics defines. Political ideologies can be used to influence, convince, or manipulate the public with the use of successful political speech. Politicians use language to convey their ideologies. According to Mihas (2005), the main focus of political discourse is how people understand ideas and events in relation to

politics. According to Amaglobeli (2017), political discourse involves the deliberate use of language to further specific goals that are connected to politicians' interests.

Ideology that is conveyed in political discourse therefore has a practical purpose. According to Dunmire (2005), political and cultural spheres are aware of how political rhetoric projects and shapes future conceptions and ideological implications. According to Edelman (1988), the purpose of political discourse is to make assumptions and proposals about necessary actions and policies for the future. The assertions or propositions of future goals are not included in Edelman's assertion, in contrast to Dunmire. He, however, points out that the significance of imagined futures depends on how they are rhetorically related to the present. Politicians must, in this regard, use the public's impression of the future as a significant tool for influencing current behaviour. This supports my claim that people's behaviour is directed by ideology, if not merely influenced by it.

According to Wessler (2008), political discourse encompasses all conversations relating to political matters as well as all forms of exchanges between political institutions or participants. Thus, political discourse takes place in news, reviews, movies, talk shows, and everyday conversations about politics by citizens as well as in internal and external political public relations. Political discourse is built on how events are interpreted. It stands in contrast to other types of analysis in terms of its rationale. It is mostly credited to semiotics, linguistics, and philosophical ideas in addition to literary, sociological, and political analyses from the literature.

Politicians' discourse centers on the idea of backing for authority and establishes a background that identifies the participants, their behavior, the topic of conversation, the circumstance, the setting, and the location of the event. According to Karasik's (2016) theory, political discourse combines the "backstage" and public political speech activities of those vying for or exercising state power, as well as discussions of political problems in the media and society at large. According to Mihas (2005), the idea of political discourse demands attention to meaning and the practice of language's value creation, not only a straightforward relationship between the discourse and its goal.

Political discourse is divided into two categories by Schaffner (1996): functional and thematic. There are two ideologies in politics, relying on van Dijk's (1998) definition of ideology: professional and socio-political. Political discourse is pre-planned, contrary to what Ochs (1979) and Capone (2010) suggested. Politicians typically think about the primary points they wish to make. My impression is that before a politician delivers a speech, proofreaders revise and review the text. Similar to this, party officials consult with stakeholders and develop policies that are consistent with the party's ideology before releasing a manifesto.

According to Reyes (2011), "political actors aim to maintain their hegemonic power, through different means and particularly through discourse" (p. 783). These clarify the role that language plays in political debate. Politics is a struggle for power that ultimately requires a politician to implement certain political, economic, and social beliefs. Language is of the utmost importance in the struggle for dominance. Politics should be studied as

a discursive phenomenon, according to Pelinka's (2007) assertion that "language must be seen and analysed as a political phenomenon" (p. 129).

According to Bayram (2010), language plays a significant role in the communication of ideas in social interactions. Political speech serves vital functions through dialogue and persuasion (Hague & Loader, 1998). Since language and political concepts often match, this gives politicians a label for behavior outside of political dialogue. According to Jones and Peccei (2004), politicians' "skillful use of rhetoric" has led to many of their victories in political debate.

According to Dunmire (2005), political discourse's portrayal of the future derives from its representation of the future's rhetorical role of implying immediate material and discursive activities. Scollon (2000) suggested that consideration should be given to how social actors (politicians) focus their speech and activity towards the future when they express an ideology in a political discourse. This is because it is necessary to problematize prior orientation and theorize social constructions. In this regard, examining the programs and initiatives that political parties put forward in their party manifestos might provide light on their philosophies.

A framework for analyzing the ways an idea surfaces and then resurfaces in political discourses was created and put to use by Buckler (2007). The "levels" of discourse, according to him, are theory, ideology, and rhetoric. In his examination of political concepts, he analyzes the case of the idea of community as it is expressed in British political discourse using his framework. With these, ideology is used to demonstrate how individuals organize their ideological predispositions from a political perspective.



Politicians communicate their ideologies in accordance with the political discourse's context. Despite the fact that politicians do not speak in a particular way because of political issues, van Dijk (2006) argues that it is crucial to look at political discourse in its overall context. This means that political ideas and stylistic choices are influenced by the setting of a political discourse. Political settings are therefore just as important in defining political discourse as political discourse structures (including ideology). Van Dijk goes on to say that as politics is an ideological endeavor, it is only natural for political discourse to be filled with beliefs as well.

Political discourses are used to create and spread political ideology. Van Dijk (2006) argued that ideologies are only developed and presented clearly in political discourse. Ideologies are produced, acquired, communicated, developed, and contested in political debates in this way. It must be recognized that while ideologies define political systems, activities, and processes through political speech, not all aspects of political discourse are influenced by ideologies.

Both Bull and Fetzer (2006) and Jaworski and Galasinski (2000) have done intriguing research on how politicians strategically use speech types. The strategic use of speech forms by participants in political debates seeking to establish their ideological legitimacy was examined by Jaworski and Galasinski. They contend that ideas can be created, spread, and reinforced through conversation and other semiotic processes.

Amaglobeli (2017) points out that in order to participate in political discourse successfully, one must be aware of the genre and characteristics of such discourse. Political discourse can be categorized based on the ideology



that it seeks to advance. Politics is a field in which ideological frames are used to construct and operate political discourse. As a result, discourses at a given period represent particular ideological frameworks utilizing particular linguistic techniques.

The literature on ideology in political discourse have been reviewed in this section. According to the review, ideologies are typically thought of as belief systems (Erikson & Tedin, 2003). As the review demonstrates, ideologies dominate political discourse and drive the future promises and actions of political parties (Edelman, 1988). Analysing party manifestos, which are proclamations made by political parties in the future, can indicate the ideas that the parties support as well as their level of dedication to those ideologies.

#### ***Political Party Manifestoes***

Given the focus of the present study on manifestoes, it is essential to conduct a review of studies on party manifestoes. A manifesto, according to Zailani and Kean Hua (2016), is an official ideology and vision by candidates or parties that is aimed to bring comfort to the public or local residents in ensuring victory to the parties. Most frequently, such political manifestoes adequately make use of deixis.

Otieno's (2012) study of identity, power and ideology in the speeches of Raila Odinga and manifestoes of Orange Democratic Movement remains significance to the present study since it focuses on ideology in political manifestoes. Like the present study, Otieno's investigation was grounded in critical discourse analysis. One key finding of the study was that pronominals were used to create identity. This finding is significant to the present study

since it seeks to investigate the use of personal pronouns in the manifestoes. Relatedly, the study also revealed that the ideologies of the party were loaded with power relations, which were constructed by the strategic use of the first-person pronoun, “we”. This finding regarding how the pronoun, “we”, projects the ideology of the party is very important to the present study, since it focuses on the same pronoun.

Also relying on critical discourse analysis as a theory, Bojabotseha (2014) investigated the generic structure and linguistic features of the 1999, 2004 and 2009 manifestoes of the South African political party, African National Congress. One significant finding of the study was that inclusive pronouns were used to create solidarity between the party leaders and the readership of the manifestoes and also to project to the readership the achievements and intentions of the party. The significance of this study to the present study lies in its use of critical discourse analysis as well as its findings regarding the use of inclusive pronouns. However, the present study further investigates how the use of pronouns reveals the ideological commitments of the parties in focus, something Bojabotseha’s study did not do. Another study that investigated the generic and linguistic features of party manifestoes is Aman’s (2009) study which focused on the 2004 manifesto of the Barisan National. The study revealed how generic and linguistic features in the manifesto were used to retain and gain political power.

Unlike the studies by Otieno (2012) and Bojabotseha (2014), Adukpo’s (2017) study investigated the linguistic features and cohesion in the 2012 manifesto of the New Patriotic Party (NPP). The study revealed that nouns were the most dominant lexical choices made in the manifestoes, followed by

adjectives and verbs. With regard to cohesive devices used in the manifesto, the study revealed very important uses of repetition, synonyms, antonyms and superordinate words. In particular, the study revealed that synonyms were used to emphasise the ideologies of the party. While the present study does not focus on cohesive devices, it is still related to Adukpo's study in several respects. First, Adukpo's study focuses on the NPP, one of the party's the present study focuses on. Again, Adukpo reveals how lexical choices could reveal party ideology. This finding serves as the basis of the present study's focus on pronominal choices and ideological commitment. Also, Adukpo recommended that computer software should be used to analyse party manifestoes, hence the adoption of the corpus linguistics approach in the present study.

Also, Malghani and Shafiq (2019) investigated the roles of word classes in party manifestoes in the 2013 elections in Pakistan. It was a corpus-based study grounded in critical discourse analysis. The finding revealed that the various word classes were used in the manifestoes to project the positive image of the parties while projecting their opponent in a negative light. In particular, the study revealed that pronouns were used in some instances to construct the "us versus them" divide, thus projecting the ideologies of the parties. They emphasised that pronouns were used also to persuade the readership of the manifestoes. The ideological power of personal pronouns, as revealed by this study, remains significant to the present study which also seeks to investigate the ideological commitments inherent in the use of first person pronouns. Also, Malghani and Shafiq's use of computer software makes it significant to the present study. This notwithstanding, Malghani and

Shafiq's study focused on a different country, which makes it different from the present one.

In another study, Malghani et al. (2019) investigated the discursive strategies used in the 2013 election manifestoes of political parties in Pakistan. The study relied on critical discourse analysis and adopted the qualitative research design for the analysis. The study revealed modality, hedging, pronouns, active and passive voice, adjective, adverbs and presupposition as the discursive strategies used in the manifestoes. It was concluded that these strategies were used for negative other representation, thereby projecting the ideologies of the parties. The significance of this study to the present study lies in its focus on personal pronouns as part of the discursive strategies. However, with its focus in Pakistan, Malghani et al.'s study differs remarkably from the present study.

Kareinen (2019) investigated modality and pronouns in the manifestoes of Canadian political parties. The study relied on corpus linguistic methods such as keyness, concordance and collocations. Significant quantitative differences were revealed in terms of the usage of personal pronouns and markers of modality. The authors also emphasised that the party manifestoes used these devices to construct identities of themselves and their opponents. The significance of this study to the present study lies in its focus on personal pronouns. However, the present study's focus on Ghana departs from that of Kareinen's, which focused on Canada. Additionally, the present study considers ideological commitments in the party manifestoes, something Kareinen did not do.



Edwards (2012) investigated the discursal representation of the “in-group” in the 2005 and 2010 manifestoes of the British National Party. Like the present study, it adopted the corpus methods together with critical discourse analysis. The study specifically focused on personal pronouns as self-reference terms. The study revealed some ambiguous uses of the personal pronouns, with overlapping referents. Additionally, it was found that an analysis of the occurrences of “Our” “shows the increased disguising of the racially constructed in-group behind the ostensibly inclusive discourse of nationhood” (p. 256). In a similar study, Kranert (2019) investigated the construction of “populism” in the 2017 manifestoes of two Alternative für Deutschland and United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP). The study revealed that the demand for democratic renewal was constructed through inclusive populism elements, while the people as a homogenous ethos was constructed through exclusive populism elements.

Kyerewaa-Owusu (2017) conducted a critical discourse analysis of the 2016 election manifestoes of the NDC and NPP, relying on the qualitative research design for the analysis. The study revealed significant uses of rhetorical strategies such as blame and comparison as well as linguistic resources, including nouns, verbs, adjectives and pronouns. The author stressed that these strategies and devices were used to solicit the legitimation of the electorate. The similarity between Kyerewaa-Owusu’s study and the present one lies in the fact that they both used the 2016 manifestoes of the parties in focus. However, Kyerewaa-Owusu’s study did not investigate ideological commitments of the parties. This leaves a research gap that the present study seeks to fill.



With the use of the internet-based software, User local and Reading Tutor, Olsson (2017) conducted a register analysis of Japanese election manifestoes. He revealed significant differences and similarities between local and national manifestoes in terms of their lexical compositions. Ho and Crosthwaite (2018) investigated the construction of stance in the 2017 manifestoes of candidates in the 2017 elections of Hong Kong. The study relied on corpus linguistic methods and adopted critical discourse analysis and appraisal theory as its theoretical frameworks. The study revealed significant differences in the use of evaluative resources used across the three manifestoes investigated. To the extent that this study adopted critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics, it is similar to the present study. However, the two studies differ in terms of the manifestoes studied. Besides, Ho and Crosthwaite focused on appraisal resources while the present study focuses on personal pronouns.

Evans and Jeffries (2015) investigated the use of the word “choice” in British manifestoes from 1900 and 2010. The study demonstrated how the word has taken on semantic meanings over the period studied. This study differs from the present study in terms of the lexical items investigated. Specifically, while Evans and Jeffries focused on “choice”, the present study is interested in the personal pronoun “we”. Again, Evans and Jeffries focused on Britain whereas the present study focuses on Ghana.

Also focusing on the United Kingdom, Pearce (2014) investigated key function words, including “will”, “we”, and “our”, in election manifestoes of political parties between 1900 and 2010. The author, using corpus linguistic tools, examined the function words, indicating how they were used to reveal

the ideologies of the parties. The focus on personal pronouns as part of the function words examined makes Pearce's work relevant to the present one. Also, like Pearce's work, the present study is interested in ideologies of the parties studied. However, given that Pearce focused his study on UK rather than Ghana, it differs significantly from the present study.

Again, Nartey and Yankson (2014) and Ehineni (2014) have both researched the use of modals in manifestoes. The former considered the use of modal auxiliaries in election manifestoes in Ghanaian political discourse with a focus on 2012 NPP manifesto while the latter examined the use of modals to convey message across to electorates in Nigerian political discourse. Ehineni (2014) revealed that politicians use pronouns and indexicals in discourse to their advantage, whether to claim ignorance on a particular manner, to mitigate responsibility, or to take credit for some political achievement.

In a nutshell, studies into party manifestoes have focused on their generic and linguistic properties. In terms of linguistic features, pronouns, stance markers, modals, among others, have featured prominently in such studies (e.g., Evans & Jeffries, 2015; Nartey & Yankson, 2014; Pearce, 2014). Essentially, the studies have also revealed how personal pronouns can be used to communicate ideologies (Malghani & Shafiq, 2019; Pearce, 2014). However, in the context of Ghana, there has not been any study that focused on revealing the relationship between pronouns and ideological commitments in party manifestoes. It is this lacuna that the present study seeks to fill.

## Chapter Summary

This chapter has reviewed the pertinent literature related to the present study. This was done by first providing the theoretical lens of the study. Apart from the theoretical lens, the chapter also highlighted some empirical studies related to the present study. In this regard, the review focused on studies conducted on corpus-based/assisted critical discourse analysis, personal pronouns in political discourse, ideology and political discourse, and political party manifestoes.



## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

#### Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the literature review. In this chapter, the methodological approach that guides the study will be discussed. The discussions are focused on the following headings: political overview of Ghana, research design, research site, data collection, sampling and summary.

#### Political Overview of Ghana

The area of the study is Ghana, a country in Sub-Saharan Africa. Ghana practises a multi-party democracy, where many political parties such as Convention People's Party (CPP), Progressive People's Party (PPP), National Democratic Congress (NDC) and New Patriotic Party (NPP) operate. Among these political parties, the most dominant ones are the NPP and the NDC and their dominance dates far back two decades ago.

The history of Ghana after its independence has been characterised by long-term military rule, with serious violations of human rights (Abdulai, 2008). In the late 1980s, after nearly a decade of paramilitary rule under the leadership of the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC), a strong internal and external pressure on the government led to the promulgation of a free constitution in 1992 and the establishment of a multi-party democracy in 1993, and Ghana entered the Fourth Republic.

Since 1992, Ghana has successfully held eight multi-party elections. The latest presidential and parliamentary elections were held on December 7, 2020. The peaceful transfer of power from the government of the NDC to NPP after the December 2000 election clearly shows how far Ghana has moved

towards democratic consolidation in the past three decades. In addition to successfully holding elections, Ghana has also made considerable progress in institutionalising multi-party democratic governance within the framework of the 1992 Constitution.

So far, there is a large amount of evidence of political liberalisation that enables Ghanaians to enjoy broader rights and freedoms as well as the emergence of a thriving civil society and free and independent media, which increasingly require the government to be responsible on behalf of citizens. Indeed, with these major developments, the democratisation of Ghana has been touted as one of Africa's political success stories (Gyimah-Boadi, 2008). Despite the above achievements, few people would object to the fact that Ghana's democratic development still aspires to make great progress because there are still many democratic deficits in governance at the national, regional and local levels (Mensah, 2007).

In Ghana's nascent democracy, political parties present to the electorates manifestoes during elections. These manifestoes present policies that the political parties intend to implement when elected. The manifestoes, therefore, become major documents that allow for the expression of political ideologies. It will, therefore, be interesting to study how pronouns are used to convey ideological commitments in Ghanaian political manifestoes. The findings will, therefore, complement findings of studies that have focused on manifestoes of political parties in old democracies like the United Kingdom (Pearce, 2014).



## Research Approach

This study relies on corpus linguistics methods to data analysis. Crucially, corpus linguistics is a technology that involves using computer software to analyse linguistic data. Its essence lies in the fact that it is able to analyse large datasets, something which will prove difficult when done manually (McEnery et al., 2019). With its focus on real-life occurrences of language use, it studies quantifiable properties of language, by the use of (probabilities, trends, patterns, co-occurrences of elements, features or groupings of features” (Teubert & Krishnamurthy, 2007, p. 6) so as to draw generalisable conclusions.

Generally, there are three approaches involved in analysing a corpus: corpus-based, corpus-driven and corpus-assisted approaches. In corpus-based research, corpus linguistics is considered a method that focuses on analysing a theory or hypothesis, with the aim of confirming or refuting it. This contrasts with the corpus-driven approach that considers corpus linguistics that the corpus should rather be the source of the theory (McEnery & Hardie, 2012). The third approach, corpus-assisted, involves the integration of corpus-methodologies in a work that is largely discourse analysis. Corpus-assisted research can, thus, be described as an approach that largely depends on qualitative methods of discourse analysis but uses the affordances provided by corpus linguistics where necessary (Partington, 2010).

In the present study, the corpus-assisted method is adopted. The aim of corpus-assisted research is to reveal hidden meanings in language by relying on a synthesis of the quantitative approaches provided by corpus linguistics and the qualitative means of discourse analysis (Partington, 2010). This

approach has its beginnings in the works of Stubbs (1996), whose focus was on political and media discourses. Unlike corpus-based and corpus-driven approaches which rely heavily on quantitative methods without getting acquainted with the data, the corpus-assisted approach allows researchers to familiarize themselves with the data by using concordance lines and word list, and in some cases rely partly on corpus-external information (Sarfo-Kantankah, 2022; Zhang & Mihelj, 2012).

In the present study, this approach is adopted for various reasons. First, the data-set for the study is relatively small. With this, it may not warrant any significant insights if the purely quantitative methods are used. Again, the study does not aim to test hypothesis or generate a theory from the data. In view of this, the corpus-assisted method is considered ideal. In addition, previous studies of this kind have successfully applied this approach and come out with reliable findings (Sarfo-Kantankah, 2022; Sarfo-Kantankah & Agbaglo, 2022).

In his study, Sarfo-Kantankah (2022) recognizes the effectiveness of this approach to critical discourse analysis. He noted that had it not been for the use of that approach, he would not have been able to examine the construction of gender-based violence in Ghanaian parliamentary discourse. By using this approach in the present study, it is hoped that details of the functions of the pronoun as well as how they are used to express ideological commitments will be revealed.

### **Corpus Design**

The corpora consist of the manifestoes of the two most dominant political parties in Ghana, namely, the National Democratic Congress (NDC)

and the New Patriotic Party (NPP), for the 2016 presidential elections. Although there was a total of 8 presidential aspirants, I decided to solely consider the NDC and the NPP because of their dominance in the political terrain of Ghana. In effect, the study deployed the purposive sampling procedure in selecting the corpora for the study. The choice of the NDC and NPP presidential candidates' manifestoes is motivated by the fact that these two political parties over the past decades have dominated the political landscape of Ghana.

The data for the study were downloaded from electronic platforms of the two political parties. I also got the hard copies of the manifestoes from the political party offices in Kumasi and I compared with the soft copies to ascertain whether there were differences. It was confirmed they were the same. The manifestoes obtained were the 2016 NPP and NDC political manifestoes. The NDC manifesto was 26,241 words long while the NPP one contained 31,512 words. The downloaded files were then converted into Plain Text format to allow analysis with the software, AntConc 3.5.7 (Anthony, 2005).

### **Analytical Software**

This study uses AntConc (Anthony, 2005) for analysis. AntConc was designed by Anthony Laurence. The software uses concordancer, word and keyword frequency generators, tools for clustering and lexical analysis, and word distribution maps (Anthony, 2005).

The first thing researchers can do with the AntConc software is to generate a list of all words that appear in the entire corpus. Like other corpus analysis software, the words in the list can be arranged according to frequency

or alphabetical order. However, AntConc provides the unique function of reverse sorting and the function of analysing words based on stems. In addition, stop lists and reverse lists of stop lists can be generated, allowing researchers to focus on high-frequency content rather than functional words. Closely related to this function, AntConc provides a “keyword list” tool, which can display words in the corpus (Anthony, 2005).

The Concordancer is the basic function of AntConc. The Concordance tool allows users to view how search terms are used in the entire corpus. Search terms can be defined as substrings, words, phrases or full regular expressions (REGEX), allowing researchers to access a wide range of searches. By choosing the *n*-gram function, the search term can be defined by its stem, where *n* is the stem. The consistent search term map tool can perform the same search function, but the results obtained will be displayed graphically, providing researchers with a clear picture of how the search terms are distributed in the file. For example, the tool can be used to determine whether a specific phrase or keyword appears in the data (Anthony, 2005).

Another basic analysis tool provided by AntConc is the View File tool, which can be used with the Concordancer or on its own. After selecting this option in the result display of the Concordancer tool, the specified search term will be displayed in the original file. When used alone, the View File tool can display instances of substrings, words, phrases or regular expressions in the original file, thereby providing researchers with context for using various vocabulary elements (Anthony, 2005).

Finally, AntConc provides a word cluster/bundling tool for studying multi-word units such as compound words, phrasal verbs and idioms. The



Word Clusters tool is used to find word clusters centered on the search term and arrange them in alphabetical order or frequency. Researchers can define search terms as substrings, words, phrases or regular expressions (similar to Concordancer, Plot and View). In addition, one can also specify the number of words on the left and right of the search term, and the minimum frequency threshold of word clusters (Bowker & Pearson, 2002).

### **Analytical Procedure**

The analysis of the data involved two steps, with each step focusing on one research question. The first research question involves the functions of the personal pronoun “we” in the data. Here, the personal pronoun was run with the concordance tool in the two sub-corpora. The concordance tool provided each instance of occurrence of the personal pronouns in the immediate co-text. The concordance tool was used because it helps the researcher to analyse the meanings of words based on the words occurring on their immediate textual environment (Baker et al., 2013). Figure 1 shows instances of “we” concordance lines.

The screenshot displays a concordance tool interface. On the left, a sidebar shows 'Corpus Files' with 'NDC 2016 MANIFESTO.txt' selected. The main window is titled 'Concordance Hits 213'. It features a table with columns for 'Hit', 'KWIC', and 'File'. The 'KWIC' column shows text snippets with the word 'we' highlighted in various colors (blue, green, red, purple). The 'File' column lists 'NDC 2016 MA' for all hits. Below the table, there are search controls: 'Search Term' (we), 'Words' checked, 'Case' and 'Regex' unchecked, 'Search Window Size' (50), and 'Kwic Sort' options (Level 1 1R, Level 2 2R, Level 3 3R) all checked. A 'Clone Results' button is at the bottom right.

Figure 1: A shot of concordance lines of “we”

In the concordance shot presented in Figure 1, we find the number of hits presented at the upper left corner (213 hits). Beneath it is a list of the instances of use of each of the occurrences of “we”, showing the environment in which it occurs. In the present study, I conducted a manual examination of the concordance lines to be able to determine the functions of the personal pronoun. This manual, qualitative analysis of the concordance lines is in line with the view of Timmis (2013). He observes that corpus tools have a limitation in that they do not provide a detail of the contextual use of linguistic expressions, though they are able to offer quantitative information. In view of this, it is crucial for the analyst to engage in manual qualitative analysis to be able to reveal the details concerning the context in which certain words or expressions are used.

The manual analysis involved reading the concordance lines to see how the pronoun was used in context. The first research question concerns the

discourse functions of the pronouns. Here, the analysis focused on the concordance lines, paying particular attention to the patterns of words that occurred with the pronouns in question. Thus, the functions of the pronouns arose from how they were used in context, involving larger stretches of discourse (Deroey & Taverniers, 2011). For example, when the pronoun “we” occurred together with the modals “will” and “shall”, the function was to state intentions. Figure 2 shows the context use of “We”:



Hit	KWIC	File
1	as the pillars of good governance. We believe firmly that these pillars	NDC 2016 MA
2	our people. As Social Democrats, we believe that economic growth i	NDC 2016 MA
3	to develop to their fullest potential. We believe that our pursuit of eco	NDC 2016 MA
4	opportunities to improve themselves. We believe that we can achieve m	NDC 2016 MA
5	al Education and Training (TVET). We believe we can do even better	NDC 2016 MA
6	ving accountability in governance. We believe we have succeeded in	NDC 2016 MA

Figure 2: Contextual use of “We”

As shown in the extract above, the pronoun, “we”, forms a pattern with the verb “believe”. Reading the concordance lines suggests that the pattern was used to state the beliefs of the political party involved. Thus, in this case, the pronoun is considered as being used to state beliefs of the political party.

The second stage involves the analysis of levels of political commitment by looking at linguistic elements of commitment that occurred in clauses that contain the pronoun. The linguistic elements are graded according to high commitment, median commitment and low commitment. They include modal verbs, lexical verbs, adverbs, and adjectives (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). At this stage, the manual examination also helped to exclude instances of “we” that were not party-oriented, especially in the ideological commitment.

## Reliability and Validity

Reliability and validity are very important in research, given their relevance to the trustworthiness of research findings. Validity is assessed in terms of how well the research tools measure the phenomena under investigation (Punch, 2003). It involves ensuring that the results of a study are meaningful in the sense that they have significance beyond the sample that participates in that study (Mackey & Gass, 2012). In the present study, I followed a number of steps to ensure the validity and reliability of the findings. The first step involved ensuring that the manifestoes downloaded from the internet were the actual manifestoes of the parties. This was done by going to the party offices at Kumasi for hard copies of the manifestoes, which were then compared with the soft copies downloaded from the net to ensure consistency. Apart from this, I ensured consistency in the analysis by examining the pronouns in contexts, and anytime I encountered challenges, I sought the opinions of colleague master's students who are equally knowledgeable in this kind of research. For instance, when I got confused about the functions of a particular instance of a personal pronouns, I showed it to them and based on their opinions, we came to agreement on the function.

## Chapter Summary

This chapter has discussed the analytical procedures used in conducting the research. The chapter first gave an overview of the political terrain of Ghana. The research design and corpus design were also discussed. Finally, the analytical procedure as well as steps taken to ensure the validity and reliability of the findings were discussed. In the next chapter, I present the analysis and discussion of the data.



## CHAPTER FOUR

## ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

**Introduction**

The previous chapter presented the analytical processes used in conducting the study. In the present chapter, I present the analysis and discussion of the data. These are presented according to the research questions.

**Discourse Functions of the Pronoun “we” in the Manifestoes**

This section examines the functions of the pronoun in the manifestoes. The section is divided into two sub-sections, focusing first on the NDC and then the NPP manifesto.

***Functions of we in NDC Manifesto***

The data analysis revealed that the pronoun performed a variety of discourse functions in the NDC manifesto. These are presented in Table 1, with their relative frequencies and percentages.

**Table 1: Frequency of occurrence of functions in the NDC manifesto**

<b>Function</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
Future intention	93 (48.69%)
Past achievements	61 (31.94%)
Beliefs, subscriptions, and views	9 (4.71%)
Ongoing projects	8 (4.19%)
Commitment	7 (3.66%)
Past promise	4 (2.09%)
Appeal to electorate	3 (1.57%)
Obligation	2 (1.05%)
Recognition	2 (1.05%)
Concession	1 (0.52%)
Appreciation	1 (0.52%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>191 (100.00%)</b>

### *Future Intentions*

Manifestoes are forward-looking documents. As such, an appreciable number of the pronoun “we” used in the data functioned to communicate intentions. In particular, 44.69% of the pronoun “we” used in the data communicated future intentions. Here, the pronoun was used to express what the party intends to do when elected. The expression of intention is grammatically realised by lexical verbs such as *plan*, *intend*, *seek to* as well as the modal auxiliary verbs, *will* and *shall*. Figure 3 shows the expression of intention in the NDC manifesto.

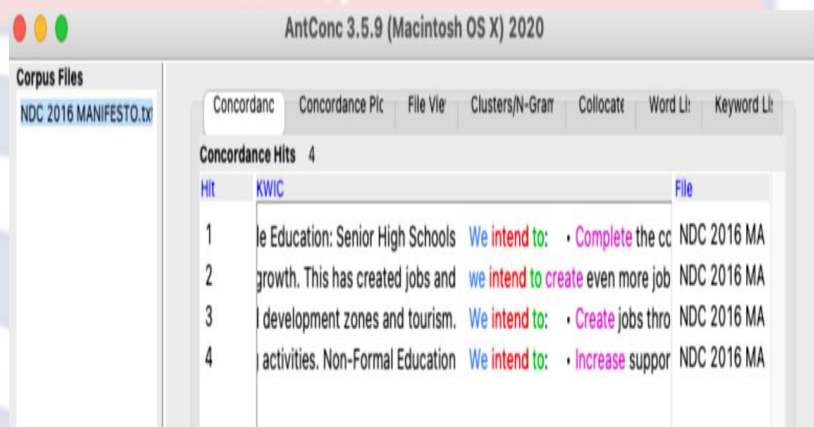


Figure 3: A screenshot showing the pronoun expressing intention in NDC manifesto

As shown in Figure 3 above, the NDC expressed an intention to complete some projects (line 1), create jobs (lines 2 and 3), and increase support for non-formal education. In all these instances, the lexical verb used to communicate intention is *intend*. As already mentioned, apart from the use of *intend*, verbs such as *plan* and *seek to* were also used to express the party’s intentions. This is shown in extracts 1 and 2 below:

**Extract 1**

As a party, we seek a renewal of the mandate from the people to enable us extend our transformation agenda.

**Extract 2**

We plan to establish a new College of Education as an Instructor Training College for TVET at Agona Swedru in the Central Region;

In extract 1, *we* collocates with the verb, *seek*. This verb states the intention of the party. Here, the party's intention is to extend what it calls the transformational agenda. In extract 2, the intentions are presented as a plan to establish a new College of Education at Agona Swedru.

Apart from these direct ways of expression intentions, there are other verbs that expressed intentions. In these instances, it is the context that helps identify that the expressions in focus express intentions. Consider extracts 3 and 4 below:

**Extract 3**

We rededicate ourselves to the expansion of economic freedom and opportunity by providing incentives for small businesses to grow, by encouraging local community development and building the environment for domestic manufacturing to support job creation.

**Extract 4**

We still have more roads to construct, more houses to build, more food to produce, additional educational and health facilities to provide and more jobs to create.

Both extracts 3 and 4 express the party's intentions. From the context of extract 3, one gets to know that the party is expressing an intention "to the

expansion of economic freedom and opportunity by providing incentives for small businesses to grow, by encouraging local community development and building the environment for domestic manufacturing to support job creation”. Similarly, extract 4 shows that the party intends to build more roads, houses as well as educational and health facilities, in addition to the production of food and creation of jobs.

Manifestoes are partly forward-looking documents, and this finding on the expression of intention echoes the findings of the existing literature. Yankson and Nartey (2014) view that manifestoes express the intentions of the political parties. Similarly, Zailani and Kean Hua (2016) note that a manifesto is an official ideology and vision by candidates or parties that is aimed to bring comfort to the public or local residents in ensuring victory to the parties. Most frequently, such political manifestoes adequately make use of deixis. In addition, Bojaboutseha’s (2014) study found that inclusive pronouns were used to create solidarity between the party leaders and the readership of the manifestoes and also to project to the readership the intentions of the party.

The expression of intention and aims can also be seen as a promise to the electorate. In general, campaign genres such as manifestoes are used to make promises to the electorate to persuade them to vote for the party. Thus, this finding on the frequent expression of intentions in the manifestoes may be explained as the party’s strategy to elicit votes from the electorates by foregrounding what they intend to do when they are voted into power. In consonance with this, Benoit (1999) opines that campaign discourse, including manifestoes, essentially involve the expression of plans and intentions.



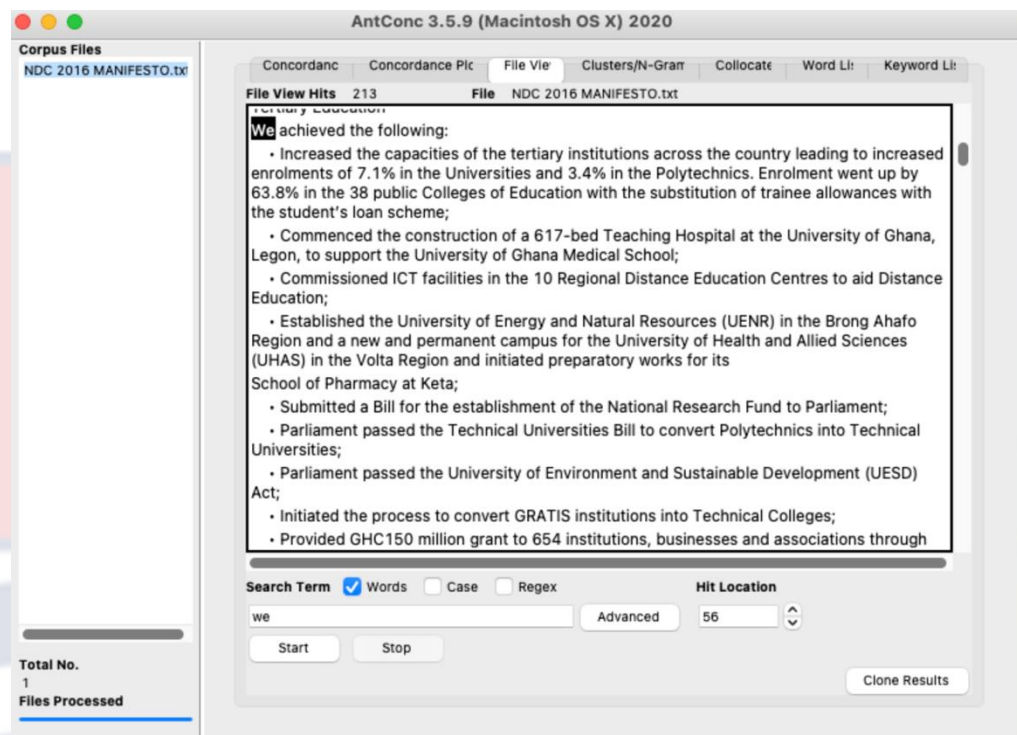
Notably, this expression of intentions, plans or aims is also evident in other campaign genres such as manifesto launch speeches (Afful & Gyasi, 2020).

On the use of “will” and “shall” for the expression of future events, Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik (1973) reveals that “shall and, particularly, will are closest approximation to a colourless, neutral future” (p. 47). Previous studies by Nartey and Yankson (2014) and Aning (2020) also revealed the use of these modals to express intention in the 2012 manifesto of the NPP and the 2016 NDC manifesto respectively. They noted that will is especially used to express strong intention or promise. Ehineni (2014) also notes that these modal auxiliary verbs are used by political parties to express their futuristic plans to the electorates in order to persuade them to vote in their favour.

#### ***Past achievements***

The function that recorded the second highest frequency of occurrence was the expression of past achievements. Essentially, the pronoun was used to express this function 61 times, representing 31.94%. This is not surprising, given that the party was the incumbent and, therefore, had made some achievements which deserved mention. This agrees with the findings of Benoit (1999) and Afful and Gyasi (2020). In particular, Benoit notes that incumbent parties tend to remind the electorates of their achievements in their campaign genres. Among the most frequent verbs that collocated with *we* in performing this role were *achieved/have achieved/were able to achieve* (6 occurrences), *undertook* (3 occurrences) and *established* (3 occurrences). *Completed, constructed, increased* and *introduced* recorded 2 occurrences each. *Demonstrated, distributed, created, delivered* and many other verb collocates

of we occurred ones. Figure 4 shows the use of achieved to express the party's past records or achievements:



*Figure 4:* A screenshot showing the expression of past achievements in the NDC manifesto

Figure 4 shows the achievements of the party in the area of education. These achievements involve increasing enrollment in tertiary institutions, building of a teaching hospital for the University of Ghana, construction of ICT facilities for Distance Education Centres, the establishment of University of Energy and Natural Resources, submission of a bill to Parliament for the establishment of National Research Fund and conversion of polytechnics into technical universities, etc.

Apart from the verbs used to talk about past achievements, in one case, a noun was used. This is exemplified in extract 5 below:

### Extract 5

We have verifiable *achievements* in education, healthcare, social protection, gender empowerment and equality, youth development and sporting opportunities as manifestations of our commitment.

In extract 5, the noun, *achievement*, expresses the achievements of the party. It is actually a nominalisation of the verb, *achieve*. In this extract, it gives a general comment on the party's records in healthcare, social protection, gender equality, youth development and sporting opportunities.

There is some literature that points to the use of first person pronouns to express the achievements of a political party. According to Bramley (2001), politicians use the pronouns to highlight their achievements (Bramley, 2001). Relying on critical discourse analysis as a theory, Bojabotseha (2014) who focused on linguistic features of the 1999, 2004 and 2009 manifestoes of the South African political party, African National Congress, found that inclusive pronouns were used to project to the readership the achievements of the party.

Ehineni (2014) revealed that politicians use pronouns and indexicals in discourse to take credit for some political achievement. In a similar study, Sarfo-Kantankah (2021) expressed that making reference to past deeds is a way of deflating any criticism that seek to expose the party's weaknesses. It is also a means of providing a justification for asking for a renewal of the party's political power. In addition, a study by Moloji and Bojabotseha (2014) found the expression of achievements in ANC party manifestoes. This finding also confirms the observations of Dolezal et al. (2018, p. 243): "Incumbent parties talk about their record to underline their competence in governing the country.

Opposition parties, by contrast, may point to their government record in earlier periods or other levels of government.”

The reason for this finding is summarized by Pearce (2014) it is more likely for incumbent parties, or parties that have ever been in power, to lay claim to their past deeds. When voted into power, politicians are expected to deliver on, especially the promises made to the electorate. Elections period offer politicians the opportunity to give an account of their works and achievements. It can, therefore, be argued that having being in power for 4 years, the NDC found it important to communicate their achievements to the electorate. By doing so, they aim to persuade the electorates to renew their mandate.

### ***Beliefs, subscriptions, and views***

Every political party has beliefs, subscriptions and views. These are also found in party manifestoes since party manifestoes reflect the opinions of the party. In the NDC manifesto, there are references to party beliefs, subscriptions and views. These occurred 9 times, representing 4.71% of the total usage of the pronoun. This function is realised by the patterns, *we+believe* (7 occurrences), *we+subscribe* (1 occurrence) and *we+view* (1 occurrence). The expressions of belief are shown in Figure 5 below:

20	Implementation processes.	We belief that through participation we can,	NDC 2016 MA
21	s of good governance.	We believe firmly that these pillars properly	NDC 2016 MA
22	As Social Democrats,	we believe that economic growth is important,	NDC 2016 MA
23	their fullest potential.	We believe that our pursuit of economic	NDC 2016 MA
24	to improve themselves.	We believe that we can achieve more	NDC 2016 MA
25	and Training (TVET).	We believe we can do even better	NDC 2016 MA
26	stability in governance.	We believe we have succeeded in creating	NDC 2016 MA

Figure 5: A screenshot showing the expression of beliefs in the NDC manifesto



As shown in Figure 5 above, the NDC believe in political participation (line 20); transparency, accountability and participatory democracy as the pillars of good governance (line 21); that economic growth is not enough to provide jobs for the people (line 22); appropriate regulation as a means of economic growth (line 23); collective achievements (line 24); and linkage between vocational and technical training and industry (line 25). In addition, the NDC believe they have laid a foundation for national development (line 26). In addition to these beliefs, the NDC expresses its subscription and views in the manifesto, as seen in extracts 6 and 7.

#### **Extract 6**

As Social Democrats, we subscribe to a compassionate political philosophy that seeks to create opportunities for all to develop to their fullest potential.

#### **Extract 7**

As Social Democrats we view Infrastructural development as a means to enhance productivity, transportation and communication.

As shown in extract 6, the NDC believe in creating opportunities that allow people to develop their potentials. In extract 7, it is indicated that the party believes in attaining productivity, transportation and communication through infrastructure development.

These beliefs express the ideologies of the party, as ideology has been defined as belief systems. For instance, Erikson and Tedin (2003) define ideology as a people's opinions about how things should be done to ensure order in the universe. Similarly, Eagleton (1991) generalises the conception of ideology as the means by which ideas and beliefs are generated in particular

societies. Molek-Kozakowska (2011) relates it to general belief systems that that operate in cultural practices from which discourse emerge. In other words, ideology is often buried in discourse.

### *Ongoing Projects*

In addition to past achievements, ongoing projects were also heightened in the NDC manifesto. This function was expressed 8 times, which represented 4.19% of the total use of the pronoun. Grammatically, ongoing programmes are expressed using the present progressive tense (*we+are+-ing form of the verb*). This is shown in extracts 8 and 9 below:

#### **Extract 8**

...we are implementing the e-Health, e-Education, e-Justice, e-Cabinet, e-Parliament and e-Immigration projects which seek to inject greater efficiency into public service delivery;

#### **Extract 9**

Resulting from the strategic investments made by the NDC Government, we achieved our target and we are working to improve on the gains.

In extract 8, the manifesto makes clear that the government is implementing the the e-Health, e-Education, e-Justice, e-Cabinet, e-Parliament and e-Immigration projects. Here, the pattern, *we are implementing*, indicates that the projects being described were ongoing. Similarly, in extract 9, it is indicated that the government was working to improve the gains of strategic investments. In this case, the verb pattern, *we are working*, shows that the project was ongoing.

The frequent reference to past deeds in the NDC manifesto is explained by some previous studies. According to Sarfo-Kantankah (2021) and Moloj and Bojabotseha (2014), in party manifestoes, political parties make reference to current deeds to silent criticism and elicit votes from the electorates. In the case of the NDC, since they were in government, it was necessary to highlight their ongoing projects, as a way of asking the electorates to renew their mandate to enable them to continue such projects.

### ***Commitments***

Political discourse functions to make commitments to the electorate. This function is expressed in party manifestoes. It recorded 7 occurrences, representing 3.66%. In the NDC manifesto, we find that the party makes commitments to the electorates, as evident in extracts 10 and 11 below:

#### **Extract 10**

We are therefore committed to using the legal, fiscal and trade instruments at our disposal, in an inclusive effort to safeguard the jobs of today and create the jobs of the future. [NDC]

#### **Extract 11**

We remain committed to building a peaceful, safe and inclusive society that respects the diversities of our nation. [NDC]

In extract 10, the party makes commitments to safeguard jobs through legal and fiscal instruments. In extract 11 too, we find that the party made commitment or promise to build a peaceful and inclusive society.

Commitment takes a central place in Speech Act Theory, where it is conceptualized as an obligation which amounts to promising (Searle, 1969). Commitments, thus, involves undertakings that are not easy to reverse, since

they amount to promising (Agyekum, 2013). According to Alston (2000), commitment involves taking a normative stance towards an utterance. This means that a person who makes a commitment positions himself towards the possibility of censure, correction or the likes if the conditions are not satisfied.

On the functions of “commitment” in party manifestoes, Pearce (2014, p. 37) notes that it shows “a discourse of modern management, of the sort found in texts like the so-called ‘mission statements’ of large organisations,” indicating “a rhetorical shift in the presentation of the nature of the relationship between a party and the electorate, and also a party and its own policies.” Thus, in the context of the present study, the use of such collocations in the manifestoes project the manifesto as the mission statement of the NDC.

They constitutively generate for the speaker an obligation to keep his or her promise, without which obligation no promise is made (Salgueiro, 2010). Commitments give the electorates a strong basis to demand accountability from the political party (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2021). In his study of the promises in presidential campaigns in 2008 Ghanaian general elections, Agyekum (2013) found that each aspirant expressed some sense of high confidence and commitment and claimed to be a better candidate than the others.

### *Past Promises*

Like commitments, promises are an aspect of commissives. Politicians tend to promise their electorates as a way of persuading them to vote in their favour. In the NDC manifesto analysed, the party tended to make reference to



some past promises they made and delivered. This function occurred 4 times, representing 2.09%. This is shown in extracts 12 and 13 below:

#### **Extract 12**

We made a number of promises in our 2012 Manifesto and the records show that we have delivered more than we pledged in several sectors.

#### **Extract 13**

We promised and delivered the following:

- Completed the new court complex in Accra, which houses 34 High Courts and a clinic for staff, among others;
- Provided for the transformation of the Legal Aid Board into an Independent Constitutional (2017-2021)

In extract 12, the NDC mentions that they delivered more than what was even promised in the 2012 manifesto. In a similar vein, extract 13 lists two key promises made and delivered. These centre around the establishment of a court complex and the transformation of the Legal Aid Board into an Independent Constitutional Body in the Constitution. Making references to past promises that were fulfilled helps the party to create a positive image for itself. The NDC are able to convince the electorates that they are a party that fulfills promises. Indicating that the promises were fulfilled is important. This is because politicians make unrealistic promises just to persuade their followers (Matić, 2012). Thus, the party needed to claim its credibility by highlighting that it does not only promise but it delivers.

#### ***Appealing for votes***

In general, manifestoes aim to appeal for votes from electorates. For the NDC, as an incumbent government, they used the manifesto to seek for re-

election or renewal of mandate. This function was realised 3 times in the data, and this represents 1.57%. This is evident in extracts 14 and 15 below:

#### **Extract 14**

The Manifesto is our compact with you, the people of Ghana, and given our record of promising and delivering, we urge you to renew our mandate with a massive vote for the NDC's Presidential and Parliamentary candidates in December 2016.

#### **Extract 15**

As a party, we seek a renewal of the mandate from the people....

As shown in extract 14, the NDC used the manifesto to elicit votes from the electorate. The party felt that their past records merit a renewal of their mandate. In extract 15 also seeks to appeal for votes from the electorate.

#### ***Obligation***

According to Downing (2015), obligation can be thought of as an inescapable duty or requirement, realised by *must*, *have to*, *have got to*, and in a lesser degree by *shall*. *Must* can have the force of a command. In the NDC manifesto, *we+must* is used to express obligation. This occurred 2 times in the manifesto, representing 1.05%. Extracts 16 and 17 below show the realisation of this function:

#### **Extract 16**

We must make it a focal point to promote TVET as a means to brighter prospects and employability.

#### **Extract 17**

We must reverse the concept of TVET as an avenue for school dropouts.

In these extracts that focus on technical and vocational education and training, the party sees it as an obligation to ensure the promotion of TVET in Ghana (extract 16) and to correct the erroneous opinion that TVET is for school dropouts (extract 17).

### ***Recognition, concession, and appreciation***

On the lower side, the pronoun “we” was also used in the NDC manifesto to show recognition, concession, appreciation and express confidence. Recognition occurred 2 times, representing 1.05%, while concession and appreciation each occurred once (0.52%). These are further explained in extracts 18-20 below:

#### **Extract 18**

We recognise that our Transformation Agenda can be implemented more successfully through a public sector that is responsive, efficient and effective.

#### **Extract 19**

While we recognise that a lot has already been done, we also concede that some issues remain to be addressed.

#### **Extract 20**

We give credit to the ingenuity and responsiveness of health workers for effective prevention, management and control of diseases, improved health conditions and better quality of life of citizens.

In extract 18, the NDC makes a recognition that their agenda can be implemented through an effective public sector. In extract 19, the party conceded that there were some problems, they had achieved a lot. In extract 20, the manifesto gives credit to health workers for ensuring quality of life of

the people. Having discussed the functions of the pronoun in the NDC manifesto, I now move on to the NPP manifesto, which will be the subject of the next sub-section.

### *Functions of we in the NPP manifesto*

In this section, I examine the functions of the pronoun in the NPP manifesto. The discourse functions as well as their relative frequencies and percentages are presented in Table 2 below:

**Table 2: Frequency of occurrence of functions in the NPP manifesto**

<b>Function</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
Intention	89 (81.65%)
Recognition	7 (6.42%)
Self-praise	4 (3.67%)
Criticism	4 (3.67%)
Commitment	2 (1.83%)
Belief	2 (1.83%)
Past achievement	1 (0.92%)
Total	109 (100%)

### *Intentions*

Aims and intentions constitute the function with the highest frequency of occurrence in the NPP manifesto. Specifically, this function recorded 89 occurrences, representing 81.65%. Political parties normally express their aims and intentions in manifestoes. In the NPP manifesto, these are communicated with the modal auxiliary verbs, *will* and *shall*, as well as the lexical verbs, *aim*, *intend* and *plan*. Figure 6 shows a screenshot of how *aim* was used to communicate party intentions.



2	lass teachers at the highest level.	We aim to demystify mathematics	NPP 2016 MAI
3	kforce of an industrialized Ghana.	We aim to dispel the notion that th	NPP 2016 MAI
4	pedited and focused attention, as	we aim to grow rapidly this econor	NPP 2016 MAI
5	urselfes and the people of Ghana.	We aim to restore hope and to get	NPP 2016 MAI
6	ualifications from our institutions.	We aim to shift the structure and c	NPP 2016 MAI

Figure 6: A screenshot showing we+aim expressing intention in

#### NPP manifesto

As seen in Figure 6, the party aims to make the country mathematic friendly (line 2), to dispel the notion that technical education institutions are for school drop outs (line 3), to grow the economy (line 4), restore hope and relieve hardship of the people (line 5) and reform the educational system (line 6). In addition, *intend* was also used to express the intentions of the NPP. This is evident in Figure 7 below:

32	itic poultry industry. • Cassava:	We intend to encourage the farmir	NPP 2016 MAI
33	ved vigour, honesty and integrity.	We intend to ensure that public fu	NPP 2016 MAI
34	nt against corruption. To this end,	we intend to establish, by an Act c	NPP 2016 MAI
35	is key to transforming our nation.	We intend to focus on a balanced	NPP 2016 MAI
36	nd efficiency. e. Mechanization	We intend to pursue a policy of mk	NPP 2016 MAI

Figure 7: A screenshot showing we+intend expressing intention in

#### NPP manifesto

In Figure 7, the party intends to encourage large scale cultivation of casava (line 32), judicious spending of public funds (line 33), establishment Office of Special Prosecutor (line 34), balanced development (line 35) and mechanization of agriculture (line 36).

Compared to the NDC, the NPP relied more on expressions of intention. This is because, having being in opposition for eight years, they would not have fresh achievements to tell the electorates. As a result, it was necessary for them to rely more on their intentions in order to persuade the electorates to vote in their favour. This finding accords with the observation that party manifestoes express the intentions of the party (Bojabotseha, 2014).

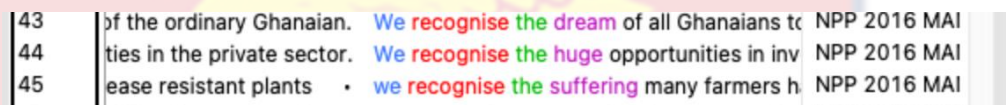
Generally, through manifestoes, political parties make their intentions known to the electorates. In the case of the NPP, since it was not the incumbent party at 2016, the party acknowledged that its past achievements may not be sufficient to win the elections; thus, it elicits more votes by making its intentions known to the electorate. This is in agreement with Benoit's (1999) view that declaration of plans is an essential part of campaign discourse. Other campaign genres such as manifesto launch speeches have also been reported to contain expressions of party intentions (Afful & Gyasi, 2020).

In the NPP manifesto, *we+will/shall* patterns constitute a significant means of expressing party intentions. According to Quirk et al. (1973), these pattern is used to express a colourless, neutral future. The use of these patterns to express intention in party manifestoes have been extensively reported in the literature. Ehineni (2014) notes that these modal auxiliary verbs are used by political parties to express their futuristic plans to the electorates in order to persuade them to vote in their favour.

Nartey and Yankson (2014) and Aning (2020) have also reported that these modals were used to express intention in the 2012 manifesto of the NPP and the 2016 NDC manifesto respectively. They noted that *will* is especially used to express strong intention. Therefore, the use of "we + will" to express intentions and promises in the manifestoes analysed highlights the strong intention of the parties to deliver their mandates when given the power. Ehineni (2014) also notes that these modal auxiliary verbs are used by political parties to express their futuristic plans to the electorates in order to persuade them to vote in their favour.

### *Recognition*

This category is used to express awareness of something. In the manifesto, it was realised by the patterns, *we+recognize* (3 occurrences), *we+acknowledge* (2 occurrences), *we+know* (2 occurrences), *we +appreciate* (1 occurrence), and *we+understand* (1 occurrence). In general, this function recorded 7 occurrences, representing 6.42%. This is further explained in Figure 8 below:



43	of the ordinary Ghanaian. We recognise the dream of all Ghanaians to	NPP 2016 MAI
44	ties in the private sector. We recognise the huge opportunities in inv	NPP 2016 MAI
45	ease resistant plants • we recognise the suffering many farmers h	NPP 2016 MAI

Figure 8: A screenshot showing *we+recognise* in the NPP manifesto

The NPP is aware of the dream of Ghanaians to own a home (line 43), they recognize the opportunities in investing in software (line 44), and they recognize the suffering of farmers (line 45). Ideally, this shows that the NPP were aware of the challenges that the people had. With this awareness, they could solve the problems when given the chance.

### *Self-Praise*

Self-praise is a “verbal behaviour that promotes the speaker, alternatively called ‘bragging’, ‘boasting’” (Dayter, 2021). In political discourse, this can be used to promote an individual speaker or an entire political party (Osisanwo, 2021). In the present study, the focus is on the political party rather than the individual.

In the NPP manifesto, a significant number of the pronoun, *we*, were used to praise the NPP party and its policies. The policies are presented as the best and the people presented as having good character and the capacity to

manage the affairs of the nation. This function recorded 4 occurrences, representing 3.67%. This is illustrated by extracts 21 and 22 below:

**Extract 21**

We have an excellent team of men and women who are ready and eager to serve our beloved Ghana.

**Extract 22**

We have a well-thought out programme, and we have a track record of good performance in government

In extracts 21 and 22, the exclusive pronouns are in bold. As can be seen, in extract 21, the party mentioned having “an excellent team of men and women who are ready and eager to serve our beloved Ghana.” This shows that the personnel of the party are not only the best, but are also ready to serve the nation. In extract 22, it is indicated that the programmes came out of thoughtful considerations. In addition, the party is credited with having a track record of good governance.

Ideally, the NPP as an opposition party at that time would not have much achievements to rely on. Thus, they rather resort to self-praise as a way of telling the electorates that they present a better alternative. This finding agrees with the findings of some previous studies (Afful & Gyesei, 2019; Benoit, 1999; Kyerewaa-Owusu, 2017; Sarfo-Kantakah, 2021). In particular, in his analysis of the key concepts in the manifestoes of the NPP and NDC, Sarfo-Kantakah (2021) found that NPP relied on giving credibility to their candidate.



### *Commitments*

Like the NDC, the NPP also expressed commitment in their manifesto. This is evident in extracts 23 and 24 below:

#### **Extract 23**

We remain firmly committed to our membership of ECOWAS, the African Union (AU), NEPAD, La Francophonie, the Commonwealth and the UN.

#### **Extract 24**

We are committed to promoting and leveraging the efforts of the scientific community to help transform the economy into a production-based one.

In extract 23, the party show commitment to membership of international bodies such as the Economic Community of West African States, the African Union, and the British Commonwealth. On the other hand, extract 24 reports the party showing commitment relying on science to transform the conomy.

Commitment takes a central place in Speech Act Theory, where it is conceptualized as an obligation which amounts to promising (Searle, 1969). Commitments, thus, involves undertakings that are not easy to reverse, since they amount to promising (Agyekum, 2013). According to Alston (2000), commitment involves taking a normative stance towards an utterance. This means that a person who makes a commitment positions himself towards the possibility of censure, correction or the likes if the conditions are not satisfied.

On the functions of “commitment” in party manifestoes, Pearce (2014, p. 37) notes that it shows “a discourse of modern management, of the sort found in texts like the so-called ‘mission statements’ of large organisations,”

indicating “a rhetorical shift in the presentation of the nature of the relationship between a party and the electorate, and also a party and its own policies.” Thus, in the context of the present study, the use of such collocations in the manifestoes project the manifesto as the mission statement of the NDC.

They constitutively generate for the speaker an obligation to keep his or her promise, without which obligation no promise is made (Salgueiro, 2010). Commitments give the electorates a strong basis to demand accountability from the political party (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2021). In his study of the promises in presidential campaigns in 2008 Ghanaian general elections, Agyekum (2013) found that each aspirant expressed some sense of high confidence and commitment and claimed to be a better candidate than the others.

#### *Beliefs*

Political parties have ideologies which are sometimes presented as beliefs. As the manifesto serves as the mouthpiece of the party, the NPP mentioned some of its beliefs in the 2016 manifesto. This is illustrated in extracts 25 and 26 below:

#### **Extract 25**

We believe it is time to tackle this problem and break the myth about the fear of mathematics in our education system and in our country.

#### **Extract 26**

The NPP will strengthen the participation of the Missions in the Mission- founded schools. We believe this will ensure the return of discipline and moral upbringing to our schools.

In extract 25, the party believes in taking away the fear associated with mathematics. Also, in extract 26, the NPP believe partnership with the Missions in running educational institutions will instill discipline in the schools.

There is research pointing to the fact that beliefs are ideologies. For instance, Erikson and Tedin (2003) define ideology as a “set of beliefs about the proper order of society and how it can be achieved” (p. 64). Similarly, Eagleton (1991) generalises the conception of ideology as “the general material processes of production of ideas, beliefs, and values in social life” which comprise “the whole complex of signifying practices and symbolic processes in a particular society” (p. 46). Molek-Kozakowska (2011) relates it “to generalized systems of beliefs that control and organize more specific mental representations of the social world, which are routinely employed, and thus detectable, in various cultural practices of which discourse is a prominent example” (p. 35). This finding thus supports the observation that party manifestoes contain party ideologies and ideas (Ehineni, 2014).

### *Criticism*

Political parties, especially when they are in opposition, take it upon themselves to criticize the incumbent government. They tend to blame the problems of the nation on the incumbent government. This is evident in the NPP manifesto, exemplified in extracts 27 and 28:

#### **Extract 27**

The question is, what could have gone so wrong to bring us to our current state or situation? We are honestly convinced and strongly

insist that this is due to the mismanagement, incompetence and corruption of the Mahama-led NDC government.

### **Extract 28**

Ghana, our dear country, is at the crossroads. We find ourselves in a messy economic and social crisis. About eight years ago, no one would have imagined that Ghana could slip down this much from being one of the fastest growing economies in the world to a highly indebted and a highly distressed country.

In extract 27, the NPP blame the problems of the nation on the mismanagement of the economy by the Mahama-led NDC government. Similarly, in extract 28, the NPP blames the “messy economic and social crisis” on the NDC, indicating that things were better during the previous NPP government. These criticisms illustrate negative campaigning. By doing this, the NPP juxtaposes themselves against their opponents, realizing an instance of *Us versus Them* dichotomy within van Dijk’s (1998) ideological square.

According to Mayer (1996, p. 446), “[i]f candidates are free to portray themselves as leaders or deep thinkers or good managers or highly moral, then their opponents should be free to contest these claims”. This implies that Mayer does not consider negative campaigning as a bad thing. In fact, it is imperative for politicians to demonstrate the shortcomings of their opponents. In consonance with this, van Dijk (1997, p. 30) noted that good policies of opponents may “be discredited by ad hominem attacks on opponents, and vice versa, [while] bad policies may be concealed by focussing attention on the good qualities or intentions of those who defend them.” While these



observations may seem valid, Sarfo-Kantankah (2021) has pointed out that in Ghana, such negative campaigning is discouraged.

#### *Past Achievement*

Unlike the NDC who made extensive reference to their past deeds, the NPP made just a single reference to their past achievements in the manifesto.

This is illustrated below:

#### **Extract 29**

We constructed the second phase, and we will complete the third phase of the 37 Military Hospital project, as well as upgrade its equipment to meet modern medical challenges.

Here, the party makes reference to the construction of the 37 Military Hospital. Even here, it appears the party referred to it because of the intention of completing it when given the mandate. Given that the NPP were in opposition at that time, they would not have enough achievements to acclaim, since reliance of past achievements is often done by incumbent parties (Pearce, 2014).

#### **The Pronoun and Levels of Ideological Commitment**

To answer the second research question which focuses on the levels of ideological commitment invested in the propositions containing the pronoun in focus, I examined each of the sentences for elements of modality. Strong epistemic modality means high commitment, median epistemic modality means median commitment and low epistemic modality means low commitment. Table 3 below presents the frequency distribution of levels of ideological commitment in the data analysed.

**Table 3: Frequency distribution of levels of ideological commitment**

Level of commitment	NDC	NPP
<i>High</i>	7 (7.07%)	5 (5.81%)
<i>Median</i>	87 (87.88%)	80 (93.02%)
<i>Low</i>	5 (5.05%)	1(1.16%)
Total	99 (100.00%)	86 (100.00)

As shown in Table 3, median commitment has the highest levels of occurrence in both NDC (87.9%) and NPP (93.02%) manifestoes. This shows that these parties were not fully committed to the policies and programmes proposed in the manifestoes.

Table 4 below shows the expressions used in expressing the various degrees of commitment in the data.

**Table 4: Commitment expressions found in the manifestoes**

Level of Commitment	NDC	NPP
<b>High</b>	Must (5) Deeply (1) Confident (1)	Need to (2) Honestly (1) Strongly (1) Firmly (1)
<b>Median</b>	will (76) shall (4) Believe (7)	Will (61) shall (15) Believe (2) are to (2)
<b>Low</b>	can (4) could (1)	can (1)

As can be seen from Table 4 above, the NDC expressed high commitment using *must*, *deeply* and *confident* while *need to*, *honestly*, *strongly* and *firmly* were used to express high commitment in the NPP manifesto. Also, *will*, *shall* and *believe* were used as median commitment expressions in the NDC manifesto while in the NPP manifesto, *will*, *shall* and

*are to* were used. Finally, *can* and *could* expressed low commitment in the NDC manifesto while *can* was used for low commitment in the NPP manifesto. These levels of ideological commitment are discussed in detail below.

### ***Hight Commitment***

This section presents a discussion on the realisations of high ideological commitment in the data. Essentially, linguistic elements such as modal verbs, adverbs, and adjectives were used to communicate high commitment in the data. In what follows, these are discussed, starting with modal auxiliary verbs.

Essentially, the modals *must*, *ought to*, *need to*, and *have/had to* are used to express high commitment (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). High commitment is expressed epistemically, indicating a high degree of the speaker's certainty of what is being said. In the data analysed, *must* and *need to* were used in the NDC and NPP manifestoes respectively. In the NDC manifesto, this is how this modal verb was used to show high ideological commitment:

#### **Extract 30**

We must make it a focal point to promote TVET as a means to brighter prospects and employability.

#### **Extract 31**

We must reverse the concept of TVET as an avenue for school dropouts.

As indicated, the pattern *we+must*, occurs two times in the NDC manifesto.

As seen from Extracts 30 and 31, it is clear that the NDC are highly committed

to promoting technical and vocational education and training in Ghana. The NDC's high ideological commitment to technical and vocational education has a long history, dating as far back as 1987, when Jerry John Rawlings, the then Head of State, revised the education curriculum under a committee headed by Evans Anform. The committee aimed to "vocalize the education system by shifting focus from an academic orientated field to a more practical and technological environment" (Adu-Gyamfi, Donkoh & Anim Addo, 2016, p. 168). Palmer (2009) have also agreed that the NDC have prioritized technical and vocational education in Ghana.

It is not that the NPP did not use *must* in the manifesto. In the NPP manifesto, the modal, *must*, is used. However, it occurs in passive structures, avoiding giving obligations to the logical subject. This point is illustrated with extract 32 and 33 below:

**Extract 32**

Our children, and young people, must be equipped with the knowledge, skills, and aptitudes that would enable them compete with the best in the world

**Extract 33**

For the country to make strides in its development, science, technology and innovation must be essential elements in all aspects of the national development process.

Extracts 32 and 33 exemplify how the modal, *must*, was used in structures to avoid giving modal responsibility to the party. Extract 3, for instance, raises this question: who are to equip the young ones with knowledge



and skills? Using the active structure “We must equip our children, and young people with the knowledge, skills, and aptitudes...” would place responsibility on the party. It will make them committed to the proposition so they used the passive structure to avoid such commitment. Similarly, Extract 33 gives the subject role to non-human entities “science, technology and innovation” rather than making it “We must make science, technology and innovation essential elements in all aspects of the national development process”.

This finding agrees with the opinion of Liu (2022) that interpersonally, passive voice serves as a means of evading responsibility and commitment in political discourse. This finding also agrees with other previous studies in the area of critical discourse analysis which have concluded that passive structures are used in political discourse with the ideological intent to avoid being committed to the information given (Fairclough, 1989, 2003; Kazemian & Hashemi, 2014). In addition, Omotunde and Akinwotu (2018) concurs that “politicians may employ passive clauses to make statements to which they may not be committed” (p. 106).

While the NDC used the modal verb, *must*, to express high ideological commitment, the NPP used the semi-modal, *need to*. The NPP’s expression of high ideological commitment using this semi-modal is evident in Figure 9 below:

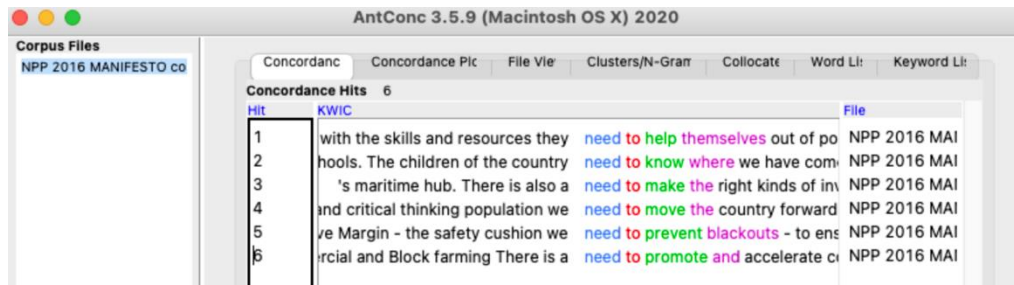


Figure 9: A screenshot showing we+need to in the NPP manifesto

Hits numbers 4 and 5 indicate the use of *we+need to* in the data. Hit 4 indicates the party's commitment to move the country forward while number 5 shows the party's high commitment to prevent blackouts in Ghana. The NDC administration was characterized by blackouts (i.e., what came to be known as *dumsor*), which disrupted the operation of many industries and businesses. Thus, the NDC were criticized for being incompetent to solve the blackout problem. In view of this, the NPP were, thus, showing that they were committed to solving the problem.

Apart from the modal verbs, modal adverbs were also used to express high ideological commitment in the data. Adverbs used to reinforce the truth of an utterance are called emphasisers. Emphasisers are, thus, a subtype of subjuncts concerned with expressing intensifying the commitment invested in the content of the statement (Quirk et al., 1983, p. 583). As they reinforce the truth, they express strong epistemic modality. Their use presupposes a common ground which is undisputable and supposedly shared by all sides, which comes in handy in political discourse. Extracts 34 and 35 show the realisation of high commitment using a combination of the pronoun and an adverb:

**Extract 34**

We are deeply committed to continuing the good work of the past four years [NDC]

**Extract 35**

We are *honestly* convinced and *strongly insist* that this is due to the mismanagement, incompetence and corruption of the Mahama-led NDC government. [NPP]

**Extract 36**

We remain *firmly* committed to our membership of ECOWAS, the African Union (AU), NEPAD, La Francophonie, the Commonwealth and the UN. [NPP]

In Extract 34, NDC shows a high ideological commitment to continuing the work that they had done. In Extract 35, NPP shows a strong commitment to blame the country's economic problems on the NDC. In Extract 35, the NPP show high commitment to membership of international bodies. The NPP's ideological blaming of the NDC agrees with the extant literature that explains that the challenger or opposition parties tend to criticize the policies of incumbent parties, suggesting that the incumbent betrayed the electorates by failing to deliver on the promises (Afful & Gyasi, 2020; Benoit, 1999; Mensah et al., 2018). This finding also echoes the findings of previous studies that have also concluded that modal adverbs show high levels of commitment in political discourse (e.g., Al-Rashady, 2012; Simon-Vandenberg, 1997).

In addition, adjectives were used to express high ideological commitment. This was evident in the NDC manifesto, though it occurred in just one instance. This is shown in Extract 37 below:

**Extract 37**

...we are *confident* that the good people of Ghana will continue to repose confidence in the stewardship of John Dramani Mahama and our Parliamentary Candidates, who will help deliver on the commitments in this Manifesto.

In Extract 37 above, the use of *confident* shows that the party is committed to the information expressed in the clause. This modal adjective expresses certainty rather than likelihood. Its use, therefore, invests a high degree of commitment in the proposition expressed. According to Hardjanto and Mazia (2019), the certainty adjective, *confident*, states strong certainty and shows the speaker's high engagement. Thus, this adjective possesses a positive meaning, which can inspire the audience and boost their confidence.

This section has discussed the expression of high ideological commitment in the data. From the analysis, it is evident, among other things, that the NDC is strongly committed to promoting technical and vocational education in Ghana, while the NPP is highly committed to ending blackouts in Ghana. This ideological commitment was expressed with the use of modal and semi-modal verbs as well as adverbs and adjectives. In the next sub-section, I focus the analysis on median ideological commitment.

***Median Commitment***

This sub-section discusses the realisation of median commitment in the data. The data revealed that median commitment was expressed with modal verbs, as well as some lexical verbs, in particular, *believe*. These are discussed in detail, starting with the modal verb, *will*.



In the NDC manifesto, the pattern, *we+will*, recorded 76 hits. Since *will* is used to indicate future actions, an analysis of will could reveal the party's ideological commitment towards what they intend to do. Figure 10 shows a screenshot of the use of *we+will* to show median commitment in the NDC manifesto.

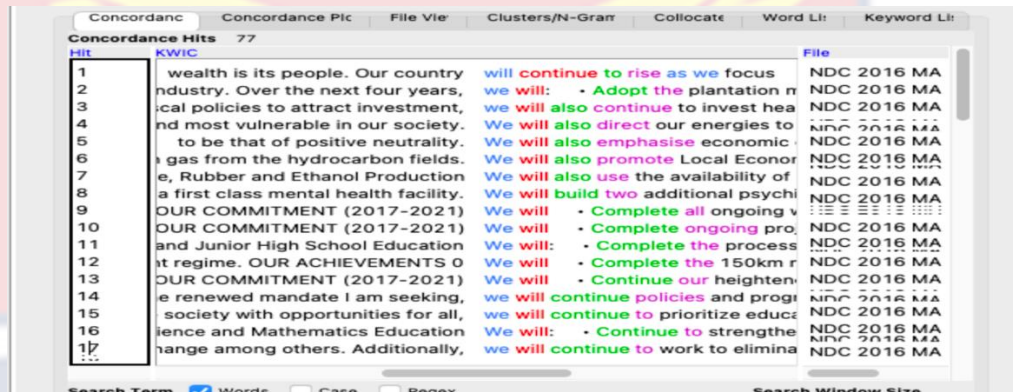


Figure 10: The use of we + will to express median commitment in the NDC manifesto

An analysis of the concordance lines of the pattern reveals that the focus of what the party intends to do involves the provision of support for the private sector, adherence to democratic principles, education, and job creation.

With regard to the first, the relationship between the government and the private sector, the party manifesto of the NDC presents the private sector as a sector that needs government support in order to function effectively. In this regard, the manifesto highlights government's efforts to provide the needed support to the private sector, as shown in the extracts below:

#### Extract 38

We will continue to invest heavily in agriculture, manufacturing and mining to provide support to the private sector. [NDC WEWILLL 8]

**Extract 39**

we will institute mechanisms that will significantly lower the cost of credit and position the private sector to play its role in the Transformation Agenda. [NDC WEWILL 11]

**Extract 40**

We will rationalize the fiscal space, especially the tariff regimes to ensure that taxation and other tariffs are instruments of industrial development and trade facilitation so that, supported by government, the private sector can become the engine of employment creation, enhanced incomes, growth and wealth creation. [NDC WEWILL 13]

**Extract 41**

Based on the increased thermal power generation, we will support the private sector to undertake exploitation and refining of the massive iron ore deposits at Oppon Manso in the Western Region, Sheini in the Northern Region, Pudo in the Upper West Region and Kyebi in the Eastern Region.

The extracts above show the relationship between the government and the private sector as evident in the 2016 NDC manifesto. In extract 38, emphasis is laid on government support for the private sector. Similarly, in extract 39, the support the government will give the private sector will enable the sector to contribute effectively to the party's transformational agenda. Similarly, extract 40 highlights the party's motive of supporting the private sector. Here, the emphasis is on job creation and wealth creation. A similar emphasis on government support for the private sector is seen in extract 41. This emphasis on the support for private sector is in line with the NDC social

democratic ideology, which aims at ensuring that the state draws on private initiatives for the benefit of the vulnerable and marginalized (Osei, 2013, p. 550).

Apart from the focus on the government's support for the private sector, the manifesto also emphasises promotion of democratic principles. This ideological grounding in the principles of democracy arises from the fact that the NDC was the party that led the country to democracy in the Fourth Republic of Ghana. Extract 42-45 below show the party's ideology in principles of democracy:

**Extract 42**

we will not renege on our commitment to continuously promote the rule of law, the fight against corruption and graft, tolerance, pluralism, national security and cohesion.

**Extract 43**

we will continue policies and programmes and introduce new initiatives that are consistent with our key social democratic principle of equitable development.

**Extract 44**

To this end, we will continue to work towards building a free and just society where free speech is cherished and encouraged.

**Extract 45**

We will continue and scale up the implementation of the 'Justice for All' programme.

Extracts 42-45 above show the party's intended activities aimed at promoting democratic principles. In extract 42, the emphasis is on rule of law, fighting

against corruption, tolerance, pluralism, national security, and cohesion. In extract 43, the party highlights equitable development as a social democratic principle. Also, in extract 44, the party intends to build a society where justice and freedom of speech will be promoted. Similarly, justice is emphasised in extract 45. Overall, all these extracts show how the NDC believe in the promotion of democratic principles, such as equitable development. These principles are in line with the core values of social democracy, as noted by Hattersley and Hickson (2011) that social democracy function to promote freedom, equity and fundamental rights of citizens.

Another important aspect of the party's median ideological commitment concerns the educational sector. Given the importance of education to the development of every country, it is just expected that the party makes education-related promises in the manifesto. However, what is interesting about the education-related promises is the party's emphasis on technical and vocational education as well as the linkages between education and industry, as shown in the extracts below:

**Extract 46**

We will improve linkage between TVET and industry

**Extract 47**

We will establish a unit under the National Council for Tertiary Education (NCTE) to coordinate interventions for linking tertiary education to industry;

**Extract 48**

We will re-establish Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET) as an enviable profession



Extracts 46-48 show the party's median commitment to educational ideology. In extract 46, it is evident that the emphasis is on the connection between technical and vocational education and industry. A similar focus is seen in extract 47, where the party promised to establish a unit to ensure that there is a creation of some linkages between tertiary education and industry. Extract 48 also focuses on technical and vocational education.

The analysis also reveals the party's median ideological commitment to job creation. From the analysis, it is evident that the party's ideology sees job creation as the responsibility of the government. The following extracts illustrate this point:

**Extract 49**

we will continue to create more 'digital jobs' for the 'digital youth' through a comprehensive ICT training programme for the youth;

**Extract 50**

we will upscale the production of sugar from 7,000mt to 20,000mt to create 20,000 additional jobs and situate Ghana as a net exporter of sugar;

**Extract 51**

We will strengthen and expand the operations of MASLOC to create over three hundred thousand (300,000) jobs by continuing the implementation of the following:

**Extract 52**

We will establish an e-waste recycling plant at Agboghloshie to provide employment and protect e-waste scrap dealers from hazardous material

Extracts 49-52 illustrate the party's intention to create jobs for the populace. In extract 49, mention is made of the creation of 'digital jobs' for the 'digital youth'. In extract 50, the party highlights its intention to create 20,000 jobs for the populace. Similarly, extract 51 indicates that the party intends to create 300,000 jobs, and extract 52 focuses on the party's intention to provide employment through the establishment of e-waste recycling plant. With this, it is clear that the party's policies are mostly geared towards the creation of jobs for the people.

In the NPP manifesto, *we+will* occurs 61 times. Given this high frequencies, it is significant to examine what the political party will do. This involves the examination of their collocates. The collocates of *we+will* are as shown in Figure 11 below:

Rank	Freq	Freq(L)	Freq(R)	Stat	Collocate
1	62	1	61	5.12305	will
2	40	15	25	2.12803	the
3	30	20	10	2.32686	and
4	25	17	8	3.19154	in
5	7	0	7	4.77710	also
6	10	3	7	2.28045	a
7	6	0	6	2.96225	on
8	14	9	5	1.74368	to
9	6	1	5	4.55471	support
10	5	1	4	2.51689	with
11	4	0	4	5.51032	focus
12	4	0	4	2.95852	an
13	3	0	3	4.51032	work
14	3	0	3	1.79982	that
15	7	4	3	2.96975	our
16	18	15	3	1.83134	of
17	3	0	3	4.69673	establish
18	4	1	3	4.51032	develop
19	3	0	3	4.26931	create
20	3	0	3	5.09528	build
21	3	1	2	2.98486	their
22	2	0	2	4.88229	take
23	2	0	2	4.79982	strengthen
24	4	2	2	5.06286	small
25	3	1	2	3.82679	provide
26	2	0	2	5.51032	partnership
27	2	0	2	4.96975	measures
28	2	0	2	5.26931	invest
29	2	0	2	5.16239	initiatives
30	2	0	2	4.38479	help
31	3	1	2	4.91086	following
32	2	0	2	2.49402	ensure

Figure 11: Collocates of *we+will* in the NDC manifesto

As shown in Figure 11 above, the lexical verb collocate with the highest frequency is *support*, which occurs five times to the right of *we+will*. Figure 12 below shows the concordance lines indicating the *we+will+support* pattern.



Hit	KWIC	File
1	...or individuals and organisations to <b>support civil society. We will conc</b>	NPP 2016 MAI
2	...ng indigenous and exotic species. <b>We will develop and support</b> small	NPP 2016 MAI
3	...proud of its democratic heritage. <b>We will support democracy</b> and th	NPP 2016 MAI
4	...s symbols of traditional authority, <b>we will support our</b> Chiefs to provi	NPP 2016 MAI
5	...bility of small arms in the country. <b>We will support the</b> Small Arms an	NPP 2016 MAI
6	...peoples, as stated in Agenda 2063. <b>We will support the</b> genuine aspira	NPP 2016 MAI

Figure 12: We+will+support pattern in the NPP manifesto

An examination of the concordance lines shows that the party intends to support democracy (line 3), African developmental objectives (line 6), local governance (line 4), control of small arms and weapons (line 5), and planting in trees in communities (line 1). It is substantial to note that two of these focus on democracy and governance, as shown in extract 53 below.

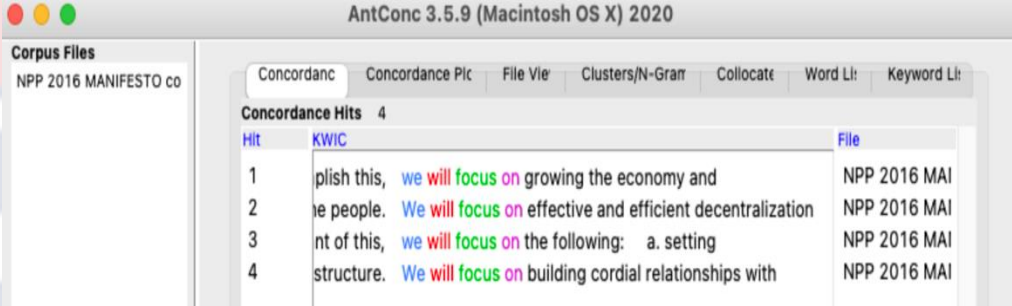
### Extract 53

The NPP is proud of its democratic heritage. **We will support** democracy and the growing trend towards democratisation in all parts of the world, especially in Africa. The NPP will support the strengthening of democratic governance, the rule of law, civil rights and political freedoms everywhere.

As Extract 53 shows, the NPP ideology preaches democracy. They focus on the growing needs of democracy across Africa, rule of law, civil rights and political freedom. This finding supports Sarfo-Kantankah's (2021) observation that the NPP consider themselves as promoters of liberal democratic principles

such as rule of law. However, the use of “support” does not suggest a full commitment to this ideology. “Support” creates an ambiguity which may suggest either taking full responsibility or just a partial responsibility. Thus, its use in this context does not necessarily suggest a commitment to issues of democracy.

Another important lexical verb collocate of *we+will* is *focus*, which recorded 4 occurrences. Figure 13 shows a screenshot of the concordance lines displaying “focus” as a collocate of *we+will*.



Hit	KWIC	File
1	plish this, <b>we will focus on</b> growing the economy and	NPP 2016 MAI
2	the people. <b>We will focus on</b> effective and efficient decentralization	NPP 2016 MAI
3	ment of this, <b>we will focus on</b> the following: a. setting	NPP 2016 MAI
4	structure. <b>We will focus on</b> building cordial relationships with	NPP 2016 MAI

Figure 13: A screenshot of concordance lines of *we+will+focus* pattern in the NPP manifesto

The party focuses on issues of economic development and wealth creation (line 1) as well as decentralisation and grassroots participation (line 2) and involving youth and sports (lines 3 and 4). This is further exemplified in extract 54 below:

#### Extract 54

To accomplish this, we will focus on growing the economy and creating wealth and prosperity for the vast majority of Ghanaians through private sector empowerment.

This focus on wealth creation is in line with the “property owning” democracy principles of the party. With this, the ideology of the NPP can be described as a neoliberal one (Obeng-Odoom, 2013). According to Harvey (2006, p. 25),



fundamentally, neo-liberal states aim at creating a friendly environment to promote businesses. This will ensure employment and wealth creation for the people.

Other important verb collocates include *develop*, *create*, and *build*

(each recorded 3 occurrences to the right). This is shown in Figure 14 below:

Rank	Freq	Freq(L)	Freq(R)	Stat	Collocate
3	25	0	25	5.28276	a
4	14	0	14	4.03542	in
5	14	0	14	6.44626	an
6	11	0	11	8.30221	jobs
7	11	0	11	4.38164	for
8	10	0	10	2.93864	to
9	8	0	8	2.34179	of
10	6	0	6	4.46031	with
11	6	0	6	7.48021	opportunities
12	5	0	5	4.16470	our
13	5	0	5	6.35735	new
14	5	0	5	7.80213	implement
15	5	0	5	7.57974	environment
16	4	0	4	2.84923	will
17	4	0	4	9.32820	enabling
18	4	0	4	6.65013	collaboration
19	4	0	4	3.80464	as
20	3	0	3	6.65013	trade
21	3	0	3	5.32820	through
22	3	0	3	3.48021	that
23	3	0	3	4.12657	sector
24	3	0	3	8.23509	prosperity
25	3	0	3	4.82570	private
26	3	0	3	6.14763	policies
27	3	0	3	6.77566	modern
28	3	0	3	7.23509	market
29	3	0	3	6.53465	job
30	3	0	3	5.45373	into
31	3	0	3	8.65013	inland
32	3	0	3	7.91317	fair
33	3	0	3	5.80883	energy

Figure 14: A screenshot showing other important collocates of we+will

An examination of the collocates of the verb shows that the party is interested in creating jobs (line 6 and 29), opportunities (line 11), creating an enabling environment (lines 15 and 17), collaboration (line 18), private sector (line 25), and prosperity (line 24).

#### Extract 55

We will create jobs and prosperity through our Integrated Infrastructure Development Programme.

#### Extract 56

We will build a democratic, open and fair society with the following characteristics:

- i. a prosperous population with a high quality of life
- ii. a stable, peaceful and firmly united nation
- iii. an efficient machinery of good governance with strong institutions
- iv. a well-educated population that strives for excellence, and
- v. a competitive economy that is capable of producing sustainable growth, jobs and shared benefits for all.

Here too the ideological standing of the party in job creation and prosperity is highlighted. In extract 55, the focus is on job creation and prosperity through the Integrated Development Programme. In extract 56, the focus on building a democratic society that will promote prosperity of the citizens.

The political ideology of the NPP is that it is a capitalist party and believes in privatization, rule of law, and democracy. They also believe that micro-economic stability can be achieved through fiscal prudence, low inflation rate, and low bank interest rates. Creating an enabling environment for the private sector to flourish is the only way to encourage the growth of dynamic private sector and create wealth, because it is only the private sector that can engineer national progress and prosperity (NPP manifesto: 2008).

Another important collocate that could reveal the ideological standing of the parties is *we+shall*. Figure 15 shows the realisation of *we+shall* pattern in the NDC manifesto.

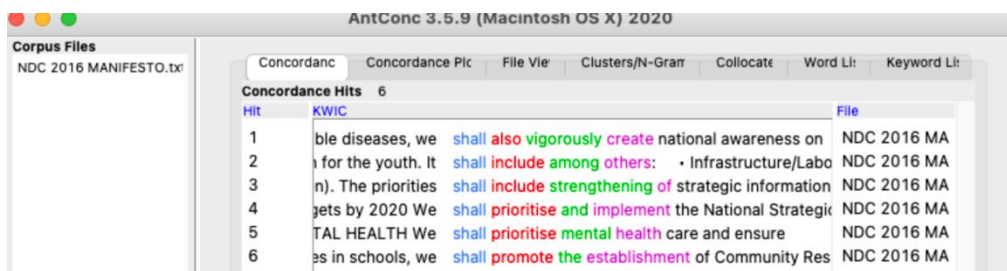


Figure 15: Concordance lines showing the we+shall pattern in the NDC manifesto

As shown in Figure 15, the NDC focuses on creation awareness on disease prevention (line 1), implementation of the National Strategic Plan 2016-2020 on HIV/AIDS) (line 4), prioritizing mental health (line 5) and establishment of Community Residence Health Teams in school. This shows that, generally, the NDC expressed median commitment towards health-related issues.

In the NPP manifesto, on the other hand, shall expresses median commitment towards education-related issues, focusing specifically on teachers. This is shown in Figure 16 below:

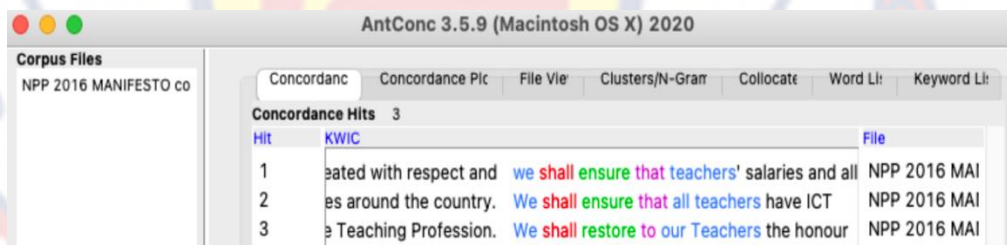
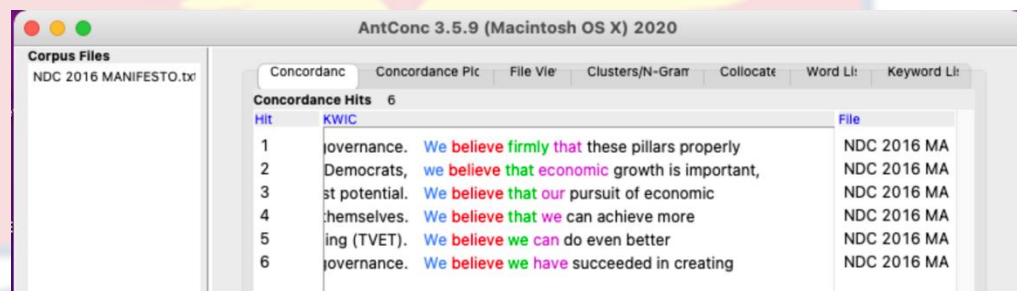


Figure 16: Concordance lines of the we+shall pattern in the NPP manifesto

As shown in the figure above, the focus is on ensuring the timely remuneration of teachers (line 1), teachers’ competence in Information Communication Technology (line 2), and honouring teachers (line 3). Commenting on the use of shall in instances like this, Downing (2015) notes that it expresses a strong meaning which can sometimes be explained as a promise, if the intention if positive. Its use can also express a threat when it comes with a negative

implication. However, as noted by Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), this modal shows median commitment. What this means is that the ideological position expressed here may not be so strong.

Apart from the modal verbs, *will* and *shall*, the lexical verb, *believe*, was also used to show median commitment in the data. Figure 17 shows a screenshot of the concordance lines of *we+believe* in the NDC manifesto.



Hit	KWIC	File
1	governance. We believe firmly that these pillars properly	NDC 2016 MA
2	Democrats, we believe that economic growth is important,	NDC 2016 MA
3	st potential. We believe that our pursuit of economic	NDC 2016 MA
4	themselves. We believe that we can achieve more	NDC 2016 MA
5	ing (TVET). We believe we can do even better	NDC 2016 MA
6	governance. We believe we have succeeded in creating	NDC 2016 MA

Figure 17: Concordance lines showing the *we+believe* pattern in the NDC manifesto

The NDC believes that demovcartic principles can empower both state and non-state actors (line 1). They believe that economic growth does not guarantee job creation (line 2). They believe in strategic investment as a means of economic growth (line 3). They believe that collective efforts can bring more achievements (line 4), and they believe in linking industry with vocational training (line 5). In addition they believe they have laid the foundation for national development (line 6).

For the NPP, the median commitment to educational ideology is expressed with *we+believe*. This occurred only two times in the NPP manifesto, as illustrated in extracts 57 and 58 below:

#### Extract 57

Mathematics has been identified as the bedrock for progress and survival in the modern world. Unfortunately, mathematics has proved



to be a great stumbling block in education in the country. We believe it is time to tackle this problem and break the myth about the fear of mathematics in our education system and in our country.

#### Extract 58

The NPP will strengthen the participation of the Missions in the Mission- founded schools. We believe this will ensure the return of discipline and moral upbringing to our schools.

*We+believe*, which occurred two times, also highlights the party's ideology in education. In extract 57, it is stated that the NPP believes it is time to solve the problems with mathematics education. Similarly, in extract 58, the party believes that the government's collaboration with Missions will instil discipline and morality in the students. *We+believe*, which is used in communicating the party's educational ideology, signifies boosted epistemic commitment to the ideology (Fetzer, 2008). Vulcovic (2014) also notes that *we+believe* signals a stronger epistemic commitment than *we+think*.

*Believe* and *believe in* are treated as the same, with both stating an acceptance that something is true without absolute certainty. According to Hooper (as cited in Palmer, 1986, p. 142), the verb *believe* states non-factivity with weak assertiveness, and is a form of reports of modal judgments. Being non-factive and weak assertive, *believe* shows a degree of engagement in between low and high. Thus, its use in the manifestoes show that the parties were not fully committed to the intentions expressed.

Another way of expressing median commitment is to use *are+to* (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). In the NPP manifesto, the pattern *we+are+to* was used twice. This is shown in extracts 59 and 60 below:

**Extract 59**

There is no real commitment to fighting corruption as the Attorney General's Office either refuses to prosecute or where there have been prosecutions, does so shoddily. We cannot continue along this path if we are to build a secure, peaceful and prosperous society for ourselves and posterity. The NPP and its leadership commit to fighting corruption with renewed vigour, honesty and integrity.

**Extract 60**

The nation must change course if we are to stop job losses, poor management of our energy sector and eliminate the financial burden imposed by government on our utility companies.

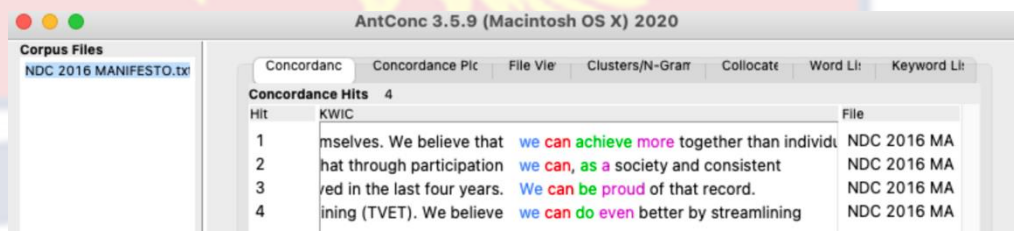
In extract 59, the pattern is used to show the party's median commitment to building a prosperous society for posterity. In extract 60 the median ideological commitment is expressed towards stopping job losses and improper management of the energy sector as well as eliminating the financial burden companies.

This sub-section has focused on expressions of median ideological commitment in the 2016 manifestoes of the NDC and NPP. It is evident that the patterns, *we+will*, *we+shall*, *we+believe*, and *we+are+to* were used to express median ideological commitment in the manifestoes. It is also clear that the NDC expressed median ideological commitment to the provision of support for the private sector, adherence to democratic principles, education, and job creation. For the NPP, they expressed median ideological commitment towards economic development and wealth creation, as well as

decentralisation and grassroots participation, and involving youth and sports. In addition, the NPP expressed median commitment to the welfare of teachers.

### *Low Commitment*

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), low commitment is communicated by modals such as *can*, *may*, *could*, *might*, and *dare*. In the data analysed, *can* was used four times in the NDC manifesto, and this shows that the party is showing a low commitment to what is being said. The concordance lines of the *we+can* patterns is are shown in Figure 18:



Hit	KWIC	File
1	mselves. We believe that we can achieve more together than individu	NDC 2016 MA
2	hat through participation we can, as a society and consistent	NDC 2016 MA
3	ved in the last four years. We can be proud of that record.	NDC 2016 MA
4	ining (TVET). We believe we can do even better by streamlining	NDC 2016 MA

Figure 18: Concordance lines showing the *we+can* pattern in the NDC manifesto

Figure 18 shows the expressions of median commitment in the NDC manifesto.

The party, for instance, expresses low commitment to participation as a means to development (line 2). For the NPP, the low commitment is expressed to nation building, as shown in extract 61 below:

#### **Extract 61**

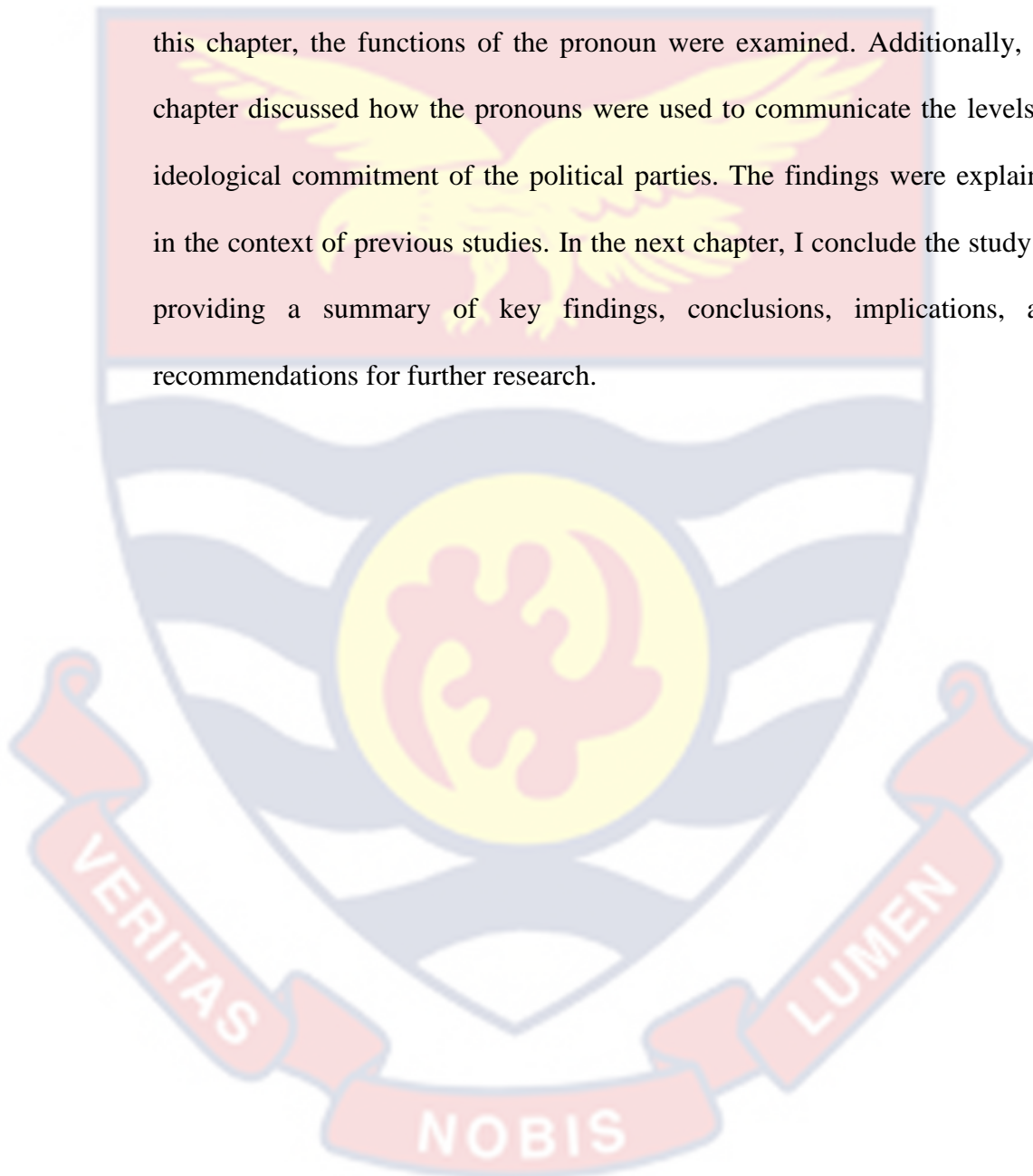
Join me, so together, we can build a country where, if you show up, step up, and work hard, you will have your fair share of its wealth, and be fairly rewarded for your hard work. [NPP]

Extract 61 shows that the NPP expressed low commitment to nation building. This low commitment is intensified by the conditional expression, “if you show up, step up, and work hard”. This means that, if the party fails to ensure

nation building, it can blame the people for not working hard or getting involved in nation building.

### Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented the analysis and discussion of the data. In this chapter, the functions of the pronoun were examined. Additionally, the chapter discussed how the pronouns were used to communicate the levels of ideological commitment of the political parties. The findings were explained in the context of previous studies. In the next chapter, I conclude the study by providing a summary of key findings, conclusions, implications, and recommendations for further research.





## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATION

#### Introduction

The main objective of the present study was to analyse the use of first-person personal pronouns in the 2016 manifestoes of the NDC and the NPP, with the view of revealing the ideological positions of these parties. The preceding chapter presented the analysis and discussion of the data. This chapter presents a summary of the study, key findings, implications, and recommendations for further studies.

#### Summary of the Study

The current study focused on exploring the functions and use of the first-person pronoun, “we,” as well as the levels of commitment it is used to communicate in both the NDC and NPP 2016 presidential elections manifestoes. The study provided answers to the following:

1. What are the discourse functions of “we” in the the NDC and NPP 2016 presidential elections manifestoes?
2. What levels of ideological commitment are evident in the use of the pronouns in the manifestoes?

The study was largely qualitative, complemented by some frequency counts, and it adopted critical discourse analysis as its theoretical framework. With regard to the methodology, the study was backed by corpus linguistics, where AntConc version 3.5.7 was used to support the analysis the data, following the qualitative corpus analysis procedure.

## Key Findings

This section presents the key findings of the study. The key findings are presented in line with the research questions.

In terms of Research Question One, I found that in the NDC manifesto, the pronoun was used to express future intentions. In addition, past and present deeds of the party were projected with this pronoun. Also, the beliefs were expressed with this pronoun. Moreover, it was used to express commitments and past promises as well as obligations. On the other hand, in the NPP manifesto, the pronoun expressed intention, recognition, commitment, beliefs, criticism and self-praise. Crucially, while the NDC focused more on past achievements, the NPP focused on self-praise and criticizing the incumbent administration. With regard to the second research question, it was found that the manifestoes presented promises and intentions with median commitment. This shows that with the exception of a few cases where high commitment was expressed, median commitment was dominant in the manifestoes.

## Implications of the Study

In this section, I discuss the implications of the study. In the first place, this study contributes to critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis has been used for the study of ideology and power in political discourse. The present study contributes to the theory by using it to examine levels of commitment in political party manifestoes in Ghana. This is significant, given that previous CDA studies hardly focused on commitment in political party manifestoes in Ghana.

The present study also has implications for the study of ideology in political discourse. Previous studies on ideology in Ghanaian political

discourse focused on newspapers (Ofori, 2018), presidential inaugural addresses (Ankrah, Dominic & Opoku, 2018), manifestoes (Sarfo-Kantankah, 2021), and campaign speeches (Addy & Ofori, 2020). Thus, the present study extends the study of ideology in by looking at the levels of commitment to ideologies, which hardly featured in previous studies in Ghanaian political discourse.

The present study also contributes to the literature on the use of pronouns in political discourse. I acknowledge that numerous studies exist on the use of pronouns in political discourse (e.g., Bello, 2013; Bramley, 2001; Proctor, Lily & Su, 2011). However, in the case of Ghana, the examination of pronouns only formed an insignificant part of some previous studies with a rather broad focus (e.g., Obeng, 2018). With the focus on the use of first-person pronouns in party manifestoes, the present study adds to such literature.

The study also has methodological implications. In this regard, the present study enjoyed the methodological synergy offered by the combination of critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics. This synergy has proved significant in analysing the pronouns in the manifestoes. In this regard, the present study contributes to previous studies that combined the critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics approaches (e.g., Li & Zhang, 2021; Tang, 2021; Wang, 2018).

### **Recommendations for Further Research**

Based on the analysis and discussions of data and subsequent findings, the following recommendations for further research are made.

Given that the present research only took into consideration the NDC and NPP 2016 manifestoes, it would be useful if other studies would be done

to cover all the manifestoes of these two major political parties in Ghana. This would bring out the evolution of these political parties from the first successful elections in 1992 till date. A similar study may also consider the manifestoes of other political parties, without limiting it to the NDC and NPP.

Also, this study focused exclusively on first-person pronouns. However, there are other kinds of pronouns. Given this limitation of the present study, I recommend that further studies be conducted on the other types of pronouns in political discourse. For example, a study can be conducted on the use of second person or third person pronouns in party manifestoes. Such a study will complement the already existing body of knowledge on pronouns usage in party manifestoes.

### **Chapter Summary**

This chapter is the last chapter of the thesis. It provided a summary of the study. This was followed by key findings. The chapter then drew conclusions based on the key findings. Again, the chapter highlighted the implications of the study. Finally, the chapter recommended areas for further research.



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