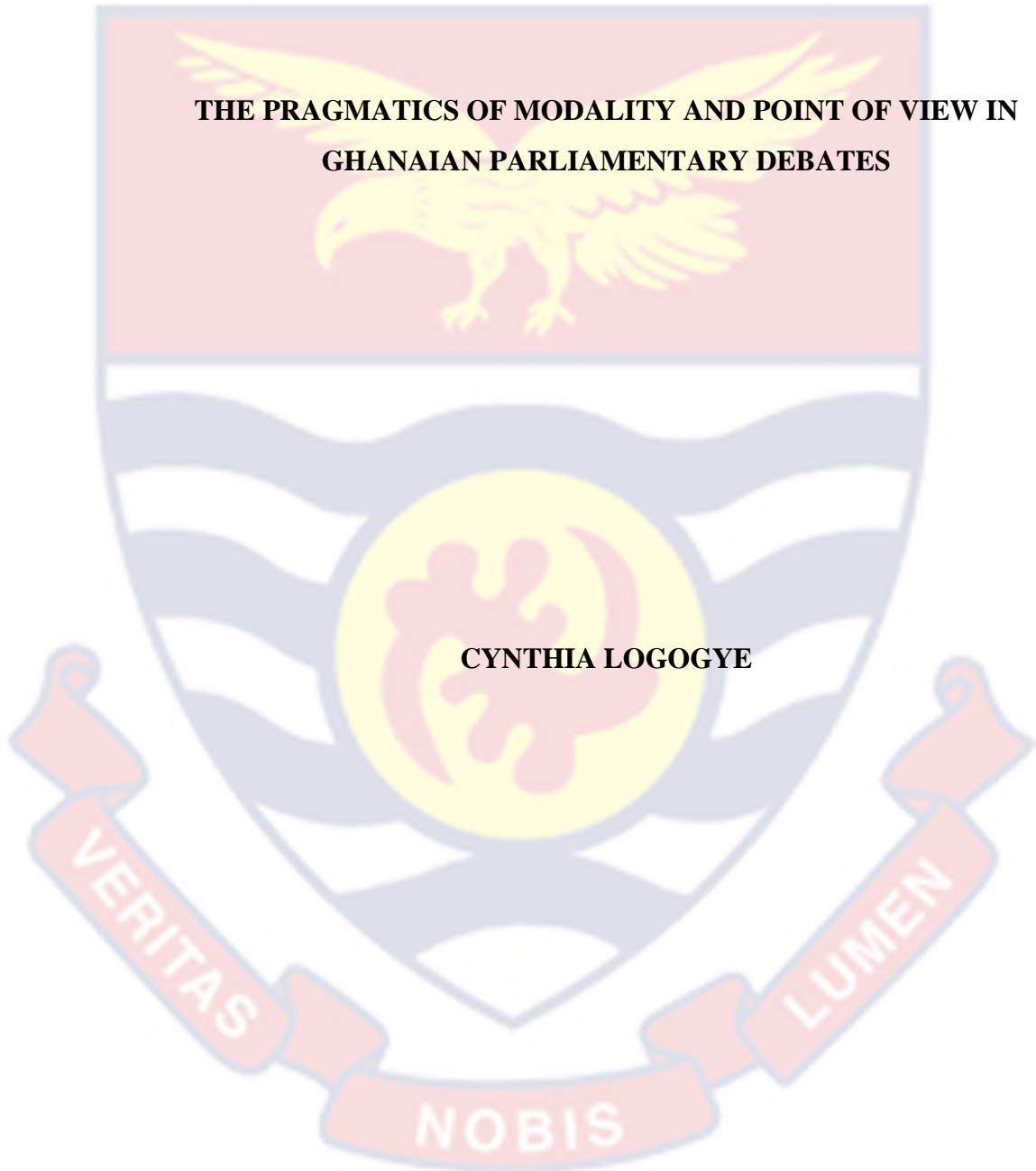© Cynthia Logogye

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UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

THE PRAGMATICS OF MODALITY AND POINT OF VIEW IN GHANAIAN PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

CYNTHIA LOGOGYE

2021

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

THE PRAGMATICS OF MODALITY AND POINT OF VIEW IN PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES IN GHANA

BY

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Thesis submitted to the Department of English of Faculty of Arts, College of Humanities and Legal Studies, University of Cape Coast in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of PhD in English

JULY 2021

DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

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

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

Name: Cynthia Logogye

Supervisors' Declaration

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

Principal Supervisor's Signature…………………………...Date:…………….

Name: Prof. Lawrence Owusu-Ansah

Co-Supervisor's Signature………………………………....Date:…………….

Name: Dr. Isaac Mwinlaaru

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ABSTRACT

The study investigated the role modality plays in reflecting the underlying points of view in parliamentary discourse within the analytical framework of Simpson's (1993) version of modality and point of view and Halliday's (1985) conceptualisation of modal values. The objective was to find out the type of point of view that is expressed, using a particular modal element. The study also investigated how through modality and point of view participants bond around motions; that is, how members align/disalign politically on the floor of parliament. The qualitative design was considered for the study, using 12 Hansards of parliamentary debates within the period of five months, November 2016 to March 2017. In terms of frequency of modal auxiliaries, 'would' was found to be the recurrent choice for expressing modality and point of view. The lexical modal that also dominated the expression of modality and point of view was 'want'. The high-value modals were generally used by speakers to show a high level of commitment and responsibility. The median values were mostly used to hedge and mitigate the force in directives whereas the low-value modals exploited possibility meanings (showing more of the deliberative and democratic nature of parliamentary discourse.) Also, external point of view was found dominant. Both government and opposition MPs used external point of view with deontic and strong epistemic modals to evade personal responsibility. In terms of alignment, members aligned more using deontic and strong epistemic modals than they disalign. These key findings contribute to the scholarship on parliamentary discourse, modality and point of view and have implications for further research.

KEY WORDS

Alignment

Modality

Parliamentary debates

Point of view

Political discourse

Pragmatics

KEY WORDS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DEDICATION

To my parents, Mr Richard Logogye and Mrs Dinah Logogye, and my siblings.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

The aim of this study is to explore the pragmatics of modality and point of view in parliamentary debates in Ghana. The present chapter defines and clarifies the research problem and provides the background information needed to understand the research questions that underpin the study. The chapter specifically addresses issues such as the background to the study, the statement of the research problem, aims and objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, assumptions underlying the study and delimitations of the study. It ends with an overview of the thesis and a summary of the chapter.

Background to the Study

In the business of political discourse, sounding convincing is a useful tool in the hands of politicians in their quest to win over electorates, consolidate a position, or win power. Political discourse is a type of persuasive discourse where politicians sell their policies and their points of view or their "truth". In the words of Vukovic (2014), however, the "truth" seems to be relative in the language of politics and even prone to scalar representation. What matters more to every politician is to be able to express a high degree of confidence and commitment to the supposed truth of what they say even if such 'truth' does not represent facts. To the politician, being convinced and convincing is a prerequisite to influencing the opinions and attitudes of others (Vukovic, ibid).

To express the degrees of truth and their commitment to it, politicians operate from a pool of linguistic resources at their disposal, termed and

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classified in different ways in the literature. Often they use linguistic strategies to perform varied functions. In order to understand these functions, language users analyse what politicians intend to convey. Evidence from the literature shows that they do so by first looking at the accurate representation of the forms and structures used in a speaker's language (Illie, 2009; Vukovic, 2014; Simon-Vandenbergen, 1997). Besides this, they make strenuous efforts to discover the meanings encoded in the linguistic forms identified by meticulously subjecting each linguistic element to interpretation within a given context (van Dijk, 1997). This enables the language user to better understand the intention of the speaker.

From the literature, political discourse analysis, henceforth PDA, has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention with the focus, usually, being either written or spoken discourses. Political discourse analysis does not involve only politicians but extends to the recipients of political communication such as the public, the people, citizens, and the masses (Van Dijk, 1997). This explains why the use of language in political discourse is of great interest to linguists.

Ilie (2006: 190) is of the view that parliamentary discourse falls within political discourse, which involves "complying with and/or circumventing a number of specific rules and constraints". People who are acting in political interaction are at the same time acting as participants in political actions, such as governing, ruling, and even voting. The political actions of these people translate into discursive practices; their actions become topics for discussion within political discourses, and often given some interpretations. Parliamentary discourse is considered to be political discourse par excellence.

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In the view of Vukovic (2014), political discourse reflects all processes from political life in narrower settings. All over the world where a parliamentary system operates, parliaments serve as democratic institutions entrusted with the core mandate to make legislations, deliberate on issues, make national decisions and solve problems.

Historically, the platform for political speech in the Greek city-state was the Assembly, today's parliament, and it basically reserved for all male citizens. Speakers in the Assembly were not members of political parties where they could promote party ideologies but appealed to the interests of the entire community and to shared social values. To win the trust of fellow citizens, speakers made use of rhetoric to stress their moral integrity and dedication to public service (Harris, 2014).

Parliament constitutes the arena where crucial issues are debated and political standpoints are put forward, (re)defined, and challenged (Ilie, 2010). In recent times when parliamentary discourse is gaining attention among scholars, probably because parliament is seen as the principal icon of high politics, it becomes important to examine the underlying negotiation processes and the motivation of participants, as well as how political agendas are institutionally represented, as well as misrepresented, and how parliamentarians bond around certain motions in national parliaments.

It is, therefore, the aim of this study to examine the different points of view expressed in parliamentary debates through the lenses of modality. It seeks to see how opinions and attitudes are expressed and how political standpoints are put forward, (re)defined and challenged, and how through modality as a linguistic device, politicians bond around certain motions on the

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floor of parliament and consequently how through modality they align/disalign in parliamentary discourse. Martin and White (2005) maintain that political alignment is indispensable in political discourse. In almost every political activity there is the opposition camp, as well as that of the allies, and this results in politics being concerned with alignments. This study, therefore, seeks to explore political language in context where all its functions and variations are taken into consideration for effective comprehension. In parliamentary discourse, it is expedient to learn more about how perceptions, convictions, and identities are influenced by language (Ilie, 2004, 46).

In the debates, MPs represent various sides – there are those who want to preserve power and those who want to win it over, in Ghana, the government and the opposition or the majority and the minority MPs. In such debates, members of the government and the opposition take turns to support or oppose bills, policies, or declarations (van Dijk, 2010). The constant power struggle in parliamentary discourse makes it a good ground for the exploration of different kinds of modality and points of views.

Parliamentary debate has been described as a prototypical instance of deliberative genre and predominantly argumentative (Archakis & Tsakona, 2010; Ilie, 2004;). The fact that this discourse is basically an argumentative genre in which MPs seek to influence the popular opinion and the public image of themselves and their party, studying modality and point of view, which is a speaker's means of expressing an attitude or opinion towards the propositional content of the utterance he or she makes, and the degrees to which they are certain of what they are proposing, and, point of view being the expression of a particular way of conceiving and representing the world, it is

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not only logical but possibly one of the principal pragmatic topics to be investigated within parliamentary debates.

This kind of analysis enables us to see the political standpoints of participants in the debates. Through the use of modals, speakers or writers are able to show their degree of intimacy or remoteness, and the ways they represent themselves in a discourse (Hyland, 1999). The overall aim is, therefore, to investigate the role modality plays in reflecting underlying points of view in political discourse and to show how functional and pragmatic analysis of modality is adequate in analysing points of view in parliamentary text.

The study, therefore, explores modality of the interpersonal metafunction by Halliday (1994) and modality and point of view by Simpson (1993) as the conceptual framework. This work adopts the two theories because they complement each other. According to Halliday, there are degrees of certainty, probability, and obligation. Simpson's model will help us to map these degrees to the various points of view that are expressed in the debates. Simpson's framework of modality is a useful partner because it focuses not only on the types of modality used in a text but also on how these modalities determine the essence of a text, points of view of participants and provide the text with its particular feel and colour (Iwamoto, 2007).

Statement of the Problem

Scholars started paying attention to parliamentary discourse from the 1990s (Bayley, 1999; Ilie, 2000; Obeng, 1997; Wilson, 1990). These earlier studies were from a pragmatic perspective. Researchers have mostly focused on politeness (Bevitori, 2004; Blas-Arroyo, 2003; Boicu, 2007; David et al.,

2009; Ilie, 2000; 2003, 2003b, 2004, 2005; Yetkin, 2006), evasive techniques, and adversarialness (Fenton-Smith 2008; Rasiah, 2007; 2010; Săftoiu & Popescu, 2014), the use of pronouns (Gelabert-Desnoyer, 2008; Ilie, 2010), as well as political positioning in parliamentary debates (Abercrombie & Navarro, 2018; Advan, 2017; Archakis & Tsakona, 2009, 2010; Bevitori, 2004; Jakaza, 2013; Lauderdale & Herzog, 2016; van der Lee, 2016; Vuković, 2012).

These studies promoted interest in the business of parliament, and political discourse and modality. Works on political discourse and modality include (Boicu, 2007; Donna, 2008; Koutchadé, 2015; Lopez, 2013; Olaniyan, 2015; Roth, 2014; Wang, 2010; Xu, 2015) all of whom have studied modality in the contexts of Nigeria, America, Spain, Tunisia, and China. Worldwide, a number of studies emerged to show how ideology, bias, and other nuances of discourse are reflected in the business of parliament. Researchers dissected hansards of their national parliaments and contributed significantly to how power, ideology, and meaning are negotiated in parliamentary debates. Some of these studies were contrastive in focus (Bayley & Vincente, 2004; Vukovic, 2014) whereas others were analytic (Bevitori & Zori, 2004; Van der Lee, 2016).

The contrastive studies compared the language used in well-established parliaments to that of emerging democracies. The focus was on cross-cultural communications. Others looked at specific language use in British and American parliaments. Iwamoto (2007) on the other hand examined modality and point of view in media discourse and came out with far-reaching findings. Amongst those findings is the conclusion that modality

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and point of view are closely related, and that the distinctive patterns of modality and point of view are adopted in discourse to give a certain perspective to the discourse. The current study is based on the assumption that examining modality and point of view enables us to see the different perspectives presented by debaters on motions.

Available research shows that parliamentarians use language to address pressing national issues while being aware that they have to win over opponents in parliament as well as express the will of the people they represent. Attitudes, opinions, and ideological positions can be seen from the use of modal markers just as our points of view influence how we negotiate social interactions. The current research examined the existing literature on modality and point of view and a hunch was conceived that since parliamentarians have divergent points of view, their interactions may have varying modal markers.

The studies considered spanned a plethora of genres in a number of contexts worldwide. They include (Bonyandi, 2011; Coates, 2003; Hykes, 2000; Mao, 2014; Olaniyan, 2015; Papafragou. 2006; Vázquez & Giner, 2008; Zaragoza, 2010). Notable authors that wrote about modality from Ghana include Owusu-Ansah (1994) who considered personal letters, Ngula (2007, 2017) examined abstracts; Frimpong (2007) and Logogye (2012) each examined modality in media texts. However, a cursory look into the literature on parliamentary discourse in Ghana showed a gap. Most of the research in the Ghanaian context dealt with political discourse in general (Adjei & Ewusi 2015, 2016; Boakye, 2014; Anderson, 2014; Adjei-Fobi, 2011; Djabatey 2013; Anim-Ayeko, 2012). All these scholars studied political discourse using

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other analytical frameworks such as transitivity, politeness, stylistics, and speech acts in the speeches of political figures and political advertisements.

In the area of parliamentary debates in Ghana, some works have been done. The scholars that gave attention to parliamentary discourse in the Ghanaian setting did so in the area of speech acts, (Sarfo, 2016), questioning, discursive construction, metaphors, and apologies are all by Sarfo-Kantankah (2018), discursive construction (Sarfo-Kantankah, 2019, 2021), metaphors (Sarfo-Kantankah, 2021), apologies (Sarfo-Kantankah, 2021), critical discourse analysis and gender representation (Wood, 2014; Sarfo-Kantankah et al., 2021) and politeness (Ghampson, 2011; Wilson, 2017). However, very little exists, as far as can be seen, to show the rest of the world how modality and point of view conflate in making Ghanaian parliament a hotbed for negotiating meanings and aligning or disaligning with multiple interlocutors. From almost all the studies on modality, the emphasis has been on the various categorisations of modality, as classified by Palmer (1986, 1997, 2001, 2003), Von Fintel (2006), and other scholars as either root/epistemic/ modality or deontic, epistemic and dynamic modality. Beyond these categorisations, however, modality can be a realiser of point of view or used to identify one's point of view in a discourse (Simpson, 1993) and to align or disalign.

Unfortunately, modality as a realiser of point of view and a tool for alignment/disalignment has not been explored in the discourse of parliament at the time the literature was interrogated. The expressions on the floor of the Ghanaian parliament may be affected by party affiliation, personal habits, and even gender. Modality and point of view serve as useful tools through which politicians bond around particular motions, topics, or lines of debates on the

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floor of parliament, and consequently, through these concepts, they align/disalign politically on the floor of parliament. Martin and White (2005) maintain that political alignment is indispensable in political discourse. Political discourse is characterised by allies and opposition, and this results in politics being concerned with alignments.

This research is, therefore, an exploration of modality and point of view in political discourse, assuming that these are essential and prominent in parliamentary discourse. As Iwamoto (2007) maintains, modality and point of view cannot be divorced. The study is, therefore, intended to show that a certain mode and perspective may govern a discourse, in such a way that they give a particular "feel" or "colour" to the discourse and to demonstrate that the distinctive patterns of modality and point of view are adopted in political discourse by political actors to give a certain tone to the discourse. It seeks to explore how certain modal expressions are mapped to certain points of view, how through the lenses of modality and point of view, politicians bond around particular motions, topics, or lines of debates on the floor of parliament and, consequently, how through these concepts they align/disalign in parliamentary discourse.

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Objectives

The study has as its objectives to:

1. reveal the predominant modals used in expressing modality and point of view in the debates considered for the present study.

2. demonstrate how one's point of view is revealed with the use of a particular modal expression in the debates.

3. identify the type of point of view that dominates in the debates and to show its communicative implication.

4. reveal how participants use modality and point of view to align/disalign in motions on the floor of parliament.

Research Questions

The study is guided by the following research questions:

1. What modals are predominantly used to express modality and point of view in parliamentary debates?

2. How is one's point of view revealed with the use of a particular modal expression in parliamentary debates?

3. What type of point of view dominates in parliamentary debates and what is the communicative implication?

4. How do participants use modality and point of view to align/disalign in parliamentary debates?

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to investigate modality beyond its semantic categorisation which has been the focus of previous studies. It investigates how different points of view are reflected through expressions of different

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attitudes and opinions and how through modality MPs bond around particular topics and align politically on the floor of parliament. The study, therefore, intends to expand Simpson's (1993) model of modality which was formerly used to investigate literary text to include the analysis of other discourses and for that matter, the analysis of parliamentary debates. Given that parliamentary debates are deliberative and argumentative, different points of view proliferate. An investigation of parliamentary debates using modality and point of view will show how a certain mode and perspective may govern submissions made in a debate in such a way that they give a particular "feel" or "colour" to those submissions.

Assumptions Underlying the Study

There are three main assumptions underlying the study. The first is that modality reveals a person's point of view. Since modal markers are ever present in parliamentary debates, they can be a useful starting point for unravelling the manifest and latent points of view of the interlocutor in parliament.

Second, modality can be used by MPs to align and disalign with motions on the floor of parliament. Since vigorous negotiations are carried out in parliament and MPs seek to satisfy various interest groups while speaking on the floor of parliament, it is assumed that an investigation into modality and point of view can provide useful insights into how they align and disalign, especially on hotly contested issues.

Finally, a study of modality and point of view in parliamentary discourse could show the uniqueness of Ghana's democratic arrangement as far as the use of modals is concerned. This study could therefore be compared

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with findings from parliaments elsewhere in future studies and can shed light on how Ghanaian parliamentarians use modality to express their perspectives and to align or disalign on motions.

Significance of the Study

This section looked at the significance of the study considering media, pedagogical and theoretical implications.

The media has in recent times become interested in parliamentary proceedings. As a result, deliberations are broadcast nowadays on radio and television, as well as reported in the press and specialised publications.

However, despite the growing visibility of parliaments as important democratic institutions, the study of the linguistic mechanisms, argumentation patterns and rhetorical strategies of parliamentary discourse have been underresearched, except for U.K. and Swedish Parliaments, which notably, according to Ilie (2010), has recently drawn some attention in the field of language and discourse studies.

Nonetheless, as parliaments and parliamentarians are also taking an increasingly central role in media reports in Ghana, it becomes necessary to carry out systematic investigations in order to obtain a better understanding of parliamentary practices in terms of institutionalised uses of language as well as the interplay between parliamentary interaction patterns and the participants' political agendas in the Ghanaian situation. A study of this nature will add to the inadequate works in parliamentary discourse in Ghana.

The other significance of the study is its pedagogical significance. This study explores the way MPs use modals, and how the use of modals enhances the meaning of parliamentary discourse. Pedagogically, knowledge of the use of

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modals implies that students should be made aware of the different functions of modals in contexts. Hence, understanding the way modals work could lead to a better appreciation of parliamentary discourse and other discourses because of the vibrancy that modals add to a text/discourse. Therefore, students, especially those who have the intention of becoming politicians, will know the role of modals in their speech and even those who are enrolled in creative writing should be encouraged to use modals to augment the meaning of their work.

Further, foregrounding particular types of modality could show a shade of a discourse that reveals a psychological point of view of the speaker in a discourse (Simpson, 2004). Given this, students could consciously highlight certain types of modality in their speech, and writing for it could contribute to the special feel of the text (Simpson, 1993, p.74). Therefore, knowledge of the use of modals in political discourse could serve as useful pedagogical material for teaching political rhetoric or rhetoric of public speaking in general. Consequently, understanding how modals function in political discourse could lead to a better understanding of such discourse, and knowing how to apply modals could make one's (political) speech more indicative.

Thus, meaning may develop outside the discourse in a dynamic relationship with the listener's expectations, projections, judgments, assumptions, and conclusions (Babaee & Montashery, 2012). Theoretically, apart from the various expressions or meanings conveyed by modals and their various categorisations into deontic, epistemic, and dynamic modality which have been extensively investigated, modal expressions and their categorisations can further be mapped unto different points of view (Iwamoto, 2007) and, subsequently, used in alignment in political discourse (Martin & White, 2005). These two notions

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have not been jointly and systematically investigated by scholars in the field of political discourse. Studies in modality and point of view started with Simpson (1993) who used this model in the analysis of narratives. But Iwamoto (2007) observed that the theoretical model of point of view developed by Simpson can be used in the analysis of political discourse and therefore used it in the analysis of political discourse in some newspapers. Studying parliamentary debates, using this model, will, therefore, add to the limited literature on this kind of discourseand, essentially, to demonstrate that modality does not only help to identify a speaker/writer's attitude but can also be used to identify their point of view (Parina & De Leon, 2014) and to align and disalign.

Delimitations

The study had two major delimitations related to the data available for analysis and the choice of clauses to be included in the study.

As far as data accessibility is concerned, only parliamentary Hansards were included in the study. Parliamentary discourse comes in many forms: statements, questions, contributions, motions, and discussions at committee levels. Ideally, all these subgenres of parliamentary discourse should be studied individually to unearth the linguistic properties of each. However, the current study focused on only motions. I chose motions because the motions are more engaging and argumentative hence a good source of revealing point of view. In fact, the motions contain the actual debates on the floor of parliament, however, questioning is considered when it forms part of one's submissions and contains a modal element. Submissions with questions usually encode an epistemic sense, usually, rhetorical questions in the cause of one's submissions meant for the speaker to appear cynical.

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Also, parliament works extensively in committees but committee reports are only read and discussed on the floor. Discussions and debates take place more at the committee level, thereby, making committee reports reflective of consensus rather than disagreements. Since committee sittings are not open to the general public, the main debates that lead to the reports are inaccessible to the researcher. Thus, the researcher only depended on deliberations on the reports after they are submitted to parliament for approval. This has implications for understanding the issues raised on the floor of parliament that are documented in the Hansards. Time constraints and the busy schedules of MPs make it impossible to do follow-up interviews to seek clarity on issues; hence, the immediate context in which modals occurred in the data was the only thing the researcher relied on in interpreting the data.

Secondly, the analysis took into consideration only clauses that had modal elements. It means our arguments for modality are based on only the occurrences in the data. The same can be said about point of view since apart from modals reflecting point of view other linguistic resources such as the deployment of figures of speech, uses of hedges, and even code-switching are capable of showing a person's point of view but these fell outside the scope of the current study thus attention was not paid to these. We confined ourselves to just how modality brings out points of view.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has laid the foundation for the thesis. It has provided the background to the study and clarifies the problem to be investigated. The study is an attempt to investigate how modal elements map up to certain points of view and how the choice of modals shows how parliamentarians align or disalign with

issues. Four main research questions underlying the study were presented and the basic assumptions underlying the study were outlined. The study has implications for how we interpret political discourse as far as point of view is concerned and also has the potential to contribute theoretically to our understanding of modality as a linguistic concept. Finally, the chapter outlined two of the delimitations of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter essentially provides a review of related literature that contributes to the conceptualization of the major research questions guiding the study. The chapter is organized into three sections. The first section deals with Simpson's (1993) model of modality and point of view as well as Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) which are the two theories of the study. The second section discusses some key concepts in the study while the next section is devoted to a review of related studies. Finally, the link between parliamentary discourse and rhetoric is explored.

Theoretical Background

The study adopted Simpson's (1993) model of modality and point of view. It also adopts modality under the interpersonal metafunction of Halliday's (1994, 2014) Systemic Functional Linguistic (hereafter, SFL) paradigm in the analysis of parliamentary debates. The textual, ideational, and interpersonal modes of meaning are identified by SFL as operating simultaneously in all utterances. Out of the three metafuntions mentioned, it is only the interpersonal function that will be used in this work since it focuses on analysing the usage of modality, which occurs extensively in the debates.

In general terms, modality refers to the speaker's attitude or view regarding the truth of a proposition, as well as the situation or event represented in the sentence (Simpson, 1993), and encompasses concepts such as ability, possibility, probability, necessity, permission, obligation, and

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volition. These concepts have been used to categorize distinct types of modality. These are deontic, epistemic, dynamic, and other types. According to Halliday, there are degrees of certainty, probability, obligation, etc. and so this work includes Halliday's notion of modality to reveal the different shades of modal expressions in the debates.

Also, through the investigation of modality degrees, we may know what issues are very serious and require attention and what are not, and if these inform how MPs align/ disalign in particular motions. The study adopts Simpson's classification of modality as deontic and epistemic and their subcategories as boulomaic and perception modality respectively. Simpson's model is employed because it focuses not only on the forms of modality used in a text but also on how modality determines the point of view of speakers in a text and gives the text its unique feel and colour. Part of the modality utilized in this work, therefore, follows Simpson's (1993) modality framework.

This work adopts Simpson's categories to see how they are mapped to the different types of points of view they express as stipulated by Simpson. The difference in point of view will further help us to identify how members align/disalign with motions on the floor of parliament because point of view can be negative, positive or neutral depending on the side the speaker chooses to align with (Simpson, 1993).

In addition, Halliday's (1994) notion of modality under the interpersonal metafunction will be deployed in this study.

Key Concepts

Modality

Modality is a crucial linguistic tool for communicating social roles between the addresser and the addressee and realizing interpersonal functions. Attitudinal factors play a role in modality. It all comes down to how one feels about what one says. It is concerned with a speaker's attitude and viewpoint (Kratzer, 1991; Lyons, 1968, 1977; Palmer, 1990). Halliday (1970, 1976) and Halliday and Hasan (1985) define modality as the expression of a speaker's attitude toward the circumstance or event described by a phrase or concerning the proposition expressed by the sentence. Two modal meanings are usually cited: 'deontic/evaluative' and 'epistemic modalities' (Crystal, 2004; Givon, 2001; Palmer, 1990; Valin et al, 1997; von Fintel, 2006). Palmer and Von Fintel include *dynamic modality* to cater for expressions of ability, volition, and futurity meanings of *can* and *will*.

Simpson (2004) also discussed modality with respect to points of view to better understand a text. According to Simpson, modality is concerned with the attitude and ability of the persona/narrator. It also refers generally to a speaker's attitude towards, or opinion about, the truth of a proposition expressed by a sentence or event described by a sentence (Simpson, 1993). Thus, the usage of modality in a text reveals senses, thoughts, and feelings. There are various ways of expressing modality. Fowler (1985) provides a brief list to illustrate these categories of modal auxiliary verbs: *should*, *must*, *may*, *might*, *can*, *could*, *will*, *would*, *shall* and *ought to*; the verbs, *wish, reckon, regret, prove, permit* and *predict*; adverbs; *supposedly, possibly certainly*, *regrettably* and *probably*; nouns: *likelihood*, *desirability*, *obligation* and

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authority, and adjectives such as *probable, likely, certain.*, *necessary* and *unfortunate*.

In this study, attention is restricted to the central modal auxiliary verbs, modal adverbs, modal adjectives, modal lexical verbs, and modal nouns as the main modal operators for realizing modality. Ability, possibility, likelihood, necessity, permission, obligation, and volition are examples of semantic concepts that refer to a speaker's attitude or view regarding the truth of a claim, as well as the situation or event represented in the sentence (Simpson, 1993). These concepts have been used to categorize distinct types of modality, such as deontic, epistemic and dynamic.

According to Halliday, modal operators have degrees of certainty, probability, or duty, as stated by Halliday (1997). These are known as values, and they can be divided into three categories: high, median, and low, as indicated in the table of modal operators below.

Table 1: Values in modality

High value	must, should, ought to, need to, has to, is to
Median value	will, would, shall
Low value	may, might, can, could

(Halliday, 1997, Tatsuki, 2006)

Table 1 above shows the relationships between modal systems and the non-linguistic concepts that each of the modal systems realizes.

Deontic Modality

The modal system of duty is **deontic modality**, which is concerned with the speaker's attitude toward the degree of responsibility associated with the completion of specific activities. The notions of permission (deontic

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possibility) and duty are discussed in deontic modality (deontic necessity). This modality is concerned with the actualisation of events and what takes place in the real world. As van der Auwera and Plungian (1998: 81) explain, "deontic modality identifies the enabling or compelling circumstances external to the participant as some person(s), often the speaker, and/or some social or ethical norm(s) permitting or obliging the participant to engage in the state of affairs". Furthermore, in deontic modality, a person (usually the speaker) frequently forces another participant to do something, whether or not it is stated explicitly in the sentences, for example –*they should [DEON] find out the recommendations in the report of the study group of the World Bank which came here (Hansard; 27-1-2017, col. 627)*

He must [DEON] go back to cabinet to consult (Hansard; 2-8-2016, col.5569)

Furthermore, as the modal system of 'duties,' Simpson (1993: 48) observes that "obviously, the deontic system is of essential relevance to the strategies of social interaction, particularly to persuasion tactics."

In short, deontic modal auxiliaries realize a continuum of commitment ranging from (a) permission, such *as you may take your seat*; (b), obligation, such as *you must finish your degree by lunchtime*; and (c), requirement, such as *you must complete your degree* (Simpson, 1993, p.43). There are, however, sentences that use deontic expressions but without modals. These are sentences in which adjectives and participles (BE...that and BE...to) are combined, such as: *You are permitted to sit*. *It is critical that you arrive on time*. (BE+participle+to) (BE+adjective+that) respectively.

Buolomaic modality relates closely to deontic modality. It is a form of communication that expresses desire. It includes verbs that imply wishes,

hopes, and desires. The boulomaic system relies heavily on modal lexical verbs to express the speaker's intents and desires**,** (Simpson 1993, p. 44) as in *I wish..., I hope..., I regret....*such as: (a) *They hope that they will get a raise;* (b) *She wished for a rich husband;* (c) *He grieves for her absence.* But then, adjectival and participial constructions can carry boulomaic commitment, although related modal adverbs may also be used, (Simpson 1993, p. 44), such as: (a) *She dreams that he will come back* (BE+participle+THAT); (b) *He is decent that's why he simply left* (BE+adjective+THAT); (c) *Unfortunately, I don't love you anymore* (Modal adverb).

Epistemic Modality

Epistemic modality relates to a speaker's knowledge about an event. It includes estimates on the possibility of the event occurring. It also relates to "the speaker's assurance or lack of confidence in the reality of a statement expressed" (Simpson, 1993: 48) and may be the most crucial in terms of a text's point of view. The speaker's assessment usually entails varying degrees of certainty, and Halliday's (1994) categorisations will help determine the various degrees of modality expressions.

Modal verbs may express different degrees of modality: necessity, probability and possibility. The following examples illustrate this type of modality: *perhaps [EPIS]it is more than we mean here (2-8-2017, clo. 5543). I could see a situation where the principal officer the Principal Spending officer may [EPIS] be treated lightly as opposed to another officer (2-8-2016, col. 5519).*

Modal lexical verbs, such as *I presume you are correct*, can be used to express epistemic modality; adjectives in BE...to and BE... that construction,

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such as: *I am confident that it is correct. I am certain that he is right* can also express modality. There is, however, a class of epistemic modal adverbs that includes, but is not limited to, the following: arguably, perhaps, possibly, probably, unquestionably, supposedly, allegedly (Simpson 1993, p. 45)

Perception Modality

Perception modality is a subcategory under epistemic modality. It is described as the degree to which a person believes in the truth of a claim based on human perception, most typically, visual perception. It can be seen in statements with adjectives, such as BE...THAT constructions, and sentences with modal adverbs, such as: (a) *It is unquestionable that you are correct* or *unquestionably, you are correct*, *(b) it is clear that they don't get along, (c) Apparently, they are getting married* (Simpson 1993, p. 45).

Table 2: The Relationship Between the Modal System and Non-Linguistic Concepts

Modal System	→	Non-linguistic concepts represented
Deontic	→	Obligation, duty, and commitment
Boulomaic	→	Desire
Epistemic	→	Knowledge, belief, and cognition
Perception	→	Perception

(Simpson 1993: 51 adapted from Iwamoto, 2011)

A variation in the degree or value of confidence, likelihood, or perceptual commitment causes the speaker or writer to adopt a different attitude. We now turn attention to point of view in relation to modality.

Modality is used extensively in parliamentary debates. The purpose of studying it in this context is to identify members of parliament's attitudes

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toward motions before the house (Simpson, 1993); to identify the area of meaning that lies between yes and no, the intermediate ground in parliamentary discourse (Halliday, 1994, p. 74), such as 'may be' and 'perhaps'; or to identify the various degrees of certainty, obligation, and probability (Halliday, 1994, p. 74). Furthermore, focusing on modality allows us to determine the speaker's perspective or attitude toward the reality of a proposition or a specific motion debated on the floor of the House (Simpson, 1993). Modality can be regarded of as the grammar of explicit comment (Simpson, 2004, p. 124), according to Halliday (as stated in Haratyan, 2011), which is a lexico-grammatical option that allows a complete study of a language.

Modality and Point of View

The present study agrees with Syal (1994, p. 20) that political discourse is "ideologically constituted to make certain kinds of statements or transport meanings of particular social, cultural and political value." This indicates that the meaning conveyed by a text will always reflect the speaker's point of view (this is determined by the social, political, cultural, and historical context in which the text is created.) According to Genette (1983), a tale is told in a text by the use of a prism, perspective, or angle of vision.

This work investigates how point of view is expressed through modality in parliamentary debates. Internal and external points of view will be the key topics explored under point of view. The argument is then expanded upon to illustrate numerous distinct ways of discussing point of view as well as how participants bond around specific motions based on their point of view.

The term "modality" is used here to refer to a speaker's way of expressing an attitude about the propositional content of an utterance. The term "point of view" refers to a specific manner of conceptualising a world view and modality may be used to reveal those world views.

This research aims to demonstrate how specific modes and perspectives can rule a discourse or text in such a way that they give it a distinct "feel" or "colour." The goal of this research is to see how modality, as a realization of the interpersonal function of language, can be utilized as a linguistic instrument to influence and control people's behaviour through a speaker's point of the world.

According to Fowler (1985), it is difficult for us to say something without transmitting an attitude toward that something because of the nature of language. Simpson (1993) opines that no text can be termed objective, neutral, or value-free. The essence of discourse is determined by the writer's point of view, angle of vision, angle of telling, world-view, or authorial interest, which gives the story its distinct 'feel and colour' (Simpson, 1993: 5). Modality and point of view are inextricably linked (Iwamoto, 2007). Simpson demonstrated the connection between these two issues by adapting Fowler's original 'point of view' model, which is used in this study.

According to Coates (1983), when it comes to the relationship between authorial attitude and modality, a statement expressing high obligation is subjective, but a statement expressing weak obligation is objective in terms of the speaker's involvement. In the beginning, point of view was used to analyze narratives (Uspensky, 1972). Iwamotto (2007), on the other hand, believes that Simpson's theoretical model of point of view, which he employed in the

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analysis of some political speech and journalistic text, may have a wide range of applications in the areas of political and institutional discourse. In this study, I employ the model to examine the perspective, or angle of vision, from which MPs make their submissions in Ghana.

The Model of Modality and Point of View Propounded by Simpson

Modality and point of view are inextricably linked (Iwamoto, 2007). Simpson developed Fowler's original concept of point of view to organize the link between these two subjects. "Much of the feel of a discourse is traceable to the type of point of view it exhibits," according to Simpson (1993: 47).

Internal and External Points of View

Internal and external points of view are two types of point of view that are particularly important in the study of point of view. Internal focalization suggests that the first-person narrator's perspective regulates and mediates the story, and it frequently denotes a subjective, fixed point of view because the source of the narration is the narrator's center of consciousness (Iwamoto, 2007). Usually, this viewing stance is characterized by the use of first-person pronouns (*I, we*) and modal lexical verbs which express *thoughts, perceptions, and feelings, e.g. (think, see, suffer, feel)*. The use of these verbs may also encode epistemic and perception modality given the fact that they are used to indicate a level of knowledge about events. Therefore, in the analysis, epistemic modality will be analysed under internal point of view.

Internal Point of View

The discussions will be divided into three modality patterns: positive, negative, and neutral shadings from an internal perspective. That is discussions will have positive, negative, or neutral overtones.

Category A: Positive Shading

Debates considered to have a positive shading under this category are characterized by the rich use of evaluative adjectives and adverbs (e.g., vain, terrible, happily), verbs expressing the thoughts, feelings, and perceptions of speakers, and rich use of the high values of deontic and boulomaic modalities of obligation, desire, duties, and opinions (I wish…, you must..., I think ...).

Category A: Negative Shading

Negative-shading Category A debates are distinguished by the employment of epistemic and perception modalities not seen in positive-shading Category A debates. The following linguistic features reflect this type of perspective: modal adverbs, modal auxiliaries, and modal lexical verbs such as *I think, I suppose*, *I wonder, I assume.* perception adverbs such as *apparently, evidently,* and *perhaps*; human perception verbs such as it *seemed*, it *appears* it *looked like,* or *as if*. Those devices express the bewilderment and estrangement devices from within a participating speaker's mind and convey his or her perplexity about events because this type of point of view is primarily internal (Simpson, 1993: 58).

Category A: Neutral Shading

Stories that fall within this category are distinguished by the lack of narratorial modality, which indicates that the narrator/reporter suppresses

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subjective evaluation, opinions, or judgments on events or people in the story and presents the story purely through categorical statements i.e., something is or is not (Lyons, 1977). Categorical statements are epistemically non-modal assertions or propositions that show the speaker's strongest level of belief in the proposition's factuality (Simpson, 1993). *He is coming*, for example, has greater epistemological authority than the modalized, *He must be coming* (Simpson, 1993: 808). The narrative of the first-person pronouns in Category A is typically 'flat, unreflective, cool, remote, and aloof' (Simpson, 1993: 62, 75). Modal lexical verbs, evaluative adverbs, and adjectives are rarely used. In this sort of language, most of the expressions are 'simple physical descriptions with minimal attempt at psychological development' (Simpson, 1993: 62, 65). No modality may be expressed in this type of shading as modality lies between or is intermediate between extreme positive and extreme negative.

External Point of View

External focalization is a neutral, panchronic, and objective viewpoint that exists beyond the consciousness of the speaker and from which the events and characters are recounted (Simpson, 1993: 39).

Category B Debates

Two types of debates come under this category: narratorial and reflector. The former denotes a viewing position that is outside of any speaker's consciousness, whereas the latter denotes a position that is mediated through the consciousness of a speaker. This position corresponds with modality which deals with the expression of attitudes and opinions of a speaker of a perceived reality Simpson (1993; 55). Simpson (ibid) coined the term "reflector" to describe a figure whose psychological perspective is

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expressed in a text. Under this category, the present work shall look at the modal elements exploited by the members of parliament to express their psychological perspectives on the floor of parliament, whether they convey a positive, negative, or neutral shading.

Category B: Narratorial Mode, Positive Shading

This type of narration is similar to Category A stories; the distinction is an externality. The narration takes the third-person voice and makes use of evaluative adjectives and adverbs, as well as a prominent deontic and epistemic modality.

Category B: Narratorial Mode, Negative Shading

Words of estrangement are used to identify this type of storytelling. They are known as 'quotative explanation markers,' according to Maynard (1993). These markers include, for example, 'it appears that...', 'it is supposed to be that...',' to say...'. 'it may be that...', 'it will be that...', 'it is said that...', These 'quotative explanation' markers convey the speaker's varied degrees of uncertainty or commitment to the proposition. For example, by saying *(it is said ..., it is understood that…),* the speaker expresses a widely held viewpoint while displaying minimal personal commitment; 'a certain level of objectification' of the propositional content is thus attained (Simpson, 1993: 251). The epistemic and sensory modal systems are highlighted here, conveying a sense of "alienation." The 'quotative explanations' perform pragmatic and interactional functions. They are used to 'accommodate others and demonstrate sensitivity' toward the readers or hearers. These quotative explanations, which include 'to say,' or weaker modalizers, imply the presence of a detached point of view or plural voices, where multiple voices coexist

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(Maynard, 1993). This narrative style has a lot in common with Category A negative stories in terms of emphasising epistemic and perception modal systems, as well as conveying a sense of alienation through the use of low-value modality (Iwamoto, 2007). My quest under this section will be to see how MPs use these quotative explanation markers to present their points of view on issues.

Category B: Narratorial Mode, Neutral Shading

In this narratorial form, the narrator utilizes little or no modalized language, and there are few modal lexical verbs or evaluative adjectives, and adverbs. It does not provide a clear explanation or analysis of the characters' thoughts and feelings. This is in line with Rimmon-Kennan's (1983) distinction between "objective" (uninvolved, neutral) and "subjective" (involved) focalization (Rimmon-Kennan, 1983: 80). This narratorial mode could be beneficial for detecting alignments and disalignments in motions by different MPs.

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The theoretical background is summarised in Figure 1 below:

Category A
Internal point of → Positive / Negative / Neutral

Reflector Mode → Positive / Negative / Neutral

Category B
External point of view

Narratorial mode → Positive / Negative / Neutral
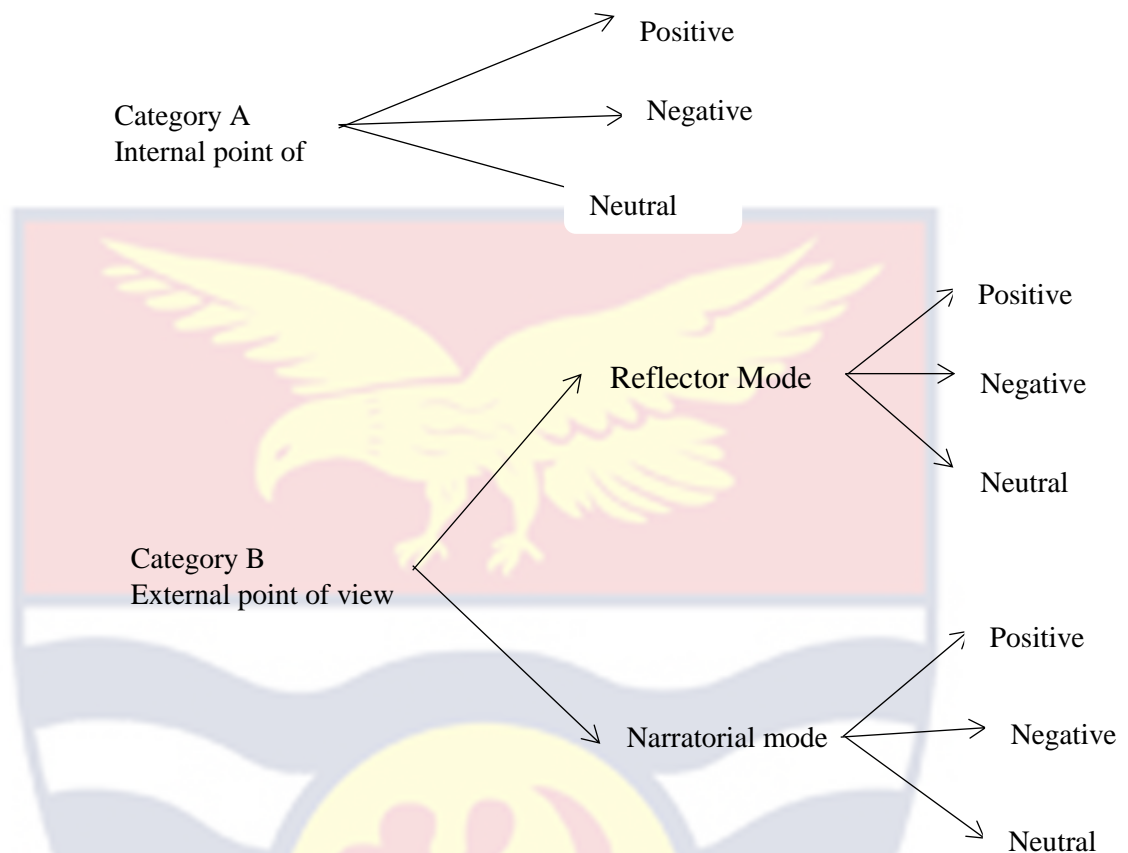
Figure 1: Iwamoto's (2007) slightly simplified and revised model of point of view realised by modality, as developed by Simpson.

Category A stories represent stories written with an internal point of view and category B stories indicate stories written with an external point of view. Category A stories, Category B narratorial mode stories, and Category B reflector mode stories explained below are subdivided further based on three patterns of modality: positive, negative, and neutral shading. The technical words are taken from Simpson (1993), and each category is explained below. The term "shading" is used here to mean "mode" (i.e., a particular conceptualisation).

Positive shading stories are those that use a lot of deontic and boulomaic modalities with high values, as well as modal lexical verbs. As a

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result, the general flow of this sort of conversation is binding, mandatory, aggressive, and powerful (Iwamoto, 2007). Negative shading stories, in contrast to positive shading stories, are defined by the employment of weaker epistemic and perceptive modalities of low values, as well as terms expressing alienation and uncertainty; this results in weaker connotations in discourse.

Finally, neutral shading stories lack modality or modal judgment; modal lexical verbs, as well as evaluative adverbs and adjectives, are avoided; and the story is mostly communicated by "categorical statements" i.e., something is or is not (Lyons, 1977: 41). Categorical statements are "epistemically non-modal" assertions or propositions (Simpson, 1993:49) that indicate the speaker's strongest commitment to the proposition's factuality. "It is snowing," for example, is more epistemically powerful than the modalised "it must be snowing" (Lyons, 1977: 808-809). As a result, stories with neutral shading have an uncommitted and aloof tone and indicate detachment.

Table 3 below explains the distinguishing features of each of the three shadings: positive, negative, and neutral, and then goes on to explain each of the shading patterns.

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Table 3: Characteristics of Each of the Three Shading Patterns

Shading type	Prominent features
Positive shading	Deontic, boulomaic systems foregrounded; modal lexical verbs found
Negative shading	epistemic and perception systems foregrounded; generalised "words of estrangement" (words expressing uncertainty and alienation, e.g., maybe, perhaps, it may be that, etc.) supplemented
Neutral shading	Unmodalised categorical assertions dominant; few modal lexical verbs and evaluative adjectives and adverbs

(Simpson, 1993:75) Adapted from (Iwamoto, 2007)

Type of Text in Relation to Issues of Modality and Point of View

It may be helpful to explain briefly the types of texts that are going to be used in relation to the issues of modality and point of view. Members of parliament have the charge of performing representational, deliberative functions, and informational functions among others. These functions are often seen in language through deliberations on the floor of parliament. In performing the deliberative function, as members deliberate, they transmit information to the people that they represent.

As part of their informational duties, politicians make speeches in national parliaments to stake out policy positions and transmit these ideas to citizens (Mayhew, 1974). In performing this informational function, the legislators try to present themselves as objectively as possible. As a result, it is quite simple to locate works written in Category B narratorial form. The texts written in Category B narratorial mode with positive shading will be the most common. Such submissions are generally presented as reports, with the goal of informing readers/listeners about occurrences as objectively as possible. Debates in the Category B narratorial mode with positive shading tell

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readers/listeners about acts that impact them, such as when the government decides to obligate particular employees to perform something, or when certain directions or policies are given.

Mostly these reports are presented from an external focalisation and may also be useful in alignments and disalignments in motions by the various MPs. Most of the linguistic features identified during deliberations are found in Simpson's modality categories. Category B narratorial mode with positive shading also contains linguistic devices that remind members of their duties in the course of debating on issues when governmental decisions are made to obligate certain individuals to do something, or in motions in which certain directions or policies are suggested, participants sometimes remind fellows of their obligations. This is usually done with an external point of view and can also be used to disalign. This type is similar to Category A, but the difference lies in externality. In category A, members are rather reminded of their obligations with an internal focalization with the quest to call for alignment on certain motions.

Category B narratorial mode with negative shading is adopted when a participant in a debate has uncertainty about the content of a motion leading to disalignment, i.e when members do not wish to align, they adopt modals that express their uncertainty about the topic. Category B narratorial mode with negative shading also contains linguistic features of disalignment. This category contains what Maynard (1993, p. 23) calls 'Quotative explanation markers'. These devices enable a participant to maintain a detached point of view and to alienate himself from a motion. This narration type has a lot in common with Category A negative stories with the linguistic features of

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epistemic modal auxiliaries, perception adverbs such as apparently, evidently, etc. modal lexical verbs think, wonder, human perception verbs such as seemed, it appears, etc. This type of point of view is internal and signifies a speaker's uncertainty about events.

Category A texts, which reflect an internal perspective and are typically subjective, may appear in deliberations in which the goal of the participating MPs is to influence public opinion and the public image of themselves and their party (Ilie, 2010: 886). A mode with positive shading is widely used in political speeches or election campaigns when the speaker is expressing strong thoughts about the nation's future (Iwamoto, 2007). When a participant is unsure or sceptical about the propositional content of the topic, they may use Category A mode with negative shading in debates.

Pragmatics

Pragmatics emphasises the inferred meaning perceived by the speaker and listener, who use manner, place, and time of an utterance to create meaning unlike semantics which focuses on the literal meaning of words (Levinson, 1992).

The focus of the present work has been how modality functions to indicate point of view and alignment in parliamentary debates not just the semantics but their pragmatics in parliamentary debates. It looks at the situated meanings of modality within the context of parliamentary debates, tracing particularly how modality helps to reveal a participant's point of view as well as how they align/disalign within a given context.

Pragmatics being concerned with how context affects meaning; it becomes important to briefly discuss it in this study. Three different types of

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contexts are emphasised in pragmatics (Mey, 1993). There is the physical context, where the conversation takes place; what objects are present, and what action is taking place. Then there is the epistemic context which is concerned with the background knowledge shared by the speakers and hearers. There is also the linguistic context which looks at utterances previous to the utterance under consideration. The current study relies on contextual cues and background knowledge to explore the modal meanings and points of view expressed in the parliamentary discourse.

In analysing the data for the study, the researcher had to rely on the overt and covert, implicit or explicit information obtainable from the data about the context of situation the utterances were made in, and these influenced to a large extent the conclusions made about the modality and point of view of the interlocutors.

The Historical Link between Rhetoric and Politics

Opeibi (2009) observes that in recent times, political communication has occupied a central stage in discourses on governance because democracy as a form of government itself has become a global phenomenon. Scholars have long been interested in discussing the relationship between politics and rhetoric or more recently, political discourse. Early attempts in this area of study date back to the early Greeks when the study of language used to persuade was popularised by Aristotle and Cicero, among others. Language and politics are two dynamic social phenomena that are inseparable (Opeibi, 2010).

According to McNelly and Perry (2008), rhetoric began with the study and practice of oratory, or public speaking. Things might alter dramatically

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when a person talks in public and does it skilfully. This has always been the case, and it continues to be the case now. Oratory is mostly what leaders do in public, however, leaders engage in another type of rhetorical activity behind closed doors, negotiation. In public, much of the role of leadership entails delivering remarks and speeches in an attempt to persuade an audience to change their minds and opinions.

According to McNelly and Perry (2008), that was what Abraham Lincoln did. The term, rhetoric, comes from the Greek word for 'speech' or 'spoken' 'retor' (Chilton & Chaffener, 1997). Aristotle defines rhetoric as the faculty of finding all the means of persuasion on a subject. Also, Cicero refers to rhetoric as the art of persuasion; whilst according to Griffin (2001), Quintilian, the Roman rhetorician, sees rhetoric as 'the art of speaking well'. In parliamentary debates, the art of speaking well is required to keep one in parliament and to make them relevant. Corax of Syracuse, who defined rhetoric as the "artificer of persuasion" and wrote the first handbook on the art of rhetoric, is regarded to be the true founder of rhetoric as a science.

Rhetoric is a display of eloquence. Rhetoric is the art of persuasion. It aims at verbally influencing others to think or behave in the speaker's intended direction whether spoken or written (Adjei-Fobi, 2011). Aristotle defined rhetoric as "discovering all available means of persuasion" rather than "swaying an audience by an appeal to their emotions" in his rhetoric, emphasizing the winning of an argument through persuasive marshalling of truth rather than "swaying an audience by an appeal to their emotions." He saw rhetoric as a natural extension of rhetoric (Adjei-Fobi, 2011).

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In modern times, rhetoricians like Buehler and Johannesen (1965) see rhetoric as the portrait of a compelling thought, while Bitzer (1959: 8) says 'Rhetoric is a mode of altering reality, not by direct application of energy to objects, but by the creation of discourse'. Moreover, Kennedy (1980) defines rhetoric as the art, study, and practice of the use of language orally and written. Rhetoric was influenced by classical direct democracy. The city-states in Greece and Rome practised direct democracy and orators used rhetorical strategies and figures of speech to influence others and to win votes. When direct democracy became impossible to practise because of the growing population, representative democracy emerged (Baylay, 2004).

Since parliaments had the power to influence the economic and political lives of the people, there was the need to send representatives who could better articulate the collective views of the people and influence others to take actions that contributed to the general good of the people. Oratory, persuasiveness, and courage became cardinal attributes in the selection of the representatives of the people (Chilton & Chaffener, 1997). Aristocrats spent fortunes ensuring that their children are taught all the virtues of scholarship so that they can better represent their communities in deed and speech. Parliaments became a circus where only the most fluent orators wield power.

The sophists taught the rules of logic and the identification of fallacies. Plato and Socrates taught people how to question reality and ensure that utterances are free from fallacies and faulty reasoning. People who wanted to be great statesmen had no choice but to study the fine arts and public speaking in well-established academies. It is thus not surprising that even in Modern times, MPs are predominantly lawyers who have mastered the art of public

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speaking and can use some rhetorical strategies to communicate to a diverse range of audiences. Representative democracy requires nothing short of this. Political rhetoric, therefore, becomes a linguistic exercise aimed at persuading others to toe a particular political line to either include or exclude a certain line of thinking or behaviour; or to include or exclude a person or a group of persons as regards leadership or decision-making roles (Harris, 2014).

Genres of rhetoric are traditionally tied to three formal oratorical occasions (or to three types of audience): the judicial genre is the oratory of the law court (forensic), which addresses judges who are trying to decide the facts of a person's guilt or innocence (Harris, 2014). This is what lawyers are trained for as a source of livelihood. But it is a skill that is easily transferable to other fields like parliament or the legislative field.

The oratory of parliament and the oratory of popular politics make up the two deliberative forms of oratory. Parliaments negotiate. Usually, political parties are influenced by ideologies. These ideologies are clearly communicated in manifestos that are stated in language that the electorate understands. Opposition parties emerge largely due to differences in ideology. However, parliament is about numbers, and in most cases, a two-thirds majority is needed to carry a motion. Since no government is guaranteed of gaining the desired numbers to carry out its manifesto promises, parliamentarians engage in legal and diplomatic gymnastics to win over opponents with differing ideologies (Baylay, 2004). This calls for skillful negotiation and measured language.

The other is the demonstrative genre which is the oratory of ceremonial occasions. There is a reason why people are successful in

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broadcast journalism and in the art of making public speeches to advertise or sell ideas to the public. Masters of ceremonies are chosen not because they are logical and practical but, on their ability, to engage, educate and entertain the public. This function brings out the third component of rhetoric. However, this study looks at the deliberative forms of oratory where one needs to accommodate other speakers and so often wait to take their turn and so expressions of modality and point of view will be seen here.

It may still be argued that rhetoric is only beneficial for those who wish to deceive their audience and hide their true intentions because someone who just wants, to tell the truth, could do so without using rhetorical devices. This, however, is not Aristotle's point of view: even individuals who just seek to establish what is reasonable and true require rhetorical assistance when with a public audience (Harris, 2014). Even if the speaker possessed the greatest accurate knowledge of the subject, according to Aristotle, it is impossible to teach such an audience. Clearly, he believes that a public speech's audience comprises regular people who are unable to follow exact proof based on scientific concepts (Harris, 2014).

Although later ancient rhetoricians such as Aristotle regarded rhetoric as a "morally neutral" art of communication that "could be utilized for either good or evil" (Kennedy, 1980, p.x), the notion of the relationship between language and politics has survived to this day (Ahmed 2017). According to Yankah (1989, cited in Adjei-Fobi, 2011), rhetoric has been practised for a long time in Africa, and in Ghana, for that matter. It may have taken on the Greek or Roman prescription later on but Africans have long been at it, especially, in the palaces of the Chiefs and Kings where they and their

spokespersons flourished by captivating audiences with their linguistic prowess.

Understanding how political language is used, according to Orwell, is crucial and it is the first step toward political regeneration. According to him, one can only fight inappropriate language use if one understands how, it can be used to manipulate others (Orwell, 1946, cited in Ahmed, 2017). In this work, modality serves as the rhetorical strategy through which parliamentarians reveal their points of view, persuade and inspire confidence or convince others to buy into their points of view, influencing them to think or behave in the speaker's intended direction as well as align or disalign in certain motions on the floor of parliament.

Discourse Analysis

Discourse Analysis (henceforth, DA) is the study of language use, according to Gee (2014). It is defined as the study of language in relation to the situation in which it is used (McCarthy, 1991). DA is usually applied in the description of language use. It involves the descriptions of verbal interactions people undertake daily. Discourse may be spoken or written. Some written discourses may include stories, recipes, comics, newspaper articles, letters, notices, and instructions. Spoken discourse encompasses a wide range of data, from casual conversation to highly institutionalised means of communication (McCarthy, 2005).

Discourse analysis is a method for determining meaning that is utilized in a variety of disciplines such as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, and computational linguistics (Brown & Yule, 1998). Brown and Yule are of the opinion that psycholinguistics is concerned with challenges relating to

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language understanding, such as text and sentence comprehension problems. Brown and Yule (1998) also define sociolinguistics as the study of the organisation of social interaction as expressed in conversations, as well as their description that emphasises social factors and deals with real-world language examples. The semantic links between formed pairs of sentences, as well as their syntactic realisations, are studied in philosophical linguistics and formal linguistics (Brown & Yule, 1998). Partridge (2012) regards DA as an exploration of what is beyond the word, clause, phrase, and sentence, as well as how language is used to express diverse perspectives and understanding of the world.

Discourse analysis can be done in a variety of ways. Whereas some scholars are interested in analysing the contents, issues, and problems mentioned in texts such as newspapers, others are interested in language grammar and its application in specific situations (Wowzers, 2014). These discourse analysis methodologies, he claims, are applied in several theories of grammar and meaning description. The analysis of discourse is the most common linguistic approach in language studies. (Mjer, 2003) claims that discourse analysis demonstrates how people communicate using language, and how addressers build linguistic messages and addressees perceive them. Two perspectives on DA are presented by Scollon and Scollon (2001).

DA is considered a linguistic study of texts in use from one standpoint, while it is viewed as a study of cognition, perception, and behaviour found in many genres from the other. Speakers use language to convey what they believe, feel, or want, according to van Dijk (1997), and what they say will result in interaction between the participants, which is the communicative

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function of language. The participants involved in the communication and the reason for communication are also a matter of concern to the DA analyst. DA can be used to analyse sounds, syntax, morphology, speech acts, turn-taking, and rhetoric at various levels of language (van Dijk, 1997). To summarise, DA as a method and theory aid in the analysis of language in terms of its use, producers' attitudes or views, and social relationships. This can be accomplished by SFL-based analysis (Van Dijk, 1997).

The review of discourse analysis has been instrumental in this study since this thesis analyses institutionalised use of language. It is, therefore ,necessary to study language use in context. Studying the use of language in context serves as a guide to discovering the pragmatic functions of the modals under investigation. It helps us to see what is beyond the surface meaning of the modals and to offer different views they present in understanding the business of parliament. The review of DA in this work is also important as it helps the present researcher gain more insight into the linguistic analysis and helps her analyse how language is used in parliament. DA resonates with point of view as it has as its focus the analysis of language in terms of language use, and producers' thoughts or beliefs. The review of DA in the present work also helps us to see how in communication, MPs construct linguistic messages, and how they reveal their thoughts and beliefs on topical issues on the floor of parliament.

Parliamentary Debates

In all democratic political systems, legislative speeches are an integral part of parliamentary activities. Sinclair (1995) provides some reasons for which MPs give speeches: they argue for or against legislative proposals, they

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scrutinize the executive, and they send messages to their constituents, party members, or even other members of parliament. The Ghanaian Parliament (GP, hereinafter) is no different. During parliamentary sittings, members of Parliament (MPs) discuss legislative proposals, committee reports, bills, and other issues.

The study of parliamentary debates brings together some recent advances in political science. The advent of deliberative democracy theories, examples include, Habermas (1996), and Gutmann and Thompson (1996, 2004) have focused attention on the discursive aspects of political engagements. Once democratic politics entails arguments in public debates, the study of how arguments are presented becomes an important venture.

Parliamentarians give explanations for their positions, and one of the most important purposes of such arguments is to frame submissions in certain ways. As a result, studying parliamentary speech empirically aids in understanding how policy concerns are expressed. The MPs who participate in the debate represent different political parties, from the New Patriotic Party (NPP) to the National Democratic Congress (NDC), the Convention Peoples Party (CPP), the Progressive Peoples Party (PPP) as well as independent candidates who are all elected through voting. An important issue of the ongoing discussion consists of the confrontation between two opposite standpoints, namely the ruling party versus the opposition party. The task of parliamentary debaters often consists in negotiating across party lines the acceptability of various issues that come up.

Empirical Review

This section presents a literature overview of what is relevant to this study. It covers topics such as discourse analysis, modality in academic discourse, modality in political discourse, modality in parliamentary discourse, modality and point of view, political parties and legislative speech, parliamentary debates as well as the historical link between rhetoric and politics.

Modality in Academic Discourse

Modality has been studied by a number of scholars. Some classical works include: (Coates, 1983; Kratzer, 1991; Lyons, 1968, 1977; Palmer, 1990;). Many of such studies involved investigations about modality in academic texts. Because of the prestige research articles enjoy as expert writing as opposed to dissertations or theses which are considered apprentice writing, most of the texts analysed come from research articles and their many sub genres. The focus has been to unearth the various strands of modal meanings in them. Some of these articles include Vassileva (1997), Vázquez and Giner (2008), Olaniyan and Adeniji (2015), Orta (2010) and Vold (2006).

Vassileva (1997) was contrastive in focus. It was an investigation into how Bulgarian users of English differed from native speakers in using hedges in academic discourse. Similarly, Vázquez and Giner's (2008) study was contrastive in focus. It sought to find out how epistemic modals were used for hedging in research articles written in the soft and hard disciplines. It combined quantitative and qualitative methods to carry out linguistic content analysis.

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According to the findings, there are disparities in the occurrence of hedges in research articles from three different disciplines: marketing, biology, and mechanical engineering. These variations, according to the authors, are due to the nature of the data employed in each discipline's research. In different ways, each field seeks to meet social needs.

Do intercultural traits affect the use of modals in research articles? Orta (2010) effectively delt with this topic by analysing the usage of modal verbs as epistemic markers in 48 business management research articles published by native English speakers and non-native English speakers with Spanish backgrounds using quantitative and qualitative methodologies. The study emphasised modal markers found in the introduction and discussion sections. It revealed that non - native speakers were not proficient at using hedges and boosters as markers of modality thus affecting the tenor of their discourse.

Olaniyan and Adeniji (2015) focused on the discourse functions of modality in the statement of objectives component of arts-based research article abstracts, a very minute but important component of the abstract as a sub-genre of the research articles. They employed purposive sampling techniques to select 300 abstracts published between 2001 and 2010 available on the internet and used insights from systemic functional linguistics about modality to do a thorough analysis of how modal markers are deployed in the statement of objectives of abstracts. The study discovered that four types of modal auxiliaries are utilized to communicate objectives: possibility, necessity, prediction, and permission modals. The rhetorical goals achieved by the four types were mapped to show that possibility modals were used in

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abstracts to state analytical scope and research goals; necessity modals are used in abstracts to state analytical scope, present an argument, seek permission, and/or make a polite request; and prediction modals were used in abstracts to state the researchers' research missions in predictive form.

Corpus linguistics tools such as Wordsmith have been used extensively to analyse epistemic modal markers of hedges and boosters in research articles from various disciplines. The pioneering work seemed to be Hyland (1998a, 1998b) whose model was subsequently tested by other authors such as Rizomilioti (2006). Typically, Hyland and his disciples relied on quantitative and qualitative use of boosters and hedges to make inferences about the rhetorical goals they are used to achieve. Attention is also paid to the various sections of the research article they occur in and contrast is drawn between the frequency counts and the rhetorical goals they are used to perform between the various disciplines. In classifying the disciplines, the hard and soft distinction is mainly used.

Rizomilioti (2006) used corpora in biology, literary criticism, and archaeology. His study found disciplinary variations in the use of hedges and boosters just as in Hyland (1998b) with some deviations owing to discipline-specific features. He concluded that a generalization of the frequency distribution patterns was not always feasible, because "each discipline reflects different conventions serving different purposes and different ideologies" (Rizomilioti, 2006: 66).

Wordsmith is a powerful tool for analysing specific markers of modality like hedges and boosters. However, when nuances and flavour of discourse, as reflected in the point of view of authors is to be examined

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alongside modality, purposive sampling of atypical texts becomes more favourable so that in-depth analysis could be done.

Modality in apprentice writing has also been taken up by some scholars. Gabrielators and McEnery (2005) did an impressive work on epistemic modality in MA dissertations while Qun (2010) attempted to shed light on how Chinese learners of English as a foreign language use modals. In most situations, the findings reveal flaws that students or non-native English speakers must overcome in order to use modals more naturally. Hykes (2000), for example, compared research articles written by non-native students to those written by professionals and found that students were far more likely to use 'will' as an act of volition, particularly in the Introduction section, than professional writers, who only used volition in the Methods section. Personal pronouns and *we* frequently co-occurred with volitional meanings in the student corpus, but only twice in the professional corpus, both in the Methods sections. The employment of volitional *will* by professionals was more likely to occur alongside passive constructions. Students, on average, utilized more modals than professionals, according to the survey.

Modal markers are also extensively used in media discourse whether spoken or written. It is a given fact that the use of these modals not only shows the attitudes and values of the interlocutors but it also plays a major role in how authors persuade the audience. For this and many other reasons, scholars have studied modality in various media texts. These include *interview discourse* (Roth 2014), newspaper editorials (Bonyadi,2011) political interviews (Jalilifar & Alavi, 2011). Some others have focused on theoretical issues underlying modality. These include Sulkunen and Torronen (1997).

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To discover indications of authorial subjectivity, Khalid (2013) examined how modal verbs in English were used in newspaper articles reporting about the big Scottish ship in 1938 in Scotland. The study focused on how authorial subjective voices were expressed in the electronic corpus news items. The data consisted of 37 newspaper articles derived from three newspapers: *The Scotsman, The Times, and The Glasgow Herald*. The purpose of the investigation was to see how the authors built their arguments in the articles they wrote. The modal auxiliary 'will' was employed in expressing median probability and suggested the writer's level of assurance on the proposition in the phrase, according to the analysis, and the modal verb 'could' reflected the writer's effort to engage readers dialogically in the interaction.

Mao, Li, and Xue (2014) conducted a study on modality where they analysed modal verbs in Chinese and English in drama translations. The goal was to reveal the Modality systems in characterisation and interpersonal connections. The diverse kinds of Modality systems in English and Chinese exist, according to Mao, Li, and Xue, because of the varied expressions demonstrated in the two languages. They claim that because English is a language that emphasises the function and diversity of language with motivation as its core, modal expression in English is primarily based on the modality system, which has a relatively fixed grammar function, whereas Chinese emphasises the function and diversity of language with motivation as its core, making modal expression in Chinese more flexible.

Bonyadi (2011) examined the manifestation of modality in media discourse. The data was drawn from the Persian English newspaper, *Tehran*

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Times, and The *New York Times*. The findings stated that the auxiliary verbs used in the two newspapers are mostly predictive auxiliary modals such as *will* and *would*. From the analysis, the *New York Times was more interested in* what would happen in the future and therefore used predictive modals. On the other hand, in *Tehran Times* the editorial is concentrated on what should be done.

In the review above, apart from the fact that most of the studies done on modality have been mainly on other discourse genres more than political discourse, the concern in all the studies reviewed so far has been the meaning of modality and its categorisations by different scholars as Palmer (1990), von Fintel (2006), etc. Aside from categorising modality into different types, little has been done beyond the categorisations except for Simpson (1993) and Iwamoto (2007) who have moved beyond the categorisations into mapping modality into different points of view. In view of the above reason, the present study takes modality beyond the categorisations and point of view into investigating how modality and point of view serve as instruments of alignment and disalignment in parliamentary debates.

Modality in Political Discourse

There is a thin line between persuasion and manipulation which is encoded in deontic modals. Politicians use persuasion and manipulation to gain control. In two political writings, Lillian (2008) focused on the usage of modal auxiliaries. Hugh Segal, a 'mainstream' Canadian conservative, wrote *Beyond greed: A traditional conservative confronts neoconservative excess,* while William D. Gairdner wrote *The war against the family*, which reflects a far-right neoconservative perspective in Canadian politics.

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Lillian subsequently adopted Fowler's (1985) five categories of modality: validity, predictability, desirability, obligation, and permission to analyse a large corpus of approximately 35,000 words segments from both authors and concluded that an overwhelming number of clauses in both texts fell into the categories of validity and predictability, which are, to some extent, the default modalities of (quasi) academic nonfiction texts. The author noticed a substantial difference in the employment of deontic modalities of desirability, permission, and obligation, and concluded that whiles Segal's work constituted persuasion, Gairdner's is manipulation.

Other studies of modality in political discourse focused on epistemic modality (Hart, 2010; McKenna & Waddell, 2007; Simon-Vandenbergen, 1997; van Dijk, 2011) and modal verbs (Chilton, 2004; Wang, 2010). I believe if the other modal types were included in the works of these scholars, it would have given a clearer picture of the modal situation in political discourse.

Several authors have also focused on the political speeches of famous politicians. Most of these authors used Critical Discourse Analysis models to investigate modality and transitivity within the speeches. They have been greatly influenced by the three meta-functions of language as identified by Halliday (1994). The speeches analysed include Barrack Obama"s speeches (Wang, 2010), Mahamudu Buhari's official acceptance speech (Koutchadé, 2015), and (Hemas & Ariyanti, 2016).

The clauses are usually analysed for the process types expressed and the interpersonal meanings discernible from the modal markers in the discourse are critically examined to unearth the ideological underpinnings of the speeches. Using the CDA approach backed by Systemic Functional

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Linguistics (SFL), the authors were able to unravel the main communicative strategies that made the speeches effective at persuading the audience to gain political advantages. Koutchadé (2015), for example, concluded that Buhari modulates, his speech, more than he modalizes. The writer deduced that the usage of the modal operators "shall" and "will," and more precisely "we shall...", not only expresses his obligations and inclinations to satisfy his audience but also demonstrates his commitment to ensuring good governance to the same audience. Buhari is said to employ modalization to explain his judgments about the certainty, possibility, and frequency with which the political situation and his strong desire to give Nigerians optimism is his main priority. He does not speak in an authoritarian tone, implying that his audience and himself appear to be on an equal footing. The use of evaluative adjuncts like "immensely", "truly", "faithfully", "clearly", "greatly", "and strongly" and high modalizers like "I assure you" with the modulator, "must and "should" show that Buhari believes his people have more power than himself. He wants to demonstrate to the entire country that he will act as though he is their servant. This demonstrates a high level of affective involvement between his audience and himself. He has attempted to be as close to them as possible. Furthermore, the author stated that a friendly tenor has been used, focusing on particular parts of his ideological position.

Interestingly, Wang (2015) also found out that in the speeches of Barrack Obama identifying with the audience is a key element in a bid to persuade the audience. The study revealed that Obama helped his audience comprehend and accept his political speeches by evaluating how modal verbs, tense, and first-person pronouns are employed in political speeches. To

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express contemporary domestic and global political, economic, and cultural issues, he used the simple present tense. Then, using the simple future tense, he outlined his subsequent changes and actions during his reign. The government's goals are demonstrated in this way, and the audience's trust is fostered at the same time. He also succeeded in shortening the barrier between himself and the audience by using first-person pronouns and religious beliefs. As a result, it can assist him in persuading the people to accept and support his policies (p.261).

Farhat (2016) used Hallidayan Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) as the theoretical framework to examine language structure and function in President Obama's political discourse, which embodies Islamic world issues. The study exposed the representation of the issues in the discourse through transitivity processes and modality patterns. Six speeches by the President were used as data. The findings revealed that the modality analysis helped to comprehend the president's judgments and opinions about the issues through a reflection of his social relationships with the audience. Through modality degrees, the analysis also revealed which concerns are really important and require attention and which are not. The data in which Obama situates his government as an incliner and inspirer of the audience to follow him through the issues is dominated by the Modulation type of Modality.

Al-Faki (2014) conducted a study on ideology within the political speeches of African leaders using SFL and other linguistic tools. For the analysis, the study used a variety of linguistic theoretical techniques, with modality being one among them. The goal was to discover how ideology is ingrained in African leaders' political utterances. The conclusion reached was

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that the modal auxiliary verbs were only used twice in African political speeches, documenting the least linguistic feature compared to the other metaphorical and rhetorical strategies.

Nartey and Yankson (2014) analysed modal auxiliary verbs in Ghana's New Patriotic Party (NPP) manifesto in 2012. According to the findings, the manifesto made frequent use of modal auxiliary verbs to express a sense of urgency, intention, obligation, and promise to persuade the audience. As a result, auxiliary verbs are extremely effective persuasion tools.

Pengsun and Fengfeng (2013) did a contrastive study of political speeches given by Obama and McCain in their presidential elections. The aim in this study was to examine the interpersonal meanings of these two presidents from mood and modality perspectives. The findings showed that the interpersonal meaning was built through modal operators and adjuncts within both speeches. Median modals were used most frequently by both presidents. This showed they were not aggressive. The results, however, showed that McCain tended to give commands and orders to make people feel his domination as he frequently used high-value modal operators while Obama's speech had a lot of low-value modals showing uncertainty.

A study on modality and evidentiality in political discourse was undertaken by Zhongyi (2015). He developed an analytical framework for examining three types of modality (epistemic, deontic, and volitional modality) in political discourse from a cognitivist perspective, using some relevant theories and concepts from cognitive linguistics, such as Langacker's (2009) epistemic model and Halliday's (194) Systemic Functional Linguistics. A discourse analysis of thirty English political speeches by three politicians,

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Tony Blair, Barack Obama, and Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, was conducted using the framework. The researcher employed quantitative and qualitative analysis to show how different speakers used different forms, values, and types of modality in political discourse to communicate stance, reflect ideologies, and (de)legitimise assertions or acts. It was also demonstrated that combining different types of evidence revealed the speakers' respective commitments to their points of view and distinguished the subjectivity and intersubjectivity of their positions. Some types of evidentiality reflected the speaker's ideology because they encode presuppositions about authorities, facts, or shared knowledge.

Shayegh (2012) conducted a study on power and political discourse. Based on Halliday;s (1994) SFL and Norman Fairclough's critical perspective, he investigated how the phenomena of power exist in Barak Obama's interviews. The researcher looked at seven interviews from various websites to see how ideological loading and socio-political power relations presented themselves in Obama's rhetoric. The analysis was based on interviews with regard to ideology confined to the identification of transitivity and modality. The analysis showed Obama as a dominant character who manipulated his audience through modality and first personal pronouns such as "I" and "we." The study discovered that Obama used modal verbs to help his audience understand and accept his political speeches.

Simon-Vandenbergen (1997) investigated the use of modals of certainty in British political interviews. The study discovered that the choices made by interviewees were functional and could be linked to the speakers' goals, position in the discourse, and affinity with the thesis. On a more

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theoretical level, the article found that interpersonal meanings shape texts just as much as ideational meanings do and that macro-modalities play a significant role in coherence.

Based on all the studies that have been conducted on various forms of data, as far as can be seen, most of the works that have been done with regard to modality and political discourse merely classified modal meanings into the various categories of modality by scholars. Modality, and, by far, modality and point of view have not been systematically explored in available works on parliamentary debates. The present study attempts to uncover the interpersonal meanings and the point of view they express in the discourse of parliamentary debates in Ghana and to go a step further to look at how various degrees of modality can be used to align or disalign on motions on the floor of parliament.

Modality in Parliamentary Discourse

In recent times, some effort has been made to explore parliamentary language as a sub-domain of political discourse. Some recent significant contributions to the field are those by Bayley (2004), Ilie (2000; 2003; 2006, 2010), Van Dijk (2000; 2004, 2010), Steiner (2004), as well as the compilation of research articles edited by Alvarez-Benito, Fernandez-Diaz, Ma Inigo-Mora (2009). Aside from the well-studied British parliamentary discourse (Bayley 2004; Chilton, 2004; Ilie 2000, 2003; Schäffner 2002; van der Valk, 2003; Van Dijk, 2004;), there have been studies of the features of Swedish, Italian, and German, French parliamentary language (Bayley 2004), parliamentary language in Austria, the Netherlands, and Switzerland (Steiner 2004), Brussels (Alvarez-Benito et al. 2009) have been carried out. The majority of these

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researches used a cross-cultural approach. For example, the studies of Sarfo (2016), Sarfo-Kantankah (2018, 2019, 2021, and 2022) highlighted the peculiarities of the Ghanaian parliamentary language from the British parliamentary language.

However, just a few of the studies focused on modality in parliamentary debates. Some quite recent studies in this area include van der Lee (2016) who studied how cultural differences are reflected in the use of language by politicians. The study focused on the use of epistemic modality (the expression of certainty) in political speeches in the European Parliament, specifically to find out whether there were traits of national or party (political) cultural differences in the use of modal adverbs and dismissive adjectives. In the end, it was discovered that populist parties stand out in their use of epistemic modality, particularly disparaging adjectives. In all three nations, there was no evident trend or association between the other political parties for all three-word categories - dismissive, sure, and unsure.

Other research in the domain of epistemic modality and parliamentary discourse includes Vukovic (2014), who looked at the linguistic devices used to indicate certainty and commitment; and Vukovic (2014), who looked at strong epistemic modality in the UK parliamentary language comprehensively. Quantitative and qualitative research was conducted on strong epistemic adverbs, verbs, nouns, and adjectives, as well as some reflections on their use in Labour and opposition discourses. The findings revealed a relatively high presence of strong epistemic modality in parliamentary discourse, implying that this modality pervades political discourse in general, and parliamentary discourse in particular, allowing politicians to express a high level of

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commitment to the truth of the utterance. Donna (2008) examined modality in Canadian conservative speeches using Fowler's (1985) five categories of modality: validity, predictability, desirability, obligation, and permission and found that the vast majority of sentences fit into the validity and predictability categories.

Positioning in parliamentary debates is a topic that is more closely related to modality and parliamentary discourse and has been researched. Using the 2009 budget discussion as a case study, Vukovic (2012) investigated the use of subject pronouns in Montenegro's parliament. The study's findings showed that when MPs were given the opportunity to carefully arrange their speeches ahead of time, they utilized the first-person plural and positive self-campaign considerably more frequently, which has some ideological implications. I review literature on political positioning because it has much resemblance with point of view which helps speakers to show their view stance on certain policies under debate. Lauderdale and Herzog (2016) studied parliamentary debates doing an estimation of the diversity of positions taken by legislators both within and across parties using a computer-mediated approach to measure political disagreements. The study found that taking political positions is an important part of legislators' tactics for dealing with the political and electoral situations they face.

Others have looked at legislative debate from a systemic functional linguistic perspective, which is similar to the present study. These researchers believe that parliamentary discourse, as a type of political language, necessitates a contextual examination. Treimane (2011) used parliamentary transcripts from debates held in the British House of Commons and the

Latvian Parliament (Saeima) as empirical data to demonstrate the significance of systemic factors to parliamentary discourse analysis. The contextual analysis indicated considerable disparities in the interpretation of context categories within Systemic Functional Linguistics, emphasizing the need for a more systemic context framework that uses extra-linguistic criteria for context analysis rather than linguistic criteria. This implies that Systemic Functional Linguistics alone cannot do a comprehensive analysis of parliamentary discourse because of the argumentative nature of parliament; hence, the appropriateness of modality and point of view in this type of discourse which is what this study seeks to do.

From my search in the literature for political discourse and modality, though some considerable works have been done in modality and political discourse in general, parliamentary discourse, which is a sub-genre of political discourse is way under-researched as far as modality and point of view are concerned. This has accounted for my having to complement the review on modality and parliamentary debates with other related literature as above. However, a significant feature of the reviews above is parliamentary positioning. This is because it bears a close resemblance to point of view. Nonetheless, the concept of point of view offers a wider range of room for analysis and, therefore, makes room for more explorations of discourse such as parliamentary debates.

Modality and Point of View

A linguistic tool that is usually adopted for the expression of attitudes is modality. Point of view, a pragmatic concept, can be seen through the expression of these attitudes. Modality, as a realiser of the interpersonal meta-

function, expresses the attitude of the speaker towards what they say and helps the listener to understand the speaker's point of view. This means that modality, as a method of identifying the attitude of a person, can further reveal their point of view.

According to Simpson (1993), modality refers to the speaker's attitude and capabilities. It can also relate to a speaker's perspective or attitude about the truthfulness of a statement conveyed in a sentence (Halliday 1994). It also includes the speaker's viewpoint on the situation or event described in a statement (Simpson, 1993, p. 43). Thus, the use of modality in a text captures sensations, ideas, and sentiments, and aids the listener/reader in understanding the speaker's/writer's point of view (Simpson,1993). Modality and point of view, according to Iwamoto (2007), are compatible bedfellows. The use of modality will therefore help us identify the different attitudes and opinions expressed and hence see the various points of view as identified through modality. The type of point of view will inform us how through language, politicians bond around particular topics or lines of debate. I believe these devices will serve as a good tool to see how language is used to reveal the perspective of participants in the discourse.

Empirical works on point of view exist in the literature. Following Simpson (1993), these scholars investigated point of view in mainly media texts and literary works. For example, Intyre (2006) looked at point of view in plays whereas Morini (2011) looked at point of view in first-person narratives with a focus on the novel, *David Copperfield*, written by Charles Dickens. However, Trimarco (2013) looked at point of view from the perspective of negative shading. The study employed corpus-based linguistics

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analysis techniques to examine negative shading of short stories written by Edgar Allan Poe. All those studies concluded that modality and point of view can be used to reveal a particular perspective of a speaker or writer and to give a particular feel or colour to a text.

Attempts have also been made to look at authors that have investigated modality and point of view together in analysing discourse. Of the few studies that adopted this approach, mention can be made of Iwamoto (2007) who looked at modality and point of view in media texts where he examined some texts and some political speeches from newspaper articles and placed a special focus on modality as related to point of view. The political text used for the study was President Bush's speech concerning his policy toward Iraq. According to the findings, the speech made frequent use of high-value deontic modality and emotive phrases with first-person narrative to portray an assertive attitude and control the nation's course. The study found that modality, as a realisation of the interpersonal function, can be utilized as a linguistic instrument to influence and control people's behaviour.

Parina and De Leon (2014) looked at modality and point of view in the story ―*Things You Don't Know* written by Ian Rosales, a well-known Filipino writer, utilizing Simpson's modal framework to undertake a stylistic study. The researcher was able to determine the narrator's attitude using the writer's modal choices based on Simpson's modal framework, and the results revealed that the epistemic type of modals predominated, allowing the researcher to experience the narrator's uncertainty about situations or events. Furthermore, because the modal framework stresses either a positive, negative, or neutral point of view of a story, the researcher was able to better identify the narrator's

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point of view in the text. It was decided that because epistemic modality was the most prominent, the story was clearly negative in tone because the narrator was unsure about occurrences.

Empirical works on modality and point of view have been very scanty in the literature. Aside from that, the few existing works have been basically on literary analysis, except for Iwamoto (2007) who analysed some political discourse combining modality and point of view. Given this huge gap that exists in the area of modality and point of view in political discourse, I strongly believe that more systematic studies should be conducted in that area, especially, in parliamentary debates if we are to understand parliamentary discourse better, given its controversial nature. Studying parliamentary discourse through modality and point of view, therefore, helps us to see different perspectives that are expressed and how those perspectives inform the debaters' alignment/disalignment in motions. Nonetheless, the empirical works reviewed shed light on guiding the present researcher given the fact that the combination of those linguistic tools in the analysis of discourse has not been systematic.

Political Parties and Legislative Speech

In recent times, parliamentary speeches are beginning to attract attention from both linguists and political scientists. They try to analyse the positions of members of parliament or political parties and examine lexical differences and rhetorical tools used by politicians (Laver & Benoit, 2002; Monroe & Maeda, 2004).

The length of debates was also used to research the dynamics of coalition governments (Monroe et al., 2008; Klebanov et al., 2008). Few

studies, on the other hand, examined how legislators delivered speeches, how political parties decide who gets to speak on the floor of parliament, and how institutional constraints influence these decisions. Linguists who seek to use speeches as a source of information to estimate internal or inter-party conflict must, however, do such research.

Politicians give speeches in national parliaments for various purposes, one of which is to stake out policy positions and communicate them to the electorate (Mayhew, 1974). Members of the US Congress frequently delivered speeches in front of an empty House, knowing that their colleagues will never hear them. Instead, they expect that the media will pick up on their speech and report back to their constituents (Mayhew, 1974). In Ghana, constituents feel a sense of prestige if their MP is seen as vibrant and contributing to parliamentary debates. Ranking members of the Ghanaian parliament hold frequent interactions with the media to espouse further their policy positions made on the floor of parliament. Constituents are saddened if their MP is just a "back bench" MP who is almost always silent on the floor of parliament. This brings into focus the discrepancy between when MPs do real parliamentary work of negotiating with their peers and when MPs play to the gallery. Also, MPs, at least in Ghana, are known to be largely influenced by the positions their parties represent and adopt on national issues. The Majority and Minority whips ensure that MPs are aligned to party positions.

The discursive framing of the national dialogue in Parliament is thus influenced by the multi-level audience and positions that must be satisfied on the floor of parliament and elsewhere in the media. The problem is further compounded by the interest groups that carry out intense lobbying of the MPs.

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Parliamentarians just have to be skilled communicators to satisfy as many interest groups as possible. This is not unique to Ghana.

Indeed, Democratic House of Representatives leaders have utilized a series of planned short statements to gain media attention and sell their views (Sinclair, 1995). Speech, like voting, is a tool that politicians can use to show their voters that they are fighting for them in parliament. Speeches by party leaders in the Ghanaian Parliament, both during question time and during general debates on subjects, serve comparable purposes. Legislative speeches allow the government to advertise and defend its policy stance not just to parliament, but also to the media and voters, as certain media outlets now broadcast legislative sessions. Opposition parties take the opportunity to criticize the government and highlight programmatic differences.

Despite the importance of speech, most parliaments have a limited amount of plenary time (Cox, 2006). Who gets to speak on the floor of parliament is determined by institutional and electoral concerns. Party leaders in European national parliaments must pay close attention to electoral factors. In the Ghanaian parliament, usually, the Majority and Minority leaders are given much of the time to speak and present their positions regarding issues of national interest while they receive support from their members. As a result, parties may seek to safeguard their brand by prohibiting dissidents from speaking on the floor of parliament in opposition to the official party line.

However, during debates, members of parliament are offered the opportunity to make their submissions. This period usually presents them with the opportunity to demonstrate to their constituencies that they are standing up

for them. This is because, in the political system of Ghana, personal votes matter significantly as well as the party label for re-election.

Sarfo-Kanntankah (2019), in a study of the discursive construction of the representative claim in UK and Ghanaian parliamentary discourse using transitivity as an analytical tool also reports that whether representation is verbally, relationally, or materially construed, the underlying issue is that MPs claim to represent the interest of the people. This way, they try to show their loyalty to constituents (Sarfo-Kantankah, 2019).

If members may utilize public speaking as a re-election strategy, the party leadership has the incentive to allow all MPs to speak publicly, as long as their submissions do not irrevocably impair the party's image. Leaders of the party also want the current membership to be re-elected (Cox & McCubbins, 1993). As a result, the leadership supplies members with resources to help them win the next election. MPs can speak on any topic in Ghana's parliament, and any member of the House can request to speak.

Chapter Summary

The current chapter has explained the theoretical background of the study. It demonstrates that Halliday's SFG, especially his ideas about the interpersonal meta-function where he talks about values of modality, can be blended with Simpson's ideas about positive and negative shading of utterances. It also shows that how an interlocuter aligns with others can be blended with modality in explaining the choices parliamentarians make. Next, the chapter focused on the key concepts anderlying the study including the historical link between rhetoric and politics and points out the fact that politicians like all statesmen possess certain desirable rhetorical strategies that

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help them to influence others and get their ideas accepted and, in this study, modality serves that strategy. The chapter also presented some previous studies that helped to explain modality, political discourse, political parties, and legislative speech.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODS

Introduction

The current study sought to explore modality and point of view in parliamentary debates, using Simpson's (1993) model of modality and point of view and modality under the interpersonal metafunction of Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). The methodology used in the study is segmented into three parts: research design, data collection procedure, and procedures of data analysis. The details of each part are discussed as follows.

Research Design

The qualitative research design is employed for the present study. This is because the present study is interested in investigating parliamentary debates and how members of parliament make sense of their life experiences, and their structures of the world. According to Creswell (1994, p. 145), the focus of qualitative research is on meaning. Qualitative research is also descriptive as the researcher is concerned with making meaning of a phenomenon and understanding a process by analysing words or pictures. Using this approach will help us see how participants on the floor of parliament claim to have better knowledge, 'real' facts, they claim to be more rational, more objective, "even more advanced in their mode of thought than rivals or adversaries" (Chilton, 2004, 117).

Another characteristic of qualitative research is that it is inductive. That is, the researcher analyses the data and, from the findings, he draws conclusions on the study. Analysing qualitative data also involves what

Creswell (1994, p.157) calls "explanation building". In this type of analysis, the researcher looks for causal links and explores plausible or rival explanations, and attempts to build an explanation about patterns. The interpretative nature of qualitative research leaves room for biases, values, and judgments of the researcher which can be explicitly stated in the research report (Creswell, 1994). This type of design aided the present researcher to make interpretations and inferences on the observed surface forms of the extracts in the data to describe the qualitative variations revealed in this study.

The specific type of qualitative research method employed for the study is content analysis. Qualitative content analysis is defined as a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

The main reason for choosing the qualitative design is that the present study, as seen in the research questions, is exploratory in nature so the content of the text (debates) will be analysed and the findings described. As maintained by Creswell (1994), qualitative research, with its flexible procedure, is the appropriate design for exploring and describing phenomena that are inconspicuous to the researcher. The researcher looks at the themes emerging from the data as he codes them and then puts them into conceptual categories in a way that describes what is happening. The researcher then re-examines the categories identified to see how they are linked and translates the conceptual model into a storyline that will be meaningful to readers. This approach pays attention to the features of language as communication with a particular focus on the content or contextual meaning of the text. Owu-Ewie

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(2012) outlines the steps below to describe the basic elements of analysing and interpreting qualitative data:

a. Get to know the data. This means that the researcher has to invest time and effort to get an in-depth understanding of the data by acquainting herself with the data through reading.

b. Focus on the analysis. To begin with the analysis, the researcher has to review the purpose of the research and what she wants to find by identifying a few key questions that she wants her analysis to answer.

c. Categorize information. This involves identifying themes and patterns in the data - ideas, concepts, behaviours, interactions, and incidents that are used and organize them into coherent categories with descriptive labels for each category.

d. Identify patterns and connections within and between categories. Here, the researcher organises her data into categories either by question or by case to identify patterns and connections both within and between categories. This can be done by:

    i. Capturing the similarities or differences in the given data.

    ii. Creating larger super categories that combine several categories.

    iii. Showing categories that appear more frequently by counting.

    iv. Showing the consistent relationship between two or more themes in the data.

e. Interpret– bring it all together. The researcher has to use the themes and connections to explain the findings.

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

In this study, the main quantitative method used in working with the data is frequency counts of modal occurrences and their meaning in the debates that will be coded because as Tognini-Bonelli (2004, p.23) has indicated "…in corpus work, frequency of occurrence is of paramount importance and what one is always trying to describe is the norm of usage." Thus, the use of frequency counts will allow for the determination of variations that relate to frequencies of occurrence within the data.

Data Collection Procedure

The data for the study were collected from the Hansard obtained online, www.parliament.gh/publications/49, the official website of Ghana's Parliament. This website provides news and information database with comprehensive content which is easy and convenient to access. The debates are transcribed after each sitting. The transcriptions include oral answers and

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questions, businesses, debates, and voting results. The study explores the distribution of modal expressions in 12 Hansards of parliamentary debates within the period of five months, before and after the 2016 general election, from November 2016 to March 2017. The sittings of this period were considered because they were the most recent debates. Analysing such current debates helped us see how the modals were currently used in expressing modality and point of view.

Aside from looking at the current use of the modal expressions, the debates contained topical issues of national interest such as *on-lending agreement between GoG* and *ECG, Report of the Committee on Mines and Energy, the right to information bill, agreement between Karpower Ghana company limited* and *electricity company of Ghana*. A good number of MPs were involved in the debates and that guaranteed varied expressions of opinion. Also, more modals were used hence varied expressions of opinion were seen. Those modal elements served as the data for this study. In all, 19 topics were purposefully sampled from the 12 Hansards. These topics were topical issues at the time and contained most of the modal elements of interest in this study.

The following table illustrates the dates for the chosen Hansards, the topics under consideration, the number of paragraphs containing the modal elements of focus as well as the number of words contained in each topic chosen for the data.

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Table 4: Dates and Topics of Debates Comprising the Data

NO	DATE	TITLE OF DEBATE	NO OF PARAGRAPHS	NO OF WORDS
1.	November, 2016	On-Lending Agreement between GoG and ECG – – GEDAP And Request for waiver of Taxes for GPMS	311	3551
2	3 November, 2016	Commercial Contract between GoG and Contracta Construzione Italia And Children's (Amendment) Bill, 2016	287	2380
3	20 December, 2016	Adoption of the Report of the Committee on Mines and Energy on the Project Implementation Agreements Between Karpower Ghana Company Limited and Electricity Company of Ghana And Right to Information Bill, 2016	170	2274
4	22 December, 2016	Request for waiver of taxes for the supply of 225 MW Powerships in Tema and Sekondi And Waiver of taxes for the construction of a 500-bed Military Hospital in Kumasi	134	2234
5	23 December, 2016	Karpower Ghana Company Limited/ECG Power Purchase Agreements for the supply of 225 MW Powership to Tema and Sekondi and GoG/ AMERI Energy Build, Own, Operate and Transfer Agreement	180	3,034
6.	26 January, 2017	First Report of the Appointments Committee	254	3031
7	27 January, 2017	Second Report of the Appointments Committee on the President's nominations for Ministerial appointments	136	2337

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8	23 February, 2017	State of the Nation Address	322	3942
9	24 February, 2017	State of the Nation (continuation)	3920	277
10	22 March, 277	Annual Budget Estimates of the Ministry of Estimates of the Ministry of Roads and Highways for the year ending 31st December, 2017		
11	27 March, 2017	Ministry of Gender Children and Social Protection And Debate on Committee Report on Transport	159	2984
12	29 March 2017	Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice And National Commission on Civic Education	238	3869
	TOTAL		2558	35806

Source: The Hansard

In these debates, members discussed proposed new laws, government policy, committee reports, and other topical issues as selected in the table above. The daily business of the House, in addition to the selected debates, also includes prayers, question time, urgent questions, and ministerial statements. However, the data is made up of only motions consisting of the topics listed in the table above. These topics were chosen because a good number of participants were involved; hence, more modal elements were used and for that matter, different points of view were revealed. The involvement of more participants also revealed that those topics were of more national importance.

As regards the number of paragraphs, only paragraphs that contained at least one modal element of focus were counted. As for the number of words, because the document was converted to word document, Microsoft

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Office Word did an automatic count of the total number of words, so, I did not have to count the number of words manually.

Sampling

The study used convenience and purposive sampling techniques to select the debates that constitute the data. The convenience technique is a nonprobability sampling technique where data are selected because of their convenient accessibility and proximity to the researcher and the purposive sampling approach is used to select samples of each category of text (Anderson, 2014). In all, 19 topics were purposefully sampled from the 12 Hansards.

In purposive sampling, selection is by choice, not by chance. The motions selected were therefore purposely selected for the reason that more MPs were involved in the debates. The debates also had more of the modal elements considered for this study. With more of these modal elements occurring in the debates, we can learn a great deal about how these modals serve as a great means of revealing one's point of view. Purposive sampling helps ensure that unwanted material does not interfere with the analysis. Patton (1990) maintains that the significance of purposeful sampling is embedded in selecting information-rich situations or samples for study in depth.

Since the study seeks to unravel the modality and point of view expressed through modal elements, the researcher was guided by this background in the selection of only clauses that contain only modal elements that express modality and point of view for the analysis. The type of purposive sampling which encourages this approach is theory-based corperational

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construct sampling. This allows the researcher to sample data based on the manifestations and revelations of a theoretical construct of interest to elaborate and examine the construct (Anderson 2014). In this sense, data was chosen to fit into a favoured phenomenon chosen by the researcher.

The researcher visited www.parliament.gh/publications/49, the official website of Ghana's Parliament, and downloaded the Hansards from the website, the researcher scanned through the various speeches and selected only those that contained the linguistic elements of interest for the study. The debates were printed out and studied thoroughly.

Description of the Corpus

The corpus for the study is made up of 2,120 clauses that were taken from 19 topics from debate portions of 12 hansards. Out of this, 1,690 clauses were further sampled based on the clarity of semantics of the modal elements they contained. At least these clauses did not render themselves to multiple meanings. The clauses analysed revolved around the modal markers considered for the study. The study only considered modal auxiliaries, modal lexical verbs, modal adjectives, modal adverbs, and modal nouns. These were considered because they were the predominant modal elements found in the data. Table 5 below presents the number of occurrences of clauses with the modal markers of focus.

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Table 5: Modal Type and Number of Clauses

Type of modal	Number of Clauses
Central Modal Auxiliaries	800
Modal Lexical Verbs	590
Modal Adverbs	120
Modal Adjectives	140
Modal Nouns	40
Total	**1,690**

Source: Field Survey (2021)

The work examined the distribution of these linguistic categories in the data in the light of the specific semantic meanings associated with them in relation to point of view. In the data, a clause may contain more than one modal form or the same form may occur two or three times in a clause. When this happens, the modal of focus is highlighted and its meaning is interpreted in context. However, the number of occurrences of each modal element is recorded. See Chapter 4, Table, 6 for the number of occurrences of each modal in the data.

It has been established earlier in Chapter one that the modal elements express deontic, epistemic, and dynamic meanings. Therefore, in this thesis, modality is classified into three types: epistemic, deontic, and dynamic modality. The classification takes into consideration the degree of modal values as well as corresponding points of view and then how these degrees serve as alignment and disalignment strategies. The clauses in which the modals are embedded provide the context in which modal meaning can be interpreted. The interpretation of meanings of the modal elements in this work takes a cue from Verhults and Heyvaert's (2015) view that the interpretation of sentences with a modal verb is highly context-dependent. Hence the

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analysis of the modal elements of focus in the data for this work is context-based as well as the analytical framework considered for this study.

In the data, a modal element may occur more than once with different semantic meanings depending on the context. When this happens, it is counted as it occurs. Overall, it is obvious that we cannot match each category of modal form with one specific semantic meaning, which is also the main reason why we have to analyse modality in its context.

Coding the Data

After retrieving the recurrent linguistic markers of modality from the sampled data, I read through all line by line to decide each modal marker with its relevant type as well as the type of modality it expressed. At the same time, I coded all the values of modal markers with their corresponding points of view. This was done, given the linguistic features that marked the types of point of view according to the theory stipulated by Simpson (1993).

In the analysis of point of view according to Simpson, two basic types are of particular importance: internal and external points of view. Internal point of view is characterized by the use of first-person pronouns (*I, we*) and modal elements that express *thoughts, perceptions,* and *feelings, e.g (think, see, suffer, feel*). The use of these verbs may also encode epistemic and perception modality given the fact that they are used to indicate a level of knowledge about events from a first-person perspective. Under the internal point of view, I coded the debates under three patterns of modality: positive, medium, and negative shadings. A submission is coded under positive shading when it is expressed with a high-value modal, be it expressing deontic or

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epistemic modality. A submission is coded medium shading point of view when it is expressed with a median value modal and a submission is coded under negative shading point of view when it is expressed with a low value modal. See Table 1 for values of modality in chapter two.

On the other hand, external focalization represents a neutral, panchronic, and objective stance outside the consciousness of participants involved in the speech, from which events are described (Simpson, 1993: 39). Usually, this viewing stance is characterised by the use of third person pronouns, impersonal subjects and words of estrangement that can distance the speaker from the action performed or to be performed. External point of view is also coded the same way in terms of shade of point of view as positive, medium, and negative depending on the value of modal used. The only distinction is the subjects used. The subjects used serve the distinctive feature between internal and external point of view. In the case of internal point of view, the subject is the first person whereas, with external point of view, the subject is in the third person, impersonal subjects or words of estrangement.

As for the use of modal elements, they all are expressed with the same modals of high, median, and low values. The coding is done relative to the type of subject and modal element that is used. Simply put, the main determinants of internal and external point of view according to the theory stipulated by Simpson are the use of first person pronouns as against third person and impersonal subjects as well as words of estrangement denoting alienation. As regards coding for alignment/disalignment, the type of modality expressed by a modal marker and the view stance from which it is expressed

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viz internal or external determines whether a speaker is aligning in a motion or disaligning in a particular motion.

In all of this, it is essential to note that the process of tagging the data is also an effective way to check and modify the classification of modality. Moving between data and theory, the classification presented has been modified several times during this process. I have had to add medium shading point of view to cater for median value modals and expressions of point of view. I also saw the need to add volitional modality for the classification of modality and point of view for the purpose of alignment in this work to see whether participants align merely from their own volition or whether certain factors inform the alignment.

Procedure for Data Analysis

The present study uses content analysis approach to examine the language in parliamentary debates. The texts were analysed by first identifying and isolating clauses that contained modal elements. The motivation for the choice of clauses with modal elements was because such clauses were capable of expressing any strand of meaning in a given language and so such clauses are embedded with modality and point of view which were the subjects of this study. The identified clauses were then categorized into various expressions of modality and their modality categories. These categories were then mapped to the type of point of view that they expressed. Subsequently, these points of view were examined in context to help reveal how language was used by MPs to bond around certain lines of debate and to align or disalign themselves in given motions on the floor of the House.

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Sarantakos (2004) and Fraenkel and Wallen (2000) state that a person's or group's conscious or unconscious beliefs, attitudes, values, and ideas often are revealed in their communications through rigorous content analysis. Modality, therefore, being the expression of opinions and attitudes of a speaker of perceived reality and point of view being a particular way of conceptualising a worldview, I used content analysis approach to examine the language in parliamentary debates to see the values, beliefs, and ideas of participants.

The data were parsed into the various categories of modality and point of view as presented by Simpson, Category A Positive and Negative Shading and Category B positive and Negative Shading for easy analysis. In doing this, frequency tables were built for each modal marker and tallies were made for the types of modality and point of view they expressed. The analysis was done by picking up the modal elements one after the other.

The modal elements of interests here are the central modal auxiliaries, *should*, *must*, *may*, *might*, *can*, *could*, *will*, *would*, *shall;* modal lexical verbs, *wish, reckon, regret, prove, permit, predict*; modal adverbs, *supposedly, possibly, certainly*, *regrettably, probably*, modal nouns *likelihood*, *desirability*, *obligation*, *authority* and modal adjectives such as *probable, likely certain.*, *necessary*, *unfortunate*. The study is interested in all the above lexicons because they are the usual means of expressing modality and view stance, and from a cursory study of the data, they abound. The identified clauses were categorized into various modal expressions as modals of obligation, certainty, necessity, etc., and their various degrees Halliday (1994).

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Through the investigation of modality degrees, we may know what issues are very serious and require attention and what are not, and if these inform how MPs bond around certain lines of debate. Looking at the modal meanings and their degrees will further help us to see the different expressions of point of view as positive or negative. The modal meanings are further categorised into deontic and epistemic and their sub-categories as boulomaic and perception modality respectively (see Simpson, 1993). Recurrent patterns were counted and their percentage distribution was calculated, using tables. Beyond the linguistic inquiry, the categorisations were mapped into the different types of points of view they express as internal or external points of view. Subsequently, the various points of view informed how language is used to align/disalign in parliamentary debates and how participants approve or disapprove, enthuse or abhor, applaud or criticise, and how they position their readers/listeners to do likewise (Martin & White, 2005).

Chapter Summary

This chapter provided details of the procedures and methods employed for the study. It started with a description of the research design. The qualitative research design was explained and issues about linguistic content analysis were discussed. The data collection and sampling procedures were outlined, followed by a description of the corpus. Coding and data analysis procedures were also explained.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE DISTRIBUTION OF MODAL ELEMENTS IN THE

DEBATES

Introduction

This chapter begins the discussion of results and findings. It considers the frequency of modal auxiliary verbs and modal lexical verbs. It discusses the frequent modal elements and how they are used in expressing modality and point of view in parliamentary debates.

Modal Auxiliaries

The following is a representation of the distribution of the modal auxiliaries found in the data. The frequency distribution of the modal elements is compared to previous works to see whether they conform or diverge from such works. For instance, it will be instructive to see which particular auxiliaries are among the high-frequency words and how they are used in expressing modality and point of view.

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Table 6: Frequency Distribution of Modal Auxiliaries in the Data

Modal Auxiliary	Number of Occurrence	Percentage %
would	1500	29.4
should	925	18.1
can	726	14.2
will	588	11.5
may	430	8.4
could	297	5.8
shall	158	3.1
must	153	3.0
need to	111	2.2
have to	102	2.0
might	66	1.3
ought to	41	0.8
TOTAL	**5,097**	**100%**

Source: Field Survey (2021)

But for *should*, *can,* and *will* which are also used quite frequently in the data with a frequency occurrence of 18.1%, 14.2%, and 11.5% respectively, one could safely argue that *would* is a favourite choice by the members of parliament with a dominant frequency of 29.4 percent while *might* occurred with a frequency of just 1.3 and *ought to* barely occurred with a frequency of 0.8 percent in the whole of the data. Perhaps, *ought to* conveys a strong deontic meaning and members do not want to appear too commanding or assertive because they consider one another as colleagues.

What is quite surprising at first sight is that *would* of all the modal auxiliary verbs dominates the total frequency while modal *will* is only fourth in the ranking. One would expect *will* to be more frequent than *would* because expressions with *will* are more forthright (Frimpong 2007, p. 85). Perhaps the issue of conflation between *will* and *would* as a peculiar feature in the English

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used in Ghana as maintained by Owusu-Ansah (1994) finds support here. The following exemplifies the conflation between *would* and *will* in the data. The question one asks is why the shift from *will* to *would* in similar constructions:

1. Hon Members, I **will** *only hear* the Hon Minority Leader on this matter. (20-12-16)

2. I **would** *only want* to draw the attention of Hon Members to some omissions which we intend including in the Order Paper Addendum for today. (20-11-16)

It is, however, interesting to note that the findings in this study presented in Table 6 find support in Dako's (1992) word count analysis as well as Ngula (2007) and Frimpong (2007) who had a similar pattern. As in the data of this study, *would* occurs more frequently than *will* in their studies, and coincidentally too, their ranks are not so wide apart in both cases except that in their case, *will* comes second to *would*. The data of the present study, however, records *should* second to *would* and *can* third in position, as can be seen from Table 6.

Nonetheless, the fact that this work reveals *would* as the most frequently occurring modal confirms the findings in earlier studies that *would* is the most frequently used modal of all the modal auxiliaries in the English used in Ghana. Since the members of parliament represent Ghanaians, it can be adduced that the language they use in Parliament is reflective of Ghanaian usage as far as *would* is concerned.

Although the findings of this data do not coincide with Owusu-Ansah (1994) where he records more *will* than *would* in a study of personal letters of Ghanaian and American students which perhaps could stem from the fact that

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because it was a comparative study, he could not have more space to analyze more Ghanaian data as in this study. Another explanation for this disparity is that, unlike personal letters, parliamentary debates demand some form of high formality; hence, the preference for *would* over *will*. However, the overuse of *would* could be classroom induced. The likelihood for overgeneralization here is that the user who happens to have been taught that *would* can express politeness then uses *would* in all circumstances to sound polite always. Sarfo (2016) reports that in expressing politeness, Ghanaian MPs appear to be influenced by English as a second language (ESL) teaching, which usually emphasises grammatical rules over the communicative approach to teaching. Nonetheless, given the fact that *will* occupies a significant position in terms of frequency of occurrence in this study, we could conclude that it is also commonly used in Ghanaian English.

Another point of divergence with regard to the frequency of occurrence of modal auxiliaries in the data of this study and that of Owusu-Ansah (1994) is the use of *shall*. He does not find the occurrence of *shall* in his sampled data confirming positions taken by scholars such as Coates (1983) and Quirk et al. (1985) that in contemporary English, *shall* is less frequently used than the other modal auxiliaries. Also, in the literature, *shall* almost always occupies the least occurrence position in the classification of modal categories (Dako, 1992; Frimpong, 2007; Ngula, 2007).

In the present study, however, *shall* seems to occupy a significant position. Parliamentary debates are argumentative in nature. The MPs rely heavily on the constitution and standing orders of the House to make their cases stronger. This explains the high occurrence of *shall* in the data. It

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occurred mostly in cases where the MPs referred to the constitution or standing orders to validate their submissions confirming claims by scholars that it has been restricted to legal or quasi-legal language.

The high frequency of *would* in this study as well as other studies reviewed in the literature indicates how most Ghanaians make every effort to dexterously hedge their thoughts. The recurrent use of *would* indicates that in almost all Ghanaian languages one is required to be polite in their utterances. Frimpong (2007) reported, especially about Akan where almost every utterance made is preceded with, 'please' to show politeness in one's speech and indeed that is obvious in the Akan language. The modal *would* thus appears milder and a preferred choice in expressing modality in Ghana. Even in situations where the omission of *would* still renders a construction polite, speakers use it to sound more polite, as in the example below:

Mr Speaker, I **would** *respectfully* want to appeal to the Hon Minority

Leader because he has the right and the decision to decide (22-2-17)

We **would** want and *wish* that the deliberations and discussions concerning youth matters, the substantive officers themselves attend such meetings to contribute to such deliberations. (1-11-16)

The combination of *would* and *respectfully* in Example 3 and that of *would* and *wish* in example 4 above show the effort of the users to make their submissions sound more polite. With the omission of *would*, those submissions would still be polite.Examples of the uses of *will*, *would,* and *shall* from the data shall be provided, and their pattern of use expounded in chapter five as the present chapter only concentrates on their frequency of use.

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The Distribution of Modal Lexical Verbs in the Debates

The frequency distribution of these modal verbs is presented below in Table 7. The frequency count helps determine the most frequent modal lexical verbs for the analysis.

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Table 7: Frequency Distribution of Modal Lexical Verbs in the Debates

Modal	Lexical verb	Frequency of Occurrence	Percentage (%)
Want	desiderative	275	22.1
Know/knew	cognitive	144	12
Believe	cognitive	120	10
Think	cognitive	104	9
Urge	verbal	94	8
See	perceptive/cognition	83	7
Like	desiderative	51	4.2
Appear	perceptive	41	3.4
Suppose	cognitive	40	3.3
Require	verbal	40	3.3
Wish	desiderative	30	2.5
Expect	desiderative	28	2.3
Encourage	verbal	26	2.1
Promise	verbal	22	1.8
Wonder	cognitive	20	1.6
Hope	desiderative	19	1.6
Guess	cognitive	15	1.2
Advise	verbal	15	1.2
Insist	verbal	10	0.8
Agree	behavioural	10	0.8
Hear	perception	9	0.7
Seem	perceptive	8	0.7
Assume	cognitive	8	0.7
Demand	verbal	5	0.4
Desire	desiderative	5	0.4
Total		**1,222**	**100**

Source: Field Survey (2021)

The modal lexical verbs which record high frequency in the data are

want (22.1%), *know (12%), believe (10%), think (9%), urge (8), see(7%),*

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appear (4.2%), suppose (3.4%), require (3.3%), wish (2.5%), expect (2.3%), encourage (2.1%). The others are negligible. I shall attempt a detailed analysis of the highest occurring lexical modals under modality and point of view in Chapter Five and under alignment/disalignment in Chapter Seven. I shall analyse them in terms of whether they are used as strong, medium or weak modals looking at both their deontic and epistemic uses in the data in expressing point of view and alignment. I shall, however, attempt a brief discussion of the highest occurring lexical modal 'want' here.

In the data, *want* is almost grammaticalised. See Examples 1-3 below. It is mostly used at the position of the auxiliary verbs, accompanying a main verb. It is even more frequent than some of the modal auxiliaries. The high frequency of *want* may have a direct correlation with the frequent use of *want* in the expression of some Ghanaian students. Frimpong (2007) reports the notorious use of *want* by Ghanaian students.

In the data, the main pragmatic function performed by *want* is desiderative. *Want* expresses a desiderative meaning. On the floor of parliament, MPs make several demands; they make demands seeking clarification on certain issues that affect them and their parties and the nation at large, and they make demands for their constituencies because they are made to see themselves as agents of development in those constituencies. *Want* is, therefore, identified as the common modal expression that is usually marshalled for demands in the debates. The following are some examples of 'want' used in making demands:

3. Mr Speaker, I **would want** to urge the Hon Minister support the Adentan Constituency through their local office. (22-2-2017)

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4. I **would want** the Hon Minister to listen to me carefully because it is an issue in my Constituency. (22-3-17)

5. We **would want** to urge the Ministry of Finance to support the Local Government Service to enable it have the complement of staff to work for local government in Ghana. (22-2-17)

However, most of the MPs employ modal *would* to tone down the illocutionary force of *want*. Frimpong (2007) opines that *want* has a semantic constraint, depending on the status relationships of the participants involved. Nonetheless*, would* is overused as it collocates with all the deontic modal lexical verbs in almost all their occurrences in the data. Another pragmatic function that features significantly in the debates is cognition. The modal lexical verbs found expressing this feature in the debates are *know/knew, believe,* and *think*.

Even though in some cases in the data, the MPs preface their assertions using the lexical verbs *think* and *believe* in order not to make any unqualified assertions, thus employing them as hedging devices, however, those lexical modals convey strong epistemic modality in most cases. This is often the case when they accompany strong epistemic modals such as *should* and *must,* as in Examples 10 and 11 below. This observation finds support in Simon-Vandenbergen (1997) and Fetzer (2008) who opine that in English, the phrases *I believe* and *I think* combined with high-value modals express even greater certainty on the part of the speaker.

The lexical modal, 'know', is generally, employed by the MPs to express a high degree of confidence in the propositions they express. The

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lexical modal 'know' is, therefore, in most cases used to add weight to the submissions.

The following exemplify the point:

6. Now, **I know** that there is reorganisation there. I am sure the Hon Member reads in the newspapers that people are trained and sent there. (23/3/2017)

7. Yes, I **know** them, but I would not mention their names. We would want them to take leadership roles, but all Hon Members (27/1/2017).

8. Mr Speaker, I **believe** the Hon Chairman is wrong. It *should* be the opposite of what he is saying. (2/11/2016).

9. Mr Speaker, I **think** something *must* be done to help ex-Members of Parliament who have undoubtedly contributed to the development of our country. (2/11/2016).

The use of *know* in examples 8-9 as in, *I know* signal evidentiality. This creates a sense of certainty or conviction as a result of some known facts by the speakers showing a stronger commitment to the factuality of what they express. This finding corroborates Sarfo (2016) that when MPs use 'know', they express a high level of certainty about the propositions they make.

According to Lyons, this kind of attitude is a general principle to which we are expected to conform, that we should always make the strongest commitment for which we have epistemic warrant (Lyons, 1977, p.808-9). This position seems to sit well with parliamentarians in parliamentary debates; they will leave no stone unturned once they know what they propose.

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I shall discuss the lexical verbs, further bringing out more of the pragmatic features as well as modality and point of view in chapter five as the present chapter only focuses on frequency counts and significance.

A close observation of the most frequent modal lexical verbs reveals that they perform basically, two speech functions: prefacing a statement as in *I want…we believe…I think…* etc. They also function as the main predicator in their respective statements. In the parliamentary data for instance, when *know* functions as the main predicator, as in *I know*…it expresses a stronger epistemic modality of certainty. This may justify my conviction that, in the debates, the lexical verbs are used to place a premium on the self than others either to achieve certain demands or get their views heard over others. This observation is based on the analysis made in Examples 8-11. In the view of the debaters, what matters most is to get the overhearing public who they see as the beneficiaries to see that they are standing up for them which is one of the reasons why legislators make speeches (Mayhew, 1974; Taylor, 2009).

Another peculiar feature observed in the modal lexical verbs is that each modal lexical verb studied collocates with particular lexical items in almost every context throughout the data. For instance, lexical *want,* as observed, often collocates with particular modal elements. As a result, one can safely guess in a given context what modal element to expect with *want*. The following are some of the few collocations: I would **want…,** We would want to…, I would not want to…, you may want to…, I would want to…, I would want to urge…, I want to appeal to…, I would want to draw the attention…, I would want to assure…, We would want to know…, I would want to congratulate…,

The cultural influence where the debaters want to be seen as polite by prefixing those utterances with 'would', does not seem to corroborate with some studies in both UK and US parliamentary debates. Sarfo (2016) reports that in the UK parliamentary debates, *will* is more frequent than *would* in expressing politeness. The same finding is made by Anicic (nd) in his analysis of modality in political debates in the US where *will* occurred significantly for straightforwardness than *would* accounting for 80% as against 60% respectively in terms of frequency in his data. Also, the frequent collocation of *want* and *would* could also be the case that *want* appears to be direct and informal and, therefore, the MPs attempt to make their request formal by prefacing *want* with *would*.

Chapter Summary

The chapter has considered the distribution of the modal auxiliaries found in the data. Modal auxiliary *would* and modal lexical verb *want* were found as the most frequent occurring modal elemets in the debates. *Would* was found as the preferred modal for expressing politeness whereas *want* was usually deployed in expressing desiderative meanings.

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CHAPTER FIVE

MODAL AUXILIARIES AND POINT OF VIEW IN

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

Introduction

This chapter examines the semantic and pragmatic interface of modal auxiliaries and modality and point of view in the debates. In this chapter, attention is drawn to the type of modality and point of view that is expressed by a particular modal element.

Throughout the discussion, attention will be drawn to point of view of positive and negative shading. The data are first presented in tabular form to see the frequency distribution of modality type and point of view used in the debates. This is followed by an analysis of how one's point of view is revealed through the use of a particular modal expression.

The chapter analyses the type of point of view that is expressed with the modal elements, whether from an internal or external point of view. It goes further to examine the different shades within each type of point of view, whether it is positive or negative. This is determined by the type of modal and the subject used. In this work, modals of high and median value as classified by Halliday (1994) such as *must, should, need to, ought to* and *would*, *will* respectively expressed with *first-person pronouns* are classified under internal point of view of positive shading whereas the same type of modals expressed with third person pronouns and objective references are categorized under external point of view. On the other hand, low-value modals as classified by Halliday (ibid) as *can, could, may, might* expressed with subjective references are classified under internal point of view of negative shading. Whereas the

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same low-value modals with objective reference are classified under external point of view with negative shading.

In this work, I have classified *shall* as part of high-value modals because of its semantic meaning in the data as it conveys the semantic meaning of forcefulness. Quirk et al. (1985, p.230) maintain that *shall* with a third person subject performs a similar function as *must* in legal or quasi-legal discourse where it is used in stipulating regulations. Almost all the occurrences of *shall* in the data have been references made to the constitution hence it conveys legal binding language and for that matter, I classify it under high-value modals in this work.

Internal and External Point of View of Median Value Modals

Would and Will

Modals *would* and *will* are classified as median value modals in the categorization of modals according to Halliday (1985). The following table presents the frequency of occurrence of the modal meanings and point of view that occurred predominantly with the use of *would* and *will*. Even though there was the emergence of some modal meanings such as promise, insistence, permission, and offers which were found to be expressed by *would* and *will,* their occurrence was less frequent and so they are not captured in table 8 below.

Table 8: Frequency of Modal Meaning and Point of View

Modal Meaning	Would Internal point of view	Would External Point of View	Will Internal Point of View	Will External Point of View	TOTAL
Directives (Deontic)	86	54	36	80	256
Predictions (Epistemic)	6	66	4	140	216
Request	48	3	-	3	54
Intention (Volition)	-	34	19	50	104
Willingnes S (volition)	6	3	52	8	69
Indeterminte	1	-	4	5	10
Total	**147**	**160**	**115**	**286**	**709**

Source: Author (2021)

From Table 8, *Would*, a median value modal which also expresses the traditional past tense of *will* exhibits all the types of point of view in the data. *Would* predominantly expresses directives, predictions, request, intention, and willingness from both internal and external point of view. *Would* is however found more in expressions of directives, request and predictions from external point of view than with internal point of view as shown in table. There is no occurrence of *would* expressing volition intention from internal point of view. My inclination is that parliament house presents a floor for the debaters to debate on given topics but not a place for declaring their intentions to do things as in electoral debates where the electorate are their main audience.

Concerning volition intention, all the volition intention sense of *would* are reported intentions of others but not the speaker hence volition intention is represented under external point of view but not internal point of view. Except

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for willingness past which is a semantic feature of *would*, *will* is found in the data to express all the semantic labels above expressed by *would*. In terms of point of view, *will* expresses volition intention from internal point of view whereas *would* does not. It seems to me the participants prefer *will* to *would* for expressing intention in parliamentary discourse.

Quirk et al. (1985: 228) define *will* as a modal of volition and prediction. *Will* performing the function of volition intention in the debates, however, predominantly occurs in commissives, speech acts through which the speakers commit themselves to future action (Searle, 1979). Commissives are typical of political discourse and the interplay of politicians' strategies and the audiences' expectations. They thus constitute a common and effective tool at the MPs' disposal to persuade others of their dedication to performing certain actions. The following is an example to illustrate the point,

12. *We **will** improve the state of combat readiness of our armed forces by improving the logistical infrastructure (25-1-17)*

According to Anicic (nd) *will* expresses the most assuring commitments to future action and hence has the potential of affecting the audience's persuasion. Thus, it is not surprising it is the preferred choice for expressing intention given the fact that it is also considered more straightforward than *would* in the view of some scholars (Collins, 2009; Vukovic, 2014).

Also, from Table 8 above, modals *would* and *will* are used to express different senses of modality ranging from deontic, epistemic, and boulomaic modality. The modals are used to perform varied functions depending on a speaker's perspective. Examples are given to illustrate this in the ensuing sub-headings on the various modals. In this study, directives, request and

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insistence are discussed under deontic modality because of their inherent sense of commitment which encodes deonticity. Prediction is discussed under epistemic modality and its sub-type, perception modality. Intention volition and willingness volition are all discussed under boulomaic modality because they express the desire of the speaker to perform certain actions or his commitment to seeing the performance of certain actions. Simpson (1993) refers to such commitments as boulomaic commitments.

Would and *Will* Used in Expressing Directives

From the data, *would* and *will* are involved in expressions of deontic directives more than the other senses of modality that they express. The deontic directives are expressed from both internal and external point of view with external point of view leading on a large margin, especially with *will*. Deontic modality, as explained earlier, is the modal system of duty as it is concerned with the speaker's attitude to the degree of obligation attached to the performance of certain actions (Jose & Parina, 2014). An example from my data is, *Mr Speaker, we* would **expect** *that, with the approval of this budget for the service, effort* **would be made** *to send this capacity building to that level, and to send a lot more trained staff to these units within the decentralised framework, so that we can have an improvement in the output levels of these units. (1-11-17)*

Simpson (1993) states that deontic modal auxiliaries fall within a continuum of commitment ranging from obligation, requirements, and permission. The following are some examples from the data:

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13. Mr Second Deputy Speaker: **I will urge** Leadership to do everything

possible to come to some consensus and let that reflect in the Business

Statement as indicated by the Hon Majority Leader. (29/3/2017, 4802)

14. **If you would want** to raise a point of order, **make sure** *that you draw*

my *attention* to the Order number and read that first before you bring

your contribution (24/2/2017, 1812)

15. I **would want** *to go on by saying* that there was a missed opportunity

by H. E. the President to tell us how a lot of things (23/2/2017, 1688)

The use of *will* and *would* in Examples 13-15 above expresses obligation,

requirement, and permission respectively. From my observation of the data

with regard to the two modal auxiliaries, the prefixing of directives with

modals *will* and *would* seem to be a feature in parliamentary discourse. The

MPs seem to use them as mitigating devices to reduce the force of the

directives to gain the acceptance of others for their views when strongly

expressed. The following discussion clarifies the point:

Internal Point of View; *Would* Mitigating Directives

From the data, *would* is used to mitigate directives. It is observed in the

data that *would* is used to express tentative meanings more than any other

meanings in the parliamentary debates. This is not a very surprising feature

because the business of parliament requires tactful communication of one's

point of view. To make directives more acceptable and to make the speakers

appear not to be forcing their views on peers, the directives with *would* were

tentative rather than forceful. The following are some examples that *would*

combines with deontic lexical verbs to tentatively or politely convey a sense

of directive:

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16. Mr Speaker, we **would** *expect* that, with the approval of this budget for the service, effort *would* be made to send this capacity building to that level, and to send a lot more trained staff to these units within the decentralised framework, so that we can have an improvement in the output levels of these units. (1-11-17)

17. I **would** *want to charge* the Committee to look into the accounting for the Internally Generated Funds (IGF). (22-2-17)

18. I **would** like to also *urge* the CSIR to focus their research activities on areas that are of priority to the country and areas that would directly link food security to climate change et cetera. (22-2-17)

19. Mr Speaker, but for the second year running, this has not been properly done, and we **would** *have to request* and insist on that, so that we can properly monitor and account for their expenditures. (22-3-17).

All the above illustrations represent deontic directives that are tentatively or politely expressed. The main verbs or verb phrases *expect, want to charge, urge, have to request* following the modal *would* could have been used alone to achieve the same semantic purpose. But from the point of view of the speakers, they see fellow participants as colleagues and therefore do not want to sound so commanding given the strong obligatory sense of those high deontic modal elements. From the perspective of the MPs, all the issues under discussion above are of necessity and national interest especially having to do with *approval of budget, funds, expenditure,* and *food;* they require the attention of all. There is therefore the need to be tactful in order to get all involved in performing those tasks, hence, the employment of the modal

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'*would*' with first-person 'I' and inclusive 'we' expressing an internal point of view.

From the perspective of the MPs, prefixing *would,* with deontic directives give an indication of politeness and serves to mitigate the force of the propositional content and so the use of *would* from an internal point of view. This finding of '*would*' combined with other lexical items to tactfully express politeness finds support by Ngula (2017) who observes that when writers use *would* in its epistemic sense, it portrays them to be more tactful and polite towards claims they make. That assertion holds true for *would* on the floor of parliament where members tread cautiously in their dealings with colleagues, especially, in expressing directives.

The MPs resort to the use of *would* as a hedging device to tentatively control and direct the behavior of fellow members and to soften the obligations they express. This point of view could stem from the speakers' cultural orientation. Most cultures in Ghana, especially the Akan culture, require politeness in dealing with certain issues and personalities (Frimpong, 2007). This cultural requirement could be the reason for the dominant use of *would* throughout the data in the submissions of speakers especially those who happen to know that *would* can express politeness use *would* in all circumstances in order to sound polite always. With this cultural orientation, straightforwardness with the use of *will* appears to be a disregard for culture. Sarfo (2016) reports a similar occurrence of the influence of culture with the use of *would* over *will* in expressing politeness by Ghanaian MPs in a comparative study of UK and Ghanaian parliamentary discourse. He is of the view that the cultural influence could stem from the ESL situation where the

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Ghanaian speaker of English as a second language has been oriented through studies of the grammar of the language to believe that the fixed rules for usage represented in grammar and dictionaries are an accurate descriptions of language.

Dzamashie (1997) cited in Sarfo also reports that ESL teaching in Ghana place emphasis on grammar at the expense of communicative competence. Sarfo (2016) concludes in the comparative study that politeness marking indicates a significant contrast between UK and Ghanaian MPs. His study showed that while Ghanaian MPs signal politeness by linguistic form using *would* over *will*, UK MPs employ more indirect and conventional forms of signalling politeness and therefore choose *will* over *would* which has been overgeneralised for expressing politeness in the present study.

Modality is also exploited in the data to display the relationship and attitude of the addresser to the subject of discussion and to the addressee. On the floor of parliament, the personalities involved consider one another as colleagues with the Speaker of Parliament as the highest authority. There is therefore the need to appear polite. Again, in Ghana, even though I do not intend to delve into Ghanaian English but concerning the use of modal *would*, the speaker's orientation seems to have an influence on their point view as seen in the predominant use of this modal, personalities such as chiefs, kings, elders, public and religious leaders are socially revered and even addressed with appropriate titles. Considering one another as such important personalities, therefore, require respect, caution, and circumspection from the perspective of the MPs. As can be seen from the examples above, some of the submissions are addressed to the speaker as well as colleagues.

Also, from the internal point of view of participants, as conveyed through the use of first-person pronouns, 'I' and 'we' and a median value modal *would*, explicit personal responsibility is taken for what is said, i.e. the MP's, individually or collectively, are the sole source of the evaluation given (Vukovic, 2014), hence the speakers show some level of commitment to the task at hand and are concerned about achieving results.

As for the shade of point of view, I am unable to assign a shading type to *would* mitigating directives. The expression of the directive with *would* tends to reduce the force of the directive rendering the directive neither strong nor weak hence neither positive nor negative according to the categorization of shade of point of view by Simpson (1993). I cannot also assign neutral shading because its use in the data in expressing directives does not satisfy the criteria for submissions with neutral shading as stipulated by Simpson (1993). At most I will term it as medium shading, somewhere between strong and weak which is not catered for in the theory but once *would* is considered as medium modal by some scholars (Ngula 2017) and as median value modal by Halliday (1994), this classification is not out of place. I would, therefore, suggest that some refinement be made to the theory to include a medium shade point of view if it has to be extended in the analysis of other discourses apart from literary texts.

Internal Point of View; Will Mitigating Directives

Will and *would* are used similarly in expressing modality and point of view in the data. They both seem to serve as hedging devices mitigating the force of directives. However, when *will* is expressed with directives, the

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directives still appear more assertive than with *would*. The following illustrate the point:

20. Hon Members, our Committee has gone into this matter and brought a Report. **I will** plead that we stick to matters coming out from our own Report and make progress. (25-1-17)

21. Hon Members, while the distribution goes on, **we will** move back to item numbered 3 on the Order Paper. (25-1-17)

22. **We will** now move to the Order Paper Addendum, and item numbered 1, thereon, and call upon the Hon Majority Leader to move the procedural Motion numbered 1, on the Addendum. (25-1-17)

23. Mr Speaker, the 16 cents is for the lifeline consumers and **I will** urge the Hon Member to go and re-check his facts and come back to this Honourable House. (23-2-17)

24. **I will** plead with him that he should not be mentioned as the person who has entered this House to set it on fire. (23-2-17).

As said earlier about *would*, all the above directives could have been conveyed straightforwardly without prefixing them with *will*. The prefixing of lexical verbs with modals *will* and *would* seem to be a feature in parliamentary discourse from the data to gain the acceptance of others for their views as the rules of parliament encourage civility in one's utterances. Members, therefore, prefix directives with *would* and *will* to show politeness. But as observed earlier, this trend could stem from the MPs' cultural orientation. And that orientation seems to inform their psychological point of view in the choice of the modals they make.

However, the use of *will* in expressing directives as observed in the above examples is more assured and forthright as compared to *would,* given the linguistic contest in which *will* occurs. From Example 20, *I will plead that we stick*, 21 and 22, *we will move*, 23 *I will urge the minister to go and recheck his facts* and 24 the combination *will* plus *should not*, shows prohibition. All those linguistic combinations in the examples signal straightforwardness other than being tentative. Again, this could be a point of view informed by cultural orientation at play as most of the speeches made in the extracts are directly from the Speaker of Parliament, the highest authority on the floor of parliament to the MPs.

The Speaker of Parliament is appointed as the highest authority in the house of parliament and so there is the need to be straightforward in directing affairs rather than being tentative in his dealings with the MPs. This is necessary in order to ensure sanity in the house and so the use of modals, *would* and *will,* also embeds some power on the floor of parliament given the subject of the utterance. The following are some examples from the Speaker of parliament:

25. Hon Minority Leader, using your experience in the House, **I will** urge that you check whether there is an authoritative document, otherwise, advise yourself. (25-1-17)

26. **I will** urge you to demonstrate maximum commitment, and devote your full attention and focus on the business programmed for the final Sittings of the   Sixth Parliament. (20-12-16)

27. **I will** not want interruptions from either side that may mar good debate. (23-2-17)

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In the extracts, the Speaker of Parliament appears more assertive in the use of *will* to express directives than it is in the case with *would*. Thus, through modality, the speaker's point of view can be seen by using particular modal elements (Simpson, 1993). With the analysis provided above, I can safely conclude that although *would* and *will* are both considered as median value modals according to Halliday (1994), there are still differences in their value with regard to point of view as expressed through modality in parliamentary discourse, given the different status of members on the floor of parliament.

In all the speeches of '*will*' expressing directives from internal point of view, the use of the first-person subjects, 'I', and 'we' show an involved focalization, both individual and collective effort is needed at getting the tasks done. Such expressions of personal effort show commitment on the part of the speakers where they explicitly commit themselves to the task (Vukovic, 2014). Expressions of such efforts coupled with directives highlight an internal point of view of positive shading.

External Point of View; *Would* and *Will* Mitigating Directives

The MPs also use d *will* and *would* from an external perspective to express directives. *Would* and *will* expressed with an external point of view are often presented in the form of reports. Part of their function as parliamentarians is the informative function. They report on issues on the floor of parliament to the constituents that they deem are necessary that the constituents should know. This observation finds support in Sarfo-Kantankah (2019) who reports that when MPs make decisions in public, especially during debates on the floor of parliament, such actions are usually meant to signal a sense of loyalty to their constituents.

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Submissions meant to inform in most cases have objective references to the names of the groups involved through third-person subjects instead of subjective references such as 'we' and 'I' (Iwamoto 2007). Such linguistic features highlight an external point of view and help the speakers subtly evade personal responsibility. The preferential use of *would* and *will* with deontic directives from an external perspective in the debates can be a sign of evading responsibility and softening the imposition in compelling those responsible towards acts which are considered by the debaters to be in the common interest of all.

External Point of View; Will Mitigating Directives

Will is involved in expressions of deontic directives than all the other senses that it expresses. This finding supports Anicic (nd) assertion that deontic modal operators with *will* show speaker's level of responsibility and commitment towards local needs in political discourse.

Will is also involved in expressions of directives from an external perspective by a larger margin than *would*. It seems to me, from my observation of the data, that the MPs see the performance of certain tasks in the interest of all and so the need to be forthright in reporting who is responsible while still being tactful in order to persuade those responsible to act, hence the use of *will* with deontic modal operators**.** The following are some examples:

28. They explained that the concession arrangement envisages a transition period of about 2- years during which they **will** have to implement certain critical projects to ensure the supply of adequate power to sustain the country's socio-economic development. (1-11-16)

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29. He indicated that about US$48 million out of the funds to be raised from the sale of shares in GPMS **will** fund the critical turnaround strategy of TOR and ensure that it remains a viable going concern. (1-11-16)

30. He explained that funds to be raised in excess of US$90 million which is TOR's immediate requirement **will** be applied for servicing part of TOR's debt. Granting the waiver will also help (1-11-16)

31. In fact, they even explained it to which we all agreed that the respective deputy chief executive officers **will** then have directors responsible for various functions under them, which then work towards them and the two work towards the chief executive. (1-11-16)

32. Mr Speaker, I am happy that the Hon Minister has given this information. Of course, the proper thing ought to have been that, after touching on this, then together he **will** lead us, because he is still the Hon Minister for Finance (20-12-16)

The extracts above represent debates on committee reports presented on the floor. Reported directives are usually used during debates on committee reports. The parliament of Ghana operates more in the committee system; committees are assigned certain tasks and are supposed to report back to the house after their deliberations. After committees have presented their reports they are further debated for approval on the floor of parliament. During such debates, members are reminded of who is obligated to perform one duty or the other usually resulting in reported directives.

In the extracts, the MPs adopt objective cases with modal 'will' in order to appear neutral in presenting and debating on the reports. The speakers

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present themselves as not part of the task to be performed, but have a good knowledge of the situation on the ground and know what is expected of the duty bearers. In most cases, the speakers know what is supposed to be done and the persons or agencies responsible for carrying out such tasks and so detach themselves with an external point of view through the use of objective references as illustrated above; *they **will**, GPMS **will**, TOR's immediate requirement **will**, deputy chief executive officers **will**, he **will***

Submissions as above are meant to inform the public as well as fellow members who are supposed to be doing what and whether they are doing it. In these expressions, explicit personal responsibility is not taken. Such submissions, therefore, bear medium point of view markers as I observed earlier with modal *would* and directives. What makes this interesting is that most of the utterances carry a futuristic element. They talk about obligations others must perform to ensure that society functions well. Since parliaments have oversight responsibilities over a number of social institutions and MPs are aware that when others fail to do their jobs well the electorate can transfer the anger to them, a close look at the examples indicate that they make a conscious effort to assign the responsibility of making the things happen to others. This is a sure way to avoid personal responsibility. By associating others with unfavourable social situations and assigning them responsibilities, the speakers simultaneously distance themselves and the audience from the addressee, thus explicitly exhibiting the trilogic nature of political debates (Garcia-Paster, 2007).

Also, as part of their informational functions, in national parliaments, one of the primary reasons why legislators make speeches is to stake out

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policy positions and communicate these positions to voters (Mayhew, 1974). In performing this informational function, the legislators try to present themselves as objectively as possible. Depending on the topic of reports, the MPs adopt third-person subjects and agentless passives to make their reports and to avoid being held accountable. The following are some examples:

33. The Committee on Government Assurance **will** follow -up and make sure that the assurance is done. (1-11-16)

34. He indicated that about US$48 million out of the funds to be raised from the sale of shares in GPMS **will** fund the critical turnaround strategy of TOR and ensure that it remains a viable going concern. (1-11-16)

35. Credits **will** be channeled towards self-financing and commercially viable projects. (1-11-16)

The MPs adopt third-person subjects with modal *will* to show detachment from the tasks thereby shifting the responsibility to others. Example 35 is even an agentless passive 'credits will be channelled'. We do not know who is channelling those credits. From the speaker's point of view, he either has knowledge of the event but is not part of the implementation or wants to avoid blame and accountability should they fail to accomplish the task. Agentless passives are one great way to hide information. A cursory look at the examples above indicates that all the commitments expressed have some financial obligations inherent in them. The choice of such a structure, in effect, is purposefully done to avoid giving too much information.

External Point of View: Would

From the data, *would* is also used to tentatively express deontic directives from an external point of view. The data reveals cases in which participants from an external point of view prefix modal *would* with lexical verbs to tactfully direct and control the behaviour of fellow participants, as well as others who they deem responsible for the performance of some duties. Such submissions often seek to either remind fellow participants or report to the public that certain actions are necessary from the point of view of the speakers and therefore call on those responsible to rise to their tasks. The preferential use of *would* with deontic directives from an external perspective in the debates could be an attempt to reduce the force of the imposition for the addressees on issues they consider to be of national interest since the rules of parliamentary discourse encourage politeness and civility. The following exemplifies the point:

36. I hope that *the Minister for Local Government and Rural Development* **would** indeed, ensure the true functioning of decentralization as captured in the Report in one of the pages I noticed. (22-3-17)

Would in the data is used by the MP to express a hypothetical directive. From the point of view of the speaker, he is not responsible for the performance of such duties but he is well aware of who those duty bearers are and so the speaker as it were, detaches himself with an objective perspective and does not show his involvement in the proposition expressed.

Even though the speaker tries to detach from the responsibility, he shows his concern towards the accomplishment of such tasks as seen through the adoption of such deontic action verbs: *indeed ensure* with modal **would** to

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tentatively direct and control those responsible in the performance of such duties. In order not to appear so forceful on colleagues and even ministers, the speaker chooses to prefix the expected actions with modal *would* in order to appear modest while seeking to achieve his intended purpose.   The combination of *would* with deontic modal operators from external point of view both to direct and control, and at the same time persuade addressees to act is considered indicative of pragmatic strategies attesting to the trilogic nature of the political debates as defined by Garcia-Paster (2007) as a particular type of trilogic persuasive discourse. She argues that "the trilogic nature of contenders' interchange lies in the simultaneous action of persuading the audience and debating the opponent in such a way that the contenders pay the audience face considerations in trying to persuade it at the same time that they indirectly damage the opponent's image.

Generally, the factors that determine the choice of *would* and *will* in giving directives as discussed above are that *will* is preferred with directives when the MPs see the performance of certain tasks in the interest of all and so the need to be forthright in reporting those responsible whereas *would* is mostly used for tentativeness. Speakers choose to prefix the expected actions with modal *would* in order to appear modest while seeking to achieve their intended purpose. The prefixing of *would* with directives from external point of view is also usually an attempt to direct and control the behaviour of others, and at the same time persuade addressees to act in certain ways desirable to the speaker.

Will is also used with directives to show detachment, especially when used with third-person subjects. This is usually the case when the MPs want to

shift responsibility to others. While the preferential use of *would* with deontic directives from an external perspective in the debates is identified as a sign of evading responsibility, and, at the same time, softening the imposition for the addressees on issues they consider to be of national interest.

Would and *Will* Expressing Prediction from Internal and External Point of View

Next to the expression of directives from the data is the expression of epistemic prediction with *would* and *will*. Epistemic modality shows the speaker's confidence or lack of confidence in the truth of the expressed proposition and could be the most important with regard to the point of view of a story (Parina & De Leon, 2014). Hacquard and Wellwood (2012) refer to epistemic modality as the speaker's assessment of probability and predictability. The data abounds with *would* and *will* expressing epistemic prediction from both internal and external point of view. The use of *would* and *will* to express a sense of prediction usually portrays uncertainty and evasiveness on the part of participants.

Internal Point of View; *Would* Expressing Predictions

When *would* is employed from internal point of view to express prediction, it mostly shows the participant's uncertainty about some action he/she anticipates, hence, they engage in making predictions.
The following are some excerpts from the data,

    37. Mr Speaker, we **would** also make progress in terms of the upgrade of
        the biometric chip embedded passports, to ensure that, we become

<div align="center">113</div>

International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO) compliant. (22-3-2017)

38. Mr Speaker, once we deal with the issue of resources, there are issues about the distribution of water. In the urban areas, we **would** find that buildings have been situated on main water systems (22-3-2017)

39. we **would** find these officers in large numbers at the District Assemblies when officers have not been sent to the zonal councils and the unit committees. (22-3-2017)

The above convey epistemic sense of *would* in the debates expressing prediction from an internal perspective as seen through the use of first-person pronouns 'I' and 'we'. From the data, using *would* with first-person subjects seem that the participants are persuading the addressee to accept their view stand even though they are unsure about the propositions they make. This observation finds support with Piper et al (2005) who consider epistemic modality as persuasion which is effective in parliamentary discourse.

In the debates, the use of internal point of view through the first-person pronoun 'I' in making the prediction suggests the involvement of the speaker, hence, a show of good knowledge and commitment to performing those tasks in examples 37-39 above.

External Point of View: *Would* Expressing Prediction

Unlike *would* internal point of view which makes use of first-person pronouns that connote involvement and commitment on the part of the speaker (Simpson, 1993), the use of objective reference with *would* expresses an external point of view. From the data, *would* expresses prediction from an

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external point of view when it is used with an agentless subject or in reported speech. It seems to me the participants adopt this strategy to avoid blame should their predictions fail. The following examples illustrate the point:

40. National income **would** reach three trillion, six hundred billion Ghana cedis (GH3c.6 trillion) by the year 2057. (23-3-2017).

41. Additionally, the 2018-2021 National Medium-Term Development Policy Framework **would** be completed in a year. (23-3-2017)

42. *That* **would** make the work of the Ministry very difficult, if not almost impossible. (22-3-2017)

In Examples 40, 41 and 42 *would* is used with agentless subjects 'National income', 'National Medium-Term Development Policy Framework', and 'that'. The speakers adopt agentless subjects to avoid any blame. They do not show any commitment to the task under discussion and do not also mention anybody responsible for the task, It seems that they do this to avoid being held responsible for any lapses. This observation finds support in Marin Arrese (2007 p.92) that "in cases where the conceptualiser is construed generically with verbs, i.e. through predicates with *that* as the subject (*that suggests, that appears*…) and agentless passives (*It was felt that*…), the responsibility taken is 'opaque'. The choice of *would* with such agentless passives indicates weak commitment. Such submissions have a negative shading where a speaker detaches himself, does not involve himself, and also does not mention who is responsible for the actualisation of the propositions (Simpson, 1993).

Internal and External Point of View: *Will* Expressing Prediction

Modal *will* is also used in expressing prediction from internal and external point of view just like *would*.

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Internal Point of View: *Will* Expressing Prediction

The following are some examples of *will* expressing prediction from an internal point of view:

43. Hon Minority Leader, do not worry. We **will** get there. (20-12-16)

44. At that point, when I am called to make a ruling or guidance, then I **will** be in a better position. (20-12-2016)

45. I believe that in the next eight to sixteen years, we **will** not find any one of us still sitting in Parliament. (1-11-16)

The use of *will* here is epistemically stronger than the use of *would* discussed above. The use of *will* in the excerpts above can be glossed as "it is (very) likely that …" (Quirk et al, 1985, p. 228) whereas *would* discussed above is glossed as "it is less likely that..." In examples 1 to 3 above, all the meanings of *will* are one of prediction meant to persuade colleagues of some future events expressed from the speaker's internal point of view. From the analysis of the data, when MPs seek to persuade others of future events, they make use of *will* in the predictions they make. However, when they intend to show weak commitment, in order to detach themselves, the choice of modal for prediction becomes *would* expressed with agentless subjects as discussed earlier.

In sum, the sense of *will* from an internal perspective through personal pronouns shows a speaker's level of knowledge and commitment in what he is predicting; hence, this serves as a tool for audience's persuasion.

External Point of View: Will

Will is also employed in expressing prediction and projection from an external point of view. *Will* is predominantly used in the data to express

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epistemic prediction. According to Coates (1983, p.179) the meaning of *will* can be paraphrased 'I predict that…' and the prediction always has future time reference. From the data, *will* expressing prediction is usually presented in the form of reports. What is clear in the data with regard to the use of *will* in expressing prediction is that in most of the occurrences of *will*, the speakers seem to lack absolute knowledge in their assertions and they seem to merely employ *will* from external perspective to avoid personal responsibility in the predictions they make.

After all, the predictions they make involve future actions, so, they cannot be held to account here and now and this strategy also serves the purpose of persuasive discourse in parliamentary debates. The following examples illustrate the point:

46. Transmission Lines **will** be constructed to designated feed points. (20-12-2016)

47. The Committee after a careful examination of the facility is of the view that, approval of the facility **will** help improve access to health care in deprived areas of the Western region.

48. The Minister for Finance reiterated that in line with government policy, commercial credits **will** be channeled towards self-financing and commercially viable projects.

49. Granting the waiver **will** also help TOR and its equity partners to further leverage the Concession to raise fresh capital to refurbish the facility and build a new SPM of up to 200,000 MT capacity.

The above extracts represent reported predictions on some issues of national interest.

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The submissions, therefore, represent the views of others but not the speaking self; hence, they are conveyed from an external point of view, as seen in the use of the third person subjects in examples 47 and 48, 'the committee', 'the minister'. Here, the speakers are not the ones doing the prediction, someone else is, and from their point of view they either find such issues laudable and so report but because those do not represent the speakers' own views, the speakers are detached and are not liable should they fail to perform. In other sense, they are skeptical about those views and would not want to commit themselves and so adopt an objective stance using reported speech with a median value modal *will* expressing some future action.

The employment of an objective stance with *will* supports Simpson's (1993) assertion that perspective and particular modals can add 'colour' or 'feel' to the text (Simpson, 1993). In this sense, the use of *will* from an external perspective helps the speakers avoid personal responsibility of performing some future actions. This observation supports Gamage and Mankangila's (2019) assertion that objective explicit modality avoids responsibility to a certain extent in political discourse. In Examples 46 and 49, the MPs adopt an objective stance representing an external perspective through the use of the agentless passives, 'transmission lines will be…', 'granting the waver will be'. In this type of point of view, a speaker does not commit himself nor does he represent the views of others. By so doing, he does not claim responsibility for anything and this is usually the norm in political discourse where members want to appear tactful in avoiding responsibility while achieving their goal of communication.

Would and Will Expressing Volition Intention

Volition Intention meanings fall under boulomaic modality in this work because volition intention shows the speaker's state of mind and boulomaic modality expresses the desire, hopes, and wishes of the speaker (Simpson, 1993, p.44). Expression of intention came next to predictions with the use of modals *would* and *will* in the data. *Would* is, however, used more to express external point of view than is used to express internal point of view of volition intention.

Internal Point of View: Would Expressing Volition Intention

The following are examples of *would* expressing internal point of view:

50. Mr Speaker, I **would** like to limit myself to paragraph 6.1 of the Report which is captured on page 4.

51. we **would** want to lay that Paper, as exhibited on the primary Order Paper, item numbered 5b (ii), (22-3-17).

52. I **would** also want to comment briefly on the encroachment of CSIR lands.

53. Mr Speaker, I **would** disregard the Hon Minority Leader; he is baiting me to go on the same path. I resist that bait. (22-2-17).

54. we **would** advise ourselves on how best to tackle the Hon Colleague's constituency. (22-2-17).

These submissions are made from an internal point of view expressing boulomaic modality, showing the desire of speakers to perform certain actions as seen in the expressions; *I would like, we would want, I would disregard, we would advise*. These desires are expressed individually and collectively as seen through the use of first-person singular and plural personal pronouns

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showing individual and group commitments of the speaking self. The first person plural pronominal 'we' which represents an internal point of view serves as a means of building solidarity with members who belong to the same side even in expressing volition intention in the debates. This strategy seeks to rally all behind the speaker toward achieving his goals. Clearly, the shade type of this discourse is positive because *would* mostly collocates with verbs of desire: *like, want, share* coupled with the first-person pronouns showing boulomaic desire.

External Point of View: Would Expressing Volition Intention

The following excerpts represent *would* expressing volition intention from external point of view. This sense of *would* is presented in the form of reported speeches. On the floor of parliament, it seems to me members like to report more than they make direct submissions. This observation could stem from the fact, as already stated with other senses of *will* and *would* in this work, the parliament of Ghana operates more in the committee system. After committees have done their work, they present them as reports to parliament. The findings are usually subjected to further debates where members are expected to make their inputs before approval. In such debates, references are made to what has been reported already, either critiquing or supporting.

In such deliberations, members engage more in making references to what others have said than presenting their own ideas and I believe this attitude is what has accounted for more uses of *would* expressing external volition when it is supposed to be a reflection of the "state of mind of the speaker" (Coates, 1983: 126):

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55. Mr Speaker, the Committee took a very serious view of this matter, especially as the Hon Finance Minister had assured us that, the Foreign Ministry **would** be given a special dispensation.

56. The Ministry **would**, therefore, not interfere in religious activities but rather, promote inter-faith consensus.

57. Mr Speaker, they propose that they **would** first, do a capacity needs assessment, and this is relevant. This is because once that is done, it is the only way they would know which areas the LGS staff need capacity, and which areas they need to hammer during training sessions. 22-3-17)

58. It **would** also focus on enhancing the capacity of Traditional Authorities in advocacy, peace building, and dispute resolution. In addition, advocacy programmes would.

59. I am happy to hear that they **would** recruit more counsel to deal with disputes at various districts and regions.

60. As to the amount for compensation, the details are also available which at the appropriate time, **would** be sent through the Hon Chairman.

All the excerpts are made from an external point of view with the speakers distancing themselves through the use of objective references; *the committee, the ministry would, they would, it would, they would.* Prefixing the intentions with such third-person subjects shows an external perspective where the speaker is not involved in the intention but is merely reporting the intentions, desires, and hopes of others or speaking the minds of those responsible for such actions. In such submissions, somebody is committed to performing that

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task. The speaker is only privy to the information but not part of the task and so reports as it is.

Example 60 is even made with an agentless subject; *As to the amount for compensation, the details are also available which at the appropriate time, would be sent through the Hon Chairman.* Who will send those tasks? The responsibility taken is opaque (Vukovic, 2014) and the use of *would* in the expression even shows low commitment. I believe these are some of the nuances of parliamentary debates given their argumentative nature and so, usually, members do not want to own up to certain issues. I am, therefore, of the view that the MPs choose such objective references to avoid being held accountable for any lapses. The type of point of view that is usually adopted here is external with a 'medium shade' as it expresses objectivity.

Will Expressing Internal and External Point of View: Volition Intention

Will just like *would* is also employed by the MPs to express volition intention. The volitional sense of *will* involves plans for the future. The difference, however, is that *would* usually expresses intention past and, therefore, mostly sounds like reported speech; hence, it is used to evade responsibility whereas *will* appears more of commissives when it expresses futurity in the debates. Modality is, therefore, used as a linguistic tool to express levels of commitment to what participants intend to do or not to do. Just like *would*, *will* is also used to express internal and external point of view.

Internal Point of View: Volition Intention (*Will*)

When *will* expresses internal point of view in the debates, the speaker is the subject, making plans for the future usually with the use of first-person

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pronouns showing commitment and involvement. From the data, the involvement is usually either individual or collective. The MPs adopt these linguistic strategies to show their level of responsibility and commitment. The following are some examples:

61. By exploiting this valuable resource, we **will** make the water cycle work better for every living thing. For example, exploiting wastewater in agriculture and aquaculture protects workers, farmers and consumers, promotes food security, health and wellbeing. And we **will** help achieve the Sustainable Development Goal 6 target to half the proportion of untreated wastewater and increase water recycling and safe reuse. (22-3-17)

62. Yesterday, we did a briefing on the IMF, but we **will** include this in the items that are in transition (20-12-16)

63. We **will** get the draftspersons to do the re-numbering with this new introduction. (1-11-16)

64. As I stand down clause 52, it is the same for clause 53. Tomorrow, we **will** start from clause (1-11-16)

65. "We **will** improve the state of combat readiness of our armed forces by improving the logistical infrastructure (25-1-17)

All the expressions; *we will,* prefixing the submissions above, can be glossed as *we intend.* All such illustrations above, therefore, carry a volitional sense of intention from an internal point of view, the expressions show the state of mind of the speaking self. The point of view expressed is from both individual and collective perspectives showing consensus.

A careful examination of the data reveals that the volition intention sense of *will* expressed from the internal point of view is embedded with commissives, speech acts through which the speakers commit themselves to future action (Searle, 1979). Commissives are typical of political discourse and the interplay of politicians' strategies and the audiences' expectations. They, thus, constitute a common and effective tool at the MPs' disposal in an effort to persuade others of their dedication to performing certain actions. Modality, is, thus used as a linguistic tool to express levels of commitment to what communicators intend to do (Chaiyasat & Sudajit-apa, 2017), as in the example below:

65. We **will** improve the state of combat readiness of our armed forces by improving the logistical infrastructure (25-1-17).

And other such important issues as providing water supply, the promulgation of laws, and providing logistics for armed forces expressed in Extracts 61-65 above. According to Anicic (nd), *will* expresses the most assuring commitments to future action and, hence, has the potential of affecting the audience's persuasion. Thus, it is not surprising it is the preferred choice for expressing intention, given the fact that it is also considered more straightforward than *would* in the view of some scholars.

External Point of View: Will Intention

Will is also used in the data to express intention from an external focalisation. *Will,* just like *woul*d, conveys an external point of view when the speaker is not the one who has the intention to do something but merely reports the intentions of others. Perhaps, he is privy to such information. Such

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submissions are usually made with agentless passives in order for the speaker
to avoid accountability. The following examples illustrate the point:

66. The project **will** be implemented in two phases namely; the
    implementation phase which consists of two components of;

    Construction/upgrading and equipping of six health facilities and
    Quality Management Systems Development.

67. In the medium-term, jobs **will** be created through the implementation
    of a comprehensive programme for Small and Medium-sized
    Enterprises (SMEs) development and the business environment **will**
    also be improved through reforms, tax reduction and making energy
    available and affordable.

68. As part of the project, Medium Voltage Transmission Lines **will** be
    constructed to designated feed-points.

69. The business environment **will** also be improved through reforms, tax
    reduction and making energy available and affordable. (23-2-17)

All the above submissions are conveyed through boulomaic modality sense,
expressing hopes and desires from an external perspective where the speakers
detach themselves from the speech situation. In the submissions from
Examples 66-69, one may ask, who *will*? All the submissions in that range are
constructed generically with agentless passives. The adoption of such
linguistic features, according to Iwamoto (2007, p.185), does not reflect the
thought or state of mind of the speakers, and this "corresponds to objective,
neutral, uninvolved focalization" as opposed to subjective or involved
focalization (RimmonKennan, 1983, p.80). Such linguistic choices are
strategies politicians adopt when they want to avoid responsibility. This

observation finds support in Marin Arrese (2007 p.92) that "in cases where the conceptualiser is construed generically with verbs, i.e. through predicates with *that* as the subject (*that suggests, that appears*…) and agentless passives (*It was felt that*…), the responsibility taken is 'opaque'

Also, where there is the mention of the agents involved but the speakers are detached from the propositions with the use of the objective references made through the third person subjects as in the examples below:

70. The President assured us and informed all Ghanaians that the Scheme **will** be restored to good health. (23-2-17)

71. In that light, the President was emphatic that the free SHS policy **will** begin admission in the 2017/2018 academic year. [22 (23-2-17)

The use of third-person subjects as *the president* in Examples 70 and 71 above connotes an uninvolved focalization, (Simpson, 1993, p.69). However, the speakers as well as the audience are well aware of those responsible for the task. Therefore, there is the mention of the source because it is already on record that the president made those utterances during the 2017 State of the Nation Address. It, therefore, seems that when participants refer to utterances that are already on record, they see no need to hide the subject of the utterance for fear of being held accountable.

Would and Will Expressing Request

The use of *would* and *will* were also commonly used in expressing requests. However, *would* was used more in expressing request than *will*. The data recorded 51 occurrences of *would* expressing request and just 3 occurrences of *will* expressing request. Of these numbers, *would* expresses

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more internal point of view than external point of view. My observation of *would* expressing request in the data is that its usage is hypothetical. When we want to get someone to do something for us, we often express this in a polite way. *Would* is found in expressing polite requests from internal point of view. Like voting, speech is a tool politicians can use to demonstrate to their constituents that they are standing up for them in parliament. Indeed, Democratic Party leaders in the US House of Representatives have used coordinated short speeches as means to attract media attention and sell their position (Sinclair, 1995). When given the opportunity to speak, politicians therefore sometimes try to appear polite as much as possible to convince others to accept their views. Much of what goes on in parliament is deliberations; because of this, members usually use requests in order to get some consideration for their views. According to Mayhew (1974), in national parliaments, one of the primary reasons why legislators make speeches is to stake out policy positions and communicate these positions to voters (Mayhew, 1974).

Internal Point of View: Would Expressing Requests

From the data, the MPs expressed requests more from internal point of view than from external point of view with regard to modal *would*. The data record 48 occurrences of would expressing request from internal point of view and just 3 for external point of view. The following exemplify the point:

72. We **would** appeal to the Hon Minister for Finance to as a matter of fact, increase the Internally Generated Fund (IGF), so that the Ministry could perform their functions very well. (22-3-17)

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73. I **would** want to *request* that, this time round, we all look at it closely, so that the mistakes we made the last time would not recur (20-11-16)

74. I **would** only want to draw the attention of Hon Members to some omissions which we intend including in the Order Paper Addendum for today. (20-11-16)

75. We **would** want and wish that the deliberations and discussions concerning youth matters, the substantive officers themselves attend such meetings to contribute to such deliberations. (1-11-16)

76. Mr Speaker, I **would** wish that the budget is increased beyond the GH¢34,328,798, but as matters are currently, that is what the Ministry itself has accepted, and so I would crave the indulgence of this House to approve the GH¢34,328,798 for this Ministry. (22-3-17)

77. I **would** also want to draw the attention of the House to the fact that, the Ministry has a lot of important agencies under it, and there is the need for us to resource those departments and agencies very well for them to be able to undertake their activities. (22-3-17)

From the data, it is evident how the MPs dexterously use modal *would* combined with boulomaic lexical verbs, 'want', 'like', and 'wish' in a quest to make their request sound polite in order to get the desired results. *Would* is commonly used with boulomaic lexical verbs by participants to express a sense of desire in making the request on issues of relevance. In such a request, the speaker is either desirous of getting some information or getting certain things done. All the extracts above are submissions on matters of relevance in society: 'increase in internal generated funds', 'approval of budget', and 'youth matters' hence the speakers express interest in their actualization to

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gain a good public perception of themselves as ones who are desirous in achieving the good for the country. A careful observation of the data, therefore, seems to me that the use of request also constitutes a tool for persuasion in parliamentary discourse depending on the linguistic contest.

As part of the tactfulness in attaining what they request, the common trend observed is that the submissions with requests are usually made with action verbs that carry some level of force, hence the use of the median value 'would' by the MPs to soften the force of the proposition because the speaker of parliament who oversees affairs on the floor reserves the right to let them carry on or not and he also reserves the right to grant that request or not if it is in his capacity. The following are some examples:

78. I **would** want the Minister to explain that to us, as that is the only serious part of this on-lending facility. After that, I would proceed further. (1-11-16)

79. I **would** want to *request* that, this time round, we all look at it closely, so that the mistakes we made the last time would not recur (20-11-16)

80. Mr Speaker. We **would** want to know which of the two Ministers is in charge. This falls within the role of national development planning. (22-3-17)

81. We **would** appeal to the Hon Minister for Finance to as a matter of fact, to increase the Internally Generated Fund (IGF), so that the Ministry could perform their functions very well. (22-3-17)

82. Mr Speaker, I **would** respectfully want to appeal to the Hon Minority Leader because he has the right and the decision to decide (22-2-17)

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To mitigate the force in the proposition, the speakers adopt modal *would* in order to appear polite. More explicit examples of efforts on the part of participants to appear polite are as follows: I *would respectfully want* to appeal, I *would only want* to draw, *I would plead*, and *We would appeal*. It seems to me the cultural background informs the point of view of the MPs in their choice of these explicit polite requests as discussed earlier. This conscious effort to appear polite leads the MPs to adopt what scholars refer to as 'modal harmonic' where two modal elements express nearly the same degree of modality (see Halliday, 1970, p.331; Lyons, 1977 p. 805,). Such uses, as seen in the excerpts above; I *would wish*, We *would want* and *wish*, *I would respectfully* mutually reinforce the politeness in the request made. I believe the MPs could have been straightforward in making their requests using only the lexical verbs *I want to draw; we want to know*. I am also tempted to believe that because these are subjective submissions that can be traced to individuals and groups, there is the need, from the point of view of the speakers, to show some decorum in what they say. Obtaining permission to speak from the Speaker of Parliament and gaining the attention of colleagues on the floor of parliament seem to me very important to the legislators as they consciously try to appear modest when given the opportunity to speak.

The shade type of this discourse is 'medium.' Even though Simpson assigns positive shading to expressions of boulomaic modality (Simpson, 1993, p.75), according to him, positive submissions are characterized by the rich use of high values of deontic and boulomaic modalities of obligation, desire, duties, and opinions as in (we must..., I want...) (Simpson ibid).

However, the use of *would* with the boulomaic markers 'want', 'like', etc, as mentioned above, tends to tone down the force of the desire, reducing the shade in the point of view from positive to 'medium'. I, therefore, assign a medium shade to *would* expressing requests in the parliamentary data.

Would and Will Expressing Willingness and Point of View

Will is used more in the data than *would* in expressing willingness. *Will* carries a boulomaic sense of modality showing the desire of participants to carry out certain actions. *Will* expresses readiness to do something instantly, a feature which distinguishes it from a promise which has to do with future actions (Berk, 1999). On the floor of parliament, members show readiness to perform certain actions they feel are of matter of relevance to them. Such submissions often convey boulomaic modality sense because of the inherent desire in willingness. The data recorded 34 occurrences of *will* expressing willingness. Out of this, the use of *will* occurred 26 times expressing willingness from an internal point of view and 8 times in expressing external point of view.

Internal Point of View: Will Expressing Willingness

The expression of willingness from an internal point of view with *will* is usually conveyed through the animate subjects *I* and *we* showing an individual and collective willingness to perform certain actions. In expressing willingness from internal point of view, members commit to doing what they consider as best practices from their point of view; they are either willing to do what is best or willing to do away with certain negatives. In the debates, when *will* is expressed with first-person subjects, it usually shows a higher

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degree of willingness as compared to *would* in expressions of willingness. This shows that willingness is a feature of the speaker, as seen below:

83. Mr Speaker, I **will** respond to some of the policy issues he has raised. (1-11-16)

84. Mr Speaker, I **will** yield to the further amendment that he has proposed. (1-11-16)

85. I **will** not litigate it. Once it comes from the Chair, I **will** bow to the Chair. (25-1-17)

86. Mr Speaker, I **will** focus on the health sector by giving an outline of what I have termed the legacies of the Mills and Mahama NDC Administration within the health sector of the country. (25-1-17)

87. We **will** depart from the practice of undoing the valuable contributions. (25-1-17)

88. Hon Members, I **will** only hear the Hon Minority Leader on this matter. (20-12-16)

From the perspective of the participants, they are aware and conscious of the fact that as parliamentarians they are responsible for certain actions. They are, therefore, mostly willing to perform what they consider as needful; they are willing /not willing to perform certain actions that will affect the smooth running of debates. They are also willing to let others have their way when necessary, knowing that in a communicative event whose main purpose is to convince others in a competing world, the most assuring commitments to present actions (actions in the present) will considerably affect the audience's persuasion (Anicic, nd).

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A discourse of this nature projects an internal point of view of positive shading since the source of the utterance is the centre of consciousness of participants involved in the debate characterised by first-person pronouns 'I' and 'we' and words expressing feelings representing the speaking self and showing individual and ingroup willingness (Iwamoto, 2007, p. 179). What I find interesting is the expression of willingness with the first person plural pronominal 'we' which serves to build ingroup solidarity, showing that on the floor of parliament, members either decide collectively to be willing or unwilling in the performance of some task depending on their shared values and this is not surprising as parliament constitutes a competing world configured in each debaters talk (Anicic, nd).

External Point of View: Will Expressing Willingness

There was no occurrence of *will* expressing external point of view. External focalization suggests an objective stance outside the consciousness of participants involved in the speech situation, from which the events and participants are described (Simpson, 1993, p.39). The non-occurrence of willingness expressed from an external point of view in the data shows that on the floor of parliament, willingness is a feature of the Speaker rather than of the subject. The finding shows that members are more willing to speak for themselves than report the actions of others.

Would Expressing Willingness

Would also expresses willingness but not as much as in the case of *will*. Also, *would* expresses willingness from both internal and external point of view, though insignificant.

Internal Point of View: Would Expressing Willingness

Would is also used to express willingness in the data just like *will*. The difference, however, is that *would* expresses low degree of willingness and it is usually presented like a reported speech and does not express as much willingness as *will* does. From my analysis of the data, the MPs choose *would* when they do not want to show full commitment to the actions they wish to perform. The participants use *would* to express both internal and external point of view through the use of animate and inanimate subjects. The following examples illustrate the point:

89. I **would** rather go with the Chairman than his. What we want is just clarity. (1-11-16)

90. I **would** now lay the first Paper, that is the Semi-Annual Report of the Bank of Ghana on the Petroleum Holding Funds for July 1 –December 31, 2016. (22-2-17)

91. Mr Speaker, the other harvesting opportunity that I **would** want to put to the fore is being spoken of behind closed doors, but it is important that it is exposed, which is, the need to harvest the millions of litres of water that flows into the sea from the River Volta through Sogakope and the Ada estuary. (22-2-17)

92. Of course, I **would** go and see the Hon Minister but I hope that they are captured so that it does not create problems in some of these localities. (22-2-17).

Even though all the above express a sense of willingness or desire of participants wanting to perform certain actions from an internal point of view, they do not show full commitment on the part of the speaker as they resort to

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the use of *would*, a median value modal to express such commitment rather tentatively. The use of *would*, therefore, reduces the shade of the volitional willingness from positive to somewhat 'medium'. In the data, *would* just like *will* is found to express more willingness from internal point of view than external point of view. I believe the phenomenon is as a result of the fact that the expression of willingness involves animate subjects (Quirk et al. 1985, p.228; Ngula, 2007, p.88). That assertion is attested in the parliamentary data. Expressions of willingness in the debates are mostly preceded by first-person pronouns, I and we showing participants' readiness to perform what they deem important.

External Point of View: Would Expressing Willingness

Some expressions of *would* expressing willingness were recorded with an external perspective. Below are some examples:

93. I am happy that the LGS staff secretariat is proposing that they **would** review all these conditions, and therefore, most of the resultant agitations may not even appear as it were. (22-2-17)

This sense of willingness from an external point of view is in the form of a report. The speaker reports the desires of others and not his own.

Indeterminate Cases

Cases of indeterminacy abound in the data involving *will* and *would* expressing internal and external point of view. *Will* and *would* are used interchangeably in the data, what Owusu-Ansah (1994) terms as conflation. The indeterminate cases that occur in the data mostly involve modality meanings of intention, deontic directives, epistemic predictions, request, and

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insistence. The submissions are expressed in such a way that it becomes difficult to decide the particular modality meaning, sometimes due to lack of enough linguistic context as a result of interruptions of the speech of the participant by colleagues on the floor. The following indeterminate cases of *would* and *will* convey modality meanings as either intention or directives:

94. SSNIT **would** hire out those premises and the money that would accumulate would be made available to the Town and Country Planning Department. It was so many years back…. (22-3-17)

95. Government **will** on-lend the loan to VRA and **will** have oversight responsibility in the disbursement arrangements. (1-11-16)

96. Mr Speaker, again, the Ministry of Finance **would** want every entity under them. Why? (22-2-17)

97. Mr Speaker, but all things being equal, one **would** have expected that they **would** give employment to more young people than it has been targeted, especially when the whole concept of our Budget Statement is anchored on the premise of job creation. (**23-2-17**).

Although all the above are expressed from an external perspective, as seen through the use of such objective references as in 'the minister', 'the government', it is not easy to decide their semantic profile, i.e whether the speaker is merely reporting the intentions of others or trying to direct the behaviour of others through deontic directives. The speeches do not seem to have enough contextual evidence to decide on the particular meaning conveyed by the speakers. Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik (1985, p.47) talked about indeterminacy of sentences where they assert that "a

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sentence is an indeterminate unit in the sense that it is often difficult to decide, particularly where one sentence ends and another begins."

Other indeterminate cases involve *would* and *will* conveying either modality meanings of *predictions* or *directives*. The following are some examples to illustrate the point:

98. Hon Members, there **will** be no Statements for this morning. (23-2-17)

99. The Mines and Energy Committee, having subjected it to intense critique, **would** be in a better position to advise the Finance Committee whether they have been in compliance with what they set out to do. (22-2-17)

100. Mr Speaker, item numbered 5(iv) is also ready to be laid and it **would** be taken by the same Hon Member on behalf of the Chairman of the Committee. (22-3-17)

101. Most Hon Members of Parliament **would** attest to the fact that when we go to the Assemblies, the caliber of the personnel there and the attitude they show do not represent people working in the Public Service. (22-3-17)

All the above are also expressed from an external point of view where it is not clear even after examining the textual context whether the speakers are either trying to direct the behaviour of fellow members or are merely making epistemic predictions based on their level of knowledge of events.

In all the examples, meanings of directives and predictions can be glossed as either 'one has the responsibility to do something' or merely making epistemic predictions. Also, some other submissions with *would* and

will whose modality meaning cannot be determined as either *directives/requests* or *insistence* are illustrated as follows:

102. The Hon Minister for Monitoring and Evaluation **would** move the Motion. (23-2-17)

103. Mr Speaker, again, the Ministry of Finance **would** want every entity under them. Why? (23-2-17)

104. Hon Chairman, you **may** make whatever statements or remarks that you find fit in this regard, then we **will** make progress. (25-1-17)

105. Hon Deputy Majority Leader, **may** we know which items are ready, so that *we* **will** proceed quickly? (22-3-17)

Even though it can be said that Examples 104 and 105 are expressed from an internal point of view, as seen through the subjective reference in the use of first-person pronoun 'we' and 102 and 103 are expressed from an external perspective as seen in the use of objective references 'The Hon Minister for Monitoring and Evaluation' and 'The Ministry of Finance', it is not known for certain whether the modality meaning in the above is one of a directive or request.

Sample Text of Category A (Internal Point of View) of High-Value Modals

This part of the work is dedicated to the analysis of high-value modals and expressions of point of view. The modals that fall under this category as classified by Halliday (1994) are *should, must, have to, need to,* and *ought to* These verbs are capable of expressing obligation, suggestions, and advice, among others depending on the context in which they occur. There are two types of modal verbs of obligation; those that primarily express firm

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obligation or necessity- *must* and *have to* and those that express a recommendation or moral obligation- *should* and *ought to*.

From the data, *should* is the second highest occurring modal in the expression of modality with a frequency count of 16%, *shall* occurred 4.1%, *must* had an occurrence of 3.9%, *need to* 3.5%, *have to* 1.8% and *ought to* 0.46%. As stated earlier, all these modals are classified in this work as high-value modals following Halliday's categorisation. In this work, I have classified *shall* as part of high-value modals because of its semantic meaning in the data as it conveys the semantic meaning of forcefulness just like *must* and *should*. The use of *shall* in the data usually involves quotations from the constitution which consists of rules and regulations that are binding on the persons mandated to perform certain duties.

As stated earlier, Quirk et al. (1985, p.230) maintain that *shall,* with a third-person subject, performs a similar function as *must* in legal or quasi-legal discourse where it is used in stipulating regulations. Almost all the occurrences of *shall* in the data have referred to the constitution; hence; it conveys legally binding language and for that matter, I classify it under high-value modals in this work. According to Simpson (1993), the high-value modals usually encode a positive shading point of view, be it internal or external point of view. This, according to Simpson, is due to the fact that high value modals usually encode a sense of commitment especially when expressed with first-person subjects.

Two main modality meanings are expressed with the high-value modals on the floor of parliament: deontic and strong epistemic modality. These are mostly expressed from internal and external points of view of

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positive shading. In the debates, the high-value modals convey a sense of urgency. Thus, it was observed, for instance, that some critical national interests were found in utterances containing strong deontic and epistemic modals. On the floor of parliament, high-value deontic modals are used by participants to remind their fellows of appropriate behaviour; in terms of what is expected of them as members of parliament, and this is commonly done through the use of modals of obligation and duty.

The high-value deontic modals are basically used to express obligations ranging from strong to weak obligation all aimed at directing and regulating behaviour. In their strong form, they convey meanings of moral obligation and in their weak form, they merely offer advice, suggestion, or recommendation from both internal and external points of view in the data. The following is a discussion of high-value modals and internal point of view.

Internal Point of View: Positive Shading

Positive shading submissions are characterized by the rich use of high-value deontic modals of obligation, duty, and desire such as (we must…, we want..) and may be accompanied by evaluative adjectives and adverbs (e.g happily, terrible, meaningfully) (Iwamoto, 2007) and by contrast the use of epistemic and perception modality expressing low-value modality is suppressed (Simpson, 1993).

The high-value deontic modals, when expressed from the internal point of view, function as an incentive towards an action; they express a sense of urgency and are used in compelling fellows and addressees including the speaking self towards some irresistible acts that the speaker perceives as critical national interest which demand the cooperation of all. These linguistic

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choices denote the degree of the participant's commitment to the proposition they make. In a communicative event whose main purpose is to convince others to perform certain acts, the most assuring commitment to performing acts of national interest is the employment of deontic directives aimed at directing and regulating the behaviour of stakeholders including the speaker.

It seems to me in the view of the speaker, such linguistic choices will considerably affect the audience's persuasion that they are standing up for the course of the nation. Thus, on the floor of parliament, high deontic directives constitute a common and effective tool at MPs' disposal in an effort to enhance their credibility and that of their parties. The following are high-value modals expressing deontic obligation from an internal point of view of positive shading:

106. We **must** ensure that NADMO is equipped and resourced enough to handle such situations, and even others of higher magnitude. (27-1-17)

107. We **must** strive to bring some relief to our fellow Ghanaians in order to make life meaningful for them. (27-1-17).

108. 108 Mr Speaker, *Seriously*, we *must* take disasters as a matter which *should* not be played with as a country. Our population keeps increasing and our drive enterprises and businesses keep going higher. We *should* not as a country allow ourselves to suffer such disasters again. (27-1-2017 col. 468).

109. Mr Speaker, we **must** take this concept very *seriously*. This has been with us for a long time. Even in 2016, we had a contract to do part of the drainage systems with over US$50 million. (27-3-17)

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110. We **must** only be subjecting it to the by-laws of the District Assembly and not the Constitution (2-11-16).

111. Mr Speaker, *clearly*, we **must** get serious with the work of the Audit Service if we are to get the results. We all want them to ensure transparency and inform the people of Ghana that the institutions of State are accountable. (29-3-17).

112. Whatever the Motion is, he says that ECG is in distress and we **should** therefore be more magnanimous in our terms. (1-11-16).

113. I *direct* that we *should* use the definition provided for in the 'Interpretation Act' of a public officer. (2-08 -2016).

114. Hon Members, I think it is important that in your submissions, you address the issue that was raised earlier — the constitutionality and legality of considering the estimates for the Judiciary and the Judicial Service together under the cloth of the constitutional provisions. It is an issue that we **have to** address. (29-3-2017).

115. We **have to** be mindful of the regional balance that has been stated in our Standing Orders. (27-1-2017).

All the above uses of *must* and *should* express deontic obligation meant to direct and regulate the behaviour of fellow participants. On the floor of parliament, it is a common phenomenon to see participants remind their fellows of appropriate behaviour, in terms of what is expected of them as members of parliament and this is commonly done through the use of modals of obligation and duty, *should*, *must* and *have to, need to* and *ought to.*

The use of *must* is more personal and has the implication that the speaker is in authority (Palmer, 2001). Given the crisis at the time, especially,

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the issue of natural disasters, the speakers exert the authority of reminding members of their obligation to the country. Examples 106 and 108 repeated below specifically illustrate the point. 106. *We **mus**t ensure that NADMO is equipped and resourced enough to handle such situations and even others of higher magnitude. (27-1-17). 108. Mr Speaker, Seriously, we **must** take disasters as a matter which should not be played with as a country. Our population keeps increasing and our drive enterprises and businesses keep going higher. We **should** not as a country allow ourselves to suffer such disasters again. (27-1-2017 col. 468).* The adoption of the strong deontic modal operators above, *must* and *should* combined deontic lexical verb *ensure* and the modal adverb *seriously* with first-person pronouns in the utterances in which the MPs lay an obligation or report on necessities can be interpreted as a strategic choice to show speakers commitment to duty and concern for society and citizenry.

Must is viewed as an irresistible force compelling a subject towards an act (Sweetser, 1990). Examples 111 and 112 repeated below illustrate the point, 111. *Mr Speaker, clearly, we **must** get serious with the work of the Audit Service if we are to get the results. We all want them to ensure transparency and inform the people of Ghana that the institutions of State are accountable. (29-3-17). 112. Whatever the Motion is, he says that ECG is in distress and we **should** therefore be more magnanimous in our terms. (1-11-16).* The participants consider the topics under discussion very urgent and fall within their responsibility towards the citizenry hence rallying all to take up the responsibility. The choice of '*must*' denoting the strongest, irresistible force among the modal expressions, and deontic '*should*' are therefore

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preferred in expressing issues of natural disasters, audit service, byelaws, and electricity company of Ghana (ECG).

Another observation is that the central modal auxiliaries above, '*must*' and '*should*' are all conveyed from an internal point of view through the use of first-person pronouns 'I' and 'we' which are also indicative of direct responsibility. *'Must'* which contains a higher level of commitment and responsibility in the data is expressed with the first person plural pronominal 'we' than the first person singular seeking the involvement of all due to the sense of urgency inherent in it as seen in examples 106-115 above. This affirms the observation made by Ayodola (2016) who asserts that the enactment of political action through language creates an expectation of cooperation (though there may be a lack of cooperation) among political actors, especially in parliamentary discourse who may belong to different political parties. Such expectations find justification in Grice's (1975, 1989) influential argument that a "cooperative principle" (CP) must underlie human communication.

Nonetheless, there are some observable differences in the obligation sense of *must* and *should. Must* conveys a stronger sense of an obligation in the data than *should* and Yule (1997) makes the same observation that *must* conveys a stronger obligational sense than *should* when *should* even conveys a stronger sense of obligation. No wonder the occurrence of *should* far outnumbered that of *must* even though they all perform similar semantic functions. *Should* has thus become the preferred deontic modal for expressing obligation and necessity. Verhulst and Heyvaert (2015) give a similar report of *should* in British English that it has become the preferred root modal. I

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believe the MPs preferred *should* to *must* in order to sound less assertive since they perceive each other as colleagues and so based on their psychological point of view, they do not want to appear so authoritative.

Only in some cases do they employ very strong deontic *must* when talking about natural disaster which is a matter of life and death. The MPs selected modal *must* to show how they owe it a duty to support NADMO in curbing such disasters as in Examples 106 to 108, to show the urgency of the situation and called for a collective effort for members to perform their duties. The management of state funds is also considered very crucial to participants as they employed strong deontic *must* in example 111 when talking about the management of state funds.

However, modal *should,* although, not as strong as *must* according to (Yule, 1997; Verhulst and Heyvaert, 2015) is also used by the participants in its strong obligatory sense in Examples 112 and 113 above to direct and regulate the behaviour of fellow members and call for a consensus effort through the use of collective pronouns 'we' showing the commitment, and desire of the speakers to get certain tasks accomplished.

Nevertheless, I wonder why when it comes to the debate on VRA/ECG, the MPs adopted *should* which 'conveys a somewhat lesser obligation than *must'* (Quirk et al 1985, p.227) in expressing such a pressing issue which has become a public outcry of late. The reasons I can proffer is perhapseither the MPs do not know the difference in semantic value between *mus*t and *should* or perhaps from their perspective, grading the degree of urgency of the two, natural disasters come first before the provision of electricity services to the people.

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With regard to *have to* and *must*, the examples above support Palmer's position that in expressing obligation, 'have to' is an alternative to 'must' (Palmer, 2001, p.75) he also contends that 'have to' generally indicates that the speaker takes no responsibility. This can, however, be true of '*have to* ' when expressed from external point of view in the parliamentary debates but not with internal point of view where participants show their involvement and commitment to performing certain actions through the use of first-person pronouns as shown in Examples 114 and 115 above.

The present study, however, agrees with Sweetser's (1990) position on the distinction between *must* and *have to*. She views *must* as an irresistible force compelling a subject towards an act, while the force that *have to* represents can be resisted. For instance, consider Examples 110 and 114, 110. *We **must** only be subjecting it to the by-laws of the District Assembly and not the Constitution (2-11-16).*

114. *Hon Members, I think it is important that in your submissions, you address the issue that was raised earlier — the constitutionality and legality of considering the estimates for the Judiciary and the Judicial Service together under the cloth of the constitutional provisions. It is an issue that we **have to** address. (29-3-2017).*

Example 110 lays an obligation on the addressees towards some irresistible acts with combinations as *must only*. Such a combination carries a strong deontic force giving members no other option. Whereas example 114 sounds more like advice where *have to* is employed with such combinations as *I think it is important*. Such linguistic combination only represents the view of the speaker, and members are not bound to take that advice. This is not surprising

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in parliamentary discourse as parliamentarians reserve the right to either choose to support or reject a motion. In view of this, I can safely conclude that *have to* may be chosen to reflect a speaker's values on democratic principles as parliament constitutes a democratic institution.

As regards the shade of point of view, all the expressions of strong deontic modal values constitute a positive shading. According to Iwamoto (2007), Category A positive shading submissions particularly are used in political speeches when a speaker is voicing strong opinions on the course of the nation. Also, Coates (1983) opines that expressions of deontic obligation usually involve human subjects who have the ability to perform the obligation required of them. Examples 106 -115 discussed above all constitute strong assertive obligations with an involved focalization through the use of first-person pronouns, 'I' and 'we'. The general flow of this type of discourse is therefore binding, obligatory, assertive, and strong (Iwamoto 2007).

However, As stated earlier, modals *must*, *have to,* and *should* also express strong and weak obligations (Coates, 1983; Yule, 1996). The modals express a weak obligation when they merely offer advice, make suggestions or make recommendations. (Coates, 1983). The following are some examples from the data to illustrate the point:

116. We should not lose sight of the fact that this particular Bill has generated a lot of interest. (25-7-16) ADVICE

117. We should ask the Ministry of Finance so that the on-lending agreement does not have to be done today. (1-11-16) SUGGESTION

118. We should draft it in such a way that the president cannot intervene in the process. I believe it is important when one Hon Member said that

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the president could do everything, but we do not let the president do everything. (25-7-16) ADVICE

119. Mr Speaker, I *believe* that we should begin to have a situation where when there is a legislation before us, we *would* also have a sense of what it would cost to implement that legislation. (2-08-2016, p. 5541) RECOMMENDATION

120. The next time around, we *would* need to do better work before *we have to* approve of such things. This is because at the end of it, it is Ghana that is going to pay, so *we should ensure* that indeed and in truth, we have value for money. (3-11-2016) SUGGESTION

All the above express weak obligations in the form of suggestions, advice, and recommendations meant to direct and regulate activities on the floor of parliament. This type of modality and point of view is used when a participant is merely admonishing others toward best practices.

Based on a participant's psychological point of view, some topics are more sensitive and, therefore, demand more attention than others; hence, the cline of obligation, ranging from strong to weak obligation through the use of deontic modals where in their strong form, they convey very strong obligations as we have already discussed above, and in their weak form, they merely offer suggestions, advice, or recommendation for best practices. All these dynamics are played based on a speaker's point of view perhaps depending on the topic of discussion. For instance, in dealing with sensitive issues that concern the nation, like natural disasters and NADMO, ECG, and other sensitive issues, as exemplified earlier under high-value modals and internal point of view, Examples 106-115, the MPs employed strong deontic

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modals. In dealing with the topic of natural disaster where the MPs addressed NADMO, and other agencies, they chose very strong deontic obligations meant to direct the behaviour of NADMO and even showed personal involvement through the use of first-person collective pronouns 'we' showing direct responsibility, commitment and the need for a collective effort in dealing with the situation. Examples, 106, 108 and 112 are repeated below to illustrate the point:

106. **We must ensure** *that NADMO is equipped and resourced enough to handle such situations, and even others of higher magnitude. (27-1-17)*

108. *Mr Speaker,* **Seriously**, **we must** *take disasters as a matter which* **should** *not be played with as a country.. (27-1-2017 col. 468).*

112. *Whatever the Motion is, he says that ECG is in distress and* **we should** *therefore be more magnanimous in our terms. (1-11-16).*

However, when it comes to the passing and amendment of bills, perhaps because such issues require a lot of deliberations and therefore demand no need for strong obligations, the MPs employ modals that merely offer suggestions and advice as seen in Examples 116, 117 and 119 above. It seems to me that, depending on the topic of discussion, some modals are preferred to others in expressing some point of view.

Need to

Need to also falls under high value modals, as classified by Halliday (1997). Just like *must* and *should, need to* also doubles up as a deontic and epistemic modal in the data. As deontic modal, it is used in directives and

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expressions of volition and commitment. In the debates, *Need to*' often indicates something is to be done according to one's needs (Zonghi, 2015).

The following are some examples:

121. So, we **need to** empower ECG. I do not have a problem. (1-11-2016)

122. We **need to** support industries; we **need to** support commerce; and we **need to** support the domestic consumer (1-11-16)

123. Mr Speaker, we **need to** go back and change the headnote there, giving the amendment that — the word "independence" is gone, and so we **need to** take note and change the headnote to reflect the new rendition proposed by the Hon Minority Leader. It is no longer independence. (1-11-16)

From the data, *need to* has obligation sense that can be interpreted to mean 'it is important'. All the uses of need to above convey directives as seen through the use of the action verbs: 'empower', 'support', 'go back', in examples 121-123.

From my observation, the adoption of such position is a strategy meant to score some political point. Like voting, speech is a tool politician can use to demonstrate to their constituents that they are standing up for them in parliament. Examples 121-123 above sound persuasive with such expressions as, 'we need to empower ECG' 'we need to support commerce,' 'we need to support the domestic consumer'. The MPs seem to be performing representative democracy sending a message to the citizenry that they are standing up for them. According to Mayhew (1974), in national parliaments, one of the primary reasons why legislators make speeches is to stake out policy positions and communicate these positions to voters.

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From the analysis so far, Category A texts, which suggest an internal perspective and often subjective, appear in deliberations in which the task of the participating MPs is to influence the popular opinion and the public image of themselves and their party as observed by Ilie (2010). However, *need to* is also used to convey weak obligation in the data, as seen below:

124. Mr Speaker, moving forward, we *would* **need to** have other ways to arrest and control crowd away   from live bullets (23-3-17).

125. So, the Committee on Education has done a very good job and we *would* **need to** commend them highly. (3-11-16).

Would is used with *need to*, to tentatively make the directives. The directives could have been expressed without the use of *would* for straightforwardness, see (Collins, 2009). The participants use this combination to merely offer suggestions and advice on issues that are not so pressing.

With regard to the shade of point of view, all the directives are inwardly directed through the first-person plural 'we' showing collective involvement, volition, and commitment. All these features convey an internal focalisation of positive shading where speakers show their concern in performing certain tasks.

High Value Modals and Expressions of Epistemic Modality and Point of View

The following uses of *should*, *must* and *have to* express epistemic modality showing the speakers' level of confidence in the propositional content that is expressed. Depending on one's level of knowledge, certain propositions may be made. This presupposes that one's knowledge of events may also determine their point of view. Modal auxiliaries are capable of

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expressing all modality subtypes depending on the context or one's perception of the world as modality refers to the degree of certainty and truth of statements about the world (Bankole & Ayoola, 2014). In the debates, modality serves a useful tool for the manifestation of participants commitment to the validity of propositions they make.

In the debates, epistemic modals express meanings ranging from slight possibility to absolute certainty. The following is a discussion of excerpts of the epistemic sense of modals *should, must, have to* and *need to* in the data:

126. I *think we know* the kind of report we are expecting from them if **we should** approve this proposed amendment. (2-08-16, p. 5644)

127. This is because ECG will soon have private participation and *we* do not *think* that when there is leverage it **should** go into a private hand instead of the state. (1-11-16)

128. I *think* that **we should** also bear in mind that there have been lots of debts that are on Government as a result of the activities of ECG (1-11-16)

129. That will settle this argument once and for all. I *think* that we **need to** pursue that line. (22-2-17)

130. *I believe* **we need to** change the structure of our economy from one that depends on the export of raw materials to an economy that is powered by the export of industrial goods and services. (23-3-17)

131. Mr Speaker, for him to win the Hohoe seat twice; for eight years then he must have been doing very well. This is because when we go on the Eastern Corridor Road, it is the biggest commercial town in that sector. EPISTEM LOGICAL CON/ (2-11-2016)

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132. I thought we *may* **have to** bring in the Hon Minister for Finance since it has to do with determination of fees and charges. (3-11-2016)

EPISTEMIC UNCERTAINTY

133. perhaps, we *may* **have to** take a second look at this decision by the Central Government to give so much to them, especially when they could themselves generate enough to take care of their activities. (29-3-2017) EPISTEMIC UNCERTAINTY.

The highlighted modals above express various epistemic senses of confidence based on the speakers' internal point of view. There seems to be a cline of modal meaning ranging from strong, median and weak epistemic modality. In the illustrations above, Example 131 expresses epistemic logical conclusion, Examples 132 and 133 express epistemic uncertainty because of the presence of a word of estrangement 'maybe', and the low value modal 'may' expressed with the high value modals *must*, and *have to* respectively, rendering *must* and *have to* with an epistemic sense of uncertainty.

On the other hand, Examples 126 to 131 with high value modals, *Should*, *must and need to* express strong argumentation with high level of confidence on the part of the MPs towards the propositions they make. This observation finds support in Verhulst and Heyvaert (2015) position that *should* expresses personal opinion and argumentation. What I have observed in the data is that there seems to be an emerging trend in the expression of epistemic modality with the use of high value modals. The emerging trend is the combination of epistemic lexical verbs with modals of high value to indicate one's level of knowledge. This combination presents a cline of modal

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meaning ranging from strong, median and weak epistemic modality. Examples 126 to 130 illustrate the uses of the phrase, '*I think*' in the data. The fact that such combinations are found in the data drives me to the conclusion that this is a case of strong epistemic modality. This trend finds support in Holmes (1990) that when *I think* occupies the initial position in an utterance, it gets level stress and expresses emphasis and confidence. While Vukovic (2014) opines that the only time the phrase *I think* performs certainty is when it is used with the first-person subject.

I take into account the findings of Simon-Vandenbergen (2000) who opines that *I think* does not automatically nor typically express a lack of commitment but its meaning be determined according to context. In the context in which *should, must, have to* and *need to,* high value modal occurs with the phrase *I think* and *I believe* in Examples 126-130, they are rendered with epistemic modal meaning of certainty rather than uncertainty. Fetzer (2008, 393) also opines that in English, the phrase *I believe* combined with *need to* as in Examples 129 and 130 expresses even greater certainty on the part of the speaker. This leads me to support Vukovic (2014) who concludes that the macromodality of parliamentary discourse is certainty and self-confidence and, in this context, epistemic high value modals combined with the phrases, I *think* and *I believe* in most cases in the data express precisely this meaning. Examples 126-131, therefore, express strong epistemic modality showing the confidence of the speakers in the propositions expressed. Fetzer (2008, p.393) is of the opinion that the phrase *I know* which is also found in the parliamentary data, as in Example 126 above, *we know* expressed with the

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high value modals *should* and *must* even expresses greater certainty and commitment on the part of the speaker.

Therefore, the phrases, '*I think*', '*we know*' '*I believe*' serve to emphasise the strong epistemic modality expressed through the high value modals '*must*', '*have to*', '*should*' and *need to*. The use of those combinations signals the superior knowledge of the speakers and strengthens the epistemic certainty in the proposition in a highly argumentative context as parliament (Vukovic, 2014). A discourse of this type sends a strong message to the 'overhearing' audience that the speaker is right which is effective in persuasive discourse as parliamentary debates. Modality, therefore, serves a useful tool for the manifestation of a speaker's commitment to the validity of propositions they make in the chamber, however, in the following examples:

134. But I *believe* that we would **need to** put the appropriate laws in place. (22-2-17)

135. We *may* **need to** have a second look at the headnote — "the Independence". (1-11-16).

Need to expresses a rather median value modality because of the median modal 'would' and weaker epistemic modality because of the low value modal 'may' which occurs with the modal *need to* respectively in Examples 134 and 135 above. The point of view implied for all the high epistemic modal values discussed here are internal point of view because of the first-person pronouns (I and we); however, the shade type differs. The shade for Examples 126-131 above is 'positive' because of the high level of confidence of the speakers in the propositions they utter, whereas Examples 132-133 have a medium shade point of view because of the high value modals *have to* and *need to* occurring

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with low value '*may*' and median value *would* which shows uncertainty on the part of the speakers in the propositional content.

Concerning the shade type for expressions of strong epistemic modality in this discourse, Simpson (1993) did not seem to provide any shade type of point of view. In the framework, Simpson only makes provision for weak epistemic modals which express a negative shading point of view but does not make room for *must* and *should* expressing strong epistemic modality under any of the shadings he categorised as either positive, negative or neutral. Perhaps the lack of categorization of epistemic modality under the shadings provided by Simpson coincides with the position upheld by some scholars (Coates, 1983; Collins, 2009; Hoye, 1997; Ngula, 2017) who consider the epistemic uses of *must* and *should* as generally rare.

I am, however, strongly of the view that those modals that express strong epistemic modality can be classified under positive shading when they are expressed from an internal point of view, given the fact that in the words of Simpson (1993), the first-person narration shows personal involvement and commitment, and expressions of commitment, according to Simpson, fall under positive shading point of view (Simpson, 1993, p.50). Ferzer (2008) also concludes that in English the phrase '*I know*' combined with the high modal auxiliaries *must* and *should* express even greater certainty and commitment. Hence, there is some commitment on the part of the speaker at getting some tasks accomplished. In expressing volition and commitment, a speaker directs his/her behaviour by expressing willingness and making promises (Berk, 1999).

Also, in the framework, Simpson is emphatic that "low epistemic modals are suppressed under expressions of positive shading", but makes the general statement that epistemic modals are "rare" (Simpson, 1993, pp. 56-58). Therefore, one takes this to mean they are not entirely absent but Simpson does not classify them under any of the shading types of point of view. From the examples in the parliamentary data above, once the "speakers do not struggle to make a sense of the world" (Simpson, 2004, p. 125) and those expressions do not constitute words of estrangement which connote negativity (Fowler, 1996), but the speakers merely make efforts to interpret and make sense of what they know, I see the examples as cases of strong epistemic modality which express confidence on the part of the speakers.

Given all this, it may be concluded that the "macromodality of parliamentary discourse is certainty and self-confidence" (Vukovic, 2004, p. 46). Thus in this context, the use of *must* and *should,* as shown above is, precisely, to express the confidence of the speakers in the arguments they make. One is, therefore, justified to include or classify strong epistemic modals expressed with first-person subjects under positive shading point of view given the inherent commitment on the part of the speakers.

Sample Text of Category B (External point of View) and High Value Modals

This type of point of view has a lot in common with its Category A counterpart: it has prominent deontic and boulomaic modalities of high values and evaluative adjectives and adverbs (Iwamto, 2007). The difference from its Category A counterpart lies in externality; the narration is in a third person voice that adopts a position outside the consciousness of the speaker in a

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discourse. External focalization suggests an objective, neutral, and panchronic stance on the part of the speaker. This type of point of view is usually intended to regulate the conduct of the addressee. This makes it similar to submissions made with Category A positive shading. The difference lies in the use of objective reference instead of first-person pronouns (Iwamoto, 2007).

Category B submissions are expressed with third-person subjects according to Simpson's framework and are told by 'disembodied', nonparticipating speakers in the propositions expressed (Simpson, 1993, p.51). Also, according to the framework, like their category A counterparts, category B submissions may be subdivided on the basis of positive, negative or neutral shading modalities (Simpson, ibid).

External Point of View: Positive Shading

Positive shading submissions are made with a rich use of high value deontic modals of obligation, duty, desire such as (we must…, we want..) and may be accompanied by evaluative adjectives and adverbs (e.g happily, terrible, meaningfully) (Iwamoto, 2007) and by contrast the use of epistemic and perception modality expressing low value modality is suppressed (Simpson, 1993).

As mentioned above, the difference between category A positive shading and Category B positive shading is externality; category A is expressed from internal point of view whereas category B is expressed from external point of view. Apart from that both categories share similar linguistic features. The study records the same modal operators of high value modals analysed under internal point of view also expressing external point of view (*Must*, have to, *Should, Need to and shall).* The difference in their use is

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externality expressed by third person or disembodied subjects and internality expressed by first-person subjects.

As discussed earlier, the high value modals express both deontic and epistemic modality in the data. They function as epistemic modals to indicate one's level of knowledge as regards a proposition and when used as deontic modals, they perform the function of directives; used as strategies through which an addresser directs the behaviour of an addressee. Berk (1999) classifies directives into two: those that are inwardly directed where a speaker directs his/her behaviour by expressing willingness and making promises through deontic modals and those that are outwardly directed. Simpson (1993) refers to such distinctions as internal and external point of view.

We have already dealt with those that are inwardly directed under category A; internal point of view. In this section, we shall deal with those that are outwardly directed. The employment of deontic directives from external point of view in the debates can be interpreted as strategic choices to evade personal responsibility. Through these linguistic choices, participants lay obligations or report on necessities. In such submissions, objective explicit modality is employed through the use of third person pronouns or impersonal subjects usually aimed at avoiding direct responsibility while sending a message to the overhearing public of the speaker's concern for national interest through the use of high value deontic modals which according to Simpson constitute a positive shading point of view. The following are some examples of high value modals expressing deontic obligation from an external point of view of positive shading:

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136. Mr speaker, **parliament's** deliberative function *must* be utilised to its fullest. (2-08-16).

137. Government **should** make sure that all areas where there could be disasters are inspected.   (27/1/2017).

138. **He** *should* guide us with the financial implications, such that when government is going to take such major decisions on borrowing, **it** *must* be on the recommendation of parliament. (2-08-2016, pg 5569).

139. Mr Speaker, May I refer you to article 177-contingency fund, "**There shall** be paid into the contingency fund monies voted for the purpose by parliament…." (2-08-16, col. 5570).

140. There is the **need to** invest in exploiting the country's renewable energy potentials to enable the country meet the generation target of 10 per cent renewable energy by 2020. (1-11-2016).

141. Mr Speaker, if science is expected to be a composite part of the development of Ghana, then, there is the **need to** support scientific research, especially when the world is dependent on science for development. (23-3-17).

Unlike the speeches in Category A, internal point of view, as discussed earlier which have an involved focalisation, the submissions above are made with an uninvolved focalisation through third person or impersonal subjects, hence a sense of externality is created. The use of the high value deontic modals, *must*, *should*, *shall*, *need to* and *have to* in the above expressions is meant to "outwardly direct" and regulate the conduct of others but not the speaker (Berk, 1999).

By associating others with unfavourable social situations and assigning responsibilities to them, typically illustrated in Examples 137 and 138 above with the expressions 'Government should make sure that…', 'He should guide us' respectively, the speakers simultaneously distance themselves and the audience from those who are responsible for such actions, thus explicitly exhibiting the trilogic nature of the political debates; persuading the audience to support the judgement of the speaker while indirectly damaging the image of the addressee (Garcia-Pastor, 2007).

From Examples 136-142 above, the speakers are non-participants in the propositions expressed but are well aware of what is socially determined. They are, therefore, seen to lay obligations, reprimand and give directives and orders, for instance, examples 136-138, exprepress insistence and 140-141 are directed towards addressees, who in their view, are duty bound and are supposed to be performing certain tasks. This supports Vukovic's (2014) assertion that in political discourse, as a type of persuasive discourse, politicians are in the business of selling their products – their policies and their points of view, which to them is the truth.

Nonetheless, it seems to me some of the submissions that fall under this type of point of view come under parliament having responsibility of oversight over the executive and other agencies. In some of the submissions, members are, therefore, seen to be exercising that function. In the submissions, members report on what the bodies responsible are supposed to be doing that they are not doing. Such submissions are usually conveyed through deontic modals of high value. In such submissions, the speakers are well aware of what is socially determined. They are, therefore, seen to lay an

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obligation, make suggestions, insist, reprimand and give directives and orders to addressees who, in their view, are duty bound and are supposed to be performing certain tasks to ensure national development. The following are some examples:

142. Mr Speaker, all the regulatory institutions **must** work and ensure that these magazines and quarries that are left unattended to are fully closed down (27- 1-17).

143. Government organisations like the ECG **should** no longer be given free money. They **should** prove that they can pay back the money. (1-11-16)

144. **EPA** *should* step-up their game and *ensure* that very serious care is taken where gas and filling stations are. (27/1/2017).

All the above examples fall under parliament's oversight responsibility on the executive and other agencies given the speakers awareness of what is socially determined; hence, the adoption of markers of external point of view and deontic modals of duty as 'all the regulatory institutions **must** work…', ECG **should** no longer be given free money', 'EPA **should** step up their game'. However, in some cases, members merely hide behind the oversight function they have as MPs to avoid personal responsibilities.

 The following are some examples:

145. Attention **must** be paid to the pre-Bills (27-1-2017)

146. There **must** be a vehicle through which awareness is created and that vehicle **must** be either through education or propagation of the right of access to information. (1-11-2016).

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The issues expressed in the submissions above form part of the speakers' responsibilities as members of parliament for instance, the enactment and passing of bills and the passage of the long-awaited right to information bill at the time. All these form part of their legislative function as MPs, yet, the participants choose to express them as though they were somebody else's responsibility. This could be a tactful means to not show cooperation in the issues under discussion; hence, the adoption of markers of external point of view as 'attention must be paid' and 'there must be a vehicle'. With the use of agentless and impersonal subjects in Examples 145 and 146 respectively, such as 'there,' and 'attention', the responsibility taken is opaque. It is neither taken by the speakers nor directed towards any particular addressee. All these attitudes and linguistic choices constitute strategies to avoid blame in political discourse. All of the above illustrations from the data are marked by a positive shading point of view because of the high value deontic modality expressed through high value modals *must, should, need to, have to* and *shall* (Iwamoto 2007, p.181).

Category B texts with positive shading are sometimes presented as either reports or information to viewers/listeners or the citizens as members are representatives and try to play informational function to constituents. But to members on the floor, they are intended as reminders of certain duties assigned them. Such submissions are often from a perspective detached from those involved in the action, and so the submission is seen from a more objective viewpoint. This observation is supported by Mayhew (1974) who opines that in national parliaments, one of the primary reasons why legislators make speeches is to stake out policy positions and communicate these

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positions to voters. In performing this informational function, the legislators try to present themselves as objective as possible. Such submissions are presented in the form of reports, often intended to inform readers/listeners about events from an objective perspective as possible. Submissions of this nature generally fall under external point of view of positive shading expressed with high-value deontic modality of obligation as illustrated below:

147. EPA *should* step-up their game and *ensure* that *very serious* care is taken where gas and filling stations are. (Friday, 27/1/2017).

148. Government **should make sure** that all areas where there could disasters are inspected.   (Friday, 27/1/2017)

149. The Ghana Water Company **must** establish an escrow account and pay money into it for the purpose of servicing some of these loans. (1-1116).

The text contains deontic modal auxiliaries of high value*, must* and *should*, and strong modal lexical verbs *ensure* and *make sure* and the evaluative adverb and adjective '*very serious'* employed with the high value deontic modals impose obligations on duty bearers, and at the same time expressing a sense of urgency, directing them how to deal with certain problems or issues. This may justify the supposition that in the debates, the deontic high values are used to enhance a sense of urgency. Modality in this sense, therefore, functions to regulate the interpersonal function, by commanding stakeholders and fellow members to perform certain duties assigned them. It seems that the high value deontic modals expressed from the external point of view are meant to inform, serve to build solidarity with the audience, and a persuasive tool par excellence. Participants seem to see the audience as the beneficiaries

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of their debates and so for voters to be persuaded, only one of the narratives wins (Anicic, nd ; Taylor, 2009).

As regards the use of *shall* considered a high value deontic modal in this work, the fact that the submission, "*There* **shall** *be paid into the contingency fund monies voted for the purpose by parliament….*" *(2-08-16, p. 5570*) is in quotation marks, to indicate someone else's words, in this case, the constitution, may also confirm the external tone of this discourse. *Shall* has been very instrumental in the expression of obligation and deontic directives in the data. As mentioned earlier, in the modal classification according to Halliday (1994), *shall* is classified as a median value modal but in this work, *shall* is classified under high value modals due to its function in the data. According to Frimpong (2007), modal *shall* in its deontic sense, expresses contractual obligation. *Shall* is thus a very good tool for expressing directives. *Shall* has, however, been expressed from an external point of view due to the fact that it is usually a quotation from the constitution and the standing orders of parliament and therefore does not represent the views of the speakers. This externality further strengthens *shall* in the data as a binding force on addressees.

Quirk et al. (1985) report of modal *shall* becoming obsolete in contemporary English. Crystal (2004) reports of a similar phenomenon of the use of *shall* in American English. A similar observation has been made by Ghanaian scholars with regard to the use of *shall*. Mention can be made of Owusu-Ansah (1994), Ngula (2007), and Frimpong (2007). All these scholars whose research works are based in Ghana are of the view that *shall* has become specialised and restricted to legal and contractual documents. The use

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of *shall* in the present data is not different. Most of the occurrences of *shall* are references from the constitution and parliamentary standing orders made by members to either authenticate their submissions or remind colleagues of their moral obligations, as specified in the constitution and the standing order seen in the parliamentary data.

Also, from the debates, there is a distribution gap between *shall* and *will* and this is a clear indication of the specialisation of *shall* and overuse of *will* which traditionally performs similar functions. From my observation of the data, *shall* does not represent the views of the MPs but the constitution and standing orders. The MPs only use *shall* to authenticate some submissions they have made in order that such submissions would be accepted on the floor of parliament and in the public eye. Nonetheless Quirk et al (1985) are of the view that *shall* is much stronger when used with the third person subject than with the first person, hence its use with the third person by the MPs. The following cline of excerpts recorded with the use of *shall* illustrate the point:

150. Mr Speaker, permit me to quote subsection (2) "The fiscal impact analysis **shall** be prepared and submitted in accordance with the regulation." (2-08-16, pg 5545)

151. Mr Speaker, I beg to move, that notwithstanding the provisions of Standing Order 128 (1) which require that when a Bill has been read a Second time, it **shall** pass through a Consideration Stage which **shall** not be taken until at least forty-eight hours have elapsed, the Consideration Stage of the Energy Commission (Amendment) Bill, 2016 may be taken today. (2-11-16)

152. Mr Speaker, our Standing Orders provided in Order 174 (2); "It **shall** be the duty of the Committee to pursue all assurances, promises, undertakings given by Ministers from time to time…" (27-1-2017)

From Examples 150-152 above, *shall* falls within quotations from parliament's standing orders used to authenticate the arguments of the participants thereby strengthening the propositions they make. The use of *shall* in the examples confirm Quirk et al. (1985) position that *shall* is much stronger when used with third person subjects; hence, its deployment from the standing orders to support the debaters arguments.

Positive Shading; Ought to

Ought to, a marginal modal, is synonymous in use with *should* (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 227). From the linguistic literature, these verbs are used interchangeably to express advice, obligation or duty. *Ought to* and *should* are often mentioned together in discussions on the modality of necessity as weaker alternatives for *must*. Swan (2005) in his discussion of the English modals argues that *ought to* and *should*, "are very similar, and can often replace each other", they are both "used to talk about obligation and duty, to give advice, and to say what we think it is right for people to do or have done". Likewise, Eastwood (2005) posits that *ought to* and *should* "mean the same thing", saying "what is the right thing or the best thing to do".

In spite of the similarities of these two modals by scholars in the linguistic literature, in the parliamentary debates, *Ought to* records the least frequency of occurrence. As seen in Table 4 of this work, the occurrence of *ought to* in the data is insignificant and only accounts for 0.8% of the total occurrence in the data whereas *should* frequently occurred with a frequency of

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18.1%. This observation finds support in Quirk et al. (1985, p.227) that *should* is more frequent than *ought to* in all the senses that the two modals express. This assertion is upheld in the parliamentary data for this work. The data affirms the predominant use of *should* over *ought to* by the MPs. The MPs seem to be more familiar with *should* than *ought to* in expressing obligation and necessity. Verhulst and Heyvaert (2015) report of a similar situation even in British English.

Although in the linguistic literature, it is generally argued that *should* and *ought to* express virtually identical root necessity meanings such as advice or moral suggestions, some scholars are of the view that there are distinctive differences in the two modals and that their use should be dependent on context. However, there seems to be a controversy regarding their use. Whereas others are of the view that *ought to* implies reference to shared values or general agreement, *should* does not.

Should and *ought to* are both classified traditionally as "subjective" by Huddleston (2002), Collins (1991) and Declerck (1991). They argue that *should* is used when we want to express our subjective opinion. In other words, **what I think is best for you to do**. Below are some examples:

153. *Unfortunately, the arguments came back. So, I believe, you **should** rule for us to complete this function, that only we can exercise. (22-12-2016), col. 2644*

154. *I guess Hon Members **should** try to listen to one another. With respect, we are not in the market. (22-12-2016), col. 2616.*

Examples 153 and 154 above express the subjective opinion of the speakers regarding the right things the addressees are expected to do. And Larreya and

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Rivière (2005) are of the view that *ought to* is more "objective" than *should*. *Ought to* is used when we want to express an objective truth. In other words, 'what is necessary, and cannot be avoided.' This objective sense of *ought to* from the literature explains why *ought to*, is usually used in talking about laws, duties and regulations, as illustrated below:

155. *The Ministry of Finance* **ought to** *be supervised by a group independent – Your previous Hon Minister did not want it and that was why it was taken out of the Bill (26-1-2017), col. 432*

In Example 155 above, the speaker chose *ought to* to talk about some regulation on the work of the ministry of finance that is of necessity. Yet from other introductory grammars, there is the view that *ought to* is more formal than *should*. Verhulst and Heyvaert (2015) are however of the opinion that root necessity expressed by *should* and *ought to*, should be determined based on context. This will allow us to appreciate or not appreciate the traditional view that *ought to* would be (more) objective than *should*, as has been claimed by Collins (1991), Declerck (1991), Huddleston (2002), and Larreya and Rivière (2005). They conclude that *should* and *ought to* do differ with respect to the type of discourse and source that lies at the origin of the necessity - internal or external.

Myhill (1995) was the first to distinguish this contextual difference in the use of *should* and *ought to* in American English. He opines that in an argumentative context, *should* appears to be the default choice to say "something negative about or disagree with some situation or action associated with the listener". The following is an example from my data:

156. *The security agencies such as the Bureau of National Investigations (BNI) should not be seen to be above the law. (26-1-2017), col. 359*

In Example 156 above, the speaker employs *should* with the negation 'not' to expresses his disapproval of the attitude of some security agencies putting up some behaviour that seem to place them above state laws. On the other hand, *ought to* is used in contexts of agreement. Myhill interprets "agreement" in a narrow and broad sense. In the most straightforward, narrow sense, "agreement" refers to the agreement between speakers.

Verhulst and Heyvaert (2015) then present some contextual instances from their study based on British national corpus and come to the conclusion that a context in which *should* is preferred to *ought to* describes a present, unsatisfactory situation for which the speaker suggests a more desirable alternative using *should*. The following is an example from my data:

157. *He accordingly accepted the suggestion that Members of Parliament should be given security guards just like other public office holders. (2-11-16)*

In Example 157, *should* expresses the different opinions of people discussing ways to tackle a problem. According to Verhulst and Heyvaert (2015), *should* is usually used for personal opinion but *ought to* is for consensus. In the parliamentary debates, however, *should* is used to express both meanings, as seen in Example 157 where the speaker reports of some consensus suggestion. Their study supports Mayhill's (1991) contextual study of *ought to* that it is used in contexts of agreement. The association of *ought to* with some kind of agreement is in line with the fact that *ought to* is often used with a plural first-person subject. The following is an example from the data:

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158. *Mr Speaker, we admittedly **ought to** have a meeting to approve of this new scheme (24-2-2017), col. 1738*

By using the plural first person subject 'we' the speaker shares out the responsibility for action and presents a situation as teamwork aimed at consensus (Verhulst & Heyvaert,2015, p.575). Both the traditional and contemporary views of *ought to* and *should,* as discussed above, are adopted in this discussion in order for me to identify where they overlap and points of divergence if any. In this section, I shall, therefore, analyse *ought to* in relation to *should* based on context of occurrence to distinguish points of overlapping and points of divergence in order to account for the infrequent and frequent use of *ought to* and *should* respectively, and their similar points of view as well as different points of view.

Even though *ought to* is used less frequently in the data, with regard to modality and point of view, it exhibits the characteristics of the other high-value modals as *should, must*, *need to, have to* (Halliday 1994) and expresses deontic directives from both internal and external point of view. Its use conveys a strong obligatory sense of reminding people of their duties and regulating behaviour. Most of the uses of *ought to*, however, have been expressions from an external perspective showing uninvolved focalisation. In the traditional view, it expresses objectivity (Collins, 1991; Declerck, 1991; Huddleston, 2002; Larreya & Rivière, 2005) as it is usually expressed with third-person subjects except in a few cases where it is subjective, expressed through first-person subjects.

The following are some examples of *ought to* expressing deontic directives from an internal point of view:

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159. Mr Speaker, one of the agencies that we all **ought to** pay attention to – – perhaps, my Hon Colleague Members of Parliament (MPs) — is the Ghana AIDS Commission and the work they do. They attract a lot of donor funds and I would want to recommend that all Hon Members of Parliament should pay attention to what (27/3/2017)

160. Mr Speaker, we admittedly **ought to** have a meeting to approve of this new scheme (24/3/2017)

161. Mr Speaker, we **ought to** remind ourselves that the energy sector levies were consolidated. They were not the creation of anybody. (23/2/2017)

In the examples above, the point of view implied is an internal point of view of positive shading. *Ought to* is used to inwardly direct and regulate the speakers' own behaviour as well as fellow participants as seen in the use of the first-person pronouns, 'we'' rallying them to feel an obligation of commitment to the proposition expressed. In the submissions of *ought to* and *should*, one can say that they are all aimed at consensus building when expressed from internal point of view. In this sense, they are both used as tools for expressing explicit personal responsibility on important issues. In other words, *what I think is best for you and I to do* (Huddleston, 2002; Collins, 1991; Declerck, 1991).

Mayhill's (1991) *assertion of ought to,* as used in contexts of agreement, is upheld in Examples 159-161 in the use of plural first-person subject. By using the plural first person subject 'we', the speaker shares out the responsibility for action and presents a situation as teamwork aimed at consensus (Verhulst & Heyvaert, 2015, p. 575). The study, however, does not

support Verhulst and Heyvaert's (ibid) claim of restricting consensus to only *ought to* while they hold the view that that *should* is usually used for personal opinion. In the debates, *should* expresses similar meanings as *ought to* above using the plural pronominal 'we', as seen below:

162. We **should** say that there **should** be consequential amendment of clause (257-16) SUGGESTION.

163. We **should** draw our minds back to the fact that they have also, as a result of their activities, incurred some debts and when they make money, they do not service those debts — for me that **should** be the principle. (1-11-16).

164. Mr Speaker, we **should** make sure that when we meet, we **should** have the requisite quorum to conduct the business of the house. (27-1-17).

From the given examples above, *should* expresses both personal opinion as well as consensus, agreement as seen in the use of 'we', a plural first-person subject just as in the case of *ought to*. Parliament represents a democratic institution and so on the floor of parliament, decisions are taken collectively, but not on an individual basis. In the same vein, collective agreements/disagreements are required on issues. For this reason, members always seek the support of others for their views even if they originate from an individual through the plural pronominal '*we*'. Therefore, in examples 162-164 above, *should* can be replaced by *ought to* without any significant difference in meaning.

Modality, as a manifestation of the interpersonal function of language in the context of all the uses of *ought to* and *should* above is, therefore, used as a linguistic device to inwardly direct and regulate the behaviour of self and

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fellow participants (Iwamoto, 2007, p.190). However, *ought to,* is used more in the data to outwardly direct and regulate the behaviour of others than the speaking self unlike in the case of *should* discussed earlier which is expressed more from internal point of view. The occurrence of *ought to* and *should* in context supports the traditional view of the two modals being objective and subjective respectively. Out of a total of 40 occurrences, only 4 are recorded to express internal point of view. Therefore, the claim by Rivière (2005) that *ought to* is more "objective" than *should* is upheld in parliamentary debates.

Objective submissions are made from an external focalisation; from a position outside the consciousness of a participant hence a sense of externality is created (Iwamoto 2007, p. 191). This externality is created when from the speaker's perspective, others are responsible for the performance of some task. Unlike texts spoken from internal point of view with speaker involvement through first-person pronouns as discussed above, submissions made from an external perspective are expressed from third-person pronouns or subjects. The speakers merely express what is necessary and cannot be avoided from their point of view, but personal responsibility is not taken. The following are some examples to illustrate the point:

165. That obviously means that there is a deficit from 2016, which **ought to** be resolved in 2017 — the reason for which releases of budgets on time is very crucial and important. (27/3/2017)

166. Mr Speaker, respectfully, I do not intend to engage you in any raucous disagreements but what **ought to** be done — If a document is laid, as I said, it cannot be withdrawn at the say-so of the Chair. The indulgence of this House must predicate the withdrawal. (2/11/2016)

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167. I am not a procurement specialist, but I know that under our procurement laws, this **ought to** be done before the contract is signed— giving the nature of this particular Agreement. (3-11-16)

168. This is because here we are and the Committee itself has expressed serious concerns, hence, making it clear that the value for money audit **ought to** be done. (3-11-16)

169. This is because these things **ought to** be attended to. The need to have a retention clause is important. Otherwise, we would surrender our rights of pursuing the contractor in the event of any shoddy work. (3-11-16)

The excerpts show the speakers' awareness of what is necessary and socially determined. They are, therefore, insistent on the right things to be done. The uses of *ought to* in the clauses above can be paraphrased, 'it is important or necessary that….' From the point of view of the speakers, some actions are very important or necessary, however, the speakers adopt third-person subjects, and impersonal subjects to appear objective. By assigning responsibilities to others at the same time, the speakers seem to see that the right thing is done, which forms part of the trilogic nature of political discourse aimed at audience's persuasion (Garcia-Paster, 2007).

Also, this type of modality and point of view justifies Taylor's (2009) observation of political debates as persuasive narratives; a battle of competing worlds configured in each debtor's talk. A typical example is Example 166 above:

> Mr Speaker, respectfully, I do not intend to engage you in any raucous disagreements but what **ought to** be done — If a document is laid, as I said, it cannot be withdrawn at the say-so

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of the Chair. The indulgence of this House must predicate the withdrawal. (2/11/2016).

This type of perspective finds support in Larreya and Rivière (2005) who are of the view that *ought to* is more "objective" than *should*. *Ought to* is used when we want to express an objective truth. In other words, 'what is necessary, and cannot be avoided.' This kind of perspective enables speakers to detach themselves from the action to be performed. This perspective is in consonance with the traditional orientation of *ought to* towards other people than the discourse-internal source Verhulst and Heyvaert (2015) as typically in all the examples above.

However, some uses of *ought to* just like *should* in the debates tie in with the oversight responsibility that parliament exercises over the executive and other state agencies to ensure that they conduct themselves appropriately. The following are some examples:

170. The Ministry of Finance **ought to** be supervised by a group independent – Your previous Hon Minister did not want it and that was why it was taken out of the Bill. When the Bill came to Cabinet (26/1/2017)

171. When the current President became the Attorney-General, he argued extenso against that practice and said the President **ought to** do that by an Executive Instrument (24/2/2017)

172. Government organisations like the ECG **should** no longer be given free money. They **should** prove that they can pay back the money. (1-11-16)

The expressions in examples 170-171 above as 'The Ministry of Finance **ought to** be supervised', 'The President **ought to** do that by an Executive

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Instrument' and the whole of Example 172 all show that the speakers are well aware of what is socially determined and they insist that the right things be done given the oversight responsibility they have to ensure checks and balances in the executive and other agencies.

However, Verhulst and Heyvaert's (2015) position that *should* expresses a personal opinion and argumentation is upheld given the fact that it accounts for the vast majority of modal expressions in the data of this work, which is an argumentative discourse. More typical examples of *should* expressing arguments is usually when it is epistemically expressed with epistemic lexical verbs *think* and *believe*, rarely expressed in the data with *ought to*. The following are some examples:

173. This is because ECG will soon have private participation and we do not *think* that when there is leverage it **should** go into a private hand instead of the state. (1-11-16)

174. I *think* that we **should** give them 20 years but let us be well informed that Government has taken adequate measures to address the debt within the energy sector. (1-11-16)

The use of the high-value modal *should* combined with the lexical verb 'think' coupled with the personal pronoun 'we' shows the speakers' personal and superior knowledge in the arguments they advance. In addition, *Ought to* and *should* generally express the speaker's authority just like *must* expressing obligation but unlike *must*, they do not imply that the speaker has confidence that the recommendation will be carried out. However, with the use of the perfective aspect, *ought to* just like *should* typically has the stronger

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implication that the recommendation has been carried out (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 227).

From the perspective of a participant, when they are confident of the occurrence of some events, certain modal choices are made. The following examples illustrate the point:

175. What the Committee **ought to** *have* done was to breakdown the cost so that we would know as a House that this component goes to the SCADA. (1/11/2017)

176. The proper thing **ought to** *have* been that, after touching on this, then together he will lead us because he is still the Hon Minister for Finance. (20/12/2016)

177. Indeed, beyond that date, he **ought to** *have* been given a contract. No such contract was given him, which meant that he had become functus officio on 17th February, 2016. (26/1/2017)

178. Mr Speaker, it is clear that CHRAJ, which is a creature of our Constitution, is a very important animal that **ought to** be given the necessary impetus and resources to be able to perform in order to be able to make governance in this country very effective. (29/3/2017)

In the parliamentary data, *ought to* seems to express even more confidence than *should* which could account for its infrequent use in the data. In the debates, members usually do not want to appear too assertive when they do not have the facts. The use of *ought to* in the illustrations above appears in the form of facts expressed by the speakers. *Ought to* expresses a higher degree of confidence on the part of the speakers in Examples 175-178 above because it is expressed with the perfective aspect. Expressions with the perfective aspect

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sound like, 'they ought to have… but they did not' (Quirk et al., 1985) shows that the speaker is well aware that some action has not been carried out.

Although *should* and *ought to* express similar senses of modality, from the data, there seems to be a slight difference in the sense of obligation and necessity expressed by the two modals. With the use of *ought to*, it seems that members do not only know what is socially determined but they seem to have absolute knowledge or facts for what is expressed; hence, they appear more confident in the propositional content, as illustrated below:

179. I am not a procurement specialist, but I *know* that under our procurement laws, this **ought to** be done before the contract is signed— given the nature of this particular Agreement. (3-11-16)

180. And so, I do not want this to go down as another story about being overcharged, because it is actually less than what they **ought to** have charged under the circumstances. (3-11-16)

181. This is because here we are and the Committee itself has expressed serious concerns, hence, making it clear that the value-for-money audit **ought to** be done. (3-11-16)

182. This is because these things **ought to** be attended to. The need to have a retention clause is important. Otherwise, we would surrender our rights of pursuing the contractor in the event of any shoddy work. (3-11-16)

183. That is why I am saying that the Committee **ought to** have given us better information. (3-11-16)

From the above, the speakers adopt an external focalisation through the use of third person and impersonal subjects in order to express an objective truth

(Larreya & Rivière, 2005). This objectivity with the use of *ought to* is what leads to the observation that *ought to* is usually used in talking about laws, duties, and regulations. As mentioned earlier, depending on the topic of discussion, some modals are preferred. All the above excerpts are extracted from one debate on the award of commercial contracts where members expressed their concern for the need for procurement rules to be followed.

The speakers are aware of what is supposed to be done from an internal point of view as expressed typically in Example 179, *I am not a procurement specialist, but I know that under our procurement laws, this **ought to** be done before the contract is signed— giving the nature of this particular agreement.* This example, as well as all the other examples, shows the speakers' awareness of what is socially determined. They are, therefore, insistent on the right things to be done. This was expected, given the fact that issues of procurement demand due diligence and laws and regulations to be followed.

The MPs, therefore, tried to show a lot of commitment and concern, portraying themselves in the public light as people who love their country and, therefore, seek to protect its financial resources and to achieve value for money. This finding seems to find support in an assertion made by Sinclair (1995) that Democratic Party leaders in the US House of Representatives have used coordinated short speeches as means to attract media attention and sell their position to voters. In the Ghanaian context, MPs use deontic modals to appear committed to their duties and to attract public attention and support.

In conclusion, even though *ought to* is used less frequently in the data, its use conveys a strong obligatory sense of reminding people of their duty

and regulating behaviour just like *should*. Most of the uses of *ought to* have been expressions from an external perspective through the use of third person and impersonal subjects showing uninvolved and objective focalisation meant to direct the behaviour others and to avoid direct personal responsibility as typical of political discourse. *Ought to,* however, conveys a positive shading point of view due to the high level of deontic modality that it expresses (Simpson, 1993).

From the data, *ought to* and *should* overlap more in similarities than in dissimilarities. The two modals overlap both in the traditional notions of the verbs as objective and subjective, as opined by Huddleston (2002), Collins (1991), Declerck (1991), and in introductory grammars (Eastwood, 2005; Swan, 2005) as well as in their contemporary notions such as agreement and consensus, arguments and personal opinion as dependent on context (Verhulst & Heyvaert, 2015). *Should* and *ought to* both express the traditional functions of obligation, necessity, and moral suggestions and offer advice in the debates. The two modals also express more objectivity with an external perspective meant to show detachment than they express internal point of view showing involvement. Again, they both express consensus through the use of plural personal subjects, 'we'. Nonetheless, the only point of divergence is that expressions of should *sound* more argumentative than *ought to*. *Ought to* basically expresses necessity and obligatory meanings in the debates meant to direct and regulate the behaviour of others based on a good knowledge event and what is socially determined.

I am, therefore, of the opinion that there is no pragmatic reason for the neglect of *ought to* and the overuse of *should* which is more or less similar to

ought to. The only reason I find in the data is that *ought to* is specialised or restricted to some sensitive topics, as in issues relating to the use of state funds and formulation of laws where *ought to* is found to occur. I conclude that in parliamentary debates, certain modals are preferred or restricted to certain topics of discussion. This then leads to the overuse and specialisation of others. Perhaps from the MPs' perspective, they consider *ought to* as a very strong modal to use on colleagues as in the literature scholars are divided between the modal strength of *ought to* and *should.* For instance, there is the general view from introductory grammars and traditional notion (Eastwood, 2005, Swan, 2005) that *ought to* is more objective, for that matter more appropriate in laws, duties, and regulations. Therefore, based on the educational and cultural orientation of the MPs, they find *ought to* too strong a modal to use on colleagues.

In conclusion, from my observation of the data, there seems to be a semantic phenomenon as regards the use of *should* and *ought to*, what Frimpong (2007) terms as 'semantic extension' and 'narrowing' of modal auxiliaries. By extension, one implies the expansion in the semantic scope of the lexical item. That is a word widens up to include other senses or referents as the case may be. By narrowing, one implies the opposite of extension. From the data, *should* is widened in scope than *ought to* in the debates analysed even though grammatically and semantically, they perform similar functions. *Ought to* seems to gain a restricted use in the debates just as in the case of *shall*. This view finds support from Coates and Leech (1980) who conclude in their study of American English that *ought to* and *shall* are

becoming rare obsolescent and their main senses expressed by *should* and *will* respectively.

It has been mentioned earlier that the modal auxiliaries are capable of expressing different types of modality depending on the context, hence, different types of point of view can be expected. Overall, the shade of point of view regarding *should* and *ought to* has been one of positive shading point of view because they constitute high-value deontic modals in the data (1993). So far, we have looked at modality as expressed with positive shading point of view. We now turn our attention to modality and point of view of negative shading from both category A and category B submissions (internal and external point of view of low-value modals).

Internal Point of View, Low-Value Modals (Negative Shading)

Negative shading submissions are characterized by the use of weaker epistemic and perception modalities of low values, and by words denoting alienation and uncertainty; this creates weaker connotations in discourse as opposed to positive shading submissions (Simpson, 1993). The linguistic features that characterise this type of discourse are epistemic modal auxiliaries, modal adverbs, modal lexical verbs. Because this type of point of view is internal, there is the use of first-person pronouns that signify a speaker's own uncertainty about events or cynicism towards such events (Simpson, 1993, p.58). This part is concerned with only epistemic modal auxiliaries that express internal point of view of negative shading. Modal adverbs and modal lexical verbs will be treated in detail in the next part of this chapter.

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In the debates, the use of weak modals generally expresses a lower commitment level or lack of commitment on the part of the speaker. The use of *may/might,* for instance, generally commits the speakers to a judgment about the possibility of the truth of propositions they make, whereas *can/could* in most cases indicates that the proposition expressed is theoretically possible. The use of the low-value modals this way often seems like a careful choice in political debates when expressed from an internal point of view.

The following are some examples:

184. **I** *could see* a situation where the principal spending officer *may* be treated lightly as opposed to another officer. (Friday, 27/1/2017)

185. These are matters that I *believe* we *can* attend to. (27-1-17, pg 568)

186. **We** *may* have to come back and attend to the positioning of such Hon Members on the various committees. (27-1017, pg 569).

187. we **may** disagree with him on a particular statement he may have uttered. We **can** disagree with him. (24/2/2017).

188. Mr Speaker, **I** *can* understand that you have already put the question. But **I** *may* have to indulge you to raise an issue. (2-08-16, col. 5599).

The sampled texts above fall under Category A conveying an internal perspective of negative shading, as seen through the use of weaker modality showing uncertainty on the part of the speaker perhaps as a result of their lack of knowledge of events. There is no use of deontic modals of high value such as *must* or *should* to give a strong sense of commitment, as in Category A Positive Shading. Instead, there is the use of such weaker epistemic modal auxiliaries as *may, might*, and *could*. There is the use of first-person pronouns

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(I and we) to show the speakers' own psychological point of view on the events expressed.

Internal Point of View of Negative Shading (Can and Could)

Although *can and could* are found in the data to express similar semantic features in the debates as in other studies as ability, possibility, permission, and request and in most cases, hypothetical meanings, there are some distinctive features found in the parliamentary data which are uncommon in some works in the literature. *Can* and *could* are frequently used in expressing epistemic possibility in the parliamentary data; a function most scholars found uncommon in their works (Coates, 1983; Ngula, 2007).

These scholars maintain that epistemic possibility is rarely expressed using *can*. The common modality function of *can* and *could* in the data for this work is, however, epistemic possibility. Epistemic uses of *can* and *could* usually encode uncertainty on the part of the speakers to show their level of knowledge in the propositional content they express. Epistemic possibility expressed by *can* and *could* can be paraphrased as "it is possible that…" (Coates, 1983). This semantic feature in parliamentary discourse is not surprising as most of what happens on the floor of parliament are deliberations; where members have no knowledge of the topics, they tread cautiously by choosing modals of weak epistemic value where participants express their uncertainty and seek some knowledge as to how certain goals could be achieved.

According to Sweetser (1982), *can* usually expresses epistemic modality when it is found in interrogatives and negations. In English language, when modal elements are inverted with the subject, they are meant

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to interrogate. The following are some examples of *can* and *could* expressing epistemic possibility in the debates:

189. My worry is, for how long **can** we continue to do this kind of "diplomacy" while our people continue to suffer? For how long can we continue to do this kind of nice talking while our people continue to suffer in others' hands? (24/2/2017)

190. What we need to ask is how we **can** assist Government to help these people. That is what matters. (27/1/2017)

191. If we would want to entice donors to give us money to undertake our projects, and there was no full disclosure of that amount, how **could** we put up a case, so that people would also give more? (23/3/2017)

In the interrogations above, the speakers show their uncertainty or lack of confidence in certain issues and seek clarification hence a sense of epistemic possibility is expressed. the use of *can* and *could* in the interrogatives, 'how long **can** we continue', 'how **can** we assist Government', and 'how **could** we put up a case' in Examples 189-191 respectively shows the uncertainty of the speakers in the propositions expressed; thereby, questioning the possibility of accomplishing those tasks.

From my observation of the data, some of the submissions that convey epistemic possibility also sometimes sound cynical where participants interrogate the sense in some actions or submissions made by colleagues, seek clarification, and express conditions; showing the speakers' uncertainty about certain issues. The following are some examples of *can* and *could* expressing epistemic possibility and cynicism in the debates:

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192. That is the amount that each Regional Director got for the whole of 2016. So, how **can** we reduce hunger with this? 24/2/2017

193. Mr Speaker, this is because the person accessing the Flagstaff House would have to go through some routine check. So, how **could** we just have only one name, "Abu". We should be able to have the other name. 23/3/2017

The use of *can* and could in Examples 192 and 193 in the interrogatives above expresses epistemic possibility through the 'wh' interrogative 'how' showing the speakers' cynicism about the possibility of certain issues which is a common feature in parliamentary discourse. The use of cynicism serves as a useful tool in the parliamentary debates for participants to show their lack of confidence in the submissions of their colleagues when those submissions appear contrary to their own values.

Other expressions of epistemic possibility through the use of *can* and *could* seen in the data are what can be referred to as modal harmonic introduced by (Lyons 1977). This represents a situation where a modal auxiliary and a lexical item nearly convey the same modal meaning. Halliday (1970) refers to such instances as mutually reinforcing but I choose to refer to it as assimilation, where the sense of a modal element seems to carry the same modal meaning of a lexical item it occurs in context with. This type of modal combination signals a speaker's effort to sound convincing in the propositions they make and to rally others into accepting their points of view even when they are not too sure of such submissions. This modal combination in a bid to convince others supports Vukovic's (2014) assertion

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that sounding convincing is a prerequisite needed in parliamentary discourse for participants to sell their points of view.

Modal harmonisation, therefore, serves as a persuasive tool to convince others of the truth value in propositions speakers make on the floor of parliament. The following are some examples to illustrate the point:

194. That is **certainly not possible**. This is because if we want to do good business, we **cannot** interrogate the principles and delve into the various sectors, and be able to complete just within one day. It is not possible (24/2/2017)

195. I **guess** we **could** have some consensus on that – I do not think that we should belabour the point. (23/12/2016)

196. If we agree with the principle, I **guess** we **could** leave it with them to do the proper thing; that is, the inclusion of representative from the National Development Planning Commission (NDPC). (3/11/16)

197. Hon Members, I **think** that from the information given me, because what was presented to us was not exactly what was moved and accepted by us, but rather there were some amendments to it, if we **could** orally apply to indicate that the Report as amended was approved, then there would be no dispute about what we actually did yesterday at the Committee of the Whole. 23/12/16.

In Examples 194 to 197, the epistemic sense of modals *can* and *could* is reinforced with the lexical items such as 'possible', 'guess', and 'think', respectively which inherently encode epistemic possibility.

From my observation, therefore, there seems to be some 'assimilation'. Even though assimilation is a phonological feature, it features

significantly in the epistemic possibility expressions in the parliamentary data. What I term 'assimilation' refers to two modals conveying a similar sense of modality occurring in the same context; in such situations one reinforces the other and clarifies the particular modal expression in that context. A typical example is Example 194 above: *That is **certainly not possible**. This is because if we want to do good business, we **cannot** interrogate the principles and delve into the various sectors*. The epistemic possibility meaning of **canno**t is predetermined by other modal elements, **certainly not possible**, clarifying the epistemic possibility meaning of **cannot**. Modal harmonic, therefore, also serves to reveal the commitment levels of participants in the truth value of propositions they make.

Epistemic possibility is also expressed in the data through *can* and *could* in conditional clauses. The 'if' condition tends to render the submissions with an epistemic sense of possibility. Conditionals seem to be a concomitant feature of epistemic possibility, as observed in the data. The conditions show the speakers' level of knowledge to some extent; they often sound like logical conclusions; hence, they lack confidence in the propositions expressed and, therefore, a sense of epistemic possibility is often conveyed. Submissions expressed with conditional clauses from an internal point of view showing speakers' uncertainty in propositions often show the deliberative nature of parliamentary discourse, where participants tread cautiously when they lack facts but are merely exploring available options. Such submissions may be glossed as 'I /we' *can/cannot* do A, hence B is expected. The following are some examples:

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198. **If** we **can** make farming attractive, we **can** solve some of our unemployment problems. 24/2/2017

199. I will direct that copies be made available to Hon Members, then the matter can be taken up for debate as we go along — **If** we **canno**t take the debate now, and we would have to take it tomorrow for us to take a look at — I am more concerned about the content of the ruling whether it has any bearing on this Report. 22/12-2016

200. **If** we **could** take item numbered 7 on the original Order Paper. This is the Motion to be moved by the Hon Minister for Employment and Labour Relations for the Annual Budget Estimates. The Hon Chairman of the Committee is here as well. (23/3/2017)

201. So, if it is **possible**, what is left will be the relaying of the Paper, and some processes would have to be complied with. That is where we are talking about the Order Paper Addendum, and then we **could** take it. (3/11/16).

The point of view implied in all the above extracts is internal point of view of negative shading because of the weak epistemic modals expressing the uncertainty of the speakers towards the situations described as seen in such constructions as, *If we **can** make, if we **cannot** take, If we **could**, if it is possible...we could take*… in Examples 198-201. All such constructions covey a weaker connotation of discourse and show the speakers' uncertainty; hence, a negative point of view is expressed according to the model of modality and point of view by Simpson (1993). However, unlike the use of deontic modals in the parliamentary discourse which insists and lays obligations on colleagues, the low-value modals, when expressed in

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conditional clauses from internal point of view, show the democratic nature of parliament as an institution, given the deliberative feature embedded in the conditional matrix where participants leave room to accommodate other members views.

Yet another feature that resulted in the frequent uses of modals *can* and *could* expressing epistemic modality is the use of *can* and *could* to express perception of speakers towards certain events. Perception is a feature of epistemic modality that expresses how speakers perceive things based on their level of knowledge of the world. Simpson (1993) categorises perception under epistemic modality. When *could* and *can* combine with verbs of perception such as 'see', 'foresee', and 'hear' (Simpson ibid), they create a sense of perception. According to Simpson, such expressions, when made with first-person subjects, encode an internal point of view of negative shading in the sense that the perception verbs signify some level of uncertainty on the part of the speaker.

However, in the debates, participants employ the strategy of visual evidence to convince others of the validity in the truth of the propositions they make, which is reasonable in political discourse, since the goal of participants is to either stay in power or gain power with their parties. They, therefore, marshal visual evidence to convince the overhearing public, and if possible, even opponents to buy their points of view.

The employment of the inclusive *we*, which is indicative of internal point of view, is used as a means to impose their perspective as a collective reference point, which undoubtedly carries 'persuasive and homogenising potential' (Anicic nd). The following are some examples from the data:

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202. Mr Speaker, we **can see** that today, Ghana's dream of having a dedicated medical school, not by accident, but by decision, is completed at the University of Ghana, Legon, so that we could train more healthcare personnel in this country**.** (27/1/2017)

203. I **could** *see* a situation where the principal spending officer may be treated lightly as opposed to another officer. (Friday, 27/1/2017)

204. Mr Speaker, I **can foresee** a situation where a Minister would be taken to court for statements he had made under oath**.** (27/1/2017)

205. Mr Speaker, over two billion dollars into health care alone, and out of that of that we **can see** health facilities of world-class standard in this country. (27/1/2017)

All the perception verbs, *'clearly', see, foresee* in the examples above express some evidence of the possibility of some actions such as 'Ghana's dream of having a dedicated medical school…' 'a situation where the principal spending officer may be treated lightly as opposed to another officer', 'a situation where a Minister would be taken to court' and 'health facilities of world-class standard', as seen in examples 202-205 above.

Epistemic Ability 'Can' and 'Could'

Modality is usually categorised as either root or epistemic by many scholars (Crystal, 2004; Givon, 2001; Palmer 1990; Valin et al, 1997; von Fintel, 2006) Palmer and von Fintel, however, include **dynamic modality** to cater for expressions of ability, volition and futurity meanings of **can** and **will**. **Can** and **could** are used in English to express physical ability, mental ability, or lack of constraint (Frimpong, 2007). Ability meanings of **can** and **could** would, therefore, fall under dynamic modality.

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1. Ken can cook. [Physical ability]

2. John could sing when he was in High School. [Physical ability past]

3. I could recite the bible from Genesis to Revelation [Mental ability past]

Frimpong (2007) asserts that although *ability* lacks the semantic content of attitude, it is discussed under modality because it is expressed with modal elements; hence, a discussion of its meaning categories here. Two types of ability meanings are usually cited, deontic ability and epistemic ability. Even though in the data, the two modality meanings are expressed, in this section, the concentration is only on epistemic ability because it happens to occur more than deontic ability. From the data, *can* and *could* are found to express epistemic ability though infrequently as compared to epistemic possibility. The epistemic ability of *can* and *could* expresses both internal and external point of view. From the data ability *can/could* from an internal point of view is usually a feature of the speaker whereas ability *can/could* from an external point of view is a feature of the addressee.

From my observation of the data, dynamic modality when expressed from an internal point of view often reminds members of certain powers vested in them as members of parliament. Such linguistic choices serve as persuasive tools to encourage members to act in ways that will avert certain misfortunes from the point of view of speakers. The following are some examples of *can* and *could* expressing epistemic ability from the data:

206. Mr Speaker, so, I believe, you should rule for us to complete this function, that *only* we **can** exercise. (22/12/2016)

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207. Mr Speaker, in the forthcoming elections, one of the things we **can** do as a nation in memory of statesmen such as Hon K. K. Mensah is to exhibit sportsmanship and accept the verdict of our people even if we disagree. (3/11/2016)

208. I would want to call on Hon Members of Parliament to do whatever we **could** to support the Hon Member in whatever form we **can**. I heard him talk about personally giving money to people to go to the hospital. (27/1/2017)

209. Some of these things created some impressions in the past but we **can** now see clearly according to this Schedule. (3/11/2016)

All the above express the ability meaning of speakers to perform certain tasks based on a personal assessment of the situations from an internal point of view. The submissions can be glossed, 'we are able to…' The submissions represent the views of the speakers themselves through the use of the personal pronouns 'I' and 'we'. The use of futurity in Example 207, *in the forthcoming elections*…..'we can'. The future is unpredictable hence *can* encodes epistemic ability on the part of the speaker. In Example 209, the use of the perception verb, *can now 'see'* only shows a perceived ability on the part of the speaker hence an epistemic sense of ability is encoded. The pre-modifier modal adverb 'only' in Example 206, reinforces the epistemic ability sense of the modal *can* showing that only members of parliament are vested with the ability to perform that duty. Through the submissions of dynamic ability, it is revealed in the data that some duties are the preserve of parliament. Members are, therefore, often reminded of these duties they owe the state as MPs.

However, according to Simpson (1993), the fact that the submissions lack certainty on the part of the speakers and show some lack of confidence through the use of weak modals in the propositions expressed, they give off a negative shading point of view on the part of the speakers (Simpson, 1993, p.58).

External Point of View, Low-Value Modals (Negative Shading)

This narration type has a lot in common with Category A negative submissions in that epistemic and perception modal systems are given prominence and a sense of alienation is conveyed with the use of low-value modality (Iwamoto, 2007, p. 184). In this type of point of view, the submissions are usually in the form of reports and do not represent the views of the speaker as in the case of Category A internal point of view; hence, a sense of 'alienation' is usually conveyed. Maynard (1993) points out that the weaker modalizers used in this category suggest the existence of a detached point of view or plural voices, where a multitude of voices proliferates. An attempt is made at analysing the low-value modals from an external point of view in the subheadings that follow.

External Point of View of Negative Shading (Can and Could)

Can and *could* are frequently used in the data to express epistemic possibility followed by ability. *Can/could* expressing external point of view are usually presented in the form of reports and do not represent the views of the speaker hence a detached point of view is usually conveyed. As was found in internal point of view of negative shading, the linguistic features that encode epistemic possibility from internal point of view are almost the same

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features that encode epistemic possibility of negative shading from an external point of view. The difference lies in the externality.

The use of interrogatives and negatives as asserted by Sweetser (1982), harmonic combinations by Lyons (1977) as well as the use of conditional structures and perception modals which were found to encode epistemic possibility of negative shading from an internal point of view are the same features that encode epistemic possibility of negative shading from external point of view. The following are some examples of epistemic possibility of negative shading:

210. How **can** a doctor take the job of somebody who is just a loading boy?" (27/1/1017)

211. How **can** facts be misrepresentation of what — Indeed, it appears that our Hon Colleagues on the other side of the House have problems with facts.

212. Mr Speaker, how **could** the last Parliament pass the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA) Agreement in one day? (27/1/2017)

213. I do not know how a brand-new factory **can** be shut down supposedly for maintenance — and then five months on, it is still shut down. (3/11/2016)

In Examples 210-213, the speakers seem to find the actions of some individuals or bodies as 'unreasonable';hence, they doubt their possibility and, therefore, adopt weaker modality 'can' and 'could' and wh question word 'how' meant to interrogate, as it were, the sense in those actions. From the perspective of the speakers, such actions are unjustifiable; hence, a detached point of view of negative shading is adopted. The use of rhetorical questions

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and modals of possibility signifies cynicism on the part of the speakers towards the events in the propositions expressed (Iwamoto, 2007, p. 183). This shows a detachment of the speakers from the issues under discussion and the adoption of an objective stand. Also, Examples 210-213 represent how MPs use rhetorical questions to give illocutionary force to their arguments. In these cases, they employ subtle humour and cynicism against perceived opponents judging the possibilities of those actions. Parliamentary debate is a sport and it is always better to use humour against others rather than oneself.

Can/could also express harmonic combination from external point of view as was observed with internal point of view. In such expressions, the speaker is not part of the action to be performed but expresses the possibility of the events using modal harmonic combinations to as it were to show some solidarity. The following exemplify the point:

214. I **believe** it is a very good thing. This is because it would give the contractor the peace of mind to do the work and if there is a bit of time-lapse, he **can** still concentrate and do the work (3/11/2016)

215. Mr Speaker, so, I **believe** that, if we are able to adequately resource them, they **could** carry out their work very well. (27/1/2017)

216. Mr Speaker, so, I believe that, if we are able to adequately resource them, they **could** carry out their work very well. 23/3/2017

In the model of modality and point of view, the choice of the above linguistic features, 'can' and 'could' reinforced by modal lexical verbs of uncertainty 'believe' showing a lack of confidence in the propositions described from an external point of view represent a negative shading point of view (Simpson, 1993, p.51), however, I believe since the submissions serve as acts of

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solidarity meant to show concern towards the actualization of some actions they should not be considered all negative, the reason being that on the floor of parliament, there is sometimes the need for consensus for some policies to be made.

Yet another indication of epistemic possibility of external point of view of negative shading, is the use of the modals *can* and *could* in conditional clauses from external point of view. *Can* and *could* are used in conditionals in exploring possibilities in the debates given the fact that much of what goes on in parliament is deliberations. Based on the participants' experiences, *can/could* are employed in conditional clauses from an external perspective to caution colleagues on the possibility of some intended actions. Therefore, parliament's deliberative function is also revealed through modals of possibility in conditional clauses in the debates.

However, the use of third-person subjects with low-value modals in exploring the possibilities in the conditional clauses shows an uninvolved focalization which according to Simpson is a show of negative shading point of view (Simpson ibid). The following are some examples:

217. So, if the Minister for Finance says that he would take it up with NPRA because they hold so much money, and if they are not able to handle it well, it **could** cause general dislocation in the economy. 23/3/2017

218. Mr Speaker, reference **can** even be made to GET Fund contracts. Anybody who has done GET Fund contract knows that even if it is Architectural Engineering Services Limited (AESL), they would charge the state six percent for the supervision. (3/11/2016)

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In Example 217, the use of *can* is only meant to explore possibilities but does not show any commitment on the part of the speaker in performing the task as *can* is imbedded in the conditional clause with third-person subject, 'the minister for finance'. This shows uninvolved focalization on the part of the speaker.

Also, from the data, *can/could* are also used to draw conclusions on certain issues based on participants' knowledge of some facts. Lebrun (1965) refers to such usage as logical possibility. In the clauses, the speakers epistemically make certain assumptions but with an uninvolved focalisation, perhaps, they do not see themselves as responsible for the performance of such responsibilities hence the adoption of external point of view, as demonstrated below:

219. Today, Mr Speaker, as we speak, the Gbedembilsi valleys are credited for rice cultivation, and **could** easily become the food basket of the country if particular attention is paid to rice cultivation in that area. (27/1/2017)

In the example above, the speaker only assumes that Gbedembilsi valleys could become a food basket of the country if attention is paid there but does not suggest who should be responsible to make that happen. One can, therefore, conclude that in submissions such as the above when a speaker or participant is uncertain about events, the propositions they express towards such events lack commitment on the part of the speakers. This is seen through the use of the third-person subjects in the examples above, showing some level of objectification by the speakers in order to distance themselves from the actions to be performed.

'Can' and 'Could' Ability

Another prominent use of *can* and *could* in the data is the expression of epistemic ability. As stated earlier, *Can* and *could* are used in English to express physical ability, mental ability, or lack of constraint (Frimpong 2007). From the data, the uses of *can* and *could* are one of ability and lack of constraints. The ability sense of these modals expresses uncertainty from an external point of view, showing the subject's ability or inability to perform certain tasks given the speakers' assessment of the situation.

In the data, the ability sense of *can/could* may be glossed as *one has the ability/is able to...or one does not have the ability/is not able to...* to perform certain tasks given the speaker's knowledge about the issues under discussion. Unlike the internal point of view of negative shading, where the submissions represent the views of the speaker who is himself the subject conveyed through the use of the personal pronouns 'I' and 'we', the submissions in this category do not represent the views of the subject but someone else's perception of them given that person's assessment of the subject's ability or otherwise based on their knowledge about the subject. Therefore, a sense of externality is created through the use of objective reference. In expressions of ability from external point of view, the speaker, as it were, trusts or doubts the ability of the subject to perform some task. The following are some examples:

220. In case of an emergency, the Finance Committee **can** authorise funds to assist them; we do not need the budget. (27/1/1017

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221. He also believed that the IMF itself would want the Programme reviewed because the country **could not** meet the targets stipulated in the Programme. 27/1/2017 **ABILITY PAST.**

In expressing ability, the submissions rather sound more like acts of solidarity than a negative shading point of view as propounded by Simpson (1993). In such expressions, the speaker is not part of the action to be performed but trusts and expresses the ability of the addressee to perform some tasks. This is typically seen in the expressions in Examples 220 and 221: 'the Finance Committee **can** authorise funds to assist them', 'He also believed that the IMF itself would want the Programme reviewed because the country **could not** meet the targets'. The use of ability past seems to serve as a persuasive tool in parliamentary discourse to support fellows to achieve common goals, as seen below:

222. Mr Speaker, the Ministry also does a lot of things including the intention to create additional missions abroad. If the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is to undertake this, then the resources given to them must be adequate so that it **could** carry out this function. (23/3/2017).

223. Mr Speaker, as those Hon Members who earlier contributed said, we would appeal to the Hon Minister for Finance to as a matter of fact, increase the Internally Generated Fund (IGF), so that the Ministry **could** perform their functions very well. (23/3/2017).

From the examples above, even though the speakers adopt an external point of view indicating uninvolved focalisation, they argue in favour of others and they make use of ability past *could* to persuade for some needed assistance to perform certain duties as seen in the expressions in examples 222 and 223

above: '*...so that it **could** carry out this function.* And *'...so that the Ministry* **could** *perform their functions very well.*

'May' and 'Might'

The data abounds with the use of *may. Might,* however, is less frequently used. The two modals perform similar semantic functions, mainly possibility, permission, polite request, and hypothetical uses, and in some few cases, they express suggestion. The only difference is that when *might* expresses the past tense of *may*, it conveys hypothetical expressions or deontic possibility meanings in the data.

As this section deals with point of view of negative shading, only epistemic meanings of *may* and *might* will be the focus as negative shading point of view is encoded in epistemic modality. *May* and *might* are classified as low-value modals (Halliday 1994) and therefore usually express weaker epistemic modality. Because of this, the shade type in such discourse is usually negative. *May/might* thus serve a rich source for expressing negative shading point of view (Simpson, 1993). The most common meaning of *may* and *might* in the data is epistemic possibility. Quirk *et al*. (1985, p. 223) term the meaning of *may* as "epistemic possibility". According to them, *may* "denotes the possibility of a given proposition's being or becoming true" they further maintain that *might* is used more tentatively and can be an alternative to *may* possibility. *May* can be phrased as 'it is possible that', or 'it may be that… or by the adverb, perhaps or possibly'. When *may* can be glossed this way, it encodes epistemic possibility (Quirk et al., ibid). *May* and *might* are employed to express both internal and external point of view of negative shading in the parliamentary debates. However, on the floor of parliament,

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expressions of epistemic possibility from external point of view far outnumber expressions from internal point of view.

Modality in the debates has shown different levels of commitment and speaker responsibility. The use of the low-value modals in the debates shows a lower commitment on the part of speakers, however when expressed from internal point of view some level of speaker responsibility is conveyed. The following are some examples of expressions of epistemic *may* and internal point of view:

224. *We* **may not** be able to deal with them directly *but we would need to* give them that power here for them to be able to request. (3/11/2016)

The expressions in the example above, *we may not…but we would need to give,* expresses speaker involvement as seen through the use of internal devices as 'we' and speaker responsibility, 'we would need to give' even though the speaker is not certain about the possibility to deal with the situation as seen in the use of such weaker modality 'may not'.

The adoption of weaker epistemic modals *may* and *might* also signals the lack of knowledge in the propositions of participants. Such submissions represent the speakers' own assessment of the situation, even though from their point of view, they are uncertain about the truth value of what they are committing themselves to do. They show some level of involvement through the use of the personal pronouns 'I' and 'we'. The following are some examples:

225. If we consider the National House of Chiefs, *we* **probably might** be limited in getting the best to really represent the interest of the queen mothers. (3/11/2016)

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226. Mr Speaker, *I* **believe** in percentage terms, we **might** get about 40.2 per cent so we can round it up and say, 40 per cent. If it is above 40.5 per cent then we can say, 41 per cent. (27/3/2017)

227. If we are sufficiently resourced with the relevant information and we have to do it, then *we could* and we would also *perhaps*, be in a position to have checked whether as part of the transition arrangement, *we* **may** have to approve of this. (23/12/2016)

All the above are expressions of epistemic possibility that show the speakers' uncertainty in the truth value of the propositions they make in accomplishing some tasks they are expected to be performing, hence, the adoption of weaker epistemic modals *may* and *might.* In Examples 225, 226, and 227, the uncertainty of the speakers is even more obvious where modals *might* and *may* are conveyed with modally harmonic elements, *probably, believe,* and *perhaps* to reinforce the epistemic uncertainty in the submissions made. The submission in Example 227 literally confirmed the lack of knowledge on the part of participants in the topic of the debate as seen in the use of such weaker epistemic expressions, *we could* and we would also *perhaps… and ...we may…* The shade type of a discourse of this nature is clearly negative as it abounds in weaker epistemic modals indicating the speaker's uncertainty(Simpson, 1993).

However, it seems to me, the low modal values when expressed from an internal perspective represent members' personal involvement in the deliberative function they have as members of parliament where they explore best possibilities to take regarding certain issues. That notwithstanding, they cannot be justified for choosing such lower values expressing a lack of

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confidence in the propositions they express, as they are supposed to research on topics for discussion before going to the chamber. This observation finds support in a similar observation made by an MP in a submission where he laments the need for members to research topics before participating in debates, as seen below:

> *Mr Speaker, finally, my advice to all Hon Members is that, one **cannot** expect to contribute meaningfully if he or she has not read the documents. Documents are sent to Committees and all of us get copies. Dr A. A. Osei on (27/1/2017, col.556)*

The MPs also employ *may/might* to express hypothetical possibility. Even though, according to Quirk et al. (1985, p.232), hypothetical meanings are expressed by past tense modals, *may* in the parliamentary debates also expresses hypothetical possibility as in Example 230 below. This could be a case of conflation as found with *will* and *would* in the parliamentary debates as discussed earlier:

228. Do not forget that *we* **might** have problems. The National House of Chiefs would have the power to nominate a female member, provided that person is a member of the National House of Chiefs (3/11/2016)

229. *I* **might** have to give grounds to somebody to second the Motion and that, when it comes to the debate, I would make my submission. (23/12/2016)

230. If we are sufficiently resourced with the relevant information and we have to do it, then we could and we would also perhaps, be in a position to have checked whether as part of the transition arrangement, *we* **may** have to approve of this. (23/12/2016).

The hypothetical meanings in the examples cited can be glossed as 'it is possible that… *we would have problems*, *I would have given grounds to*

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somebody, we would have approved of this, respectively. This is usually with the implication '….but we didn't.' All such expressions signal a lack of knowledge on the part of participants in performing their functions hence a negative shading point of view is conveyed.

External Point of View of Negative Shading (May/Might)

As mentioned earlier, *may* and *might* low-value modals are employed frequently to express epistemic possibility of negative shading from an external point of view by the MPs on the floor of parliament than from internal perspective. Negative shading external point of view has a lot in common with negative shading internal point of view in that, they are both expressed with weaker epistemic modals. However, external point of view of negative shading is expressed by the adoption of objective references and third-person subjects as opposed to subjective and first-person telling in internal perspective (Iwamoto, 2007, p. 194).

From my observation of the data, speeches with low-value modals that are based on participants' knowledge from external point of view sound more deliberative and tentative showing less speaker commitment and responsibility as a result of a lack of confidence in the propositions expressed. The following are some examples of *may/might* expressing external point of view of negative shading:

231. Mr Speaker, I want to make a proposal and see if it **may** cure the problem. If we say "one representative of the association of women" (3/11/2016)

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232. If the Report is ready, it would **appear** to me that some Reports **might** have been written ahead of the presentation of the Paper to the Committee. (23/12/2016)

233. Mr Speaker, this House has come to some determination on this, that whatever business is transacted at the level of the committee, even though it **may** or *could* affect the final decision of this House, should not be taken as given. (23/12/2016)

234. That is why he thinks that we should now refurbish the T3 Power Plant preparatory to the consumption of the gas *that* **may** *be* generated, just so to add to installed capacity to produce power for our use. (23/12/2016)

235. Given that GIFMIS is internet based, the inherent benefit of GIFMIS as an efficient tool **may** *not be* realised in the (26/1/2017)

236. All we are going to see is what former President Mahama has started and some of them **may** *not even be* completed. (27/3/2017)

237. The decision to do that would be taken at that level and the implementation *might be* done at the sectoral level. (27/3/2017).

238. It is quite **possible** that if it were left to the Ministry of Sanitation and Water Resources, they **may** not consider water in my constituency. (27/3/2017).

239. Mr Speaker, you **probably may** recognise any other Hon Member, but I thought that there are Hon Ministers on the other Side who are waiting for their Hon Colleagues to move their Motions. (27/3/2017).

From the above illustrations, epistemic and perception modal systems are prominent. The MPs make use of such weaker epistemic modal auxiliaries

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as *may* and *might* and perception modal markers such as in example 231 *see if it may…* and in 232, *it would appear….* In addition, the MPs adopt what Maynard (1993, p.251) refers to as words of estrangement such as in examples 233. *may be…*, 234. *It may or could*, 235 *that may not be…*, 236 *some of them may not even be…,*237 *the implementation might be done* and a modal adjective in 238, *possible*, the modal noun *suggestion* and a word of estrangement in example 239 *probably.* All these linguistic devices, according to Maynard, are estrangement markers that distance the speaker with the use of an external perspective. These linguistic devices express varying degrees of uncertainty on the part of the speaker (Iwamoto, 2007).

From the data, the speakers adopt a discourse with such linguistic devices either based on their level of knowledge (in this case, limited knowledge) or simply to show detachment from the topic under discussion. The shade of point of view in this discourse is clearly negative, as seen through the use of weaker epistemic modals *may* and *might,* coupled with markers of perception and words of estrangement to express uncertainty showing an uninvolved attitude. Members merely express the propositions from an objective focalisation as seen through the use of third person and impersonal subjects meant to distance the speaker from the action to be taken.

It is, therefore, safe to conclude at this point that based on a speaker's level of knowledge concerning an issue or topic on the floor of parliament, they may adopt some point of view; either positive or negative or internal or external. Also, from the data, modal *might* is employed in expressing hypothetical possibility meaning. The use of *might* encodes hypothetical epistemic possibility sense in the data. All the past tense forms of the modals

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according to Quirk et al (1985. P. 232) are capable of expressing hypothetical meanings such as, "ability, possibility, permission, prediction, and volition".

An observation of the data reveals that submissions rendered with a hypothetical sense signal the uncertainty and lack of confidence of the speaker regarding the proposition expressed. Such expressions of lack of confidence encode a negative shade point of view (Simpson, 1993), as illustrated below:

240. They can nominate a chief who is the Paramount Chief in the Western Region to represent them on certain things and certain boards and he **might** not be at that particular time, a sitting member of the National House of Chiefs. (3/11/2016)

241. Mr Speaker, I am opened to suggestions in modifying the thought. If as he says and agrees with me, in most places, apart from the Akans, they **might** not even be queen mothers. (3/11/2016)

The submissions above with expressions *might not* signal the lack of confidence in the propositions. The speakers are merely making predictions. *May/might* are also employed in harmonic combinations with lexical verbs in the data meant to reinforce epistemic possibility. Such expressions from an external point of view often seek to convince others into accepting the point of view of the speaker as opposed to other views, as seen in the examples below:

242. It is quite **possible** that if it were left to the Ministry of Sanitation and Water Resources, they **may** not consider water in my constituency. (27/3/2017).

243. Mr Speaker, you **probably may** recognise any other Hon Member, but I thought that there are Hon Ministers on the other Side who are waiting for their Hon Colleagues to move their Motions. (27/3/2017).

244. The nominee disagreed with the **suggestion** that the new portfolios created by the President **may** conflict with the Ministry of Local Government and Rural (26/1/2017) .

245. Mr Speaker, I *see* a number of Ministerial portfolios that **may** end up making Ministerial positions sound like the roles of liaison officers and messengers between substantive Ministers and the Presidency (26/1/2017).

The modal lexical items, 'possible' and 'probably' with the main modal operators, *might* reinforce the epistemic meanings that the modals express. Example 244 is also harmonically reinforced but in this case, it expresses *suggestion,* a rather lesser sense of *may,* than epistemic possibility. Based on the speaker's point of view, he chooses to offer a suggestion rather than express a possibility. The suggestion sense of *may* shows some level of commitment than the epistemic possibility sense. In example 245, the perception verb 'see' reinforces the epistemic sense of *may* expressing possibility. In example 242, *may not* is reinforced by *quite possible*, and in example 243 *may* is reinforced by *probably*. Also, in example 245 *may* expressed from external point of view of negative shading above appears to me more cynical than an expression of uncertainty in his/her perception of events.

From my observation of the data above, I support the assertion that parliamentary discourse allows politicians to express a great degree of commitment to the truth of the utterance (Vukovic, 2014). When participants do not have the facts to back the truth of the propositions they express, they tread cautiously by making submissions that show their uncertainty hence a negative point of view is conveyed as attested in (Simpson, 1993). However, it seems to me, this feature also reveals the democratic nature of parliament as a deliberative

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institution where members do not seem to know it all and impose their views on others.

That notwithstanding, in perusing the data, I observed that a member of parliament, Dr A. A. Osei once cautions colleagues on the floor of parliament about the need to research before debates, *my advice to all Hon Members is that, one cannot expect to contribute meaningfully if he or she has not read*. (27/1/2017, col..556). Thus, it can be concluded that the employment of markers of uncertainty could, therefore, either be as a result of the participant's level of knowledge of the events on issues discussed on the floor of parliament or they simply want to appear cynical on some topics and detach themselves. I will delve more into this in answering my research question 4 which discusses alignment and disalignment based on participants' point of view in the debates in the next chapter.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has analysed modal auxiliary verbs in relation to the type of point of view that is expressed according to the model of modality and point of view by Simpson (1993) in combination with high, median, and low values of modal degrees as classified by Halliday (1994). The section has been able to identify the type of point of view that is expressed with a particular modal auxiliary, the senses, and different degrees of modality as expressed in context. The categorization of modals into values has also revealed the different shades of modality in context. The combination of Simpson's model of modality and point of view with Halliday's classification of modals into values has, therefore, proven effective in identifying the intended meanings of submissions made by participants and a general clarification of meanings in the debates. The high-value modals are generally used to show a high

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level of commitment and responsibility on the part of speakers. The median values are mostly used to hedge and mitigate the force in deontic directives whereas the low-value modals exploit possibility meanings than all the other senses that they express in the data. This finding supports Halliday (1970) who considers possibility meanings under low-value modals. The modals are exploited in exploring possibilities given the fact that parliamentary debates are deliberative.

CHAPTER SIX

MODAL LEXICAL VERBS AND MODALITY AND POINT OF VIEW IN THE DEBATES

Introduction

Lexical verbs abound in the parliamentary debates under discussion. Each of the hundreds of lexical verbs in the data would require analysis. But since the focus of this work is specifically modality, only lexical verbs with modality sense are considered for the purpose of this work. Twenty-five (25) modal lexical verbs are found recurrent in the twelve (12) parliamentary debates considered as the data for this work, *want*, *know, believe, think, hope, hear, guess, know, urge, require, suppose, expect, encourage, wish, like, insist, wonder,* etc.

Modal Lexical Verbs and Their Modality Type

In English, certain lexical verbs have inherent modal meanings. This means that these verbs express epistemic or deontic meanings. The modal lexical verbs listed above express either deontic or epistemic meaning and their subcategories boulomaic and perception modality respectively depending on the context. When these verbs carry strong illocutionary force, they express deontic modality. The prominent modal lexical verbs found to express this type of modality in the data are: *want, urge, require, suppose, expect, encourage, promise, advise, insist*, etc., and the subcategory, boulomaic modality, is expressed with such lexical verbs as *want, wish, like*, mostly used to express the desire of the speaker to perform some tasks. All these verbs have an inherent notion of directivity, expressing some level of commitment on the part of the speaker. These lexical items express both internal and

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external point of view in the data. However, internal point of view has been found to dominate as most of the expressions, especially those conveying boulomaic modality, are found to draw attention to the speaker.

The prominent linguistic features that express epistemic modality in the data are: *know, believe, think, hope, hear, guess, know, assume, suppose, wonder,* etc. These verbs express commitment or judgment of the situation or activity being described. The MPs, in the debates usually preface their assertion with these verbs in order not to make any unqualified assertion. Thus, more often than not, these modal lexical verbs are used in hedging, especially, when they express external perspective showing uninvolvement of the speaker in a proposition. The subcategory, perception modality, is expressed with such lexical verbs of perception as, *see, seem, appear,* and *hear*. These show the perception of a speaker towards an event or situation.

The modal lexical verbs will, however, be analysed based on their context of occurrence as Verhulst and Heyvaert (2015) posit that the interpretation of sentences with a modal verb is highly context-dependent. This position is supported by Parina and De Leon (2014, p.98) who also maintain "modal lexical verbs are known for their versatile nature in expressing modality"; therefore, their analysis should be context based especially in parliamentary debates. According to the data, most of the modal lexical verbs are capable of expressing all the modality types depending on the linguistic context of use. The table below clarifies the point:

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Table 9: Modal Lexical Verbs and Modality Type

Modal Lexical verbs	Deontic	Buolomaic	Epistemic	Perception	Indeterminate	Total
Want	40	220	9	0	6	275
Know/knew	0	0	144	0	0	144
Believe	0	0	120	0	0	120
think	0	0	104	0	0	104
Urge	92	0	0	0	2	94
See	0	0	0	83	0	83
Like	0	28	21	2	0	51
Appear	0	0	0	41	0	41
Suppose	32	0	8	0	0	40
Require	40	0	0	0	0	40
Wish	0	30	0	0	0	30
Expect	28	0	0	0	0	28
Encourage	26	0	0	0	0	26
Promise	22	0	0	0	0	22
Wonder	0	0	20	0	0	20
Hope	0	10	9	0	0	19
Guess	0	0	15	0	0	15
Advise	15	0	0	0	0	15
Seem	0	0	0	10	0	10
Agree	10	0	0	0	0	10
Hear	0	0	0	9	0	9
Insist	8	0	0	0	0	8
Assume	0	0	8	0	0	8
Demand	5	0	0	0	0	5
Desire	0	5	0	0	0	5
Total	**318**	**293**	**458**	**145**	**8**	**1,222**

Source: Author (2021)

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From the table (9), epistemic modality has the highest occurrence by a large margin followed by deontic modality, and then boulomaic and perception modalities. Early on, Austin (1962) in his taxonomy of verbs, categorised lexical verbs into behavitives, commissives, exerbitives, etc. based on their illocutionary content.

In this work, the categorization and analysis of modal lexical verbs are with regard to modality and point of view based on Simpson (1993) modality system (also cited in Iwamoto 2007) comprising deontic, epistemic, buolomaic, and perception. These modality types are identified, numbered, and labelled from the data and presented in tables. The next step will be to identify the modal shading that marks the point of view of the given submissions in order to recognise the psychological point of view of the participants and this is done in combination with Halliday's (1994) categorization of modals into values (high, median and low). This process leads to the discovery of different points of view expressed through modality.

Modality Types and Point of View

According to Simpson (1993), the types of modals mark the psychological point of view namely positive shading, negative shading, and neutral shading. Positive shading submissions are those that have strong, assertive, obligatory modals. Thus, these utterances are marked by buolomaic modality and deontic modality. Negative shading submissions, as opposed to positive shading submissions, connote uncertainty or doubt and lack of assertion. As a result, epistemic modality and perception modality are common in such utterances. The last type of shading is neutral shading. Utterances with neutral shading are composed of judgment with no/or only a

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handful of modals and evaluative language and *verba sentiendi* (words denoting thoughts, feelings, and perceptions). Because this last shading type does not contain enough modal elements according to the theory, I do not intend to analyse it here as the focus of this work deals only with modality.

Lastly, distinctive features are exhibited, as characterised by the type of shading that a participant uses (Iwamoto, 2007). Even though epistemic modality dominates in the modality categories as shown in the table above, I shall analyse boulomaic modality and point of view first for the reason that ***want*** which records the highest occurrence among all the modal lexical verbs falls under boulomaic modality. From the table, *want, wish, like* and *hope* are frequently used to express boulomaic modality as seen in the table above. The same modal lexical verbs are also capable of expressing epistemic and deontic modality though not as significant as their boulomaic senses when they occur. The boulomaic analysis will be followed by deontic modality and point of view for the reason that boulomaic and deontic expressions fall under positive shading point of view according to Simpson (1993). The analysis of the two will then be followed by epistemic modality and point of view which is categorised into positive medium and negative shading in this work.

Boulomaic Modality and Point of View

Boulomaic modality has a close relationship with deontic modality. It is a type of modality that expresses desire. It contains verbs that suggest wishes, desires, and hopes. Modal lexical verbs, indicating the wishes and desires of the speaker, are central in the boulomaic system (Simpson, 1993 p. 44). In boulomaic modality, a speaker expresses his desire for the actualisation of some situation. In the debates analysed, MPs make demands of a lot of

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things; they make demands seeking clarification on certain issues that affect them and their parties and the nation at large, and they make demands for their constituencies because they are made to see themselves as agents of development in those constituencies. These demands are often strategically presented in the form of boulomaic desire showing the commitment of the speaker towards the actualisation of certain actions.

The common choice of modality that is usually marshalled for these demands is boulomaic modality through the use of boulomaic lexical verbs since modality is world-creating (Taylor, 2009, p. 211). This type of modality falls under positive shading point of view just like deontic modality according to Simpson. Submissions with a positive shading are characterized by rich use of high-value deontic and boulomaic modalities of obligation, desire, duties, and opinions (we must..., I want...) and verbs denoting feelings and thoughts of the speaker (Simpson, 1993, pp.56-58).

The following table shows the results of the frequency of occurrence of boulomaic modality in relation to point of view in the debates.

Table 10: Frequency of Boulomaic occurrence in relation to Point of View

Boulomaic Modality	Internal	External	Indeterminate	Total
Want	196	21	3	220
Like	25	3	0	28
Wish	25	5	0	30
Hope	8	2	0	10
Total	**254**	**31**	**3**	**288**

Source: Field Survey (2021)

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From Table 10, boulomaic desire is expressed from both internal and external point of view. However, the internal perspective of boulomaic modality far outnumbers expressions from external perspective. This shows that desire is a feature of the speaker rather than the subject in parliamentary discourse. It then follows that on the floor of parliament, certain things are desirous internally more than are expected from others. This type of modality is a strategy used by participants to show their commitment and personal responsibility toward the actualization of certain actions.

From my observation of the data, when boulomaic modality is expressed from an internal point of view, it mostly reveals speakers' desire towards the performance of certain acts that the speaker perceives to be in the interest of all. The following illustrate the point:

246. I am interested in seeing the EPA functioning properly, I **want** to see CSIR come out to do more research *that would affect the economy and that would affect the lives of the good people of this country.* (23/3/2017).

Also, submissions of boulomaic desire often seek to persuade others into having similar desire as the speaker towards the actualization of some actions they are desirous of. The following are some examples:

247. Mr Speaker, I **want** to reiterate that this deal, looking at the cost, the technical aspect and the fact that it would contribute more power, it is a very good deal and I would encourage this House to adopt same (23/12/2016).

248. Mr Speaker, I would **want** to draw the attention of the House to the importance of science and technology. Science and technology is the

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backbone of every country. A country cannot be developed if it does

not take science and technology seriously. (23/3/2017).

The use of such expressions in example 247, „,, *I **want** to reiterate…, I would*

encourage this House to adopt same, and in example 248, *I would **want** to*

draw the attention of the House to the importance of science and technology.

The speaker then goes on to employ other modality of impossibility 'cannot'

to convince all to buy into his desires, *A country **cannot** be developed if it*

does not take science and technology seriously. All the highlighted linguistic

devices serve as persuasive devices seeking to lure others into the desires of

the speakers towards the performance of certain actions the speakers perceive

to be of national importance.

The inherent desire in the submissions encodes a positive shading as

the speakers show their commitment and personal involvement in carrying out

such desires or for such desires to be carried out through the use of first-

person pronouns showing the desire of the speaking self. Another observation

made on the use of *want* in expressions of boulomaic desire in the data is that

want is mostly expressed with *would* to tentatively express the desire of

speakers. It seems to me, without the presence of *would*, expressions of *want*

appear more like deontic directives than express boulomaic desire. The

combination is therefore a useful strategy for the MPs to sound persuasive and

even convince others to buy into their points of view.

Boulomaic Directives

Aside from boulomaic desire, the lexical modal, 'want' is also

employed in expressions of boulomaic directives. These are directives that

convey actions that fall within speakers' moral values. Such directives are

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often intended to lure others into accepting and collaborating with the views of the speakers.

The MPs mostly employ *would* with *want* to tone down the semantic force of *want* and to politely express their desire especially when the desire appears too forceful. In expressing boulomaic directives with *want*, the semantic force is masked with the desire for the actualization of some action and seeking others to accept the speaker's view when expressed from an internal point of view. The following are some examples:

249. Mr Speaker, I would **want** to end that this House considers this paragraph seriously and I would want also to plead that the Committee that was set up by His Excellency the President to deal with article (3/11/2016)

250. I **would** want this Leadership under our new Hon Majority Leader to take some of these things seriously. (27/1/2017)

Clearly, the semantic force of *want* in the above utterances is very strong expressing strong directives from the speakers to the addressees. The speakers seem to be aware of the semantic constraints of *want*, thus, depending on the status relationship of the participants involved, *would* is employed to mitigate the force of the desire. Sarfo-Kantankah (2022) reports a similar occurrence of *want* and *would* in his study of 'the politics of questioning' that *would* is used as a hedging strategy that reduces imposition and, therefore, shows politeness amongst MPs. Nonetheless, I believe the overgeneralisation of this principle has also resulted in the dominant/overuse of *would* in the data of the present work as it serves the semantic feature of a hedging device. In most cases, *would* could have been avoided and allowed for a straightforward use of

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boulomaic *want* in expressing the desire of speakers in submissions they make on the floor of the house, as seen below:

251. Mr Speaker, I *would* **want** to add my voice to that of my Hon Colleagues who earlier spoke, and have made the point, that inasmuch as Members of Parliament (27/1/2017)

252. Mr Speaker, once again, I *would* **want** to congratulate the Hon Minister and his directors, the Committee Chairman and all Hon Members of the Committee for the good work that they have done. (23/3/2017)

253. Mr Speaker, I *would* **want** to thank all the Hon Members who contributed in supporting the Motion (23/3/2017)

254. Mr Speaker, I *would* also **want** to know what assurance he would give to this Honourable House that the medical bill and indeed, adequate compensation for the victim would be covered? (23/3/2017)

In Example 251, the speaker expresses a desire to support the addressee, and in 252 *want* expresses the desire to congratulate the addressee. Also *want* in example 253 expresses the speaker's desire to show gratitude. The begging question then in examples 251, 252, and 253 is, why the need for tentativeness in showing one's desire to support, congratulate and show gratitude to others? The given expressions could have been straightforward without the use of *would* to express the desires of the speakers. The new renditions will then read with just the boulomaic marker 'want' without using *would*, as in the examples below:

255. Mr Speaker, I (*would*) **want** to add my voice to that of my Hon Colleagues who earlier spoke, and have made the point, that inasmuch as Members of Parliament (27/1/2017).

256. Mr Speaker, once again, I (*would*) **want** to congratulate the Hon Minister and his directors, the Committee Chairman and all Hon Members of the Committee for the good work that they have done. (23/3/2017).

257. Mr Speaker, I (*would*) **want** to thank all the Hon Members who contributed in supporting the Motion (23/3/2017).

258. Mr Speaker, I (*would*) also **want** to know what assurance he would give to this Honourable House that the medical bill and indeed, adequate compensation for the victim would be covered? (23/3/2017).

Example 258 is too dense with the tentative marker *would*. It occurs three times in that short utterance. It could have been avoided in the boulomaic verb phrase *would want*. This situation accounts for its dominance throughout the data. These are but just a few of the overuse of *would*, almost collocating with all lexical modals in the data.

Although it has already been established in this work that the rules of parliamentary discourse encourage politeness and being civil in utterances and members can always be interrupted by others who rise on a point of order, and for that matter, MPs try as much as possible to be civil in their utterances, the overuse of *would* which seems to collocate with almost all lexical modals, it seems to me, has a bearing in the cultural orientation of speakers as it is a cultural requirement in most cultures in Ghana for one to be polite and civil in their dealings with others. This seems to have an influence on the overuse of

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would in the data. Such overuse of *would* in a bid to be civil could have been reduced to make room for straightforwardness in the use of the lexical modals in the data.

Aside from the use of *want* in expressing boulomaic desire in demanding things, the MPs also employed lexical modals such as *like* and *wish* in expressing boulomaic modality. Next to the choice of *want* as a boulomaic modal in the data is *like* followed by *wish*. Just like *want, like and wish* also frequently occurred with modal *would* to tentatively express desire of the MPs for certain things. The following are some examples to illustrate the point:

259. Mr Speaker, additionally, I *would* **like** to submit that as part of the prerequisite for siting some of these gas and fuel stations in residential neighbourhoods, there would be a policy of taking comprehensive insurance to cover their operations. (27/1/2017).

260. (Mr Abdul-Rashid Hassan Pelpuo) (MP): Mr Speaker, I *would* **like** to also put in a word in support of the Motion for the loan that would enable us to have the factory running, and to have Ghanaians employed in providing sugarcane and ensuring that we produce our own sugar in this country. (2/11/2016).

In Examples 259 and 260, the speakers employ *like* combined with *would* to tentatively express their desire for safety measures to be put in place to protect residential neighbourhoods where gas and fuel stations are situated. In example 260, the speaker through the use of *would* and *like* also tentatively express an earnest desire to keep a sugar factory running for the country to have its own sugar which will also create employment for people. All the

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above express boulomaic modality of desire from an internal perspective as seen through the use of first-person pronouns. The use of *would* collocating with modal lexical *like* to express the desires of the speakers renders those submissions with a 'medium shade' point of view.

Yet another modal lexical item found in the expression of boulomaic modality is *wish*. The following are some examples from the data:

261. Mr Speaker, I **wish** to thank you very much for the opportunity to make this Statement in memory of the late Kofi Krah Mensah, former Member of Parliament who passed on to eternity on the 12th of July, this year. (3/11/2016).

262. Mr Speaker, I **wish** to deliberate on the issue of education, which of course, is very dear to our hearts. Education, they say, is the key to success, and for any country to develop, we need to take education very seriously. (24/2/2017)

263. Mr Speaker, I **wish** to brief the House on the recent xenophobic attacks on foreigners and their businesses mainly in Houtempere Province, Pretoria, and Johannesburg which has led to looting and burning of several foreign owned businesses. (24/2/2017).

264. I would **wish** to *urge* the House for us to fully support them to have this Budget Estimates approved. (22-3-2017, col. 3395)

265. I would **wish** to *draw* the attention of this House to the fact that the incidence of lawlessness has not been curtailed in the face of the standing orders of H. E. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo to his IGP. (23-2-2017, col. 1676)

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266. Mr Speaker, I **wish** that we would all be happy as a country to receive this policy. (24/2/2017).

267. Hon Member, I would **wish** that you would reframe that. No one side of the House could prevent the House from doing anything. (24/2/2017).

In all the examples above, the modal lexical verb *wish* expresses boulomaic desire from an internal point of view. However, from my observation of the data, there seems to be a cline in the use of *wish* in expressing desire. In examples 261-263 above, *wish* expresses a direct boulomaic desire; it merely shows the speakers' perspective of showing gratitude and rendering service. The shade of this type of discourse is positive while in examples 264 and 265, *wish* seems to serve a mitigating device from the perspective of the speakers; reducing the propositional force of the deontic lexical verbs, *urge*, and *draw* from strong directives to somewhat weak ones encoding a medium shade point of view. This type of boulomaic desire is for members to be of appropriate behaviour and rise to their duties as seen in the use of the directives.

Finally, in examples 266 and 267, *wish* is tentatively expressed with the use of *would* when from the perspective of members, they are not confident in getting results for their wishes. At this point, I can safely conclude that when it comes to expressing boulomaic desire on the floor of parliament, members are usually not straightforward. They resort to tentative markers perhaps not to appear forceful in their demands.

This goes to support my earlier observation that when given the opportunity to speak, members make strenuous efforts to sound decorous in their presentations since the rules of parliamentary discourse encourage

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politeness and civility in utterances and members can always be interrupted by others who rise on a point of order. MPs therefore, become thoughtful and charitable in their presentations.

In national parliaments, one of the primary reasons why legislators make speeches is to stake out policy positions and communicate these positions to voters. Members of the US congress often use coordinated short speeches to win the support of voters through the media (Mayhew, 1974). With media reportage of events and proceedings in the parliament of Ghana, members try as much as possible to sustain the attention of others in making their submissions as evident in the boulomaic submissions above. The media reportage feeds constituents with information on how their MPs are faring on the floor of parliament.

I have observed that in Ghana, constituents feel a sense of prestige if their MP is seen as vibrant and contributing to parliamentary debates. Boulomaic modality, therefore, serves as an effective means to sustain one's submission in deliberations given the inherent feature of carefulness in such expressions. However, with regard to the use of *would* to always sound polite, at this point, I think I can conclude based on the data analysed so far that, *would* has been overused in the parliamentary data given the fact that it collocates with almost all the lexical modals in the data even though most of its uses could have been avoided as stated earlier.

Boulomaic modality is mostly expressed on the floor of parliament from an internal point of view where speakers express their own feelings towards events rather than those of the addressee. Boulomaic modality is therefore, a feature of the speaker; the content of the submissions usually

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originates from the speaker's desire rather than the addressee as this type of modality is expressed with verbs that convey the thoughts and feelings of the speaker (Simpson, 1993). In instances where boulomaic modality is expressed from external point of the view, the speaker merely reports the feelings and thoughts of others other than himself. The following are some examples to illustrate the point:

268. I was informed this morning in my Lobby that *they* would **want** to withdraw and re-lay another one. (3/11/2016)

269. Hon Member, I understand where you are coming from but *he* **wants** to withdraw the Paper unless you **want** to prevent him from doing so. (3/11/2016)

270. *They* **want** to take NVTI to the Ministry of Education. (23/3/2017)

271. We should say that to countless number of students spread across the country, *who* **wish** they could be in senior high schools but cannot buy a trunk, a chop box and even purchase school uniforms. (24/2/2017)

272. That would put him in a major difficulty of addressing the unemployment of the young people, so, *if he* **wants** to earmark any Fund, he should free the Youth (23/3/2017)

The above uses of *want* and *wish* convey external point of view as seen through the use of the third person subjects, 'they', 'he', the relative pronoun 'who', and 'he' respectively from examples 268-272 above.

Boulomaic desire expressed from external point of view is often presented in the form of reports. The speaker reports the desires of others which perhaps he is informed of or is obvious for all to see. As already stated,

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external point of view is less frequently expressed than internal point of view. This leads me to the conclusion that in parliament, speakers express their own desires than the desires of others. It also shows that in parliament, members are desirous of many things they hope to be accomplished. The shade type of this discourse is, therefore, positive apart from example 268, which conveys a 'medium' shade where *would* combines with *want* to tentatively express the desire of the speaker.

Also, in example 272, *want* is embedded in the conditional matrix to show that a particular situation is presented as necessary for the actualisation of the situation expressed in the if-clause from an external perspective.

Deontic Modality and Point of View

Apart from expressing boulomaic desire, the lexical modal *want* is also found expressing deontic modality together with *urge, suppose,* and *require* which are more frequently used to express deontic modality in the data. Deontic modality is the modal system of duty as it is concerned with the speaker's attitude to the degree of obligation attached to the performance of certain actions. Deontic modals realise a continuum of commitment from giving permission, to imposing an obligation and expressing requirements (Simpson, 1993, p.43). The table below presents the results of the modal lexical verbs expressing deontic modality and point of view from the debates.

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Table 11: Frequency Distribution of Deontic Modality and Point of View

Deontic lexical verbs	Internal	External	Indeterminate	Total
Want	35	5	0	40
Urge	92	0	0	92
Suppose	8	24	0	32
Require	2	38	0	40
Total	**137**	**67**	**0**	**204**

Source: Field Survey (2021)

From the data, the lexical items presented in Table 11 above are employed in the expression of deontic modality from both internal and external point of view. Table 11 also shows lexical *urge* expressing more directives than *want, suppose, and require.*

Also, lexical *want* and *urge* are employed more in the expression of internal point of view than are used in expressing external point of view. On the other hand, *suppose* and *require* are employed more in expressions of deontic modality from an external point of view than expressing internal point of view. These verbs may, therefore, be seen as linguistic features used to remind others of their obligations and what is required of them than the speaker himself. It, therefore, seems to me that on the floor of parliament, MPs are more interested in the obligations of others and what is required of them than of themselves.

However, what is common to them all is that all the lexical verbs convey a sense of obligation meant to direct and regulate behaviour, as seen in the examples below:

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273. Mr Speaker, therefore, I **urge** the Government that in subsequent years, they must as much as practicable not revise downward estimates from the Audit Service, so that they can effectively carry out the functions of their office. (29/3/2017).

274. Mr Speaker, I would **want** to *crave* the indulgence of the Executive, particularly the Hon Minister for Finance to go to the aid of CHRAJ, not just the provision of the budget requirements. (29/3/2017).

From the data, the MPs use deontic lexical verbs as a means to exert their authority perhaps, based on the oversight responsibility they have over the executive and other bodies, and to remind them of what is of necessity and urgent and demand immediate action as seen in the expressions in examples 273, 'I **urge** the government', and 274 'I **want** to *crave* the indulgence of the executive,' All such expressions are meant to remind the addressees to act on their responsibilities. They use the deontic modals to reprimand, and strongly convince others to act by reminding them of their responsibilities as seen in the following illustration:

275. When the Budget Statement is rolled out, they are **required** to do just that. They do not wait until the end of the year to say that it is the Public Accounts Committee that should do the oversight for us. (24/2/2017).

The use of the expression 'they are **required** to do just that' presents the addressees with no other option but to perform their responsibilities. When expressed from an external point of view as seen in the use of 'they' in example 275 above, the responsibility is shifted to others and presented more

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forcefully given the speaker's awareness of what the addressees are expected to be doing.

However, the use of the deontic lexical modals shows a higher degree of speaker commitment and responsibility towards the actions they propose when expressed from internal point of view as seen in the following example:

276. When it comes to Consideration Stage of Bills, *we must* **urge** our Hon Colleagues to take interest in the work of Parliament that is my concluding remarks. (27/1/2017).

The speaker presents the responsibility as a shared one through the use of 'we' which undoubtedly has the potential of convincing the addressees to act as in political discourse, being convinced and convincing is a prerequisite needed to influence the opinion and attitudes of others (Vukovic, 2014).

Epistemic Modality and Point of View

Epistemic modal markers are used for signalling judgments of belief, certainty or truth and for foregrounding a speaker's efforts to interpret and make sense of what he sees and hears (Simpson, 2004, p. 125). Modal lexical verbs that express Epistemic modality account for the vast majority of modality and point of view in the data with a frequency of 458 occurrences followed by 318 deontic occurrences and 293 boulomaic occurrences.

The expression of more epistemic modality and point of view through the modal lexical verbs than deontic and boulomaic modality and point of view could stem from the assertion made by Ilie (2004, p. 46) that parliamentary discourse is a deliberative genre and primarily argumentative (Archakis & Tsakona, 2010, p. 913). Most of what happens in parliament are deliberations. In deliberations, members tread cautiously especially when they

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do not have the facts available (Lee 2010). As a result, such speeches usually lack assertion and speakers merely make predictions of the perceived reality. This is supported by Hacquard and Wellwood (2012) who are of the view that epistemic modality is the speaker's assessment of probability and predictability. Members are usually engaged in making predictions and assumptions in most of the activities on the floor; hence, the dominant use of epistemic modality in the debates analysed. The following exemplify the point:

277. We **believe** this project, which is expected to start this year, *would* create more jobs and also create the opportunity for us to take off some of the goods that are currently being transported (29/3/2017)

278. I **think** that if the Judiciary and the Judicial Service *would* religiously pursue its programme of automation of the courts, it would help us together with the Registrar's Summons which has just been reduced to curb delays in conduct of cases before the law courts. (29/3/2017)

The use of such expressions in Example 277, 'we **believe** this project….*would create* more jobs…' and 'I **think** that if the Judiciary and the Judicial Service *would* religiously pursue its programme of automation, it *would* help us…' in Example 278 above are all predictions and assumptions made by the speakers of some perceived realities.

Epistemic modality is knowledge-based; the use of epistemic lexical verbs reveals the preparedness or otherwise of participants towards topics for debate. The preparedness of the MPs in terms of knowledge also determines their point of view as positive/negative. The following are some examples:

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279. In fact, as he was trying to compare what happened in 2016 with what we have here in the budget, **I believe** that the Hon Minister *should have* gone further to say that the chunk of this budget was approved last year for the development of the railway line from Tema to Akosombo, which was done by the previous Government. (29/3/2017).

280. Mr Speaker**, I believe strongly** that this is not the best way to go and subsequently, there would be the need to split the Budget Estimates of the Judiciary from that of the Judicial Service. (29/3/2017).

281. Mr Speaker, if however, we *could* have an arrangement where the bylaws of the various assemblies would allow that, **I guess** I *would* be comfortable with that so that for now, *maybe* a subsistent district chief executive *would not* disallow the organisation or the creation of a youth organisation in the New Patriotic Party (2/11/2016)

In the illustrations above, the speakers in examples 279 and 280 demonstrate good knowledge of the issues under discussion through the use of such strong epistemic modality as seen in the expressions: '**I believe** that the Hon Minister *should have* gone further to say that the chunk of this budget was approved last year…' and '**I believe strongly** that this is not the best way to go…' The use of such expressions signals preparedness in terms of knowledge regarding the topics under discussion. This, therefore, indicates a positive shade point of view given the use of such strong epistemic modal expressions, 'I **believe** the minister **should**' and 'I **strongly believe**' as against example 281 where there is preponderant use of weaker modality as: 'we **could**…', 'I **guess**…', 'for now, **maybe**…*' The use of such devices connotes weaker modality showing

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uncertainty on the part of the speaker towards the proposition they make. Such devices encode a negative shade point of view according to Simpson (1993).

Parina and De Leon (2014, p. 94) conclude that epistemic modality is the most important with regard to point of view. This assertion seems true especially in parliamentary debates given the fact that epistemic modality involves judgment of beliefs and a speaker's efforts to interpret and make sense of what he/she sees and hears (Simpson 2004, p. 125). Therefore, epistemic modality shows the speaker's confidence or lack of confidence in the truth of the expressed proposition as demonstrated in examples 279-281 above.

I hereby explore further the different degrees of confidence expressed through the various lexical modals employed in the data of this study. A speaker's level of knowledge in a debate determines the choice of modal degree and this reveals the type of point of view that is expressed.

Degrees of Epistemic Modality and Point of View

The predominant epistemic modal lexical verbs recorded in the data are *know/knew, believe, and think.* This finding affirms Vukovic (2014) who also observes that they are the pragmatic markers that pervade political discourse. From my observation of the parliamentary discourse, those pragmatic markers do not automatically nor typically express a lack of confidence as they are usually labelled. From the data, *know*, *think,* and *believe* serve as dual markers (deliberative and tentative). One, to express certainty and the other to hedge and mitigate. This observation supports Holmes (1990) and Karkkainen (2003) who are also of the view that those modal devices when used either express certainty or mitigate strong

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propositions. However, in most cases in the data, they are used to show certainty and confidence on the part of the speaker. This finding is attested in Vukovic (2014, p.46) who opines that the macromodality of parliamentary discourse is certainty and self-confidence.

From the data, there is a continuum of confidence or certainty expressed through the lexical items based on participants' points of view. This is to say that the modal lexical verbs are capable of expressing varying degrees of epistemic modality ranging from strong, medium to weak epistemic modality depending on the context. These degrees translate into different shades of point of view as positive, 'medium', and negative respectively. Strong epistemic modality dominated in all the expressions of epistemic modality. Also, epistemic modality is expressed more in the data from internal point of view than external point of view. Table 10 presents the different degrees of epistemic modality and point of view observed in the data.

Table 12: Epistemic Modality and Point of View

Modality	Internal	External	Indeterminate	Total
Strong	154	72	2	228
Medium	127	24	0	151
Weak	20	57	2	79
Total	**301**	**153**	**4**	**458**

Source: Field Survey (2021)

From my observation of the data, epistemic modality may be graded into strong, medium, and weak modality, a distinction that is not catered for in Simpson's theory. It is not surprising that strong epistemic modality had the highest frequency. Parliamentarians are expected to research issues and present first-hand the will, aspirations, and problems of the people they

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represent. They keep themselves informed about issues and can, therefore, express a high degree of certainty in making assertions, hence the pervasiveness of strong epistemic modal lexical verbs, as shown below:

282. **I know** that there is reorganisation there. I am sure the Hon Member reads in the newspapers that people are trained and sent there. (23/3/2017)

283. Yes, I **know** them, but I would not mention their names. We would want them to take leadership roles, but all Hon Members (27/1/2017)

Examples 282 and 283 express strong epistemic modality, showing that the speakers are well-informed about the issues under discussion. They, therefore, express a high degree of certainty regarding the assertions they make as seen in the expressions in example 282, '**I know…**', '…I am **sure**…' and in 283 above, '*yes* I **know** them'.

However, median lexical verbs occurred in a respectable second position in the frequency counts. This is partly because speakers have to acknowledge their lack of expert knowledge on certain matters while at the same time, presenting the fact that they trust their senses and sources of information. Median epistemic modals are used as hedging tools to prevent loss of face should the experts in the field provide further evidence unavailable to the speaker. The following exemplify the point:

284. Mr Speaker, I **believe** that with the intervention that you *would* be giving from the Chair this morning to the Committee that is dealing with article 71 office holders, *would* ameliorate the problem. (2/11/2016)

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The use of *would* in expressing the speaker's belief in Example 284 serves as a mitigating device to reduce the speaker's strong belief from a strong to medium shade point of view; thereby, expressing politeness as attested to in Sarfo-Kantankah (2022), who believes that *would* is used as a hedging strategy that reduces imposition and expresses politeness.

Weak epistemic modals were few but they perform an important pragmatic function. They are used to show that the speakers tacitly agree they have little or no information to make categorical assertions. Find the example below:

285. I **hope** that it *would* be one of the prime items to be considered at such a meeting that I **guess** would be organised in not too distant a future. (29/3/2017)

The use of such modal elements as 'I *hope*…' and 'I *guess*' signals weak epistemic modality, showing the speaker's level of knowledge to make categorical assertions. It is, thus, safe to conclude that in parliamentary discourse, based on a speaker's assessment of facts and knowledge of events, certain points of view may be expressed. There is, therefore, a cline of the epistemic modality expressed by speakers based on their perspective. Where they have good knowledge, a high level of confidence is expressed; hence, a strong epistemic modality is conveyed; where they are deficient in some knowledge, a median certainty is expressed and, finally, when they lack knowledge of events, a weaker modality is expressed. The following is a further exploration of the various degrees of epistemic modality in the data.

Strong Epistemic Modality and Point of View

The MPs employed more internal point of view than external point of view of modal lexical verbs in expressing strong and medium epistemic modality than external point of view. On the other hand, they employed more external point of view than internal point of view in expressing a negative shading point of view in the debates. The following are some excerpts of strong epistemic modality and internal point of view expressed through the dominant epistemic modal lexical verbs in the debates showing different shades of point of view:

286. **I know** that there is reorganisation there. I am *sure* the Hon Member reads in the newspapers that people are trained and sent there. (23/3/2017)

287. **Of course**, **I know** given the time that they had to work within, maybe, they were not able to look at all these things closely, but it is important that we interrogate these matters. (27/1/2017).

288. Mr Speaker, I **believe** they *should rather* form the district youth unit of the District Assembly which would work with these bodies, and under the units, committees would be formed. We cannot have a committee and under it form units. (2/11/2016).

289. In fact, as he was trying to compare what happened in 2016 with what we have here in the budget, **I believe** that the Hon Minister *should have* gone further to say that the chunk of this budget was approved last year for the development of the railway line from Tema to Akosombo, which was done by the previous Government. He should just acknowledge that one. (29/3/2017).

290. Mr Speaker**, I believe strongly** that this is not the best way 9 to go and subsequently, there would be the need to split the Budget Estimates of the Judiciary from that of the Judicial Service. (29/3/2017).

291. I **believe** that Leadership together with yourself *must* act on the process for the recruitment of dedicated permanent research assistants for all MPs. (29/3/2017).

292. Mr Speaker, I **think** something *must* be done to help ex-Members of Parliament who have undoubtedly contributed to the development of our country. (2/11/2016).

293. I **think** that we *should* be allowed to do a very diligent and scrutinous work, but not be stampeded (29/3/2017).

294. I do not **think** that this *should* take more than ten minutes for us to come back. (27/1/2017).

295. I **think** we *ought* to make sure that these institutions that we have put in place are actually functioning and enforcing the laws that ought to be enforced. (27/1/2017).

296. I **think** that the summon of Parliament is *important*; her official assignment is not more important than the call of Parliament. This point should be made clear to our Hon Ministers. (2/11/2016)

In all the above, the MPs employed strong epistemic lexical modals *know*, *believe,* and *think* to express a high degree of confidence in the propositions they express. The use of the first-person pronouns (*I* and *we*) with the lexical verbs in all the examples above signals an internal perspective and involvement. This shows that the speakers are in no doubt at all about the propositions they are asserting. The lexical verbs are, therefore, used to add weight to the

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submissions rather than to *hedge. From Examples 286-287, the use of know as in, I know,* and *we know* signals evidentiality. There is a sense of certainty or conviction as a result of a known fact by the speaker hence an internal focalisation is conveyed. According to Lyons, this kind of attitude is a general principle to which we are expected to conform; we should always make the strongest commitment for which we have an epistemic warrant (Lyons, 1977). This position seems to suit parliamentarians in parliamentary debates; they will leave no stone unturned once they have knowledge in what they propose. The use of the strong epistemic modal operators above renders the speakers' commitment to the factuality of the propositions explicitly dependent on some known facts. This shows the speakers have researched the topic before engaging in the debates.

With *believe* and *think*, in Examples 288-296, however, the speakers indicate that the assertion is a personal opinion, showing an internal perspective explicitly dependent on their own knowledge (Simpson, 1993). The use of *I/we think* and *I believe* are strongly interwoven in the utterances as there are no pauses to separate them. They, therefore, directly modify the meaning of the utterances and can be paraphrased; *it is my strong opinion that…* In these cases, the phrase is usually used initially, and the subordinator *that* can be added without any difference (Vukovic, 2014, p.45). This is typically seen in examples 289-291, as in, *I believe that…* and in 293 and 294*, I think that* prefacing the utterances. All these emphasise the truth of the proposition conveyed by the speakers. This is a clear indication that one's level of knowledge informs a particular point of view.

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An additional proof of the lexical modals employed to express certainty in the truth of the propositions by the MPs is the employment of emphasizers in utterances. The MPs employed emphasisers to emphasise their point of view. The use of the emphasisers *sure* in Example 286, and *of course* in Example 287 reinforces the facts of the propositions expressed, thereby implying activity for the propositions and strengthening the epistemic certainty in highly problematic contexts. This sends a strong message to the 'overhearing' audience that a speaker is right (Vukovic, 2014, p.43). According to Vukovic (2014, p. 37) in political discourse, as a type of persuasive discourse, politicians are in the business of selling their products – their policies and their point of view, which they deem as "truth". However, the "truth" seems to be relative in both language and politics and even prone to scalar representation. Typical examples are the use of the phrases *should rather*, *should have gone* in Examples 288 and 289 respectively with the use of the lexical modal *believe*. This suggests an opinion superior to earlier submissions from the point of view of the speakers.

Also, the use of the strong deontic modals *should* in Examples 288-289, *must* in Examples 291 and 292, *should* in 293-294, *ought to* in 295, *strongly* post modifying *believe* in example 290 and the lexical item *important* in Example 296 suggests an intensification of the truth in the proposition from the psychological point of view of the speakers rather than to hedge. The fact that parliamentary debate is primarily an argumentative genre in which the task of the participating MPs, in reality, is not to convince the other MPs, as this can hardly be expected, but to influence the popular opinion and the public image of the MP and his/her party (Ilie, 2010), the use of strong epistemic modality to show the certainty of what the MPs are proposing makes strong epistemic

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modality a very useful tool in the hands of MPs on the floor of parliament to score political points.

This observation finds support in Vukovic (2014) who is of the view that in political discourse, where most of what is discussed and communicated consist of propositions expressing stances and beliefs and not hard facts, modal markers of certainty play a special discoursal and rhetorical role in convincing and making the discourse argumentatively stronger. The shade that marks this type of discourse is not catered for in Simpson's modality and point of view framework. He only provides a generic shading for epistemic modal uses. According to Simpson, a discourse with negative shading is characterised by the preponderant use of epistemic modals that connote uncertainty (Simpson, 1993, 2004).

However, the above epistemic uses connote certainty showing a high level of confidence on the part of the speakers in the truth they express due to the abundant use of strong epistemic modals. I, therefore, assign a positive shade point of view to this type of discourse once there are no low-value modals and words of estrangement to show doubt and uncertainty as only these may disqualify a discourse from being positive (Simpson, 1993, pp.56-58) but rather there is a high level of certainty and commitment on the part of the speakers in the expressed propositions to get certain things done.

From my observation of the data, there is a need for a distinction in the different shades of point of view in epistemic modality to distinguish the difference in this modality category. Even though Simpson recognises that there are degrees of epistemic modality: strong, medium, and weak (Simpson, 1993), he does not make a distinction in the shades of epistemic modality based

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on these different grades of epistemic modality. He only mentions negative shading for weaker epistemic modality. According to him, a negative shading discourse is characterized by the use of weaker epistemic and perception modalities of low values, and by words denoting alienation and uncertainty; this creates weaker connotations in discourse as opposed to positive shading discourse exhibited by high deontic modals.

In this type of point of view, linguistic features such as: epistemic modal auxiliaries, modal adverbs, and modal lexical verbs such as *I suppose, I imagine, I assume, I wonder, I think,* are much in evidence, as are the perception adverbs *evidently* and *apparently, perhaps;* human perception verbs such as *it looked like…*, *as if…*, *it seemed…*, *it appeared to be …* (Simpson, 1993 p.53-54). These are weaker epistemic and perception modalities that show uncertainty on the part of a speaker hence they are marked by a negative shading point of view.

However, Simpson does not provide a shade type for strong epistemic modality and intermediate modality. But I think the distinction is necessary given the fact that different expressions of epistemic modality in the parliamentary debates exist. Hence different shades of epistemic modality proliferate in the debates ranging from strong epistemic modality which manifests into certainty hence 'positive shading', (I choose to call it), a weaker epistemic modality which manifests into negative shading and medium, an intermediary degree, which occurs between positive and negative shading depending on a speaker's perspective. This is usually made evident based on the linguistic context.

All these modality types are exploited by the MPs in the parliamentary data, depending on a speaker's perspective. This observation corroborates Parina and De Leon's (2014) conclusion that epistemic modality is the chief source of expressing point of view. This assertion holds in parliamentary debates. This categorisation of epistemic modality into strong, medium, and weak has a bearing on the literature. Several scholars have made attempts at categorising epistemic modality into these categories. Ilie proposes different degrees of speaker commitment in her study of Spanish modal auxiliaries but does not define how many degrees there are (Ilie, 2007, p. 21). Occasionally, the author uses terms such as intermediate degree of reliability as well as low and high commitment. Ilie also talks about a scale of reliability and that the degree of reliability is dependent on the speaker's processing of the knowledge (Ilie, 2007, p.22) which may be considered as the speaker's point of view.

In this vein, Wilcox and Shaffer (2005) are of the opinion that modal strength plays an important role in the epistemic domain. It shows the speaker's degree of epistemic commitment, from tentative to fully confident. Drawing on Huddleston and Pullum (2002), Collins (2009) also identifies three levels of epistemic modality, where he refers to the intermediary degree 'medium modality'. Also, Nuyts (2005) identifies three degrees of epistemic modality – strong forms (e.g. clearly, obviously, logical), moderate forms (e.g. appear, plausible, presumably), and weak forms (e.g. seem(ingly). Choi (2005) presents a similar position that "a speaker may estimate that the events or states expressed in the proposition are possible, probable or certain."

Additionally, Halliday (1970) posits a contrast between 'possible' and 'certain' as the lower versus the higher value. In a similar vein, Halliday

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recognises a distinction between relative and absolute certainty within 'certain' between what he terms 'virtually certain' and 'certain' (Halliday 1970). He also maintains that modality can either be straight or modified, by 'undertone' or 'overtone'. If 'toned up', it takes the form of an emphatic assertion or an assertion contrasting with some kind of reservation. Halliday concludes that the 'toned up' modality functions as an emphatic assertion; referred to strong epistemic modality and if under-toned, where there are reservations on the part of the speaker, a weak epistemic modality is realised.

Given the fact that parliamentary discourse is deliberative, to assign an appropriate shade type of point of view to any occurrence of epistemic modality in the data, the different categories of epistemic modality identified should be taken into consideration. In political discourse, where most of what is discussed and communicated consist of propositions expressing positions of speakers and their beliefs and not hard facts, different shades of epistemic modal markers ranging from certainty to uncertainty play a vital discoursal and rhetorical role and this helps us to see the particular point of view expressed by a participant. Having discussed strong epistemic modality, I now turn over to medium and weak epistemic modal expressions identified in the data.

Medium Shading Point of View

Submissions that I classify as medium shading here are those that are expressed tentatively; meant to hedge or express less certainty. Such submissions fall under intermediary degree, they neither express certainty nor uncertainty. Generally, these linguistic choices serve as persuasive tools in convincing the addressee to perform certain actions desired by the speaker, as shown below:

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297. The next is that, I **believe** that it *would* do *us all* some good if we are able to give some indication to the House as to the percentage of the Budget Statement that goes to the Judiciary and also Parliament. It *would* do us some good, not only the House, but also the whole country. (29/3/2017) 4

298. Finally, I **think** that if the Judiciary and the Judicial Service *would* religiously pursue its programme of automation of the courts, it *would* help us together with the Registrar's Summons which has just been reduced to curb delays in conduct of cases before the law courts. (29/3/2017) 6

In Examples 297 and 298, the speakers employ *would* repeatedly in the respective examples to reduce the imposition of their belief and thought on members to persuade them to buy into his perspectives. In Example 297, the speaker tries to convince others of the collective benefit of his belief not only to the house but the nation as a whole as seen in the expression, 'It *would* do *us all* some good, *not only the House* but also *the whole country.* Such expression where a speaker employs collective devices such as 'us' and making appeals for collective efforts.

In other cases, speakers employ a medium-shade point of view when they lack knowledge of the truth of the proposition they express. In such a context, there is a somewhat lack of confidence on the part of the speaker.

The following are some examples:

299. Mr Speaker, I **believe** that with the intervention that you *would* be giving from the Chair this morning to the Committee that is dealing

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with article 71 office holders, *would* ameliorate the problem. (2/11/2016)

300. I **think** it *would* be necessary and advisable that the "justice for all" Programme is replicated in many more prisons, so that we *could* reduce the congestion in the prisons. (2/3/2017)

All the above are expressed from an internal point of view but rather tentatively. The speakers do not seem to have the epistemic warrant to express any certainty regarding the propositions they make. In example 299, the speaker employs the modal lexical verb 'believe' with 'would' to tentatively express his view and in example 300, the proposition is tentatively expressed with such combinations as 'think', 'would', and 'could'. With such expressions, the speakers tread cautiously in expressing their opinion. The use of 'believe' with 'would' in Example 299 and 'think', 'would', and 'could' in example 300 in my opinion renders the propositions with an intermediary degree based on the literature explored above. The shade that marks this type of discourse may be described as 'medium'.

In the given Examples from 297-300, the phrases *I believe,* and *I think* are used to hedge and mitigate the utterances given the fact that they are not separated from the clauses by any pause (Vukovic, 2014, p.46). Apart from *would* which serves as ea tentative marker, there is a deintensifier meant to hedge such as *could* in xample 300 hence the submission can be paraphrased as *it is possible*. The fact that such combinations are found in most of the data drives me to the conclusion that this is a case of an intermediary epistemic modality; hence, a medium shade point of view is expressed, what Halliday

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refs to as 'modified' (Halliday 1970, p.334) (i.e where the proposition made is not straight).

Weak Epistemic Modality: Negative shading Point of View

As already mentioned, according to Simpson, a negative shading discourse is revealed by the use of weaker epistemic and perception modalities of low values, and by words denoting alienation and uncertainty. Such choices create a weaker connotation in discourse as opposed to positive shading discourse exhibited by high deontic modals (Iwamoto, 2007). In this type of point of view, linguistic features such as: epistemic modal auxiliaries, modal adverbs, and modal lexical verbs such as *I suppose, I imagine, I assume I wonder,* and *I think,* are much in evidence, as are the perception adverbs *evidently* and *apparently, perhaps;* human perception verbs such as *it looked like…*, *as if…*, *it seemed…*, *it appeared to be* … (Simpson, 1993 pp. 53-54). These linguistic choices represent weaker epistemic and perception modalities that show uncertainty on the part of a speaker hence they are marked by a negative shading point of view (Simpson ibid).

Apart from a brief mention of modal adjectives, nouns, and adverbs in this section, they will not receive a detailed analysis here. I intend to give a detailed analysis of them in chapter seven under alignment as they present a rich source of alignment strategies. In this section, attention is on weak epistemic modal lexical verbs expressing a negative shading point of view. Weak epistemic lexical modals were few in the data but they perform an important pragmatic function. They are used to show that the participants tacitly agree they have little or no information to make categorical assertions. Such submissions usually sound more deliberative and tentative showing less

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speaker commitment and responsibility as a result of a lack of confidence in the propositions expressed. The following are some examples:

301. I **believe** that *we may have* to relook at the Constitution. It is whether we may substitute ex-gratia for job creation grants that would help us, it would be better (2/11/2016)

302. I **think** that we need as a House, to *see* what we *can* do that even if we need to start at a certain modest level, let us *see* what we *can* start at a certain modest level. Even though we are getting to the end of this particular Parliament, the process can start now better late than never.

303. Mr Speaker, if however, we *could* have an arrangement where the bylaws of the various assemblies would allow that, I **guess** I *would* be comfortable with that so that for now, *maybe* a subsistent district chief executive *would not* disallow the organisation or the creation of a youth organisation in the New Patriotic Party (2/11/2016)

All the above submissions sound deliberative, as seen in the use of such devices in Example 301 'I *believe* that we *may* have to relook', in Example 302 'I think that we need to *see* what we can do' and in Example 303 'if however, we *could* have an arrangement where the bylaws of the various assemblies would allow that, I **guess** I *would…'* The deliberative features inherent in the low epistemic submissions as in the lexical items 'may, see, could, and guess as seen in Examples 301-303, fall in line with Simpson's assertion that generally, epistemic modal markers are used for signalling judgments of beliefs, certainty or truth and for foregrounding a speaker's efforts to interpret and make sense of what he sees and hears (Simpson, 2004, p. 125). This assertion is apparent in the uncertainty shown in the use of

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weaker epistemic modals in the submissions in a bid to explore options. The point of view adopted in the discourse is internal with negative shading as seen in the use of the first-person pronoun 'I' plus weak epistemic modals as highlighted above. The frequent use of the modals, *guess, may have to, and could have* shows that the speakers lack confidence in their knowledge of the situation described. There is no use of deontic modals such as *must* or *should* to give a strong sense of commitment, as in texts with positive shading (Simpson, 1993).

The weaker epistemic modal auxiliaries *may have to* reinforce the weakness in epistemic *believe* in example 301, the perception modal phrase *see what we can do* reinforce the weakness in epistemic lexical verb *think* in example 302, and the use of such combinations as '*could, may be* and '*I guess* in example 303 signal the uncertainty of the speaker. Such a combination of weak epistemic modals also shows lower commitment to responsibilities on the part of the participants. The general tone of a discourse of this type connotes uncertainty and lack of commitment on the part of the speaker. Hence, the shade type that marks this type of point of view is negative.

Perception Modality and Point of View

Perception modality is considered a sub-category of epistemic modality. It is regarded as the degree of commitment to the truth of a proposition based on human perception which is usually visual perception. It is also encoded in sentences with modal adverbs as in, *It is unquestionable that you are right* or *Unquestionably, you are right.* Also, *It is obvious that they don't like each other, Apparently, she's planning to marry him,* and in sentences with adjectives as in *Be…THAT* construction (Simpson, 1993, p.

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45). It also exhibits perception adverbs such as *apparently, evidently,* and *perhaps*; human perception verbs such as it *seemed*, it *appears* it *looked like* or *as if*. Just like epistemic modality, Simpson opines that perception modal expressions give off a negative shading point of view as it highlights the uncertainty of the speaker (Simpson, 1993: 58).

This opinion holds true to some extent with the perception modality in the parliamentary debates analysed in this study. In the debates, there are differences in the degree of perceptual commitment that leads to a difference in attitudinal stance on the part of participants. From my analysis of the data, the use of perception modals either shows a lack of preparedness on the part of speakers, hence, usually a show of uncertainty, or the perception modals in the debates reveal a general reluctance to interpret events and actions, or accept some opposing view. Submissions of that nature usually sound confrontational, however, such confrontations often sound rather tentative.

Regarding the first view, perception modality just like epistemic modality is knowledge-based. In recent times, there are growing concerns among some members of parliament about the lack of cooperation among members, especially, in terms of knowledge contribution towards debates. A case in point is the submission cited earlier by Hon. Dr A. A. Osei, a member of parliament, on 27/1/2017, col. 556 about the need for members to research before going to the chamber. The use of perception lexical verbs reveals the preparedness or otherwise of participants towards topics for debate and for that matter their perceptual commitment.

The preparedness of the MPs in terms of knowledge determines their point of view as internal/external, negative/positive. When participants lack

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the knowledge in making categorical assertions, they rely on their perception of events to make their submissions. A sense of uncertainty in submissions reveals a lack of perceptual commitment on the part of the speakers. Submissions of that nature signal a negative shading point of view according to Simpson. The following are some examples:

304. *I do not know*, because *I do not believe* that in the original draft, that provision was where it was. **It seems** to me to be an afterthought. (1/11/2016)

305. Mr First Deputy Speaker: But that director is **likely** to be an old man or an old lady. We are talking about the youth. (1/11/2016).

306. I asked the Leadership of the House who were with me on that trip to start looking at it and **see** how we can push this matter forward and whether we can integrate it into our system. (2/11/2016).

307. However, we would look forward to **see** how we *would* implement it in modernising agriculture. (27/1/2017).

308. Mr Speaker, *it may be* one of the reasons that led to the collapse of the Komenda Sugar Factory in times of old. It looks **like** we are on the path to repeating what led to the eventual collapse of the former Komenda Sugar Factory. (2/11/2016).

309. Mr Speaker, for example, I **heard** the issue about handing over notes. Such information can only come from the Leadership. (23/12/2016)

In all the submissions numbered 304-309 above, the speakers lack the epistemic warrant to make their claims. From the excerpts, the participants are trying to understand some situation by contemplating and trying to make sense of the world (Simpson, 2004, p. 126), but obviously, they are unsuccessful in

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doing so, as marked by the verbs of perception, *seems, likely, see, like and heard.* Epistemic modality principally foregrounds a speaker's efforts to interpret and make sense of what he/she sees and hears (Simpson 2004, p. 126), as seen in examples 306 and 307, *see how we can push* and *see how we can implement* respectively.

The interpretation of events, therefore, becomes heavily dependent on participants' angle of vision of the world. In this type of discourse, participants rely on external signals and appearances to sustain a description (Iwamoto 2007). This is also supported by Hacquard and Wellwood (2012) who are of the view that epistemic modality is the speaker's assessment of probability and predictability. This makes epistemic modality a very useful tool with regard to point of view, especially in parliamentary debates where we get to see different points of view expressed.

The use of the perception modal lexical verbs, *seems, see, like,* and *hear* coupled with other epistemic values as *believe* in example 304, *maybe* in example 308 highlight the uncertainty in the propositions expressed. The speakers give an impression that they are familiar with the issues under discussion, and yet, there are doubts that seem to be taking place from their psychological point of view, giving them illusions of reality. To identify the shading that marks the excerpts above, they are evidently negative as shown in the overuse of epistemic modals that connote uncertainty or doubt and lack of assertion (Iwamoto, 2007). This implies that the use of epistemic and perception modals emphasises a negative shade point of view. Simpson (1993, p. 53) maintains that a language that is rich in epistemic and perception modalities highlights uncertainty about characters and events.

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Apart from expressions of certainty/uncertainty, the MPs also employed verbs of perception in order to appear cynical when they hold a contrary view. Such submissions reveal a general reluctance to accept some opposing view or interpret events and actions. Submissions of that nature usually sound confrontational, what Simpson terms as "references to stimuli" in the immediate physical environment (Simpson, 1993, p. 48). However, such confrontations often sound rather tentative. The following are some examples:

310. I *do not* **see** why the Minority wants to dictate. I *do not* **know** why they want to dictate. It is not part of democracy. (27/1/2017)

311. Mr Speaker, the former Deputy Minister for the Interior said that it was caused by an explosive. I am **wondering** what distance it was between the place where the explosives were kept and the gas station, that this disaster should occur. (27/1/2017)

312. When he mentioned clubs, I **wondered** whether in Suame, there is no Kyei-Mensah-Bonsu Youth Fan Club, like there is a Haruna Youth Group or Institute in Tamale. (2/11/2016)

313. It **appears** to me that we are looking at groups from a stereotyped position in this House. (2/11/2016)

When members have doubts or do not see the importance of some decisions, they appear cynical in their presentations. 'see' in Example 310 is rather used cynically than to express uncertainty. The cynicism is even heightened in the use of the negated perceptual phrases and self-questioning *I do not see why,* and *I do not know why* respectively. Such submissions show a direct response to earlier submissions made by colleagues.

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In example 311, the bewilderment of the speaker expressed as, '*wondering*' seems to have no end but in a continuous process where the speaker is trying to make sense of the world. All those expressions in the rebuttals question as it were, the 'sense' in those propositions the speakers respond to. In conclusion, the use of the perception verbs from examples 310-313 shows the confrontational nature of parliamentary discourse made rather subtly than acts of uncertainty as stipulated by Simpson given speakers' perception of events.

From my observation of the data, the perception modals do not show weak modality per se but rather appear cynical, they mostly question the credibility of some points of view or actions by perceived opponents. A discourse of this nature, in my view, carries a medium-shade point of view but not negative. Also, a point worth mentioning in the use of perception modals expressing cynicism in the debates is that the cynical remarks are mostly woven within rhetorical questions to give illocutionary force to arguments. In this case, the MPs employ subtle humour against perceived opponents.

Insights Drawn From Chapter

The findings in this chapter support Palmer (1986) who maintains that we should avoid labelling the modals as a case of accidental polysemy and look at their meaning in context. Even the lexical verbs that are regarded as low-value modals according to Halliday (1994) which, according to Simpson (1993), express weaker modality and uncertainty are employed by the MPs to express different modality senses.

A case in point is the modals *seem,* and *appear* which are typically regarded in the linguistic literature as markers of uncertainty. My analysis, however, reveals that these modals do not only express uncertainty but are also

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used to show cynicism, questioning the importance of certain events, doubting their importance, and based on that speakers adopt an external perspective showing uninvolvement.

Also, in other instances in the debates, the so-called weaker epistemic modals mentioned above are used by the politicians as hedging devices when they are employed with high-value modals to express an obligation meant to direct the behaviour of colleagues but not express uncertainty as they are generally labelled. In such instances, I see them to express a 'medium shade' point of view but not negative as in Simpson's framework. And then they express weaker modality when MPs are uncertain about some events for which they lack knowledge.

The different degrees of the modal lexical verbs are seen more with the higher occurring epistemic modal lexical verbs recorded in the data of this work: *know, think, believe.* This phenomenon leads me to the identification of an additional shade of point of view which Simpson did not cater for; 'medium shade'. This decision has been arrived at based on my investigation of the linguistic literature to establish the possible shade of point of view (Halliday, 2014; Vukovic, 2014; Ngula, 2017).

The medium shade caters for intermediary cases where the sense of a particular modal is neither positive nor negative, and neither is it neutral. This supports Parina and De-Leon (2014) who have observed that modal lexical verbs are the chief means of expressing point of view. This position is supported by Holmes (1990), Karkkainen (2003), and Vukovic (2014) who also observed that modal lexical verbs express different degrees of modality senses in parliamentary discourse. It is revealed in the analysis of the parliamentary data that modals

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believe and *think* express stronger epistemic senses than weak in the debates, the possible reason being that in parliamentary discourse, certainty and self-confidence are key in convincing others, possibly. Again, in the framework, Simpson only provided a shade type for weaker epistemic modality but not strong epistemic modality.

This distinction of epistemic modality as strong, medium, and weak and their different points of view discovered in this work are not catered for in Simpson's analytical framework, perhaps, because of the type of discourse I am applying the theory to. This leads me to the conclusion that Simpson's model of modality and point of view may be revised to include positive shading point of view to cater for expressions that encode strong epistemic modality and medium shading point of view to cater for intermediary cases. In the next chapter, I shall explore the point of view that dominates with regard to the different degrees of modal lexical verbs and their implication and then I can draw an informed conclusion.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has discussed the distribution of modal lexical verbs and their expression of modality and point of view. The lexical verbs have been categorised according to their modality functions as deontic, epistemic, boulomaic, and perception and their expression of point of view. They are further categorised as strong, medium, and weak modality degrees based on the context of their occurrence. This reveals the shade of point of view that they express, whether it is positive, medium, or negative. These different shades express both internal and external point of view based on a speaker's perspective.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DOMINANCE OF POINT OF VIEW AND IMPLICATION

Introduction

The analysis in this chapter is informed by the analysis made in research question one. In analysing this research question, I would, first of all, present the frequency of occurrence of the type of point of view expressed by the various modal elements, internal and external point of view. With regard to the modal auxiliaries which occurred as the chief means of expressing point of view in the debates, I would pattern the analysis along the values of modality as stipulated by Halliday as I have analysed in research question one. My quest in this chapter is therefore be to see which point of view dominates as well as the shade of point of view as either positive or negative in the various values of modality: high value, median, and low value.

Modal Auxiliaries and Point of View that Dominate

Overall, the distribution of the modal auxiliaries demonstrates quite a similar pattern; from the table below, all the modal auxiliaries are employed in expressions of more external point of view than internal point of view in the debates. Tables 13 and 14 below clarify the point.

Table 13: Modal Auxiliaries and Type of Point of View

Modal Auxiliary Verb	Internal Point of View	External Point of View	Total Occurrence
1. would	147	160	307
2. should	136	150	286
3. can	110	118	228
4. will	115	186	301
5. may	93	112	205
6. could	110	117	227
7. shall	31	120	151
8. must	111	120	231
9. need to	121	137	258
10. have to	78	133	211
11. might	7	52	59
12. ought to	6	35	41
Total	**1,060**	**1445**	**2,505**

Source: Author (2021)

Table 13 below is a distribution of the values of modal auxiliaries as stipulated by Halliday and the type of point of view they express in the debate. This is instrumental in helping us to see the type of modal value that dominates in the debate and its significance.

Table 14: Modal Values and Point of View

Modal Value	Internal of View Point	External Point of View	Total Occurrence
Median Value	262	346	608
High Value	478	695	1173
Low Value	320	399	719
Total	**1060**	**1440**	**2,500**

Source: Author (2021)

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From Table 14, what constitutes median value modals are *would* and *will*, the high-value modals are *should*, *must*, *have to*, *need to*, *ought to,* and *shall*, and *may*, *might,* and *could* constitute the low-value modals. These classifications are adopted from Halliday except for *shall* which I find to have a high value in the debates given its function in the debates which I have already discussed in my analysis of research question one, page 87. From the table, it is obvious that the median value modals are employed more in expressing point of view than the other values of modality. The reason for this stems from the fact that *would* and *will*, median value modals significantly co-occur with other modals in expressing point of view than all the other modal auxiliaries in the debates. You may refer to an analysis of their collocates in research question one, page 94. I start the analysis with median value modals given the fact that the median value modals dominate in the data.

Median Value Modals

In terms of point of view, even though *would* expresses both internal and external point of view, *would* is found more in expressions of directives, request, and predictions from external point of view than with internal point of view. Similar occurrences were recorded for *will*. Table 13 below illustrates the point:

Table 15: Frequency of Modal Meaning and Point of View

Modal Meaning	Would Internal point of view	Would External Point of View	Will Internal Point of View	Will External Point of View	TOTAL
Directives (Deontic)	86	54	36	80	256
Predictions (Epistemic)	6	66	4	140	216
Request	48	3	-	3	54
Intention (Volition)	-	34	19	50	104
Willingness (Volition)	6	3	52	8	69
Certainty	2	-	4	20	26
Indeterminate	1	-	4	5	10
TOTAL	**149**	**160**	**119**	**306**	**735**

Source: Author (2021)

From Table 15, both *would* and *will* are employed to express external point of view than internal point of view. As can be seen, *would* records a total frequency of 160 instances of external point of view as against 149 internal point of view. *Will* also records a total of 306 instances of external point of view as against 119 instances of internal point of view. One reason for which *will* and *would* record more external point of view is that in the business of parliament, *would* and *will* mostly co-occur with deontic verbs to make reports. Usually, these median value modals serve as hedges especially when they are expressed with directives from an external point of view, as seen in the following examples:

314. Mr Speaker, this is a contract sum of €45,575,000.00 and going for a good cause. But my little challenge is that, in such agreements, ***one would*** expect that value for money audit is really done so that assessment is made, whether or not Ghanaians are getting value for money. (3-11-2016).

In the example above, 'would', a median value modal is expressed with deontic lexical verb 'expect' to tone down the force of the directive. As part of their informational functions, in national parliaments, one of the primary reasons why legislators make speeches is to stake out policy positions and communicate these positions to voters (Mayhew, 1974). In performing this informational function, the legislators try to present themselves as objective as possible and at the same time, appear moderate. Because of this, it is generally easy to find submissions made with the median value modals from an external perspective as in the use of the subject, 'one'. These submissions are usually meant to inform the listening public on certain happenings on the floor of parliament. The participants usually report on issues of national interests to constituents often intended to inform readers/listeners about events from as objective a perspective as possible. This finding suggests that much of the uses of *will* and *would* in the parliamentary discourse are used in reporting the activities of others other than the speakers themselves. The MPs do this through objective references to the names of the groups involved through third-person subjects instead of subjective references such as 'we' and 'I'. Such linguistic features highlight an external point of view (Iwamoto, 2007, p.194).

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Reported directives are usually used during debates on committee reports. In parliament, committees are assigned certain tasks and are supposed to report back to the house after their deliberations. During such debates, members are reminded of who is obligated to perform one duty or the other usually resulting in reported directives from an external point of view. In other instances, the MPs adopt external perspective to avoid blame and accountability should they fail to accomplish a certain task, as seen in the following extract with the use of the agentless passives:

315. Money audit **would be done**, the figures **would be looked** at, **there would be** some gains and some additional structures *would have* to be put in place. (3-11-2016)

In the above extract, we are not told the actors behind all the constructions of *would*. Such a submission expressed with agentless subjects could be a tool used in political discourse to avoid being held accountable.

Another reason for which the median value modals dominate, especially from external point of view is that, *would* is a down toner. Given the fact that most of the deliberations on the floor of parliament are directives, these directives are usually outwardly directed and therefore it is usually dependent/required of members to tone down their directives towards others, given the fact that the MPs consider one another as colleagues. In the Ghanaian setting, given our cultural orientation which requires one to deal moderately/respectfully with others coupled with our educational background that *would* marks politeness Frimpong (2017), *would* is usually the preferred modal choice that collocates with almost all deontic lexical directives to tone down such directives even when members intend to hit hard, as shown below:

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316. So*, he would* need to collaborate with the Hon Minister for Education on it. (23-3-2017).

317. What I would want the NDPC to note is that, under the Public Financial Management (PFM) Act, if they attempt to spend any amount out of the GH¢20 million, somebody may go to jail. They are, therefore, to take note and ensure that, when the Supplementary Budget is brought, **same *would*** be dealt with, so that *they would* be acting within the remit of the law. (233-2017).

In the extracts, *would* is used from an external point of view to tone down the directives expressed towards the addressees. Also, *would* marks politeness when it expresses directives from internal point of view. From the data, *would* expresses more internal directives than external directives. In such usage, *would* serves as a politeness marker seems to persuade others to get involved in actions that the speaker is committed to performing. This is usually the case when it is expressed with inclusive 'we' meant to encourage consensus building. Find the examples below:

318. What we have to look at is how ***we would*** turn it around so that, when we visit all our constituencies, we can tell them that next year, growth would go up to 6.3 percent, therefore, there would be employment. (23-2-2017).

Also, the use of *would* and *will* with external point of view helps the MPs appear neutral in the performance of some tasks. In adopting an external perspective, the speakers are not part of the task to be performed, but have a good knowledge of the situation on the ground and know what is expected of the duty bearers. In most cases, the speakers know what is supposed to be

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done and the persons or agencies responsible for carrying out such tasks and so detach themselves with an external point of view through the use of objective references to the names of the groups involved through third-person subjects, as illustrated below:

319. Mr Woyome: Mr Speaker, if the **Hon Member** *would* look at the item numbered (k)on the Order Paper, he would see that there has been room for youth representation on the Board. So, it *would* be important if he averts his mind to that one. (1-11-2016)

From Example 319 above, the speaker seems to know what should be done but chooses to adopt an external perspective through the use of such conditionals as 'if the honourable member would', 'if he…' All such expressions are employed to make the speaker appear neutral in the performance of those tasks and to shift the responsibility to duty bearers.

Also, from Table 13, *would* and *will* are predominantly used in the data to express epistemic prediction from an external perspective. This happens when speakers seem to lack absolute knowledge in their assertions. In such context, the MPs usually adopt an external point of view when they are either uncertain as to who is responsible for carrying out some duty and therefore do not want to expose their ignorance or simply feel it is obvious to all as to who is responsible for carrying out such tasks. Thus, the MP cannot be blamed if his proposition turns out to be wrong (Dwihardjanto and Mazia, 2019). For example:

320. Mr Speaker, but the truth is that, we are not signing the Agreements, we are only approving the terms and then the process would continue, the value for money audit *would be done*, the figures *would be looked*

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at, there *would be* some gains and some additional **structures *would***

***have* to be put in place** because we said "up to" The amount is "up

to", it does not necessarily mean that this amount must go into these

specific structures. (3-11-2016).

321. **Transmission Lines *will* be constructed** to designated feed points. (1-

11-2016)

In Examples 320 and 321, we are not told the agent doing the value-for-

money audit and who is constructing the transmission lines. We are also not

told in the second extract the agent that is looking at the figures, and also, we

are not told the agent that is putting the structures in place. Vukovic (2014,

p.45) opines that in cases where the conceptualizer is construed generically

with agentless passives the responsibility taken is 'opaque'. The MPs,

therefore, adopt agentless subjects to avoid blame and responsibility for any

lapses. Usually, when they do this, they do not show any commitment to the

task under discussion and do not also mention anybody responsible for the

task. Submissions of this nature have a negative shading where a speaker

detaches him/her self from a task.

Even in expressing volition intention which according to Coates (1983)

is a reflection of the speaker's state of mind, on the floor of parliament, *would*

is used more in reporting the intentions of others rather than speakers' own

intentions. In such submissions, the speaker is not involved in the intention

but is merely reporting the intentions, desires, and hopes of others or speaking

the minds of those responsible for such actions. For example, in such

submissions, somebody is committed to performing that task but not the

speaker. The speaker is only privy to the information but not part of the task

and so reports as it is, hence, such submissions are made from an external point of view, as demonstrated below:

322. Mr Speaker, they propose that **they *would*** first, do a capacity needs assessment, and this is relevant. This is because once that is done, it is the only way they would know which areas the LGS staff need capacity, and which areas they need to hammer during training sessions. (22-2-2017)

323. ***Government would*** not want a repeat of the same in subsequent years. (22-2-2017)

Given the argumentative nature of parliamentary debates, members, more often than not, do not want to own up to certain issues. I am, therefore, of the view that speakers choose objective references to avoid being held accountable in the event of any lapses, as we have seen in the examples on the elaborate analysis of volition intention of modal *would* in chapter five, page 98. A similar occurrence of volition intention is recorded under *will*. In the data, volition intention from external point of view dominates over that of internal point of view. Find examples below:

324. Mr Speaker, I cherish the fact that you have insisted that **you *will*** insist on accuracy and record. What our Hon Colleague, Eric Opoku is about to do is for him to be given the opportunity. (27-1-2017)

325. He also said **he *would*** provide support to the companies that *will* produce such products to enable them meet the required standards and facilitate the transit of such products to their final destinations not to compromise product quality. (27-1-2017)

326. The President indicated that his **Government** *will* explore the possibility of listing Volta River Authority (VRA) and Ghana Grid Company (GRIDCo) Limited on the stock exchange and also encourage private participation in the sector, especially in solar and wind energy. (23-2-2017)

From Examples 324-326 above, the expressions, 'you have insisted that **you** *will* insist on accuracy', 'He also said **he** *would* provide support', and ' The President indicated that his **Government** *will* explore' respectively reports the volition intention of others. The speakers choose to remind them of their own commitments to perform certain tasks they had committed themselves to perform. They see such tasks as part of the responsibilities of the addressees. They, therefore, want them to rise to their responsibilities.

This shows that in parliamentary discourse, much of the uses of *would* and *will* express what is expected of others but not that of the speakers. It suggests that in the business of parliament, it is the expectation of some members that others voluntarily offer to undertake or perform certain actions. Nonetheless, in the case of volition willingness, as seen in the analysis of the use of *would* and *will* in Chapter Five and, as presented in Table 13 above, members are more willing to perform certain actions from an internal point of view than report the willingness of others on the performance of certain actions even when they do not see those as their responsibilities. Extract 327 exemplifies the point:

327. Mr Haruna Iddrisu: Mr Speaker, thankfully, the Hon Majority Leader, Leader of Government Business and Minister for Parliamentary

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Affairs is to provide leadership. *We will* support his leadership in the reforms. (22-2-2017)

The use of 'we' expressed with 'will' in the extract above expresses personal commitment on the part of the speaker, perhaps, from the minority caucus as he makes reference to the majority that although the majority leader and minister for parliamentary affairs are responsible for the performance of such duties, the speaker and the minority whom he presents in the submission as 'we' are committed to supporting the performance of that tasks, hence an expression of volition willingness is created.

What is even more striking is the expression of boulomaic desire expressed through modal *will* from an external perspective. In such submissions, the adoption of *will* with agentless passives expressed from external point of view helps the speaker to avoid being held accountable for any lapses. Instance are presented belowl:

328. In the medium-term, *jobs will be created* through the implementation of a comprehensive programme for Small and Medium-sized Enterprises (SMEs) development and the business environment *will* also be improved through reforms, tax reduction and making energy available and affordable. (23-2-2017)

329. Mr Speaker, in the long-term, jobs *will* be created through the development of strategic industries such as the establishment of heavy petrochemical industries and so on. (23-2-2017)

In the examples above, the expression, 'jobs will be created', expresses a boulomaic desire on the part of the speaker that jobs are created. However, the speaker does not provide the agent responsible for the performance of such

tasks as he chooses to use agentless subjects as 'jobs will be created'. He does not tell us who is responsible for creating those jobs. The adoption of such linguistic features according to (Iwamoto 2007, p.185) does not reflect the thought or state of mind of the speakers, and this "corresponds to objective, neutral, uninvolved focalization" as opposed to subjective or involved focalization (Rimmon-Kennan, 1983, p.80). Such linguistic choices in the debate are meant to avoid any individual being held accountable for any lapses.

Also, *will* is more straightforward in expressing certainty from external point of view than in internal point of view. The speakers usually adopt *will* to express certainty not from an internal perspective but rather from an external perspective. Such usage is intended to forcefully lure the audience or listeners to accept the proposition. The speakers adopt an external perspective to avoid blame while at the same time, they wish to force home their propositions and convince their listeners into accepting such propositions. This is peculiar in parliamentary discourse where participants wish others to accept the truth of their proposition while at the same time adopting certain linguistic strategies to avoid blame. The following are some illustrations from the data:

330. **TOR will** raise sufficient funds for the restructuring of its debts and further investment in the Refinery. (1-11-2016)

331. **The Committee** after a careful examination of the facility is of the view that, the implementation of the project **will** help increase the mix of renewable energy in the energy mix. This **will** ultimately give a boost to the solar energy potentials of the country. (1-11-2016)

332. **Government will** ensure that there is an escrow account and a water cash management that ensures that funds go into the escrow account to service the debt in order to take that burden off Government as of today. 22. Mr Speaker, it is an undeniable fact that with this, they **will** be a bit resourceful. (1-11-2016)

In the examples above, the speakers seem to be certain of the propositions they make although they do not present themselves as the performers of those actions, they are well aware of the agents responsible and what is expected of them. They adopt an external perspective and the mentioning of the bodies responsible using third-person subjects such as 'TOR', 'the committee', and 'government' to signal that they are not responsible but thy know the agents responsible. The above is attested to by Vukovic (2014) when she stated that on the floor of parliament, politicians sell their truth while at the same time avoiding responsibility.

Type of Modality that is Usually Expressed with External Point of View

The type of modality that is usually expressed with external point of view with the use of *would* and *will* is epistemic prediction and volition intention, with epistemic prediction ranking as the highest. The MPs use *would* and *will* to express epistemic prediction when they are not certain about the propositions they make. They also express volition intention from external point of view when they merely report the intentions of others. Such views represent the intentions of others but not that of the speaker. Honourable Amoah, Deputy Minister for rural and local development once said, when MPs have not researched into topics before a debate, they usually lack the knowledge to make strong and meaningful contributions to topics on the floor

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of parliament. this was said on Ghana Television (GTV) Panel discussion on 23-11-2019.

This observation has been made by other members on the floor of parliament. Honourable Dr A. A. Osei is also recorded in the Hansard (27-1-2017 pg. 556) to have said, "Mr. Speaker, finally, my advice to all Hon Members is that one cannot expect to contribute meaningfully if he or she has not read the documents. Documents are sent to committees and all of us get copies." One's lack of knowledge in topics under discussion thus leads them to making epistemic predictions and these are usually done with the median value modals, *would* and *will* with third person subjects, and objective references expressing external point of view.

Also, epistemic predictions, request, and intention are expressed more from an external point of view with *will* than from internal point of view from the parliamentary discourse, as seen in Table 13. In expressing such modalities with *will*, speakers adopt an external perspective to avoid any commitments and blame, as seen below:

333. This **will** promote higher quality primary health care system. Successful implementation of the project **will** help improve access to emergency and primary health services by the poor in the six project catchment areas. It **will** also improve access to quality equipment and medicines; improve the human resource base of the beneficiary health facilities and ensure quality healthcare delivery. **(1-11-2016).**

334. Besides these benefits, the project **will** serve as a pilot for similar future health system development projects. Moreover, the project **will** be linked to the National Health **(1-11-2016).**

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From the extract, no agent is attached to any of the utterances above. In the debates, this strategy is adopted to avoid a speaker being held accountable for what they say.

High-Value Modals and Point of View that Dominate in the Debates

Even though the same high-value modals (*must*, *have to*, *should, need to,* and *shall*) are used in expressing both internal and external point of view and deontic and epistemic modality**,** the study records more uses of the high-value modals with external point of view than internal point of view and more epistemic modality than deontic modality. As already explained in the previous chapters, externality is expressed by a third person or disembodied subjects, and internality expressed by first-person subjects.

Two main modality meanings are expressed with the high-value modals on the floor of parliament: deontic and strong epistemic modality. When used with a deontic sense, they remind fellow participants of appropriate behaviour. This is usually done from both internal and external perspective but with the external point of view dominating. The use of modals of obligation and duty such as *should*, *must,* and *have to* are usually adopted. Such submissions are usually presented as either reports or information to viewers/listeners or the citizens meant to inform them about the duties and obligations of others on the floor of parliament as well as other agencies or bodies outside parliament who are supposed to be performing a certain task but are not living up to such expectation. The following is an example:

36. EPA *should* step up their game and make sure that very serious care is taken where gas and filling stations are. (27/1/2017).

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Unlike in the case of the median value modals which merely inform and more often than not are tentatively expressed, the high-value modals when employed from an external point of view are meant to hit hard, especially, when expressed in deontic sense in order that the right things be done as in the expressions above, 'EPA **should** step up', '…**make sure** serious care is taken'. Such expressions are meant to keep the addressees on their toes at the same, informs the public of the expectations of others so as to score some political point.

This observation is supported by Mayhew (1974) who opines that in national parliaments, one of the primary reasons why legislators make speeches is to stake out policy positions and communicate these positions to voters. In performing this informational function, the legislators try to present themselves as objectively as possible by adopting third-person subjects and high-value modals. Also, the high-value modals, when epistemically expressed from external perspective, usually convey a strong epistemic sense. Such submissions usually sound more argumentative. Expressions with strong epistemic modal value usually show the speakers' level of knowledge in the expressed proposition.

The MPs, therefore, choose high-value modals with an external point of view when they seem to have a high level of knowledge or facts for what is expressed; hence, they appear more confident in such arguments. This finding is in line with Larreya and Rivière (2005) who observed that external focalisation through the use of third person and impersonal subjects often appear as objective truth. Further, the MPs use high-value modals and external point of view to influence popular opinion and public image of themselves.

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The MPs use external point of view expressed with high-value modals to inform readers/listeners about actions that affect them, for instance, when governmental decisions are made to obligate certain personnel to do certain things that they are not doing, or concerning issues for which certain directions or policies are suggested.

In the data, the use of epistemic modality markers serves to persuade the audience. Jowett and O'Donnell (2006) term this as an informative discourse which counts as persuasion. They are of the view that both informative discourse and persuasion have a focus on the audience "by allowing them to acquire information, understand the environment, and learn" (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2006, p. 30). This is usually done to score some political points. By informing the overhearing audience of happenings on the floor of parliament, they try to let them know that they are standing up for them.

The use of the high-value modals expressed objectively from an external viewpoint on such issues portrays the MPs in the public light as ones who have a love for their country and therefore seek its welfare. This is also in line with an assertion made by Sinclair (1995) that Democratic Party leaders in the US House of Representatives have used coordinated short speeches as means to attract media attention and sell their position to voters. The overall goal in adopting such a linguistic strategy is to get the audience to agree with their points of view.

High-Value Modals and Shade of Point of View

In terms of the shade of point of view concerning the external usage of the high-value modals, in the parliamentary data, the high-value modals

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encode a positive shading point of view from both internal and external point of view showing the commitment of the speakers towards the propositions they make. When expressed from internal point of view through the use of a first-person point of view, they show commitment. According to Simpson (1993), the high-value modals usually encode a positive shading point of view, be it internal or external point of view. when expressed from internal point of view, they are usually used to voice strong opinions on the course of the nation and demand consensus building.

Iwamoto (2007) makes a similar observation when he asserts that Category A positive shading submissions are particularly used in political speeches when a speaker is voicing strong opinions on the course of the nation. Of the two types, external point of view dominates with the expression of the high-value modals. When expressed from external point of view, the MPs use the modals to remind their fellows of appropriate behaviour and their expectations as members of parliament. As typical of parliamentary discourse, the aim of the politician is to score political points against their opponents. As observed by Vukovic (2014) being convinced and convincing is a prerequisite needed to influence the opinions and attitudes of others.

The MPs use the high-value modals with external perspective which gives them the position of objectivity to convince the listening public that some actions are very important or necessary and so the speakers adopt third-person subjects, and impersonal subjects to appear objective. By adopting high-value modals to express an objective truth supposedly, the MPs portray themselves as being committed to the cause of the nation. This observation finds support in Iwamoto (2007) who asserts that the high-value modals

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usually show commitment in political discourse. In the parliamentary data, the MPs adopt the high-value modals with an external perspective to express objective truth; in other words, 'what is necessary, and cannot be avoided' while at the same time detaching themselves from what is expected to be done.

Low-Value Modals and the Point of View that Dominates

In analysing the use of the low-value modals in the data, two main things were observed; the employment of the low-value modals is usually, either the result of the participants' level of knowledge of events on the topic under discussion or participants simply want to appear cynical. In all such cases, expressions of external point of view are found more than internal point of view. In dealing with the first part, my considerate observation of the data reveals that the low-value modals are adopted with an external perspective when a participant is uncertain about events. The propositions they, therefore, express towards such events often lack confidence; that is, a lack of commitment on the part of the speakers. This, more often than not, portrays a sense of peripheral interest in such topics hence, a sense of externality is adopted.

Most of the common expressions of the low-value modals in the data are expressions of epistemic possibility showing speakers' uncertainty and this finding finds support in Quirk et al. (1985, p. 223) that epistemic possibility reveals a sense of uncertainty. From the data, the low-value modals are also used tentatively and in expressions of hypothetical possibility from an external perspective.

In the debates, epistemic and perception modal systems are prominent. The MPs use such weaker epistemic modal auxiliaries as *may* and *might* and

perception modal markers such as I have analysed in response to research question two under low-value modals to show their lack of precision in the propositions they make. The analysis of the low-value modals also finds support in Vukovic (2014) who opines that when politicians lack the facts to back the truth of propositions expressed, they tread cautiously by resorting to the use of low-value modals with an external perspective. Such submissions are often rendered with a sense of epistemic uncertainty.

Epistemic modality, thus, plays an important role in political speeches; it shows the speaker's commitment to the truth of his propositions. At the same time, by using epistemic modality of lower values, the speaker cannot be fully committed to what he says; he cannot be blamed if his proposition turns out to be false (Mazia, 2019). Thus, epistemic modality is a useful device on the floor of parliament; it is used to save a speaker's image before the audience. In other words, epistemic modality is a political tool for avoiding blame especially when expressed from external point of view.

Also, on the floor of parliament, when MPs simply want to appear cynical, they usually resort to the use of low-value modals with an external perspective. They do this when they find the actions of others unjustifiable; hence, they appear cynical toward such events in the propositions they express. Through this, they show their detachment in the issues under discussion.

Low-Value Modals and the Shade of Point of View

The shade of point of view in this discourse is clearly negative, as seen through the use of weaker epistemic modals *may* and *might,* coupled with markers of perception and words of estrangement to express uncertainty

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showing an uninvolved attitude where members merely express the propositions from an external focalisation, as seen through the use of third person and impersonal subjects meant to distance the speaker from the action to be taken.

It is, therefore, safe to conclude at this point that based on a speaker's level of knowledge or attitude concerning an issue or event on the floor of parliament, they may adopt some point of view, either positive or negative; internal or external.

Modal Lexical Verbs and Point of View that Dominate

The modal lexical verbs have been analysed in terms of boulomaic, deontic, and epistemic modality in relation to point of view. Of all these modality types, epistemic modality dominates in the data with a frequency of 458 occurrences followed by 318 deontic occurrences and 293 boulomaic occurrences. These figures are taken from my earlier discussion of modal lexical verbs in the previous chapter, Chapter Five. The pie chart below clarifies these figures:

FREQUENCY OF MODALITY TYPES

Boulomaic, 293
27%

Epistemic, 458
43%

Deontic, 318
30%
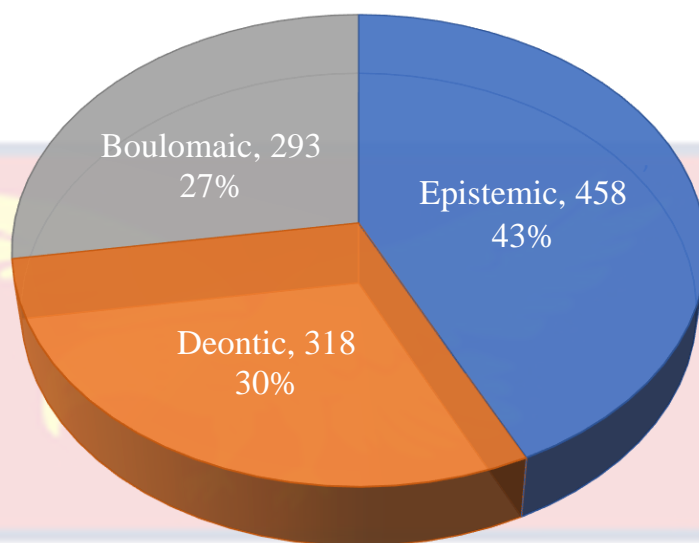
Figure 2: Frequency of Modality Type

Source: Field Survey (2021)

Out of the 458 occurrences of epistemic modal occurrences, the study recorded 301 occurrences of internal point of view as against 153 external point of view, showing a dominant occurrence of internal point of view over external point of view with the lexical modals unlike with the modal auxiliaries which occurred more with external point of view. The dominant occurrence of internal point of view results from the high-frequency occurrence of the lexical verbs: *know*, *believe,* and *think* which occurred virtually with the first-person pronouns 'I' and 'we' which are indicative of internal point of view. The MPs use these linguistic choices to make strong commitments for which they have epistemic warrant and, primarily to focus on the speaker's personal position concerning value judgments and proposals regarding certain actions to be taken.

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From the data, based on a speaker's assessment of facts and their knowledge of events, certain points of view may be expressed from an internal perspective. The use of the first-person pronouns (*I* and *we*) with the lexical verbs signals an internal perspective and involvement. This shows that the speakers are in no doubt at all about the propositions they are asserting. This is typical of politicians as their chief aim is to convince others of the truth value of what they propose. The lexical verbs are, therefore, used in their strong form from internal point of view to add weight to the submissions rather than to hedge. The use of *know* as in, *I know* signals evidentiality in the following examples:

335. Yes, I **know** them, but I would not mention their names. We would want them to take leadership roles, but all Hon Members (27/1/2017).

336. **Of course**, **I know** given the time that they had to work within, maybe, they were not able to look at all these things closely, but it is important that we interrogate these matters. (27/1/2017)

From the submissions above, the MPs show a sense of certainty or conviction as a result of a known fact; hence, an internal focalisation is conveyed. This supports an assertion made by Lyons (1977) that this kind of attitude is a general principle to which we are expected to conform and that we should always make the strongest commitment for which we have epistemic warrant. The use of the strong epistemic modal operators above, therefore, renders the speakers' commitment to the factuality of the propositions explicitly dependent on some personal known facts. The speakers are more certain because they have stronger evidence and the proposition is verifiable; hence, reinforced with the intensifiers 'yes' and 'of course'. In parliamentary

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discourse, one's knowledge of facts and confidence is of essence in convincing colleagues to accept their views and to win the favour of the electorate.

With *think* and *believe*, however, the speakers usually indicate the assertion is a personal opinion showing an internal perspective explicitly dependent on their own knowledge (Simpson, 1993, p. 46). These linguistic choices are mostly expressed with first-person pronouns, 'I'and 'we' showing an internal point of view. From the parliamentary data, *know*, *think,* and *believe* serve as dual markers (deliberative and tentative). One, to express certainty and the other to hedge and mitigate. This observation is attested to in Holmes (1990) and Karkkainen (2003) who think that these markers do not only convey uncertainty and a lack of confidence but also carry other pragmatic meanings depending on context.

From my observation of the parliamentary data , these pragmatic markers do not automatically nor typically express a lack of confidence as they are usually labelled, which is true in political discourse (Jucker, 1986:149) and also found in my data where the MPs also use them for the avoidance of commitment and a means to remain vague in their submissions, but more often than not, they are employed to express certainty and confidence. This explains why the data records more of their usage in their strong form and from an internal point of view. Vukovic (2014) opines that the macro modality of parliamentary discourse is certainty and self-confidence therefore these modal lexical verbs in most cases in parliamentary discourse are used to show certainty and confidence on the part of the speaker. The finding also support Simon-Vandenhergen (1997) who contends that in

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parliamentary discourse*I think* tends to be 'deliberative' rather than 'tentative' and 'authoritative' (Macauley, 1995).

Insights Drawn From Chapter

The data abounds with strong epistemic modality expressed with high-value modal auxiliaries and lexical verbs such as *must, should*, and *know*, which convey a higher sense of commitment to the truth value of propositions participants make. These linguistic choices in their strong form serve as boosters according to the categorisation of strong modal verbs as boosters and hedges (Vázquez & Giner, 2008).

As boosters, they show the commitment of the speaker toward what is to be done. This shows that, in the business of parliament, members may not want to show personal commitment in the performance of certain actions, but they still are concerned that those actions are carried out by those they deem to be responsible based on their knowledge of events. This type of position taken by the MPs represents a positive shading point of view. This observation somewhat deviates from the theory of point of view as stipulated by Simpson (1993).

Simpson is of the view that the preponderant use of epistemic modality gives off a negative shading. In the parliamentary debates, however, although epistemic modality dominates, its use does not always connote negative shading because most of the modals that encode epistemic modality are strong epistemic modals that serve as boosters, hence a show of commitment on the part of the MPs to the validity of the truth of propositions they make. In the theory, however, Simpson (1993) considers acts of commitment under positive shading. Therefore, once strong epistemic modality expresses

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commitment, it is considered to convey a positive shading point of view in the debates.

The MPs adopt this strategy to sound convincing to the citizenry in order to appeal for votes both for themselves and their party. Epistemic modality serves a useful device in parliamentary debates as in the words of Dwihardjanto and Mazia (2019) who assert that epistemic modality is a political tool to sound convincing when strong epistemic modals are used. Furthermore, the weak epistemic elements in the debates are used for politeness purposes to gain the audience's support. When expressed from an external point of view, they serve as devices to protect not only the audience but also the speaker's face.

Thus, in the debates, epistemic modality markers when expressed from external point of view serve to persuade the electorate, given their role as informative markers as earlier observed by Jowett and O'Donnell (2006). However, in some cases in the debates, the adoption of a weaker epistemic modality with an external perspective puts the MPs in a position where they are not fully committed to what they say. In this sense they cannot be blamed if a proposition they make turns out to be wrong. In some contexts, the use of weak epistemic modality serves as a strategy in political discourse to avoid blame and accountability, especially, when expressed from an external point of view.

Chapter Summary

Overall, the point of view that dominates in the analysis of the data is external point of view. Given the fact that the median value modals: *would* and *will* which record the highest frequency of occurrence in the data are mostly expressed from external point of view than internal point of view. Also, epistemic modality, which records a significant frequency in the data is generally expressed more from external point of view than internal point of view. For this reason, expressions of external point of view are more dominant in the data. In the debates, both government and opposition MPs use external point of view to evade personal responsibility, both in deontic and epistemic modal expressions. The strong epistemic modals are usually employed with agentless passives and third-person subjects showing an external point of view to avoid blame.
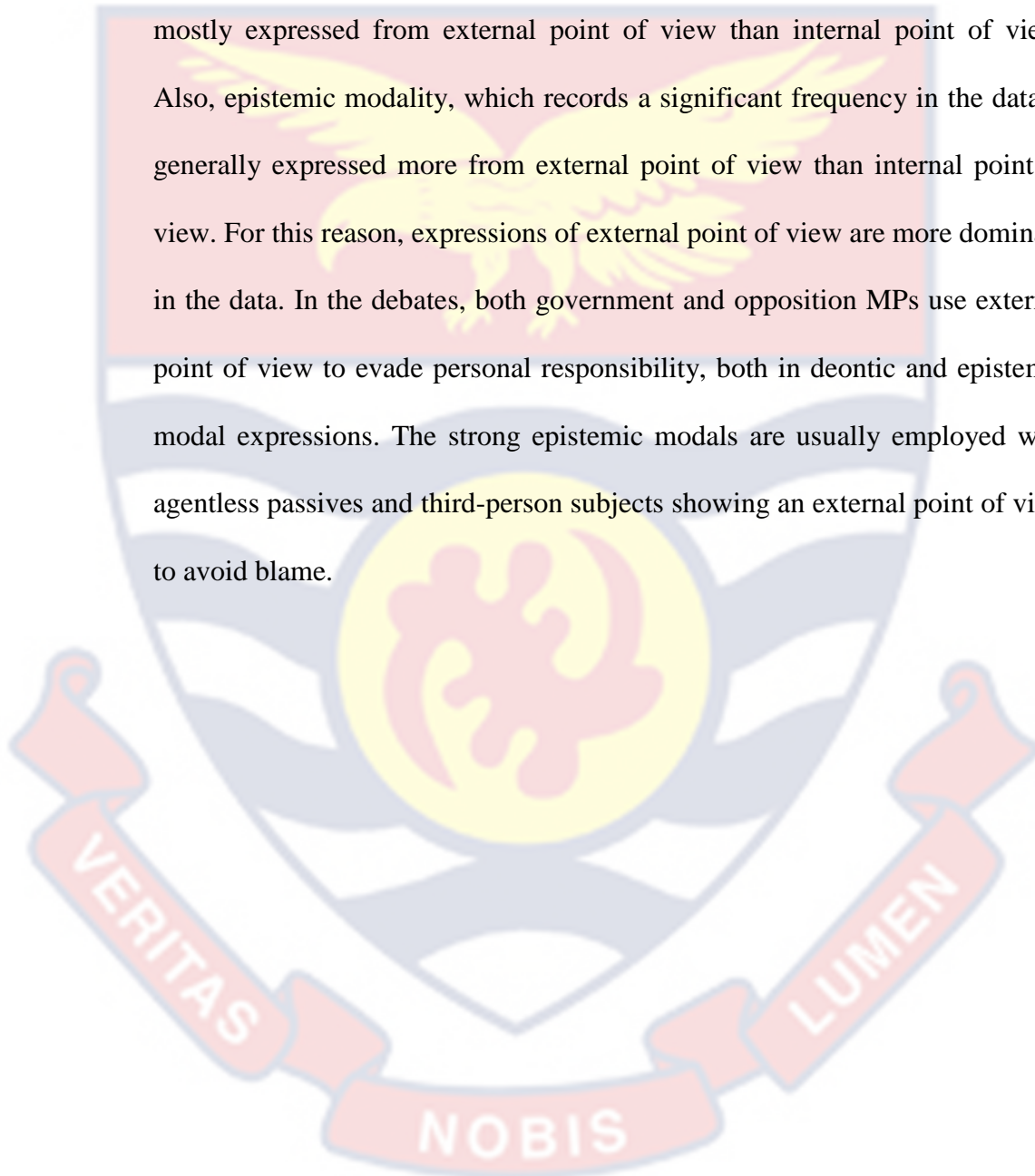
CHAPTER EIGHT

MODALITY, POINT OF VIEW AND ALIGNMENT IN PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with how MPs align or disalign with certain motions on the floor of parliament. One's alignment can reflect one's ideology. This chapter examines the types of point of view and modality that are used to express alignment or disalignment in parliamentary debates. First, it examines the frequency of modal values in the expression of alignment. It then examines the type of modal value and point of view in the expression of alignment/disalignment. Finally, it looks at modal lexical verbs as well as modal adjuncts in the expression of alignment.

The Concept of Alignment/Disalignment

The concept of alignment/disalignment is known under different labels that overlap to various degrees. It is referred to as stance by some scholars (Hyland, 1999, 2005; Orta, 2010; van Dijk, 1998, 2011, 2014), stance and positioning (Avdan, 2017; Chiluwa, 2017), and evaluation (Hunston & Thompson, 2000). The concept of alignment/disalignment in this work is drawn from Martin and White (2005). They explain alignment/disalignment as "agreement/disagreement with respect to both attitudinal assessments and to beliefs or assumptions about the nature of the world, its past history, and the way it ought to be" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 95).

They observed that when speakers/writers announce their own attitudinal positions, they not only self-expressively 'speak their own mind',

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but also invite others to endorse and to share with them the feelings, tastes or normative assessments they are announcing. Thus, declarations of attitude are dialogically directed towards aligning the addressee into a community of shared values and beliefs with the quest to win viewers/addressees over to a particular point of view. The following table illustrates values of modal degrees and the type of point of view and alignment they express.

Table 16: Frequency of Modal Occurrence in Relation to Point of View and Alignment

Modals	Alignment Internal point of view	Disalignment External point of view	Total
High Values	362	273	635
Median Values	255	180	435
Low Values	50	60	110
Total	**667**	**513**	**1180**

Source: Author (2021)

With regard to modal auxiliaries and point of view, from Table 16, high-value modals are exploited more in expressing point of view and alignment. Also, as illustrated from the table (14), the debaters aligned more from internal point of view than disalignment. The following is a detailed analysis of how participants' point of view is revealed through choices of modal degrees and how these choices reveal their alignment or disalignment on topics on the floor of parliament.

High-Value Modals and Alignment/Disalignment

Modality is associated with degrees or values ranging from high to low (Halliday, 1994). These levels of degrees determine a speaker's commitment or otherwise towards the proposition he/she makes. The high-value modals are

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used by the MPs from both internal and external point of view to align or disalign based on their core values (political, social, or moral values) and to direct others to align or disalign with their viewpoints concerning the designated action; what is of necessity (rightness) while those of lower value shows the speaker's peripheral or marginal values.

Usually, when the high-value modals are expressed from internal point of view, they are meant to show alignment and, when expressed from external point of view, they often disalign with some topics or opponent's views. The modals of high value that are recurrent in expressions of alignment in the debates are: *should, must, have to, need to,* and *ought to.*

Internal Point of View and Modals of High Value-Alignment

The choice of high-value modals from internal point of view presents a speaker as more strongly aligned with the value position being advanced by members who belong to the same community of shared values. From the data, the MPs adopt modals of high value with internal point of view when they want to align; when they want to win others over to a particular viewpoint, or endorse a particular position that falls within their viewpoint- (such positions could fall within their own ideologies or party's ideologies. Find the examples below:

337. Mr Speaker, *we* admittedly **ought to have** a meeting to approve of this new scheme. I *believe* I have the support of my Hon Colleagues; in particular, the Hon Minority Leader who is the Hon Ranking Member on the Committee, for us to have this new arrangement to abridge proceedings on Friday. (24-2-2017)

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The use of such expressions as inclusive 'we' with the high-value modal *ought to* to edge members to approve of a 'new scheme' shows the speaker's quest to get all involved to endorse his party's ideologies. The use of the word 'new' suggests such a scheme could be the idea of his party in power as he appeals to the minority leader to support his position.

The high-value modals encode both deontic and epistemic modality. When they are used to express deontic modality from internal point of view, the intention is usually to align. From the data, the MPs use deontic modality as a means to exert their authority. They use the high deontic modals to set forth their arguments and strongly convince others to support the values they propose as in the words of Vukovic (2014), in political discourse, being convinced and convincing is a prerequisite needed to influence the opinions and attitudes of others. The following illustrate the point:

338. Mr. Speaker, *clearly*, we **must** get serious with the work of the Audit Service if we are to get the results. We all want them to *ensure* transparency and inform the *people of Ghana* that the institutions of State are accountable. (29-3-17)

339. We **should** all focus on working to *make sure* that, we maximise revenue for the Assembly and not for ourselves. I am prepared to stand for that any day. I can justify what I said, and I believe that it is important that we accept things that are not right and make it a policy to right them for the *benefit of the country*. (22-3-2017)

In Example 338, the use of the deontic modal 'must' combined with 'ensure' and in Example 339, the use of 'should' and 'make sure' are meant to exert some authority on the addresses as the speaker considers the performance of

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such tasks the responsibility of all as expressed through the use of inclusive 'we' and 'all'. In Example 338, the speaker advances the argument by employing the evidential 'clearly' to convince all of an obvious responsibility, oversight on 'the work of the audit service'.

In some cases, the majority MPs adopt strong modals to support topics that fall within their party's promises to gain the trust of the electorates, as ruling parties are elected to fulfill their campaign promises. Through deontic modality, participants often advance forceful arguments that seek to lure others to accept and align with their views. They do this from internal point of view where they try to remind members of their responsibilities and convince them to live up to their obligations while convincing them of what is of necessity and what matters are of great importance. The following exemplify the point:

340. Mr Speaker, my Hon Colleagues on the other side **should** cooperate with us to go on with the Consideration Stage of the Bill of the House. This is because, with the number that we have here, on a normal business day, we have been doing Consideration with this. But Mr Speaker, this is a very sensitive issue; the *Right to Information Bill*, started the day I entered this House and if up till now, this House is to be dissolved without this Right to Information Bill being passed into law, then Mr Speaker, I say the whole world is watching us. (20-12-2016)

341. Mr Speaker, we a*dmittedly* **ought to have** a meeting to approve of this new scheme. I believe I have the support of my Hon Colleagues; in particular, the Hon Minority Leader who is the Hon Ranking Member

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on the Committee, for us to have this new arrangement to abridge proceedings on Friday in order for us to be able to travel to the destination early enough to engage in the plenary activities in the evening of Friday, and then on Saturday morning, we plunge into serious activities. (24-2-2017)

The use of deontic modals of high values *should* seeking cooperation in Example 340 and *ought to* with the evidential, *admittedly* in Example 341 indicates the speaker's core values concerning the designated action, and that usually serves as a basis for a participant to strongly align with the views of others or strongly seek the alignment of others for their views. Usually, a collective effort is needed; hence, the need for alignment. Participants also employ the strategy of marshalling high-value deontic modals to achieve a sense of urgency, which is reasonable, since the goal of participants is to either stay in power or gain power with their parties. They, therefore, employ any means possible to achieve their party policies which may involve the approval or disapproval of parliament.

When speakers seek to get the concern of others on matters affecting the nation, they employ inclusive *we*, which is indicative of internal point of view as a means to impose their perspective as a collective reference point, which undoubtedly carries 'persuasive and homogenising potential' (Anicic nd). The following exemplify the point:

342. Mr Speaker, ***Seriously***, we ***must*** take disasters as a matter which ***should*** not be played with as a country. Our population keeps increasing and our drive enterprises and businesses keep going higher.

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We *should* not as a country allow ourselves to suffer such disasters again. (27-1-2017).

The deontic modals, *must, ought to*, and *should* cited in the extracts numbered 338-342 in the discussion above are seen as encoding different force involving the speaker's values (such as necessity/rightness, obligations, responsibilities) towards the actualization of actions. The use of the deontic high-value modals from internal point of view makes demands and suggestions on oneself and their addressees as seen in the collective personal pronoun, 'we'. The use of those modal markers from internal point of view seems to suggest the authority of political actors in demanding others to follow their instructions.

The high deontic modal markers **must** and **ought to** are used to indicate the speaker's strong deontic stance to convince others to pay attention to the themes of *disaster* in Example 342, *audit service* 338*, need for consensus to generate revenue for district assemblies* 339, and *the need for consensus for the approval of bills* in Example 340. From the point of view of the speakers, these are matters of urgency, necessity and of grave importance and, therefore, require consensus; hence, the need to align and seek alignment toward the actualisation of such actions.

The use of *must*, and *ought to* in the utterances above, 338-342 by the speakers suggest a strong obligation on the part of the speakers in the performance of those themes identified above. The speakers see such tasks as the responsibility of all members of parliament which if not performed, could jeopardise the country's development. From the participants' point of view, issues like natural disasters in 342 and audit services in 338 cannot be taken for granted by any serious state if they have to develop; hence. the need for

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alignment to collaboratively deal with such issues to guarantee the safety of the people as well as good audit services to ensure transparency and convince the people of Ghana that the institutions are working.

From the internal point of view of the speakers, they see such tasks as national issues and so the need for alignment from all stakeholders if we are to have a better nation. In the utterances, the speakers do not only call for consensus building among MPs but try to involve and convince the overhearing public as they make allusions to the entire nation collectively, *our population*, *as a people* in 338 and *benefit of the country* in 339 and the use of inclusive *'we'* showing an internal perspective and collective effort. In the words of Vukovic (2014), this type of language use in political discourse constitutes a manipulative device to convince others of how they hold dear the nation at heart before the electorate to gain their support.

In the extracts above 338-342, the MPs are under obligation to deliver on their mandate to the nation and they seek the support of all in the performance of the task as seen in the use of internal point of view and collective marker, 'we'. They, therefore, call for consensus building and the need for all to get involved. *Must* is used to assert that it is extremely needful and all are obliged to be up and doing in matters of national concern especially when it comes to national disaster and managing public funds. The speakers made use of the intensifiers '*seriously*' and '*clearly*' to press home the point that actions in those areas are extremely needful and members are obliged to collaboratively offer their support.

Also, MPs have the background knowledge that the ruling party is elected to fulfill promises it made during election campaigns. The MPs on the

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majority side, therefore, usually work behind the ruling party to fulfill those promises. In the submission on the 'right to information bill' in Example 340, the speaker employs a high-value modal *should* from an internal perspective with inclusive *we* and stresses the need for all including opposition MPs to collaborate for its passage as the passage of the bill was part of his party's campaign promises. MPs see such topics as core values of their party that could score them a political point, hence the use of the high-value modal *should*.

All the submissions 338-342 discussed above are therefore directed towards aligning the addressees into a community of shared values and beliefs with the quest to win colleagues, viewers/the electorate over to a particular viewpoint that benefits the speakers (Martin & White 2005). In the submissions, the speakers do not only intend to direct their shared values to only their immediate addressees, and fellow members of parliament but also to the entire nation as well, as they make collective allusions, *as a country*, *our population,* and *the people of Ghana*. All these are alignment strategies rallying all to feel the obligation to align with the speaker's point of view. This finding is attested to by Sarfo-Kantankah (2019) who is of the view that MPs are the mouthpiece of the people they represent. According to him, MPs carry the mandate of their constituents to express their concerns for government to act on their needs. The participants, therefore, employ the highlighted linguistic devices to rally the citizenry to align with their views as they serve as their representatives.

The expression of interest in the needs of the people also affirms the observation made by Mayhew (1974) that in the US house of representatives,

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legislators make use of coordinated short speeches to attract electorate and win them over to their side. What matters more than the substance and facts themselves is that politicians express a high degree of confidence and commitment to the truth of what they say. On the other hand, depending on the context of use, *should* and *ought to* are sometimes employed as tools of alignment from internal point of view as offering suggestions than expressing obligation when a member tries to convince others of the sense in submissions made by others he chooses to align with. When this happens, deontic modals are presented in the form of suggestions to make others see through the same lenses as the speaker and those he supports especially, if the issues are of national importance. The following are some examples of *should* and *ought to* offering suggestions other than obligation as means of alignment:

343. Mr Haruna Iddrisu: Mr Speaker, but there is a very salient point in the argument of the Hon Ranking Member. He says that ***we should*** look at the distress of *ECG* and reconsider the on-lending terms we are granting them. *I am in harmony with him on that*.

344. Dr A. A. Osei: Mr Speaker, one of the agencies that *we all ought to* pay attention to — perhaps, my Hon Colleague Members of Parliament (MPs) — is the *Ghana AIDS Commission and the work they do*. They attract a lot of donor funds and ***I would want to recommend that all Hon Members of Parliament should*** pay attention to what is done at the Ghana AIDS Commission. This is because the issue of AIDS is a matter for all of us to follow closely.

345. Mr Speaker, we are Members of Parliament. Every day we go to our constituencies, we see certain things we do not like and ***we ought*** to

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think about how to change them, not because you are NDC or NPP. Let me tell my Hon Colleagues why it is important that we do not do propaganda. (23/3/2017).

In extracts 343-345 above, speakers employ *should* and *ought to* to suggest to all to align with their internal points of view. The speaker in example 343 employs modal *should* in a quest to edge colleagues to see the sense in the submission made by a member he has chosen to align with. He reiterates the suggestion made by the ranking member and then tries to get all to align with the viewpoint of the ranking member. He affirms his own position in support of the ranking member and seeks fellow members to align with his point of view as in extract 343 "he says we should...". By this, the speaker tries to get all to see through the same lenses as 'they' see. Issues of electricity of late have become of great concern to Ghanaians given the intermittent power outages and so from the point of view of the member, there is the need for all to show commitment to resolving the problem.

The use of *ought to*, in Example 344, suggests to colleagues to agree with the speaker's point of view by alluding to all fellow MPs on the floor to buy into his point of view. From his perspective, the work of the Ghana AIDS Commission as cited in Examples 344 and 345 above is of economic importance to the nation as a whole. He, therefore, seems to suggest to all to turn attention to his point of view. This finding in political discourse finds support in Martin and White (2005) who propose that when speakers/writers announce their own attitudinal positions, they not only self-expressively 'speak their own mind', but also invite others to endorse and share with them the feelings, tastes or normative assessments they are announcing as evident in

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the extract above, "…one of the agencies that *we all ought to* pay attention to…" "*I would want to recommend that all Hon Members of Parliament should* pay attention to…" These declarations of attitude are dialogically directed towards aligning the addressee into a community of shared values and beliefs that the speaker holds regarding the proposition he makes about the AIDS commission.

In other instances, in the debates, speakers do not only seek to align with only colleagues on the floor of parliament but also with members of their constituencies and even across party lines. This is because, in Ghana, MPs are made to see themselves as agents of development at the constituency level. They are seen to be responsible for providing everything their constituencies need and failure to provide infrastructure and social amenities leads to their opponents campaigning against them. They, therefore, try to bring up issues of development in their constituencies in order to invite the electorate in their constituencies who may even be non-party members to see that they are standing up for all irrespective of their party affiliation and they do this through deontic modals as in the following example:

346. Mr Speaker, we are Members of Parliament. Every day we go to our constituencies, we see certain things we do not like and *we ought* **to think** about how to change them, not because you are NDC or NPP. Let me tell my Hon Colleagues why it is important that we do not do propaganda. (23/3/2017)

The Speaker considers this suggestion a very important one that could score one a political point. When *ought to* is used from internal point of view by the MPs, it usually implies what is necessary and the right thing or the best thing

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to do. This observation is upheld in Eastwood (2005) who posits that *ought to* and *should* convey the meaning, of what is the right thing or the best thing to do. Hence, in the debates, when used from an internal point of view, *ought to* is usually used to strongly convince like-minded souls as well as opponents to align with the speaker's point of view. Also, from the data, when **ought to** is expressed from internal point of view, it usually implies a reference to shared values or general agreement. This observation from the debates is upheld by (Collins, 1991; Declerck, 1991; Huddleston, 2002).

Also, to affirm a high level of commitment to their task as members of parliament, members often adopt *need to* to express alignment from internal point of view. Usually, when *need to* is used in expressing alignment from internal point of view, it conveys expressions of obligation and necessity on the part of the speaker and those he/she seeks to align with. This kind of alignment portrays the speaker as one who is committed to doing the needful.

The following illustrate the point:

347. Mr Speaker, we **need to** go back and change the headnote there, given the amendment that-the word "independence" is gone, and so we **need to** take note and change the headnote to reflect the new rendition proposed by the Hon Minority Leader. (1-11-16)

348. Mr Speaker, I also share in the sentiments of the last Hon Member who contributed to this Statement, Hon Agyekum, that we **need to** take care of the welfare of our senior colleagues and national heroes. (22-2-17)

From Examples 347 and 348 above, the submissions are in alignment with some earlier submissions made by fellow members on the floor of parliament

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concerning certain pertinent issues. In the extracts, the speakers modulate their attachment to the propositions expressed by speakers who seem to be speaking their minds, participants with whom they belong in the same community of shared values. In both extracts, *need to* is used to show a strong sense of urgency about what is at hand. A strong sense of necessity and obligation is conveyed. Ensuring the right thing is done when it comes to the promulgation of laws is of prime importance to them as legislators. They also consider care for their older colleagues of utmost importance because someday, it might be their turn. Members, therefore, choose *need to* which expresses obligation and necessity for this purpose.

Need to, often indicates something is to be done according to one's needs (Zonghi, 2015). By using the plural first person subject 'we' in all the extracts used for illustration above, the speakers share out the responsibility for action and present a situation as teamwork aimed at consensus (Verhulst and Heyvaert (2015, p.575). And so, they either seek others to align with their viewpoints or endorse the viewpoints of others, aligning with their line of thinking. The choice of the high-value modals from internal point of view to influence others to accept the speaker's position as facts go to confirm Vukovic's (2014) view that politicians express a high degree of confidence and commitment to the truth of what they say. So, being convinced and convincing is a prerequisite needed to influence the opinions and attitudes of others.

In the debates, internal point of view usually expresses alignment, however, where there is the negation *not* expressed from internal point of view with deontic modals, a sense of disalignment is created rather than alignment.

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In such submissions, the speakers show their disapproval of opposing views or some happenings/misgivings they deem cannot be compromised and call for a consensus disalignment. Such strong disalignment is often seen when it has to do with state funds and key areas of national interest.

Usually, MPs would want their voices to be heard in these matters, strongly, to score some political points. Consider the following examples:

349. Mr Speaker, the Hon Deputy Minister for Finance cannot explain that, they have agreed. Do they have a choice? But **we should not** allow this. Five per cent at these times? That cannot be the explanation. Somebody must look at the *on-lending agreement* again. (1-11-2016)

350. Mr Speaker, giving *TOR* the opportunity to expand is good but the way we are going about it- That is why my   Hon Colleague referred to that. Until we have the assurance that some private person — **We should not** do this. If it is clear that it is going to GIIF, which is the institution we have set up to do such things, let us make it clear. (1-11-2016)

From Examples 348 and 349 above, the use of the deontic modal 'should' expressed with 'not' is meant to strongly disalign even though it is expressed from an internal point of view as seen in the use of 'we'. This appeal for consensus could be as a result of the topics under discussion. In the view of the speakers, such topics regarding state funds and institutions as TOR that are meant to generate funds for the state should be given utmost attention by all; hence, a call for a collective disalignment with attitudes that do not seem to protect state funds as seen in the expressions in example 350, …*but the way we are going about it ... and in* 349, *Somebody must look at the on-lending*

agreement again. All those expressions suggest that some things are not done right and therefore the need for a collective disalignment.

External Point of View and Modals of High Value-Disalignment

From the data, the high value modals have multiple uses. They are employed in expressing internal and external point of view. They also double up as deontic modals to direct and control appropriate behaviour and as strong epistemic modals to indicate one's level of knowledge as regards a proposition.

The high-value deontic modals are employed from external point of view when members are raising a point of order. The choice of the high value modals with external point of view is often meant to disalign with opposing views when opponents do not have the facts/proof to back their claims. When this is the case, the speaker exerts some authority over the addressee based on the laid down rules and regulations to be followed. It is a rule on the floor of parliament that participants do not just make claims without adequate proof on the floor of parliament. Therefore, if a participant does not provide adequate proof for their allegations, fellow MPs could use what is referred to in parliamentary language as point of order to direct appropriate behaviour.

In exercising point of order, MPs often use the high-value deontic modals to show their disalignment and to direct the behaviour of the addressee as to what is appropriate. With point of order as one of the rules that govern best practices on the floor of parliament, members can always interrupt others by raising counterarguments against perceived opponent views in a quest to straighten them up. Such disagreements are usually made with high deontic modals meant to reflect the participants' values about what is right and what is

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wrong. They also reveal what actions should or should not be taken, and who should or should not take designated actions. In the debates, the high-value modals are employed by members on both sides of the house in the exercise of point of order. The following is a banter between NDC and NPP MPs using modals of high value to straighten up opponents' views:

351. Alhaji B. F. Alhassan: Mr Speaker, *they cannot* impute such motives and turn to say that person was not correct. As part of Hon Nitiwul's submission, he indicated that **he who alleges must prove.** He is imputing motives of corruption to the former President, and he has not presented any iota of proof about the allegation he made to this House. [Interruption.] (23-1-2017)

352. Dr Prempeh: *On a point of order*. Mr Speaker, the former Hon Deputy Minister for **the Interior should withdraw what he said.** If he cannot prove that "Kandahar boys" is an affiliate of the NPP, **then he should withdraw** and apologise to the good people of Ghana who elected H. E. the President on the ticket of the NPP. Who are the "Kandahar boys"? **He should prove** to us. (23-22017)

353. Mr Speaker, he ended by confusing all of us. First, he said that they had received reports from 34 Ministries, and later corrected himself to 31 and ended by saying that it is 39 Ministries. Which of the numbers are we to believe? **He should** not be introducing confusion into the House at the point of exit. **He should not** be doing that. (23-1-2017)

354. Mr Ameyaw-Cheremeh: Mr Speaker, the Hon Member is totally out of order. The issue that he raised is unrelated to the subject matter, and **he should not** be allowed to continue on that tangent. (22-3-2017)

355. Mr Speaker, it is also important to say that the **President must clearly** be in a hurry to make sure that does not run away from the promises that he made. **He must be** in a hurry to deliver those promises and remove the energy levy as he has promised. *No excuses would be good enough*. **He must** be in a hurry to ensure that, commitment to the District Assemblies Common Fund, which is 7.5 per cent of tax revenue, **should not** in any way be undermined. (23-2-2017)

From the above, the expressions in Example 351, 'he who alleges must prove.**'** In Example 352, 'the Interior minister should withdraw what he said… he should prove to us', in Example 353, 'He should not be introducing confusion…', in 354, 'he should not be allowed to continue' and in 355, **'**He must be in a hurry to ensure' are employed by members on both sides of the house in the exercise of point of order meant to straighten up opponents' views. Examples 351-355 above are all deontic directives towards the addressees to regulate appropriate behaviour from fellow MPs who find their propositions unacceptable. The speakers interfere and take up a point of view in the speaking incident showing their disagreement in the truth value of the propositional content the opponents make.

In their point of view, they find such propositions an indictment on themselves and their party leaders. Hence, they show their disagreement by asking opponents to follow laid down rules and regulations that govern their conduct as honourable members of the house especially if those views are not in conformity with parliamentary regulations. As part of the regulations, one does not make mere allegations without providing tangible proofs and so members usually rise on point of order to counter such 'falsehood' from their

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point of view through the use of high-value deontic modals. Sarfo (2016) reports a similar occurrence in his study of questioning in the UK and Ghanaian parliamentary discourse that when parliamentary rules are flouted, it often leads to confrontations. These confrontations from my analysis are often a show of disalignment with opposing views; hence, in the debates, through the high-value deontic modals, members exert some authority over other members based on the laid down rules and regulations to be followed if opposing members do not provide adequate proof for their allegations. Such disalignments usually appear in the form of warning to opponents and all the examples above demonstrate this point, more typically is Example 351, above, as repeated below:

> Alhaji B. F. Alhassan: Mr Speaker, *they cannot* impute such motives and turn to say that person was not correct. As part of Hon Nitiwul's submission, he indicated that **he who alleges must prove.** *He is imputing motives of corruption to the former President, and he has not presented any iota of proof about the allegation he made to this House. [Interruption.] (23-1-2017)*

This observation finds support in Zonghi's (2015) assertion that *must* in political discourse is the strongest as a warning when the subject is the speaker's enemy. This is exemplified in the examples above, …*he who alleges must prove…*, ***they must*** *understand that this is not a problem that was created solely by the NDC,* **He must be** *in a hurry to deliver those promises and remove the energy levy as he has promised.* The choice of the high-value modals above *must, should,* therefore, show the magnitude of the disagreement, judging the validity of the propositions designating the events.

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The choice of the verb, 'cannot' be in support of the high deontic modals, *must* and *should* expressed from external point of view in the examples *they **cannot** impute such motives and turn to say that person was not correct, he **cannot** prove that...* confirms Langacker's (1991) position that *can* encodes a stronger degree of obligation than its distal counterpart like *could* in the proposition made by the MPs. It strengthens the obligatory modal *should* in the proposition made by the speaker creating an impression of integrity on one hand for the speaker and his party and on the other hand, disaligning with opposing views.

Moreover, the use of 'cannot' to prefix the high deontic modal '*must*' and '*should*' is termed by Palmer (1979) "rational modality". In the parliamentary debates, speakers sometimes find some states of affairs unacceptable, unreasonable, and that are in a sense not possible. Besides the sense of 'unreasonable', this modality also suggests that the speaker is unwilling to accept some situation and this view stance often leads to disalignments. Nonetheless, the high deontic modals not only serve to exert the authority of speakers over participants with opposing views but also serve as persuasive/manipulative strategies when an opponent has no proof of his claims. This is usually done on a point of order in example 352 repeated below:

Dr Prempeh: On a point of order. Mr Speaker, the former Hon

Deputy Minister for **the Interior should withdraw what he**

said. If he cannot prove that "Kandahar boys" is an affiliate of

the NPP, **then he should withdraw** and *apologise to the good*

people of Ghana who elected H. E. the President on the ticket

> *of the NPP*. Who are the "Kandahar boys"? **He should prove**
>
> to us. (23-22017)

The speaker employs the high-value deontic modals '*should*' to exert his authority and tries to persuade members of the public not to accept the 'falsehood' alleged by his colleague, trying to appeal to their sense of judgment in choosing a leader from the NPP party for the country whom his honourable colleague seeks to undermine, hence seeking the alignment of the overhearing public for his views. This goes to support Martin and White's (2005) position that when speakers/writers announce their own attitudinal positions, they not only express their own points of view but simultaneously invite others to endorse and to share with them the feelings, tastes or normative assessments they are announcing. Thus, even in propositions of disalignment, speakers invite others to share in their points of view to disalign with their opponents' views.

Another instance where members deploy strong modals to disalign is when they feel the image of their party being threatened. This often leads to confrontations that disalign with opposing views. This finding affirms Garcia-Paster's (2007) assertion that political debates constitute an antagonistic, confrontational type of interaction. In examples 356 and 357 below, the participants are strongly engaged in disaligning to save the image of their parties. Participants feel the image of their party is being dragged into the mud through certain accusations levelled against them. They, therefore, see the need to deploy very strong modals, 'must', 'should', and 'have to' if they have to save their party's reputation and protect their moral integrity. So, to win the trust of fellow citizens, participants employ high-value modals that encode a

stronger degree of disagreement to stress their moral integrity and their personal and party's dedication to public service.

The following illustrate the point where participants deploy strong modals to disalign when they feel the image of their party being threatened:

356. This must have been told to the people of Ghana. The steps have been taken already. Mr Speaker, it is very clear that a lot of work has been done to address this issue. If this Government says to the people of Ghana that the foundation that has been laid by the **NDC** is a prudent one and will be continued, we accept that. **But they must** *understand that this is not a problem that was created solely by the NDC. (23-2-2017)*

357. In fact, that money was actually used to finish some of the projects that they started without proper funding arrangement. It was also used to retire some of the loans that they took. So, I think that **they have to** be guided on this note. (23-22017).

In the examples above, the use of the expression in 356, '**they must** understand that this is not a problem that was created solely by the **NDC'** and in 357, 'It was also used to retire some of the loans that they took. So, I think that **they have to** be guided on this note', the participants are strongly engaged in disaligning to save the image of their parties. The speakers feel the image of their party is being dragged to the mud through certain accusations levelled against them and so they marshalled very strong modals, 'must', 'should' and 'have to' if they have to save their party's reputation and to protect their moral integrity.

In the Ghanaian parliament, most MPs ride on the backs of their parties to get to parliament and so watching members of the other side make derogatory submissions against their party or flagbearers of the party tends to make their own positions in the house shaky. Thus, MPs from the different sides engage in the debates in a quest to either win over power or preserve it (van Dijk, 2010). The motivation of the participants in making the speeches above is therefore to win the support of the electorate. To win the trust of fellow citizens, participants employ high-value modals that encode a stronger degree of disagreement to stress their moral integrity and their personal and party's dedication to public service. This finding is also confirmed in Harris (2017) who asserts that politicians employ rhetoric to stress their moral integrity.

This could stem from the fact that, in recent times, political actors understand that political discourse does not involve only politicians but extends to include the recipients in the political communication such as the public, the people, citizens, and the masses (Van Dijk, 1997). Politicians, therefore, make strenuous efforts to counter anything their opponents put in the public domain that might jeopardise their chances of gaining power or retaining it and consolidating their position, and, one rhetorical strategy they use is to employ strong disalignment markers to convince and influence the opinion of others; hence, the high value deontic modals serve as a strong illocutionary force to counter and disalign with opposing views when such views are an indictment on the speaker and his party leaders or party. This finding is attested to in the assertion made by Ilie (2010) that the task of

participating MPs in argumentative discourse is to influence popular opinion and the public image of themselves and their party.

'Ought To', Expressing Disalignment from External Point of View

Even though *ought to*, the least occurring modal in the data, is used less frequently in the debates, most of its usage has been from external point of view expressing very strong disalignment. The MPs employ *ought to* from external point of view to express an 'objective truth'. This observation is upheld by Larreya and Rivière (2005) who are of the view that *ought to* is more 'objective' than *should*. *Ought to* is employed in parliamentary debates to express what is necessary and cannot be avoided in the view of the MPs. Its use reflects the speaker's values (as part of his ideology) about what is right and what is wrong.

In support of what is revealed in the literature, *ought to* is usually used in the debates to talk about laws, duties, and regulations on the floor of parliament to make others see the truth value of what they propose. *Ought to* is usually expressed with third person subjects and conveys a strong obligatory sense of reminding others but not the speaker of their duties and regulating their behaviour. This observation, perhaps, accounts for the fact that despite its least occurrence, much of its uses in the debates is expressed from external point of view showing strong disalignment. The following extracts expatiate *ought to* used to strongly disalign from external point of view:

358. Mr Speaker, respectfully, I do not intend to engage you in any raucous disagreements but what **ought to** be done — If a document is laid, as I

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said, it cannot be withdrawn at the say-so of the Chair. The indulgence of this House must predicate the withdrawal. (2/11/2016)

359. I am not a procurement specialist, but I know that under our procurement laws, this **ought to** be done before the contract is signed— giving the nature of this particular Agreement. (3-11-16)

360. The Ministry of Finance **ought to** be supervised by a group independent – Your previous Hon Minister did not want it and that was why it was taken out of the Bill. When the Bill came to Cabinet, you knew that it was inside but it disappeared when it got here. So, please, do not mislead the House. (26-1-2017)

361. When the current President became the Attorney-General, he argued extenso against that practice and said the President **ought to** do that by an Executive Instrument- [Interruption.] Mr Speaker, I am sorry people who have not done any tracing and tracking are saying that- [Interruption]-[Laughter]-I would suggest to the Member who is making that statement that, it is most untrue. (24-2-2017)

From the examples above, the use of the objective expressions in Examples 358 and 359 'what ought to be done…' and 'this ought to be done…' respectively and the use of the third-person subjects expressed with *ought to* in Examples 360-361, 'The Ministry of Finance **ought to** be supervised', 'the President **ought to** do that…' respectively conveys a strong obligatory sense of reminding others but not the speakers of their duties and regulating their behaviour.

It seems that *ought to* is reserved for special uses in the debates given its usage more in expressing external point of view objectively; expressing

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what cannot be avoided. In the debates, it is mostly used in expressing issues concerning *finance* and *procurement,* as seen in Examples 359 and 360 with such expressions as 'procurement specialist' and 'Ministry of Finance' respectively and what is non-negotiable from an objective view stand and hence no place for argument. In such debates, the speakers try to be more objective as possible making reference to laid down rules and regulations and providing evidence to convince their listeners of the validity of their propositional content and seeking them to endorse their disalignment given the objective truth they present. This finding is upheld by Vukovic (2014) who avers that sounding convincing in order to convince is the strategy adopted by politicians in their quest to win over the electorate, to consolidate their position or win power. In political discourse, as a type of persuasive discourse, politicians are in the business of selling their products – their policies and their points of view, which they perceive as "truth" (Vukovic, 2014). The MPs, therefore, employ *ought to* convince others of the validity of the submissions they make.

However, the truth seems to be relative in both language and politics and even prone to scalar representation, as participants align and disalign based on the position they choose depending on their political, moral, and social values, hence, in most cases, colleagues remain unconvinced no matter the 'truth' presented by their fellows. A typical example of participants' reaction, sometimes, to strong arguments is found below:

362. Mr Speaker, **I am not yet convinced**, **much less persuaded by the force of the argument** that she has offered. So *perhaps*, she needs to do a better job than she has done. *Maybe*, she *could* carry the rest of us

along. **So far, I remain unconvinced** and unpersuaded by the arguments. (1-11-2016).

To this end, I am of the position that modality and the choice of a modal verb can be conditioned in parliamentary debates by the topic under discussion on the floor of parliament. Also, the MPs on the floor of parliament may choose to align/disalign in given motions based on their ideologies.

Epistemic Modality and High-Value Modals-Disalignment

Apart from expressing strong deontic modality, the MPs also employ the high-value modals to express strong epistemic modality showing their level of knowledge in some matters and this informs their alignment. In the extract below, the speaker expresses his uncertainty about some actions and makes predictions from an external perspective about what his opponents could have possibly done to jeopardise his party:

363. This **must have been** told to the people of Ghana. The steps have been taken already. If this Government says to the people of Ghana that the foundation that has been laid by the NDC is a prudent one and will be continued, we accept that. But they must understand that this is not a problem that was created solely by the NDC. (23-2-2017).

In the example above, the speaker expresses concerns about certain actions that could have been taken by opponents to jeopardise his party's image before the citizenry, as seen in the expression, 'This **must have been** told to the people of Ghana.'

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Median Value Modals and Alignment

Median value modals are used from either internal or external point of view to persuade for either alignment or disalignment when a consensus is needed in taking certain decisions. Usually, the median value modals, when expressed from internal point of view are meant to align whereas those expressed from external point of view show disalignment with certain topics or opposing arguments.

Internal Point of View and Median-Value Modals-Alignment

Modals *would* and *will* are classified as median value modals in the categorization of modals (Halliday 1985). *Will* and *would* are used similarly in expressing modality and point of view in the data. From the data, the median value modals are used more with expressions of deontic directives than with the other modals. The MPs use them as hedging devices to mitigate the force in deontic directives to gain acceptance for their views. They use them as persuasive/manipulative strategies to convince members to perform certain duties they feel are their responsibility to perform.

The median value modals are, therefore, used to tone down the force of the directives in order to win the support of colleagues and even convince the electorate into aligning with the views of the speaker. In the view of participants, they see the audience as the beneficiaries of the debates. They, therefore, engage in what Taylor (2009) refers to as persuasive battle of narratives; a battle of competing worlds configured in each debater's talk meant to convince others to accept the speaker's point of view.

The use of median value modals with deontic modals meant to persuade usually reflects the speaker's political, social or moral values which

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he seeks others and even opponents to agree with. Hence, when expressed from internal point of view, the speaker seeks alignment through a more careful language especially with the use of *would*. When this happens, it makes the submission appear more of a suggestion than an obligation so as to gain the involvement of all towards actualising the action to be performed. The following illustrate the point:

364. Mr Speaker, ***I would want to urge*** my Hon Colleagues that, Parliament *should* not be seen as compelling TOR to conclude the sale of shares in thirty days. Thirty days? Please, this is too dangerous and ***I would want to urge*** Hon Members on both Sides that, the best way is to step this down and let them do all the work.

365. Mr Speaker, the Ministry would want to do a few things and **I would urge** the House to support us. This is because, without you, there is nothing that we could do. (23-3-2017)

366. We **would want to urge** the Ministry of Finance to support the Local Government Service to enable it have the complement of staff to work for local government in Ghana. (22-2-17).

367. Mr Speaker, **I would urge** my Hon Friend- if the Hon Minister is in agreement with that-so that we can move forward and agree to have an ECG that we all would want to see.

From Examples 364-368, the use of *would* tones down the force of the deontic lexical verb, *urge* as the speakers reflect their political, social and moral values. When expressed from an internal point of view as seen in the use of the first-person pronouns, I and we, the speakers seek alignment through a more careful language.

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The issue of alignment is very important in taking certain unanimous decisions in parliament. Members, therefore, very often seek alignment through any means possible to have their views accepted such as the sale of shares by Tema Oil Refinery (TOR) expressed in example 364, the collaboration of parliament is required as seen in the expression, 'Parliament *should* not be seen as compelling TOR to conclude the sale of shares in thirty days.' In Example 365, the collaboration of parliament is also needed for ministries to function efficiently; in Example 366, the support of the Ministry of Finance is needed to keep local governments running; and, in Example 367, there is the need for parliament to collaborate and support Electricity Company of Ghana (ECG). From the speakers' internal point of view, these are matters that require urgency, given the choice of high deontic lexical verbs *urge* and the deontic modal *should* but the participants chose to express them tentatively through the use of median value modal *would,* giving the impression that even though those matters require urgent attention, they would have to be tactful to gain the collaborative support of all those responsible as expressed in Example, 365, 'without you, there is nothing that we could do.'

The data above indicates that the median value modals are employed as polite devices to subtly persuade others to endorse the speakers' internal point of view as expressed with the use of 'I' and 'we' on very important issues and demand consensus building. This finding confirms Chilton's (2004) assertion that in liberal democracies, dominant discourse is said to be achieved through a process of consensus building, and those that govern are accountable to the governed who, through periodic elections, retain the power

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to replace them. There is, therefore, usually the need to encourage participants to share in the values of speakers in order to achieve consensus.

The prefixing of lexical verbs with modals *would* and *will* seems to be a feature in parliamentary discourse in Ghana from the data. But as observed earlier in chapter four that this trend could stem from the MPs' cultural orientation, beyond the cultural factor, the MPs deliberately prefix deontic directives with the median value modals from an internal point of view to subtly persuade the addressees into accepting their ideologies and by far, for the purpose of alignment and consensus building. They often seek to persuade others to align with their views when the topic under discussion falls within their core values.

External Point of View and Median-Value Modals-Disalignment

Unlike internal point of view, where *would* and *will* are used to persuade and align for consensus building, the use of *would* and *will* expressing external point of view are rather used tentatively to disalign. In the course of disaligning, members employ the median value modals as down toners to tone down the directives and somewhat subtly disalign. In such instances, participants engage in what Martin and White (2005) refer to as 'solidarity'. In their view, solidarity does not only consist of alignment/disalignment but recognising the diversity of viewpoints as valid and one is prepared to engage with those who hold to a different position by trying to be humane in expressing their disagreements.

The median value modals are, therefore, expressed with deontic modals that intend to direct and regulate behaviour while mitigating the force of the directives that disalign. Thus, from my observation, median *would*

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serves a useful device for tolerance of alternative viewpoints. This, coupled with the fact that members can always be interrupted by others who rise on a point of order, MPs are selective in their choice of words. They do that in order not to appear hostile in the submission of their views towards others as parliamentary discourse is guided by rules that encourage one to be polite and civil in one's utterances.

Modal *would* is often used in the debates as a mitigating device when the MPs deploy strong deontic modals to show their displeasure of opponents views, attitudes/actions and to show disalignment**.** Modal *would* is, therefore, used as down toner to mitigate the force of the disalignmment. The following examples illustrate the point:

368. He has rightly quoted what H. E. the President said with regard to the debt stock and he goes further to say that, that is inaccurate. *It is expected* that in saying the fact as provided in this document, is inaccurate, **he would** have another evidence to support the statement. [Uproar.] Mr Speaker, he is only arguing and claiming that means of computation and all that are wrong, but it is important that once he says that someone's set of facts is not correct, **he would** immediately quote a source which he believes is more accurate. *I believe* it is only fair. (23-2-2017)

369. I also *wish* to indicate that in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) outlook, the **President would** benefit from a Government that has laid foundations. Those foundations are acknowledged by the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and all financial markets that Ghana's growth outlook for 2017 is going to be in the region of 7 to 8

per cent. That obviously is a great time to take over Government as a result of the great job that had been done by the previous Government. So, **it would** be good to let the *President* understand that even though he is in a hurry, that hurry *must* begin by acknowledging that, a solid foundation has been laid for him that is supposed to help him move his race on. (23-2-2017).

370. He *should* give us an indication of how much **they would** allocate to the Commission, taking into account, that GH¢20 million and what **would** go to Ghana AIDS Commission and other State institutions, which are in the position to receive donor inflows, so that we would know the real picture of the State. (23-3-17).

In the extracts (368-170) above, the median value modal *would* coupled with other hedging devices: *wish, believe* used in the extracts serve to mitigate the force in the propositions expressed by the strong deontic directives, *it is expected that.., that hurry must begin by acknowledging…* "*he should give…,* are meant to disalign but with some decorum. Median *would* and those other hedging devices are used to tone down the deontic directives, directing the addressees of appropriate behaviour.

The extracts are all expressed from an external point of view, as seen with the third person pronouns: *he, the president*, *it* and *they* in Examples 368-170 respectively. These external devices are used to evade personal responsibility and present the action as solely the responsibility of others but not the speakers. Even though some of the speeches are directed to the president, as seen in Example 369, the speaker chose strong deontic modals to express his/her displeasure and to direct the president of appropriate behaviour

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because he/she sees the president as a political opponent. However, he makes use of median value *would* to tone down the directives in his/her quest to disalign with the opposing side.

It also seems to me the directives conveyed with median value modals above illustrate an attempt to mask the hostility and contempt of the speakers towards those they address. Since the rules of parliamentary discourse encourage politeness and being civil in utterances and members can always be interrupted by others who rise on a point of order, the MPs become thoughtful and charitable in reprimanding others and this results in the use of the median values with the deontic directives in the utterances even when they are meant to disalign with perceived opponent views.

Very clear cases of disalignment are usually when members invoke a point of order to counter opponents' views when they see that such views are detrimental to their image or their party's image. In such submissions, they usually deploy strong deontic modals to counter such allegations. They, however, do so with decorum to gain a good public image of themselves by employing mitigating devices like the commonly used *would*. Consider the following examples:

371. Mr Ricketts-Hagan: *We would have thought* that H. E. the President's coming here, **would** have tried to somehow put that ambiguity to rest. But he did not do any of that. Considering that free SHS will be one of the biggest expenditure items in our Budget Statements for the next many years to come, **one would** have thought that someone like the **President would** give us a direction where that **would be** funded from.

372. We are talking about over GH¢2 billion every year based on 140,000

    students in school today; and these are conservative estimates. **One**

    would have thought that someone like the President-(23-2-2017)

373. Mr Emmanuel Akwasi Gyamfi: On a point of order. Thank you, Mr

    Speaker. The point my Hon Colleague raising is not relevant to the

    State of the Nation Address that we are debating. Next week, the

    Minister for Finance **would be coming** to this House and the Budget

    Statement **would specify** where the funding of the free **SHS would**

    come from. After that, if we do not have any idea by then, that is

    where he can have so much to say about it. (23-2-2017)

Prefixing the submission, *we would have thought that…* in the first example,

clearly gives an indication that the speaker and his side of the house hold a

contrary view from the submission he seeks to counter. From his internal point

of view which he shares with members of his party as seen in the use of 'we'

the president should have come clear as to how he would fund his free SHS

programme which the minority had so wanted to hear. The speaker could have

been more straightforward with the submission without prefixing it with

'would' but he chose to do that perhaps looking at his addressee, the president.

The speaker's constant choice of a passive language, *one would have*, in the

submissions shows a conscious effort to hedge and to have his views accepted

by all members of the house. Nonetheless, his views were countered by a point

of order from the opposing side but with some decorum as well through the

use of the same modal, *would*.

However, the median value modals expressed from internal point of

view can also disalign depending on the context of use. From an internal

perspective, when members are dissatisfied with certain issues either from an ideological position or based on their level of knowledge about events, they may choose to disalign with some viewpoints of colleagues from an internal perspective. This to me is a more subtle way participants use to disalign and they mostly use the median modal *would* to appear tentative in the submissions while seeking to disalign. Consider the following examples:

374. Mr Speaker, the 16 cents is for the lifeline consumers and **I will** urge the Hon Member to go and re-check his facts and come back to this Honourable House. (23-2-17)

375. **I would** not just end where the committee ends, but **I would** want a forensic audit to be done on the claims made by the service providers. (22-3-2017)

376. I **will** just *want to remind* the President and our Hon Colleagues who do not seem to accept the suggestion by some of my senior Hon Colleagues here, who have already contributed to the debate, that this is not a debt that can only be attributed to the NDC. (23-2-17)

The use of *would* and *will* with the expressions in Example 374 '…urge the Hon Member to go and re-check his facts', Example 375 'want a forensic audit', and Example 376 '*want to remind* the President and our Hon Colleagues who do not seem to accept the suggestion' would have been face threatening without the employment of the median value modals. The use of *would* and *will* are, therefore, meant to mitigate the force of the directives in those expressions. All the uses of **would** and **will** in the extracts above show when a participant is registering the displeasure of their group concerning certain issues. In such cases, the submission could be expressed from an

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internal point of view as seen in the use of first-person pronoun 'I' which indicates an internal perspective but meant to disalign. This is often subtly done through the use of median modal *would*. However, when the image of the party is at stake *will* which is more forthright than *would* is preferred at registering the displeasure and disalignment, as in Example 376 above.

On the other hand, when the median value modals are expressed from external point of view meant to inform, they serve as alignment strategies than disalignment. Usually, such expressions appear in the form of reports, reporting certain views a speaker seems to align with and seek others to endorse his shared values. This usually happens when members choose to reason with others on certain crucial matters. Even though they may speak from an external perspective, in this sense, such a perspective is geared towards aligning than disaligning in order to get certain tasks accomplished. Such reports are usually committee reports which fall within the speaker's core values. The following clarify the point:

377. In fact, they even explained it to which we all agreed that the respective deputy chief executive officers **will** then have directors responsible for various functions under them, which then work towards them, and the two work towards the chief executive. (1-11-16).

378. So, Mr Speaker, it promises to be a very busy year for the Ministry. They **would** also consider moving from the current two-day bar code biometric passport, which we use, to a chip embedded biometric passport which the Foreign Minister indicated that, they **would** work on in consonance with the International Civil Aviation Organisation

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(ICAO) standards in terms of best practice for this chip embedded biometric passports. So, the Committee is all right so far with the programme for the year, and we are in support of the commitments that have been made by the Foreign Ministry, except to say that the cut in IGF for the Ministry **would** seriously have to be looked at. (23-3-2017)

379. We all hope that, when capacities are built, it is expected that they **would** do what is expected for us to generate revenue. That is why I believe that inasmuch as they **would** want to build the capacities of all the LGS staff by taking them through Act 936, which encompasses all the work that is done at the local level, it is something that we must all support. This is one area which I am happy, that once their Budget Estimates are approved, they **would** take a look at. (22-3-2017)

From the examples above, the use of the third-person subjects with the median value modals *would* and *will* in Example 377, '..the respective deputy chief executive officers **will…',** **378, '**They **would** also consider moving' and in Example 379, 'they **would** do what is expected for us to generate revenue' are meant to inform the actions and values of others the speakers seem to support.

Even though they are expressed from an external point of view as seen in the use of the third-person subjects, 'Deputy Chief Executive Officers' and 'they' in Examples 377-379 respectively, the speakers share in the view point of the source they are reporting and use median value **would** to subtly seek the consensus of others towards aligning with their community of shared values.

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Low Value Modals and Alignment

Modality is associated with degrees or values ranging from high to low. These levels of degrees determine a speaker's commitment towards the proposition or promises he/she makes. The use of low value modals in the debates is much less than those with high or median values. This observation finds support in Simon-Vandenbergen (1997) who reports that in political discourse, politicians use more high-value modals to advance their arguments than low value ones. However, the low value modals also have their distinctive meanings and functions with regard to alignment. The low value modals show participants' peripheral or marginal values.

They are also used to persuade and show doubt or cynicism based on the speaker's level of knowledge. Based on a speaker's value position or knowledge of events, they choose low values to align or disalign. When the low values are expressed from internal point of view, they are often used to show alignment with some actions or points of view and to persuade others to align with the speaker's values. When they are expressed from external point of view, the participants usually appear cynical and express their doubts on certain actions or viewpoints of others and show their disalignment with them when they either do not support those actions or views, or when they simply lack knowledge in those areas.

Internal Point of View and Low Value Modals-Alignment

When submissions are made from an internal point of view with low value modals, the speakers usually present themselves as less strongly aligned with the value position being advanced and thereby locate themselves with respect to some community of shared values and beliefs.

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In the debates, two basic types of observations have been made with regard to the use of the low value modals from internal point of view; the low value modals are either used to support the view stance of others whose point of view the speaker shares, or are employed by the MPs from an internal perspective to persuade others to join in their line of thinking. The extracts below show the speakers aligning with the values of others and also encouraging others to support their position:

380. I am happy that the LGS staff secretariat is proposing that they would review all these conditions, and therefore, most of the resultant agitations **may not** even appear as it were. (23-3-2017)

381. Mr Speaker, *probably*, we should increase the 17 years to 20 years. This is because *he thinks* that in five years, they **may not** be able to pay. Mr Speaker, *I think* that he has a very relevant point there. (1-11-2016)

382. Mr Speaker, *hopefully*, with the private sector setting of efficiency and effectiveness, they **may be** able to respond to the challenge. Indeed, it is a good thing as Papa Owusu-Ankomah said, that Government organisations like the ECG should no longer be given free money. They should prove that they can pay back the money. (1-11-2016)

In the submissions above, the speakers adopt low value modals to align with views that they support. Such positions are not their own points of view but from an internal perspective, they seem to see sense in what is proposed by others. Although they lack the certainty to strongly support such views as seen in the use of the low value modals in examples 380-382 above *may not*, *may be* and this uncertainty is even intensified by the modal adverbs of uncertainty,

probably and *hopefully*, in Examples 381 and 382 respectively, the speakers still show alignment because such proposals align with their values.

Also, in spite of the uncertainty regarding the propositions they support, speakers still want to align with such views with the hope that something good comes out of it as seen in the use of the modal adverb *hopefully* in Example 382 though with some level of uncertainty as seen in the use of the modal elements *may be* showing tentativeness while seeking to encourage others to also align with the position he supports. Speakers often offer this type of alignment when some proposals align with their values.

Aside offering alignment, the same examples above are also embedded with connotations of persuasion. The low value modals are, therefore, not only used to support the view stance of others, but the MPs also employ them from an internal perspective to encourage others to join in their line of thinking and to align with the values of those they support bearing in mind that the main goal they have as politicians is audience's persuasion.

Yet another observation is that, in order to keep up with the conventions of parliament, some MPs choose weak modals to convey their points of view and seek alignment rather with decorum than appearing harsh through the use of strong deontic modals. They therefore more often than not employ the low value modals which make their speech appear somewhat tentative while subtly seeking alignment for their views. The following are some examples:

383. Mr Kyei-Mensah-Bonsu: Mr Speaker, given the various decisions that have been canvased, *I thought* **maybe**, the appropriate thing to do was to look for some direction from the Hon Minister for Finance as to

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whether **maybe**, the Ministry is going to stall further consideration or merely to say that we have listened to the argument. (1-11-2016)

384. Mr Woyome: Mr Speaker, **may** I refer you to the headnote which we amended so that my Hon Colleagues **could** advert their minds to it? We actually amended the "Scheme" to "Authority", which was the first amendment that was moved. (1-11-2016)

In the submissions above, there is the rich use of low value modals expressing tentativeness. In Example 383, such expressions as *I thought* **maybe, '**whether **maybe'**, and in Example 384, the expression, 'may I refer you… so that my Hon Colleagues **could** advert their minds to it?' are all meant to tentatively express the views of the speakers and to subtly seek others to align with them. In such expressions, the MPs choose the weak modals to convey their points of view and seek alignment with decorum rather than appearing harsh.

Low Value Modals-Disalignment

In the debates, when the low value modals are employed from an external perspective, they are usually meant to show disalignment. The choice of such modals with an external perspective presents a speaker as less strongly disaligned with the value position being advanced by members who belong to the other side whose values the speaker does not seem to share and, hence, are unpersuaded to accept those views. The modals of low value are, therefore, often adopted to express those unwelcome negative values or proposals from opponents and to disalign with their value positions. This observation also finds support in Simon-Vandenbergen (1997) regarding the use of modals in political discourse. The following illustrate the point:

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385. Mr Speaker, so there are many salient issues that are still outstanding which would need clear explanations. As of now, the Hon Deputy Minister is trying to convince us. I am not yet convinced, much less persuaded by the force of the argument that she has offered. So *perhaps*, she needs to do a better job than she has done. **Maybe**, *she could* carry the rest of us along. So far, I remain unconvinced and unpersuaded by the arguments. (1-11-2016)

386. Mr Speaker, we have had suggestions to the effect that let us look at bringing the time of payment from 17 years to 20 years. In the first place, why 17 years and not the 25 years? And why propose 20 years now? It **could** *not be* from the top of anybody's head. There should be a justification for that. Let it be explained to us, if we have to buy into this idea. *If it* **could** go to 20 years, then why not 22 years or 23 years? (1-11-2016).

387. Mr Speaker, if that is about convenience, we would find difficulty carrying television people to follow committees. What about if three or four committees are meeting simultaneously at various locations? So, in my opinion, *although the idea* **might** be alright, it would still be very difficult to implement. (23-3-2017)

From Examples 385-387 above, members adopt the low value modals to show tolerance for each other's views. Even though they disagree with those views, they subtly disalign with them. The low value modals are employed to gently disalign with opposing views even when members decide to be unconvinced and unpersuaded of certain arguments advanced by opponents as in Example 385 above where the speaker makes rich use of weaker modality as in the use

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of perhaps, maybe and could to gently show his/her disapproval of some opposing states emphatically 'I remain unconvinced and unpersuaded by the arguments.'

Although the use of the expressions in Example 385, *maybe, she could, perhaps,* in Example 386 *It could not be, If it could go to,* and in 387, *although the idea might...* rather sound more like suggestions than disagreement when expressed from an external perspective, they are meant to gently disalign with arguments of others. In such usage, the speakers believe that they do not need to be loud to show their disagreement given the convention in parliament house where members are expected to respect and tolerate divergent views.

As in the case of high and median values which recorded exceptional cases where internal point of view expresses disalignment and external point of view express alignment, the low value modals also recorded similar cases.

Exceptional Cases with Low Value Modals and Alignment

From the data, even though it has been established that the low value modals, when expressed from external point of view, are usually meant to show disalignment, and when expressed from internal point of view, they usually express alignment, in some cases, however, the low value modals when expressed from an external perspective sometimes may show alignment but rather weakly than disalignment. Participants do this when such actions seem to align with their ideologies. The following illustrate the point:

388. It is not adequate at all so if there is an opportunity for a mid-year review and there is a supplementary budget, *I advocate* that, we have

more allocation for the Ministry, so that **they could** carry on their planned activities. (22-3-2017)

389. Mr Speaker, if we really want to make sure that the Ghana Audit Service is independent, then let us allow them to use some of their savings as internally generated funds (IGFs) in order to push them forward. This is because if we want them to depend on the allocations that are given to them, **that might** not be enough to discharge their mandate for the year. (29-3-2017).

In Examples 388 and 389, the speakers are speaking from an external point of view but advocating the cause of others and seeking other MPs to endorse their concern for those they are advocating for. In the debates, when submissions are made from an external point of view meant to align rather than disalign, the participants usually have an interest in the issues at hand. The speakers, therefore, usually advocate the cause of those they support and seek others to endorse their views as well. The speakers make use of the first-person pronouns, *I* and *we* showing their interest in the work done by those agencies, in this case, *Ghana Audit Service*. The speaker sees the independence of this body to be crucial to the nation; hence, aligning with them and seeking the alignment of others in their favour.

Another exceptional case is when modal 'can' and 'could' are negated in expressing epistemic possibility. Even though such submissions are usually from an internal point of view, they are meant to show disalignment rather than alignment. The present tense negative form of *can* occurred significantly in the data expressing possibility. Palmer (1979, pp. 151-152) provides an account of what he terms "rational modality ", in which the speaker refers to

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states of affairs that they find quite unacceptable, unreasonable and for that matter, not possible. Besides the sense of "unreasonableness", this modality also suggests that the speaker is unwilling to accept some situation (Anicic n.d). The following exemplify the point:

390. We **cannot** continue to play the ostrich, especially with this critical matter. (27/1/2017)

391. I believe at the Committee level, they have scheduled their own meetings and of course, if there is no meeting, we **cannot** have a report from the Committee laid in the House. (27/1/2017)

392. We **cannot** begin on this note. It is not going to do the image of this House any good and it would inflict a mortal wound on all of us. (27/1/2017)

393. Mr Speaker, all over the world, any student of development would attest to the fact that without a solid foundation in agriculture, we **cannot** take off in industry. (24/2/2017)

394. Mr Speaker, when I read through the Report, I just **could not** believe that it is so unprofessionally done. How do they say that they have several 1,000 tons of sugar cane purchased? 3/11/16)

In all of the examples of rational modality, 390-394, the subject is in the first person which is indicative of an internal point of view. The formulation, 'we cannot' and 'we could not' in the submissions, with the choice of the first person plural pronominal serves as a means of building solidarity with likeminded persons, and a persuasive tool par excellence. Moreover, by associating the opponents with an unfavourable social situation, the speakers

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simultaneously distance themselves and their supporters from the contenders, thus explicitly exhibiting the trilogic nature of political debates.

The speakers employ this strategy to emphasise some negative aspects of their opponent's submissions in critical matters. This is not surprising, since in political discourse, participants main goal is to discredit policies that do not fall in line with their core values by denouncing them. Therefore, although the submissions are expressed from an internal point of view, they are meant to call for consensus in disaligning with opponents.

Modal Adjuncts and Alignment/Disalignment

The modal adjuncts were employed at varying degrees in expressing modality and point of view. Just as in the case of the modal auxiliaries, modal lexical verbs, modal adverbs, modal adjectives as well as modal nouns were exploited as tools for expressing participants' points of view and to show their alignment or disalignment on motions on the floor of parliament. Table 15 below illustrates the frequency of occurrence of the modal adjuncts expressing point of view and alignment:

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Table 17: Frequency of Modal Occurrence in Relation to Point of View and Alignment

Modals	Alignment internal	Disalignment external	Total
Modal Lexical Verbs	450	152	602
Modal adverbs	30	43	73
Modal adjectives	20	31	51
Modal nouns	5	4	9
Total	**505**	**230**	**735**

Source: Author (2021)

From Table 17, modal lexical verbs were employed more in expressing point of view and alignment. Also, just like the modal auxiliaries and alignment, participants aligned more from internal point of view than they disaligned from external point of view. The following is a detailed discussion of how the afore-mentioned linguistic resources served as useful strategies to align and disalign in the debates.

Modal Lexical Verbs and Alignment

The modal lexical verbs used in the debate range from strong to weak. When certain topics of debate are in line with a participant's core values, they usually adopt strong modal lexical verbs to express their point of view and forcefully show their alignment and, in most cases, they also seek like-minded supporters to join in their line of thinking. In some other cases, they employ intermediate lexical verbs to express boulomaic desire in aligning with some topics that fall within their moral values.

On the other hand, when they do not have an interest or lack knowledge in some topic, they choose weaker modal lexical verbs to show

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their disinterest and disalign. The following are some strong lexical modals that show participants' alignment on some motions that fall within their core values. The use of such verbs shows the urgency in carrying out such actions and they also seek to direct the attitude of others towards aligning with their view points. The following are some examples:

395. *I believe* it is very smart for us to give the exemptions to TOR, to be in a position to give us a facility that would ensure continuity of petroleum products in the country. This is a very straightforward matter and so Mr Speaker; *I* **urge** Hon Members to support this Motion. (1-11-2016)

396. Mr Haruna Iddrisu: Mr Speaker, finally, when they are deploring, Dagbon, Yendi and Bawku must all be on red alert. What we **expect** is responsibility from Government that law and order would be maintained, safeguard properties and enforce the law. Nothing more. That is *our* **expectation** from Government on all these. But in areas where they have picked up early warnings — (22-2-2017)

397. (Alhaji Inusah A. B. Fuseini) (MP): Mr Speaker, *I beg to support* the Report of the Committee and **to urge** the House to approve the facility. I have listened to the Hon Minority Leader. This system is not the type called the stand-alone grids where solar systems are put on clinics, police stations or schools in remote areas. (1-11-2016)

398. Mr Speaker, on this note, *I* wish to support the amount stated for the Local Government Service and **urge** *our Hon Colleagues* to also vote massively in favour of it. (22-3-2017)

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All the above lexical modals show the position of the speakers; the topics under discussion fall within their ideologies. The speakers see the activities of 'TOR' and 'maintaining law and order in parts of the country that have chieftaincy disputes' as crucial matters to deal with as a nation. They, therefore, deploy high value deontic lexical modals from an internal point of view, 'I urge' 'we expect', 'this is our expectation' and a clear lexical modal of alignment, '*I support*' to boost their alignment. These modal choices justify the supposition that in the debates, the strong lexical verbs 'urge' and 'expect' are used to enhance the sense of urgency in accomplishing some tasks and coupled with the use of 'support', demonstrate that the speakers are emphatic about their alignment and they seek to encourage others to see the sense in what they are aligning. This finding confirms Chilton's (2004) assertion that in liberal democracies, the dominant discourse is said to be achieved through a process of consensus building, and those that govern are accountable to the governed who, through periodic elections, retain the power to replace them. There is, therefore, usually the need for shared values to achieve consensus.

Also, the use of the deontic directives, 'ensure' and 'make sure' reflects the participants' values about best practices that relate to issues of national interest. The use of these verbs from internal point of view reveals what actions should be taken by all including the speaker to achieve those best practices; hence, the use of first-person pronouns 'I' and inclusive 'we'. The strong modal markers are, therefore, usually, value-based modals and more or less reflect the speaker's political, social and moral values on the most important issues facing the citizens. The following are some examples of the

use of strong lexical verbs showing participants values about best practices that relate to issues of national interest:

399. Mr Speaker, I believe that, to **ensure** supervision of the MMDAs is properly carried out, the releases to the Local Government Service, particularly, should be on time. This is because, when we delay actions in the 216 MMDAs all across the country, we hurt the local areas more than the centre. So, even if we have problems about centralised units, let us give sufficient attention to those matters which have to do with our local areas. *This is because, those are really where development activities are felt by the entire citizenry of the country*. (22-3-2017)

400. We should all focus on working to **make sure** that, we maximise revenue for the Assembly and not for ourselves. I am prepared to stand for that any day. I can justify what I said, and I believe that it is important that *we accept things that are not right and make it a policy to right them for the benefit of the country*. (22-3-2017).

From the extracts, 399 and 400, the use of 'ensure', 'make sure' encode the force of the speaker's values (such as necessity/rightness) towards the actualization of actions. The speakers, therefore, call for consensus as evident in example 400, 'we should all…' and seek the alignment of others on issues of national interest, in this case, maximising revenue for district assemblies. Further, when the MPs use intermediate modal lexical verbs, they express a boulomaic desire towards the actualisation of some actions they deem are of national importance. They, therefore, pledge their support and align with such matters through lexical modals of desire. Members often do not only align but

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also persuade others to see the sense in what they are aligning. The following are some examples:

401. Mr Mustapha Ussif (NPP-Yagaba/ Kubori): Mr Speaker, under normal circumstances, a project that has to do with renewables should have been a straightforward project *everybody* **would support**. *I want to state clearly* that **I support** such projects as well.

402. So, Mr Speaker, with these few words, *I would* **want to encourage** Hon Members to support the approval of this amount for the Local Government Service, so that they would be able to execute their planned programmes successfully. (22-3-2017)

403. Mr Kwasi Amoako-Attah: Mr Speaker, *I would* **want to associate** myself with the rendition put forward by Hon W. O. Boafo. If we go by the rendition as given by the Hon Chairman, it looks as if the word "awareness" stands on its own but it cannot be isolated. We create awareness through or by something. (1-11-2016).

404. Mr Speaker, we accordingly **associate** ourselves that he should be approved by consensus. (23-1-2017).

405. Mr Speaker, **I believe that, we would all agree** that this budget is way too low. Given the fact that we all talked about the chieftaincy conflicts in our constituencies (22-3-2017).

406. **I agree** with you; I think that, that outside work should be looked at very carefully. It is ambiguous and it should not apply to innocent people who have got their job. We want somebody making millions of dollars to help us on a Commission but we say, if they engage in other work — It is not fair. (1-11-2016).

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All the above lexical modals show the desire of the speakers to see the actualisations of the proposals they make and support. These proposals involve 'renewable projects', 'approval of funds for local government services', 'approval of budgets for chieftaincy conflicts. The speakers see these as important matters that affect society and wish that all readily embrace and give their support. The speakers, therefore, employ clear lexical modals that show their desire and alignment, as in, *I support, I associate, I wish, I want*, showing a boulomaic desire to show alignment. This desire to align is intensified with the modal adverb 'clearly' in the submission '*I* **want** *to state clearly* that **I support** such projects…' serves to boost the alignment. I, however, see all these as political strategies used by the MPs to send signals to the electorate about how they have their interest at heart and how they so desire to serve them.

That notwithstanding, from my observation of the data, based on a speaker's desires and ideologies, certain modal choices are employed to align and to reject the views of others. A case in point is the submission:

407. Mr Kwasi Amoako-Attah: Mr Speaker, **I would want to associate** myself with the rendition put forward by Hon W. O. Boafo. *If we go by the rendition as given by the Hon Chairman, it looks as if the word "awareness" stands on its own but it cannot be isolated*. We create awareness through or by something. (1-11-2016).

Based on one's ideology, one could show alignment with some view point and disalign with another. Therefore, when certain topics of debate are in line with a speaker's ideology, the speaker makes use of strong deontic lexical modals and modals expressing boulomaic desire to encourage others to align with

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his/her views. The speaker persuades others to see the urgency in carrying out such task through the deontic modals and boulomaic modals.

Epistemic Lexical Verbs and Alignment

In the debates, participants align based on their level of knowledge of events and the urgency of those events and that knowledge informs their alignment or disalignment. The MPs choose strong epistemic lexical verbs to align when the issues under discussion are of national importance and urgency. Usually, such issues are already topics of public discussion and members try to align with such issues and portray themselves as interested in the actualisation of such actions. Participants, therefore, strongly align when they have a good knowledge in issues under discussion. The knowledge they have usually enables them to exercise the oversight function they have as members of parliament and this is usually evident in the choice of strong epistemic verbs such as 'know' showing speakers certainty of what they express. They, therefore, seek others to alignment with their views. The following illustrate the point:

408. **I know for a fact** that what is accounted for, would be used for official purposes, but what is not accounted for is a lot more than what is accounted for; many Hon *Members of Parliament know and could attest to that*. It is what is not accounted for, which is my issue. That is moneys collected but not accounted for, such that it does not go into their official record to do what it is supposed to do. The evidence abounds — The Auditor-General's Report and so on. (22-3-2017)

409. Mr Speaker, the Hon Member who raised this quorum issue spoke against it during the debate on the principles of the Bill. So,

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technically, **I know** he is against it and with the number that we have now, I plead with him to let us go on with the Consideration Stage for us to be able to pass the Right to Information Bill before this Sixth Parliament gets dissolved. Mr Speaker, that is my plea. (20-12-2016)

410. Secondly, Mr Speaker, *clearly* missing in the President's Address was a very important aspect of the energy sector. Mr Speaker, **we know** that in the next 10 years, what Ghana would use is not hydro; it is thermal power. (23-2-2017)

From the extracts, 408-410, as a result of some known facts, the speakers seek alignment for their points of view. Coupled with the known facts is the oversight function that the speakers know they have as MPs, to set things right. They, therefore, seek the alignment of all in the exercise of this function to get things done right. From the submissions, the speakers are emphatic about what they know from an internal perspective, as in 'I know for a fact' 'we know', clearly'. They used these lexical modals and the modal adverb to show certainty and confidence in the submissions they make and show their alignment with those issues and seek the support of others to endorse their points of view.

The knowledge participants, therefore, have in a debate, informs their alignment. I also believe the reason for the choice of the strong lexical modal 'know' signifying the speakers good knowledge of events and the use of the modal adverb 'clearly' intensifying the alignments results from the fact that all the issues under discussion, 'Unaccountability of Funds', 'the Passing of Right to Information Bill', and 'the Energy Sector' are obviously, areas of grave national importance, hence, participants have a good knowledge of them

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and therefore see no basis for argument. The speakers therefore deploy strong modals to align with those issues and seek the alignment of others towards dealing with the issues which are already topics of public discussion.

However, when the lexical verbs are negated by '**not**' used with internal point of view, the speakers in most cases disalign with opposing views, as seen below:

411. Mr Speaker, why are we now being called upon to exercise our financial oversight responsibilities over the waiver of taxes, when the issue which underpins those taxes have never been before this House? **We do not know** what the details of whatever utility tariffs would be; we have never had the opportunity to discuss and debate those issues, and **we do not know** whether if we issue the tax waiver now, consumers would be issued with refunds of the utilities that we have already paid for. (22-12-2016)

412. In subclause (1), we have made a distinction between Legislation, Regulations and practices to be aligned to the Act. And when you come to subclause (2), we relate only to Legislation, leaving out Regulations. As for practices, **I do not know** what we would do to that. *I thought* that we should capture, at least, the Regulations in subclause (2) as well.

From Examples 411 and 412 above, even though the submissions are made from an internal point of view, expressed with first person pronouns 'we, I,' the speakers sound more uncertain regarding the issues under discussion showing their disapproval. It also seems that the MPs simply, tactfully wish to disalign and so employ lexical epistemic modals to raise doubts in some

propositions made by colleagues, as in '**I do not know** *what we would do to that*', '**we do not know** *whether...*' They, therefore, express their uncertainty regarding those issues and then disalign with the opposing views from an internal perspective as evident in '*I thought*'.

Modal Lexical Verbs and Disalignment

From the debates, when strong deontic lexical verbs are expressed from external point of view, they are often meant to disalign with the views of others. These verbs are often meant to direct and regulate the behaviour of others. This happens when MPs feel that others are not living to expectation in matters of relevance. They try to regulate their behaviour through deontic directives. In so doing, they usually adopt an external point of view to express their disapproval of their actions and disalign with them:

413. So, nobody is saying that Government should shut down. All that is **required** is for a complete determination to be made in respect of the developments before 7th November and projections for developments between 7th November, 2016 and 6th January 2017. That is all I am saying and he as the Leader of Government Business, should have been in the position to inform us that, as per the handing-over notes, these are matters of relevance that *must* be transacted in this House. [Interruption.] (20-12-2016).

414. He has rightly quoted what H. E. the President said with regard to the debt stock and he goes further to say that, that is inaccurate. It is **expected** that in saying the fact as provided in this document, is inaccurate, he would have another evidence to support the statement. [Uproar.] Mr Speaker, he is only arguing and claiming that that means

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of computation and all that are wrong, but it is important that once he says that someone's set of facts is not correct, he would immediately quote a source which he believes is more accurate. I believe it is only fair. (23-2-2017).

415. Mr Speaker, I only want to draw the attention of the House to that error. [Interruption]-They have seen it and **they know** what I talked about. (27-3-2017).

Example 415, however, expresses strong epistemic modality from an external point of view also meant to disalign. In the submission, the speaker expresses a high level of confidence based on some known facts and then shows his disalignment.

Sometimes, however, members do not only disalign from an external point of view but they can also disalign from an internal perspective through strong lexical modals based on some personal knowledge or experiences showing their disapproval of some opposing views. Such disalignment may show a group's dissatisfaction with some action. The following illustrates the point:

416. Mr Forson: Mr Speaker, also for the records, I was the Alternate Governor for the IMF between 2013 and 2016. Let me also say that since *those of us in the Minority* are not aware that the IMF has come for a review, **I cannot agree** that these performance criteria have indeed been met. Mr Speaker, I would also like to refer you to paragraph 4- (23-2-2016)

Low Value Lexical Modals and Alignment

As established earlier, the modal lexical verbs range from strong to weak. Based on a speaker's perspective, certain modal choices may be made. The low-value lexical modals usually show cynicism and are used by participants to disalign. When expressed from an external point of view, they show doubt and uncertainty on the part of speakers towards the actions or propositions made by others. In such usage, the speakers usually take a view position outside the point of view of their opponents and disalign with those points of view. Members usually use these verbs to question the sense/importance of some actions or submissions made by some participants whose point of view they do not share. The following illustrate the point:

417. Mr Speaker, the former Deputy Minister for the Interior said that it was caused by an explosive. I am **wondering** what distance it was between the place where the explosives were kept and the gas station, that this disaster should occur. (27/1/2017)

418. Airport infrastructure is highly capital intensive and can only be done through retained earnings. It would therefore, **seem** inequitable to tax the same earnings which are being used to fund the provision of international and domestic airport infrastructure on behalf of the Central Government. (3-11-2016)

From the above, the use of **wondering** in Example 417 shows doubt and uncertainty on the part of the speaker towards the proposition made by another speaker regarding the distance between some explosives and a gas filling station leading to some disaster. With the use of the modal element, 'wondering', the speaker questions the sense in such justification for the

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disaster, hence, shows disalignment with the opponent's submission. Also, the use of **seem** expressed from an external perspective '**it** would seem inequitable' in Example 418 shows disalighnment with opposing views as the speaker seems to disagree with such actions.

Modal Adverbs and Alignment

The modal adverbs are expressed more from external point of view than internal point of view. When expressed from external point of view, they often function as boosters to emphasise the speaker's level of knowledge and to express disapproval of some actions, and to disalign with those actions. The following illustrate the point:

419. Mr Speaker, the promises to the Ghanaian people were, however, not kept. In fact, virtually all the targets under the IMF programme, as at December 2016, have been missed. Fiscal indiscipline, once again, reared its head in the 2016 election year." (Mr Speaker, I beg to say that this statement cannot be accurate. I say this **obviously** for the reason that in the last Administration, I was at the Ministry of Finance as an Hon Deputy Minister. (23-2-2017).

420. Then on unplanned procurements-His Excellency President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo said that he would get that done away with. Mr Speaker, this means that they would use planned procurement. Why? On the solution side, we have seen 43 Power Purchase Agreements signed with some 23 in discussion. This c**learly** points to a lack of planning because we could always project what we would demand in the next couple of years and looking at the demand growth, plan energy requirements to meet it. (23-2-2017)

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421. Mr Kyei-Mensah-Bonsu: Mr Speaker, I am happy that the Hon Minister has given this information. Of course, the proper thing ought to have been that, after touching on this, then together he will lead us, because he is still the Hon Minister for Finance. **Certainly**, he will be coming to the House with these requests but then it should include the fact that it has been cleared with the Presidential Transition Team. (20-12-2016).

422. Secondly, Mr Speaker, **clearly** missing in the President's Address was a very important aspect of the energy sector. Mr Speaker, we know that in the next 10 years, what Ghana would use is not hydro; it is thermal power. (23-2-2017).

From the data above, all the modal adverbs from example 419-422, 'obviously', 'clearly', and 'certainly' serve as emphasisers (Quirk et al. 1983, 583). They express strong epistemic modality reinforcing the truth value in the propositions made by the MPs to show their disalignment with some opposing views. The adverbs point to what 'the reality' is, as perceived by the speakers, and what I noticed is that they are mostly used when participants' perception of reality is opposite to that of the others. Hence, an external point of view is taken to disalign with opposing views. Their use presupposes a common ground that is undisputable and supposedly shared by all sides of the House, which comes in handy with alignment/disalignment in political discourse.

The participants chose those modal markers to convince others to see the truth in their submissions. However, according to Vukovic (2014), the "truth" seems to be relative in both language and politics. By choosing those strong modal adverbs to reinforce the truth they express, the MPs express a

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high degree of confidence and commitment to the truth of what they say hence, not only showing their disalignment of opposing views but also sounding convincing in order to convince others to support/align with their disalignment. Nonetheless, the modal adverbs are also used from an external point of view to show alignment. In such usage, the participants employ them as hedges to convince colleagues to align with their point of view concerning others whose worldviews they share, even though, the speakers may not be the beneficiaries. The following are some examples:

433. Mr First Deputy Speaker: I believe the Hon Member is speaking from experience. Those officers find their work so tight that they might not be able to attend any meeting. But if you give them the mandate to delegate somebody else to represent them, **probably** not below a certain rank, it would work. (1-11-2016)

434.**Clearly**, the Ministry would tread cautiously, so that it does not set targets that **it probably** cannot meet. (23-3-2017)

From the above extracts, the modal adjective, *probably* in Examples 433 and 434 is employed as a hedging device whereas *clearly* in Example 434 is employed as an evidential meant to convince colleagues to align with the point of view of the speakers.

Modal Adjectives and Alignment

In the debates, the modal adjective that is mostly employed from internal point of view for alignment is, *sure*. Usually, this adjective does not show the certainty of the speaker as its designated meaning but rather is used tentatively, showing some form of uncertainty on the part of the speaker. This is because in most cases, it is employed by the MPs with median and low-

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value modals as italicised in the extracts below and such usage tends to reduce the level of certainty and thereby its epistemic warrant reducing it from strong epistemic modality to a median value. Consider the following examples:

435. *I believe* that free SHS *would* benefit all of us as Ghanaians, irrespective of our political affiliation. So, we should all embrace it and see how it would work. We should support it and **I am sure** that *some of my Hon Colleagues at the Minority side of the House may even enjoy more than those of us on the Majority side of the House*. [Hear! Hear!] (24-2-2017).

436. It is of more information that Hon Members during their contributions have requested. **I am sure** that as the matter is being deferred, this information may be provided by Government, if available and that *would* help *clear doubts in the minds of Hon Members*, having regard to the issues raised during the course of the debate. (1-11-2016).

In Examples 435 and 436 above, the use of **sure**, a modal of certainty combined with the median value modal *would* and the lexical modal *believe* as well as a low value modal *may* expressed from an internal perspective, 'I' are meant to reduce the speakers' epistemic warrant and to persuade others even members of the opposition to act in the interest of the speaker as seen in Example 435 where the speaker seeks to persuade the Minority to accept his/her views. Usually, such views are a part of the speaker's party ideologies, as in the case of free SHS in Example 435 which is an ideology of the NNP party.

Modal Adjectives and Disalignment

When modal adjectives are used from an external point of view, they mostly express strong epistemic disalignment. Based on participants' knowledge of events, they usually express their disalignment using strong epistemic adjectives to convince others to support their point of view. For example:

437. Mr Kyei-Mensah-Bonsu: Mr Speaker, it is **clear** that the Hon Majority Leader situated his own contribution on a very wrong premise. I never raised a preliminary objection; I said preliminary observation. So, clearly, he chose not to listen to what I said. He did not hear and so, his own intervention is wrongly situated. Next time he should listen to me clearly. (20-12-2016).

438. Mr Forson: Mr Speaker, people might say it could be interpreted to mean that, because it has not been provided for, it cannot be done. But that construction is open-ended enough. If it had been insisted that we retain it, I would not want to fight it, otherwise, in my opinion, it is most **unnecessary**. (1-11-2016).

From Extracts 437 and 438 above, the modal adjectives 'clear' and 'unnecessary' are used as persuasive and manipulative devices to persuade others to accept the speaker's disalignment of opposing views. The use of the word 'clear' suggests no place for argument, therefore, persuading participants to accept the speaker's point of view. By using *unnecessary*, the speaker presupposes something is bad or unfavourable, therefore persuading the participants to avoid it. In this sense, the deontic modal embeds the speaker's political values (as part of their ideology) with regard to what kind of action is

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right and what is negative or unnecessary. For example, the *retaining of an open-ended construction* is treated as unnecessary and therefore disapproved by the speaker. Also, *The Majority Leader's contribution on a wrong premise* which is also obvious for all to see is disapproved of by the speaker, hence both speakers disalign with opposing views and seek disalignment in support of their views.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has looked at the type of point of view and modality that is used to align or disalign in debates on the floor of parliament. From the analysis, the high-value modals are used by the MPs from both internal and external point of view to advance party and personal core values (political, social, or moral values) and to align or disalign based on those values. They are also used to direct others to align or disalign with their viewpoints concerning designated actions that is, what is of necessity (rightness) while those of lower value show the speaker's peripheral or marginal values. In some cases, MPs from the Majority side adopt strong modals to support topics that fall within their party's promises to gain the trust of the electorate. On the other hand, median value modals are used from either internal or external point of view to persuade for either alignment or disalignment when a consensus is needed in taking certain decisions. In sum, in the debates, members align more than they disalign. This is because most of the topics they discuss are issues that affect the citizenry and demand collaborative support from both sides of the house and even members of the opposition would want the overhearing public to hear that they are standing up for them and are concerned about themThey do this in order to win the support of the

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electorate, both for their party and for themselves. They, therefore, offer their

support and align with such issues.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

Introduction

This chapter first provides a recapitulation of the aim of the study. Secondly, it provides a summary of the key findings from the analysis and discussion of the data in accordance with the research questions asked. Further, some implications of the study are presented, followed by recommendations for further studies.

Brief Recapitulation of the Aim of the Study

The aim of the study has been to investigate the role modality plays in reflecting underlying points of view in parliamentary discourse within the analytical framework of Simpson's (1993) version of modality and point of view and Halliday's (1985) conceptualisation of modal values. The objective has been to find out the type of point of view that is expressed using a particular modal element. The study also investigated how through modality and point of view participants bond around motions; how members align/disalign politically on the floor of parliament based on their points of view. The study also examined the recurrent modal elements in the debates.

Summary of Key Findings

The thesis was driven by four research questions (see Chapter 1). In what follows, I will briefly review the findings of the research concerning the research questions outlined in Chapter 1.

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Research Question 1:

What modals are predominantly used to express modality and point of view in parliamentary discourse?

Would occurred as the highest with a frequency of 32.3% in the debates. It is more frequent in expressions of deontic directives, epistemic predictions, intention, and request.

From the data, *would* expresses deontic directives with both deontic modal auxiliaries and deontic modal lexical verbs. Such submissions are mostly tentatively expressed. It is observed in the data that *would* is used to express tentative meanings more than any other meanings in the parliament of Ghana. This could be as a result of the fact that the business of parliament requires tactful communication of one's point of view. To make directives more acceptable and to make the speakers appear not to be forcing their views on peers, the directives with *would* were tentative rather than forceful. Modal *will* which is reported in many studies in the literature to be interchangeable with *would* occurred as the third highest with a frequency of 9.82% in the parliamentary data after modal *should*. *Will* is found similarly as *would* in expressions of deontic directives, toning down the force of directives in the debates with the view of making them more acceptable to peers.

The only difference is that *will* appears more forthright with the directives than *would*. It also appears more forthright in making request than *would*. However, in terms of predictions and intentions, it conveys a similar sense as *would* in the data. Another reason for the frequent use of *would* in the debates is that the MPs dexterously use modal *would* combined with boulomaic lexical verbs, 'want', 'like', and 'wish' to express desires and to

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make requests on issues of relevance. Such linguistic choices are often intended to make the speaker appear polite to get desired results. In such requests, the speaker is either desirous of getting some information or getting certain things done. The use of *would* with lexical verbs expressing politeness corroborates the findings of Sarfo-Kantankah (2022) that *would* is used as a hedging strategy that reduces imposition and shows politeness.

Another reasonthat accounts for the preferred choice of *would* in expressions of deontic directives and request is that, in Ghana, it is a cultural requirement for one to be polite in making strong propositions and making request. The predominant use of *would* with most of the deontic directives and requests could therefore stem from the cultural orientation of participants to make their submissions culturally acceptable.

Modal *should* records the second highest with a frequency count of 16% whereas *ought to* occurred the least in the data with a frequency of 0.46%. What I found interesting was the least occurrence of *ought to* when in the literature *ought to* and *should* convey similar senses of modality except in a few cases where there are dissimilarities. *Should* and *ought to* both express the traditional functions of obligation, necessity, and moral suggestions and offer advice in the debates. The two modals also express more objectivity with an external perspective meant to show detachment than they express internal point of view showing involvement. Again, they both express consensus through the use of plural personal subjects, 'we'. Nonetheless, the only point of divergence is that *should* is used in more argumentative expressions than *ought to*. This finds support in Archakis and Tsakona (2010) who find parliamentary discourse as predominantly argumentative. Hence, this could be

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a justification that *should*, a modal of argumentation, is frequently used in the debates. However, given the overwhelming similarities between *should* and *ought to,* one would **not** have expected such a large margin between the two modals.

I am, therefore, of the opinion that there are no significant pragmatic reasons for the minimal use of *ought to* and the overuse of *should* which is more or less similar to *ought to*. The only reason I find in the data is that *ought to* is specialised or restricted to some sensitive topics, such as issues relating to the use of *state funds, enactment and promulgation of laws*. Perhaps, from the point of view of the participants, *ought to* expresses a stronger obligation than *should.* I am therefore tempted to draw the conclusion that in parliamentary debates, certain modals are preferred or are restricted to certain topics of discussion. This then leads to the overuse and specialisation of others. It also seems that from the MPs' perspective, they consider *ought to* a very strong modal to use on colleagues as in the literature scholars are divided between the modal strength of *ought to* and *should.*

For instance, there is the general view from introductory grammars and traditional notion Eastwood (2005) and Swan (2005) that *ought to* is more objective, for that matter more appropriate in laws, duties and regulations. Therefore, it seems to me, based on the educational and cultural orientation of the MPs, they find *ought to* too strong a modal to use on colleagues. These nuances then lead to what Frimpong (2007) terms as semantic extension and narrowing of modal auxiliaries. From the data, *Should* is widened in scope than *ought to* in the debates that have been analysed even though grammatically and semantically, they perform similar functions. *Ought to*

seems to gain a restricted use in the debates just as in the case of *shall* reported in many studies. This finding supports Coates and Leech (1980) who conclude in their study of American English that *ought to* and *shall* are becoming rare and obsolescent and their main senses expressed by *should* and *will* respectively.

With regard to the modal lexical verbs analysed in the debates, they are mostly employed as emphasisers either to express a sense of urgency or to show a high sense of validity in propositions participants make, as politicians make strenuous efforts to convince others even though in some cases, they are unable to. Commonly used emphasisers in the debates are *I know, I think, I believe*. Also, as emphasisers, they serve a useful tool for audience's persuasion. The highest occurring lexical modal in the debates is *want*. It is used in the debates to either express a boulomaic desire or to make demands. In making demands, it is usually expressed with modal *would* in order for the speaker to appear polite with the demands. However, lexical modals of perception occurred the least even though they were marshalled by MPs as visual evidence in order to convince others of the factuality in the submissions that they make.

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Research Question 2:

How is one's point of view revealed with the use of a particular modal expression in the debate?

The modal elements that are considered in this study have been categorised under high, median, and low values according to the categorisation of modals into values by Halliday (1985) and analysed using Simpson's (1993) model of modality and point of view. On the one hand, the functional linguistic perspective (the theory of modal value in SFL) helps us analyse the pragmatic functions of the parliamentary debates. On the other hand, the adoption of Simpson's model of modality and point of view enables us to reveal the debaters' point of view regarding submissions they make with modal operators. The combination enables us to reveal the speaker's conceptualization process of discourse production in terms of persuasion or manipulation.

Based on the MPs' psychological point of view, some topics are perceived as more sensitive and demand more urgent attention than others, hence, there is a cline of modal expressions from high to low values in the debates. The high-value modals express both deontic and epistemic modality in the data. They function as epistemic modals to indicate one's level of knowledge as regards a proposition and when used as deontic modals, they perform the function of directives; used as strategies through which speakers direct the behaviour of addressees.

All the modal values in the debates are found to express both internal and external point of view depending on the speakers' core values concerning an issue. The high-value deontic modals, when expressed from internal point

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of view, function as an incentive toward an action. They express a sense of urgency and are used in compelling fellow MPs and addressees including the speaking self to perform certain tasks deemed to be their responsibility. In some cases, the high-value deontic modals are used to direct addressees towards some irresistible acts that the speech maker perceives as critical national interest which demands the cooperation of all. Parliamentarians employ the strategy of marshalling high-value deontic modals to achieve a sense of urgency, which is reasonable since the goal of debaters is to either stay in power or gain power with their parties.

In such submissions, the MPs employ inclusive *we*, which is indicative of internal point of view as a means to impose their perspective as a collective reference point, which undoubtedly has a persuasive and homogenising potential. On the other hand, when deontic modality is expressed from an external point of view, it is usually intended to regulate the conduct of others. The employment of deontic modality from external point of view in the debates can be interpreted as strategic choices to evade personal responsibility. Through these linguistic choices, participants lay obligations or report on necessities.

In such submissions, objective explicit modality is employed through the use of third person pronouns or impersonal subjects usually aimed at avoiding direct responsibility while sending a message to the overhearing public of the speaker's concern for national interest through the use of high value deontic modals. This type of modality attests to the trilogic nature of political discourse aimed at audience's persuasion while damaging opponents' image (Garcia-Pastor, 2007). However, in the debates, some of the

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submissions expressed with deontic modality from external point of view come under parliaments oversight function that they exercise over the executive and other agencies, and the informational function they perform towards the public.

In performing the oversight responsibility, members report on the responsibilities of some agencies and their ineffectiveness. Submissions meant to give information are often presented in the form of reports to the citizens. As representatives of constituencies, the MPs try to abreast their constituents of what they need to know. Such submissions are often from a perspective detached from those involved in the action, and so the submission is seen from a more objective viewpoint. This observation is supported by Mayhew (1974) who opines that in national parliaments, one of the primary reasons why legislators make speeches is to stake out policy positions and communicate these positions to voters. In performing this informational function, the legislators try to present themselves as objective as possible.

In other contexts, the high value modals are employed in expressions of epistemic modality to indicate participants' level of knowledge regarding propositions. In the debates, participants' knowledge of events determines their point of view. Modal elements are, therefore, capable of expressing all modality subtypes, depending on the context or one's perception of the world. In the debates, modality serves a useful tool for the manifestation of participants commitment to the validity of propositions they make.

In the debates, epistemic modality is also expressed from both internal and external point of view. When expressed from internal point of view, the high value modals (should, must, have to, need to) are mostly combined with

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the phrases, *I know, I think, I believe,* meant to express strong epistemic modality showing a higher sense of validity in the truth of propositions expressed by participants indicating their level of confidence in the propositional content that is expressed. This leads me to support Vukovic (2014), who concludes that the macromodality of parliamentary discourse is certainty and self-confidence and, in this context, epistemic high value modals combined with the phrases above, in most cases, in the data express precisely this meaning.

However, the choice of strong epistemic modal verbs expressed from external point of view presents the MPs the opportunity to evade personal responsibility in the truth of the propositions they express. These modals are usually employed with agentless passives and third person subjects, showing an external point of view to avoid blame while at the same time showing commitment towards the actualisation of some actions just like in the case of the deontic modality. In this sense, the choice of strong epistemic modals serves as a manipulative strategy for audience's persuasion.

The median value modals *would* and *will* perform three basic functions in the debates. They are expressed with deontic modals to soften the directives; they are employed in making polite request and they express epistemic prediction. The modals are often employed in expressions of directives from both internal and external point of view. When the directives are expressed with *would* from internal point of view, they show speakers' level of responsibility and commitment and they are generally used to persuade for consensus. The analysis of the data revealed that the median values are employed in expressions of deontic directives in order to reduce the

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force of the directives, as the business of parliament requires tactful communication of one's point of view. This has been observed as a strategy in the parliamentary discourse in making directives acceptable but not impositions on peers.

On the other hand, when the median values are expressed with directives from external point of view, they are often seen as a sign of evading direct responsibility while softening the imposition in compelling those responsible to act. Since the rules of parliamentary discourse encourage politeness and being civil in utterances, and members can always be interrupted by others who rise on a point of order, MPs become thoughtful and charitable in reprimanding others. This is often done through the use of median value modals in an attempt to mask their hostility and contempt towards those responsible for the actions expressed in propositions.

Also, the expression of the median values with deontic modal operators from external point of view both to direct and control and at the same time persuade addressees to act is indicative of the pragmatic strategies attesting to the trilogic nature of the political debates as defined by Garcia-Paster (2007) as a particular type of trilogic persuasive discourse. In such discourse, contenders seek to persuade the audience and debate opponents in such a way that the contenders pay the audience face considerations in trying to persuade at the same time that they indirectly damage the opponent's image.

The median values are also employed in making epistemic prediction. Epistemic prediction constitutes the second highest occurrence of the use of *would* and *will* in the data. The median values often combine with lexical

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verbs to express prediction from internal point of view. Such predictions mostly show the participant's uncertainty about some action he/she anticipates. The predictions often seek to persuade the addressee to accept the speaker's stance even when they are unsure about the propositions they make. This observation finds support with Piper et al. (2005) who consider epistemic modality as persuasion which is effective in parliamentary discourse.

With regard to requests, The MPs dexterously use the median values especially *would* combined with boulomaic lexical verbs, *want, like* and *wish* in a quest to make their request sound polite in order to get the desired results. Being tactful in speech is an effective strategy to sustain one's submission on the floor in order to achieve the desired objective of the speaker as members can always be interrupted by others who rise on a point of order. MPs therefore, more often than not, become thoughtful and charitable in their presentations since the rules of parliamentary discourse encourage politeness and civility. In making demands, boulomaic modality therefore serves a useful strategy in the hands of the MPs, given the fact that one can use it in making a careful speech.

The median value modals are also used in making reports. When they combine with expressions of directives and prediction from external point of view, they usually sound like reports. This reason could stem from the fact that the parliament of Ghana operates the committee system where committees are assigned tasks to perform and are expected to report their findings to parliament.

The low values are found to perform more of parliaments deliberative function where members explore best possibilities concerning certain issues

when they function as epistemic modality from internal point of view. They serve as persuasive strategies; when employed from internal point of view with deontic modality, they persuade for consensus, and when from external point of view, they serve to tone down directives in compelling addressees to act since the rules of parliamentary discourse encourage politeness and being civil in utterances. A feature worth mentioning with regard to low value modals isunlike the use of deontic modals in the parliamentary debates which often insist and lay obligations on colleagues, the low value modals when expressed in conditional clauses from internal point of view, demonstrate the democratic nature of parliament as an institution given the fact that they are more effective in deliberative discourse unlike high value modals which are usually emphatic.

With regard to modal lexical verbs and point of view in the debates, the verbs do not automatically nor typically express a lack of commitment or simply used as hedges as opined by Simpson (1993, 2004). The view that these modals mostly function as booster/emphasisers in political discourse by Simon-Vandenbergen (1997) is upheld in this work. They are mostly employed as emphasisers with high value modals from an internal point of view either to express a sense of urgency or to show higher sense of validity in propositions participants make, as politicians make strenuous efforts to convince others even though in some cases, they are unable to. Commonly used emphasisers in the debates are *I know, I think, I believe*. As emphasisers, they serve a useful tool for audience's persuasion.

I am, therefore, of the opinion that their meaning be determined in context as they occur as both weak and mostly strong modals in the

parliamentary data depending on a participant's point of view. This opinion finds support in Fetzer (2008) who is also of the view that in English, the phrase *I believe* combined with high value modals express even greater certainty on the part of the speaker. However, the highest occurring modal lexical verb in the debates, *want* is used to either express a boulomaic desire or to make demands. In making demands, it is usually expressed with modal *would* in order for the speaker to sound polite with the demands. Such linguistic choices usually serve as a strategy in presenting the speaker as committed towards the actualisation of certain actions.

Research Question 3:

What type of point of view dominates in the debates and what is the communicative implication?

The point of view that dominates in the analysis of the data is external point of view. ((FIRST OF ALL, THE REASON FOR THIS IS…Given the fact that the median value modals; *would* and *will* which record the highest frequency of occurrence in the data are mostly expressed from external point of view than internal point of view. Also, epistemic modality, which also records a significant frequency in the data is generally expressed more from external point of view than internal point of view. For this reason, expressions of external point of view are dominant in the data.

In the debates, both government and opposition MPs use external point of view to evade personal responsibility, both in deontic and epistemic modal expressions. An interesting observation of epistemic modality in the data is that, the choice of strong epistemic modal verbs expressed from external point of view presents the MPs the opportunity to evade personal responsibility

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while showing commitments towards the actualisation of some actions. In this sense, the choice of strong epistemic modals from external perspective serves a manipulative strategy for audience's persuasion while avoiding direct responsibility. The strong epistemic modals are usually employed with agentless passives and third person subjects showing an external point of view to avoid blame.

Furthermore, the weak epistemic elements in the debates are used for politeness purposes to gain the audience's support. When expressed from an external point of view, they serve as devices to protect not only the audience's but also the speaker's face. I am, therefore, of the view that in the debates, epistemic modality markers when expressed from external point of view serve to persuade electorates given their role as informative discourse as earlier observed by Jowett and O'Donnell (2006).

However, in some cases in the debates, the adoption of weaker epistemic modality with an external perspective puts the MPs in a position where they are not fully committed to what they say, thus cannot be blamed if a proposition they make turns out to be wrong. Therefore, in some context, the use of weak epistemic modality serves as a strategy in political discourse to avoid blame and accountability, especially, when expressed from an external point of view. In sum, it is evident in the data that external point of view dominates by a large margin. It is mostly found to evade personal responsibility both from majority and minority MPs while at the same time showing commitment when expressed with high value modals. The finding attests to the trilogic nature of political discourse of evading direct

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responsibility while persuading audience through a show of commitment by speakers (Garcia-Pastor, 2007).

However, the shade of point of view with submissions from external point of view has been positive because of the use of high value modals in both deontic and epistemic expressions which show some level of commitment on the part of the speakers. Internal point of view also occurred significantly in the debates and its pragmatic function, basically, has been showing direct personal responsibility and commitment towards actualisation of actions and seeking consensus building.

Research question 4:

How do participants use modality and point of view to align/disalign in motions on the floor of parliament?

This research question has examined the types of point of view and modality that are used to express alignment or disalignment in parliamentary debates. The analysis of this research question has revealed that modality can be used to show commitment or distance depending on one's point of view. The adoption of degrees of modal values ranging from high to low (Halliday, 1985) combined with Simpson (1993) model of modality and point of view has helped to determine speakers' commitment or otherwise towards propositions they make. The choice of a modal value reveals a participant's level of commitment. All the degrees of modal values (high, median and low) are employed in expressing internal and external point of view. They are also used in expressing alignment and disalignment depending on a participant's perspective.

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From the analysis, it can be said that modality and the choice of modal verb is usually conditioned in the debates by the topic under discussion and also based on participants core values (political, social and moral values), they choose to align/disalign in given motions. In the debates, most occurrences of internal point of view show alignment whereas occurrences of external point of view often show disalignment. The MPs employ modals of high value from internal point of view when they want to win others over to a particular view point or endorse a particular position that falls within their viewpoint- (such positions usually fall within their own ideologies or party's ideologies). In such submissions, participants seek the consensus of all, hence, the need for others to align with their views.

On the other hand, MPs employ high value modals from external point of view to disalign when they feel that others are not living to expectation in matters of relevance. Also, when they feel their image or party's image is being dragged to disrepute, they try to regulate the behaviour of opponents. In such cases, high value deontic directives or strong epistemic lexical verbs are mostly employed to show a strong disalignment. The MPs employ such linguistic strategies to win the trust of fellow citizens, and to stress their moral integrity and their personal and party's dedication to public service. Harris (2017) considers such linguistic choices as 'rhetoric in political discourse'.

Median value modals are utilised from both internal and external point of view to persuade for either alignment or disalignment when a consensus is needed in taking certain decisions. The median value modals are mostly used to tone down the force of the directives in order to win the support of colleagues and even convince electorates into aligning with the views of the

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speaker. The use of median value modals with deontic modals meant to persuade usually reflects the speakers' core values which they seek others and even opponents to agree with. Hence, when expressed from internal point of view, the speakers seek alignment through a more careful language especially with the use of *would.*

Unlike internal point of view where the median values (*would* and *will)* are used to persuade and to seek alignment for consensus building, the same modals when expressed from an external point of view are rather used tentatively to disalign. When employed with directives, they are often meant to tone down the directives and somewhat subtly show disalignment. Thus, from my observation, the median values especially *would* serves a useful tool for tolerance of alternative viewpoints from the perspective of speakers. Modal *would* is often used in the debates as a mitigating device when the MPs deploy strong deontic modals to show their displeasure of opponents views, attitudes/actions and then show their disalignment.

This strategy falls within the trilogic nature of political discourse where contenders simultaneously seek to persuade an audience while at the same time debating opponents in such a way that the contenders pay the audience face considerations in trying to persuade it at the same time that they indirectly damage the opponents image, and vice versa (Garcia-Paster, 2007).

With regard to low value modals, they show participants' peripheral or marginal values. They are used by participants to show doubt or cynicism based on the speaker's level of knowledge and like the median value modals, they are also used as tools for persuasion to seek alignment when they are expressed from internal point of view. Such alignment is mostly expressed

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with a lesser degree of force or uncertainty. On the other hand, when they are expressed from external point of view, the participants usually appear cynical; they express their doubts on certain actions or viewpoints of others and then show their disalignment.

With regard to the modal adjuncts (modal adverbs and adjectives), They are expressed more from external point of view than internal point of view. When expressed from external point of view, they often function as boosters to emphasise the speaker's level of knowledge and to express disapproval of some actions, and to disalign with those actions. The modal adjuncts function as strong epistemic modality reinforcing the truth value in propositions made by the MPs in order to show their disalignment with some opposing views. What I observed is that they are mostly used when participants perception of reality is opposite to that of opponents. In such context, an external point of view is often taken to disalign with opposing views. The use of the modal adjuncts as emphasisers presupposes a common ground which is undisputable and supposedly shared by all sides of the house, which comes in handy with alignment/disalignment in political discourse. Participants deliberately chose those modal markers to convince others to see the truth in their submissions. However, the 'truth' is relative in political discourse (Vukovic, 2014).

Exceptional Cases

Even though in the data, alignment is generally expressed from internal point of view and disalignment expressed from external point of view, there are some exceptional cases where internal point of view is found showing

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disalignment and in other cases, external point of view is used to show alignment.

Internal point of view is found to show disalignment when there is the negation '*not*' expressed with deontic modals from internal point of view through the use of first-person pronouns. Such expressions usually show the speakers strong disapproval of some action. In such submissions, the speakers show their disapproval of opposing views or some happenings/misgivings they deem cannot be compromised and call for a consensus disalignment. Submissions of that nature often involve state funds and key areas of national interest.

Also, external point of view is found to show alignment when median value modals are expressed from external point of view meant to inform. Submissions of that nature serve as alignment strategies than disalignment. Usually such expressions appear in the form of reports; participants report on certain views that they align with and seek others to endorse their shared values. This usually happens when members choose to reason with others on certain crucial matters. Even though they may speak from an external perspective, in a sense, such a perspective is geared towards aligning than disaligning in order to get certain tasks accomplished. Such reports are usually committee reports which (possibly) fall within the speaker's core values. This finding supports Martin and White (2005, p. 95) who are of the view that when speakers/writers announce their own attitudinal positions, they not only self-expressively 'speak their own mind', but also invite others to endorse and to share with their points of view. Thus, leading them to align with their positions.

Overall, internal point of view and alignment is found to dominate in the parliamentary debates for reason that the issue of alignment is very crucial in taking certain unanimous decisions in parliament. Members, therefore, very often seek alignment through any means possible to have their views accepted. This finding confirms Chilton's (2004) assertion that in liberal democracies, dominant discourse is said to be achieved through a process of consensus building, and those that govern are accountable to the governed who, through periodic elections, retain the power to replace them. There is, therefore, usually the need for participants/speakers to encourage members to share in their values in order to achieve consensus in implementing certain decisions that might score some political points for speakers.

Conceptual Contributions

The thesis made a few conceptual contributions to the analytical framework provided by Simpson (1993) to make it more suitable for the analysis of political discourse. Simpson's (1993) model of modality and point of view has helped reveal significantly the different points of view expressed in the parliamentary debates that constitute the data for this study, however, my findings somehow run contrary to some parts of the framework stipulated by Simpson (1993) and the findings of Iwamoto (2007). According to Simpson, epistemic modals give off a negative shading, indicating lack of commitment.

I believe Simpson makes this assertion because in the theory, he talked about epistemic modals generally, but when categorised into values of modal strength, epistemic modals expressed in the debates have their strong, intermediary and weak forms and a choice of any of those values expresses a

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particular point of view. These findings of epistemic modal strength find support in Vukovic (2014) who finds degrees of epistemic modality a feature in political discourse. Iwamoto (2007) makes a similar assertion that a preponderant use of epistemic modality gives off a negative shading point of view. It also seems to me because Iwamoto did not analyse modality in terms of values which will enable him to see the commitment and lack of commitment the different values of modals express; he concludes in line with Simpson.

In parliamentary debates, however, although epistemic modality dominates, its use does not always connote a negative shading point of view because most of the modals that encode epistemic modality are strong epistemic modals, which serve as boosters; hence, a show of commitment on the part of the MPs. In the data, strong epistemic modals express a higher sense of validity and commitment to the truth proposed by participants. Such use of epistemic modality is mostly seen when participants perform the oversight responsibility function that they have as members of parliament; they hold the executive and other agencies to check based on their knowledge of what is socially determined.

In such submissions, strong epistemic modality shows the commitment of the speaker towards the validity of the propositions they make and serves a political tool used to sound convincing in compelling the agents responsible to act. This, to me, is a show of commitment and conveys a positive shading point of view. I hold the above opinion because in the model, Simpson (1993) considers acts of commitment under positive shading. Therefore, once strong

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epistemic modality expresses commitment, it is my considerate view that it conveys a positive shading point of view in the debates.

Nonetheless, Simpson (1993) and Iwamoto (2007) are possibly right in their own sense for classifying epistemic modality generally, under negative shading point of view because the theory was originally formulated for the analysis of literary text. Iwamoto (ibid) on his part applied it in the analysis of journalistic texts combined with some data on political discourse. However, in applying it to a highly argumentative text like parliamentary discourse where there is the proliferation of different points of view, it is not surprising that there are divergences; hence, some additions/modification could be made on the theory to include other areas of discourses especially parliamentary discourse where the theory of point of view is best illustrated.

Also, from my analysis of the data, there is the need for some shades of point of view which are not catered for in the theory by Simpson (1993). There seems to be no shade type provided by Simpson for submissions expressed with median value modals in the debates. Simpson only talked about positive, negative and neutral shading but no mention of median shading which is also found in the parliamentary debates. A case in point is the expressions of external point of view where participants employ median value modals with deontic directives to evade direct responsibility and to soften the imposition in compelling those responsible towards acts which are considered by the debaters to be in the common interest of all.

Such expressions of directives combined with *would* usually tend to reduce the force of the directives rendering the directive neither strong nor weak hence neither positive nor negative according to the categorization of

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shades of point of view by Simpson (1993, pp.56-58). I cannot also assign neutral shading because such usage does not satisfy the criteria for propositions with neutral shading as stipulated by Simpson (1993, p.49). It is therefore my considerate view that the term, 'median shading', a shade which lies somewhere between strong and weak be employed for such submissions in parliamentary discourse. I term those submissions medium but not neutral because they are often embedded with some sense of commitment as they express directives. This is not catted for in the theory by Simpson but I make the suggestion based on the fact that once *would* is considered as medium modal by some scholars, (Ngula 2017) and as median value modal by Halliday (2014). This classification, it seems to me, is not out of place in parliamentary discourse which is more deliberative and modal elements are mostly employed in expressing different perspectives.

Also, in other instances in the debates, the modal lexical verbs, *seem, appear* which are considered as weaker epistemic modals and encode a negative shading point of view according to Simpson are used by the MPs as hedging devices in the debates when they are employed with high value modals to express an obligation. In such usage, they are often meant to politely direct the behaviour of colleagues since the rules of parliamentary discourse encourage politeness and being civil in one's utterances but not express uncertainty as they are generally labelled. In that context, I see them to express a 'median shade' point of view but not negative as Simpson suggests. However, in the debates, they rather express weaker modality when members are uncertain about some events for which they lack knowledge about, hence a negative shading point of view may be assigned given the fact

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that in the business of parliament, members are expected to research into topics for discussion before they go to the chamber.

In sum, the distinction of epistemic modality as strong, median and weak and their different shades of points of view discovered in this work are not catered for in Simpson's analytical framework, perhaps, because of the type of discourse to which I am applying the theory. This leads me to the conclusion that Simpson's model of modality and point of view may be revised to include positive shading point of view to cater for expressions that encode strong epistemic modality and median shading point of view to cater for intermediary cases.

Also, with regard to perception modality which is a subset of epistemic modality according to Simpson (1993) when expressed from an internal point of view encodes a negative shading point of view in the sense that the perception verbs signify some level of uncertainty on the part of the speaker. However, in the debates, participants employ the strategy of visual evidence to convince others of the validity in truth of the propositions they make, which is reasonable in political discourse, since the goal of participants is to either stay in power or gain power with their parties. They, therefore, marshal visual evidence to convince the overhearing public, and if possible, even opponents to buy their points of view.

I, therefore, conclude that the analysis of modal functions especially grades of modality in relation to point of view be determined in context and not be given a general classification if the theory has to be extended to other fields of discourse analysis. That notwithstanding, Simpson's model of modality and point of view has helped reveal significantly the different points

of view expressed in the parliamentary discourse given the fact that parliamentary discourse is highly deliberative and different points of view exist however, when combined with Halliday's categorisation of modals into values, it helps shed more light on the different points of view a particular modal is capable of revealing in different context, hence, revealing more shades of point of view as conceptualised by Simpson.

Implications of the Study

The findings of the study have significant implications for further studies of language use in political discourse. The study has shown the importance of investigating language use in parliamentary debates. It has demonstrated how modality serves a useful tool for the manifestation of participants commitment or otherwise to the validity of propositions they make. The study has also demonstrated that modal elements are capable of expressing all modality subtypes, depending on the context or one's perception of the world as modality refers to the degree of certainty and truth of statements about the world.

The findings, therefore, have pedagogical significance in discourse analytical studies, especially, in parliamentary discourse since it has made explicit how modality can be expressed showing different shades of speakers' point of view. The categorisation of modals into values reveals the different shades of points of view a particular modal is capable of expressing depending the context of occurrence. This makes modality a tool for manipulating and persuading and enforcing one's point of view on others where possible. These pragmatic features of modality make it more suitable in political domains especially, parliamentary discourse.

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Again, the findings of the study have implications for the system of modality since it has revealed that the choice of a modal expression is capable of revealing one's point of view and this point of view informs a participant's alignment or disalignment in motions in parliamentary discourse. Further, the study adds to the body of knowledge on the use of modality in political discourse, especially parliamentary discourse and sheds light on how participants make choices within the system of modality to project a particular point of view and show their alignment or disalignment.

Finally, the study has some theoretical significance. The combination of Simpson's (1993) model of modality and point of view with Halliday's (1985) categorisation of modals into values; high, median and low values has helped to reveal significantly the different shades of point of view in the debates as positive, medium or negative. I, therefore, recommend that Simpson's modality and point of view when combined with Halliday's systemic functional linguistics gives a better picture of a speaker's point of view especially in parliamentary discourse. The combination of the two approaches brings out different points of view clearer as such discourses are often confrontational and more deliberative therefore, different points of view are highly expected.

Recommendations for Further Studies

The present study has analysed modality and point of view and how these linguistic resources are used to align and disalign in parliamentary debates in Ghana. The study hereby has the following recommendations: further studies into modality and point of view in parliamentary discourse should consider a comparative study of either Ghanaian and British parliamentary discourse to see whether our relationship with them as our colonial masters has had an impact in the language used in Ghanaian parliament.

A more extensive study could be a possible combination of Ghanaian, British and American congressional discourse with regard to modality and point of view to identify areas of similarity and differences especially with regard to *would/will* to ascertain whether the findings in the Ghanaian parliamentary discourse can be generalised or otherwise.

The present study has established what modality exists in text; transcribed speeches of parliamentary discourse retrieved from the hansard. It will be an interesting adventure to explore modality, point of view and alignment in the oral situation of parliamentary discourse in Ghana. This is where participants attitudes and emotions are evident as modality has been defined to be an attitudinal phenomenon. Attitudes are best expressed naturally in oral communication where people's emotions are freely expressed. I, therefore, recommend that future studies consider investigating submissions made orally by parliamentarians so as to examine both the linguistic and non-linguistic attitudes of participants in the debates.

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Again, one may want to explore the construction of personal or party identities through modal choices in parliamentary debates, especially, speeches made by the Speaker of Parliament. Modality contributes to the establishment of speaker's identity. According to Fairclough (2003), what people commit themselves to in texts is an important part of how they identify themselves, the texturing of identities. He then argues that 'modality is important in the texturing of identities, both personal ('personalities') and social, in the sense that what you commit yourself to is a significant part of what you are. I do, hereby, recommend that modality choices made by the Speaker of Parliament be studied so as to see whether he presents parliament as the democratic institution it is supposed to be or not.

I also recommend that the study of modality and point of view be conducted on presidential political debates. These debates constitute direct personal confrontations which will help reveal speaker commitment or otherwise to what they propose.

Above all the combination of Simpson's analytical framework with Halliday's categorisation of modals into values has helped reveal significantly the different shades of point of view in the debates as positive, medium and negative. I, therefore, recommend that when Simpson's model of modality is employed in discourses like parliamentary discourse, it could be supplemented with Halliday's systemic functional linguistics or other theories as appropriate so as to bring out all the linguistic features that characterise such confrontational and deliberative discourse. However, when analysing literary texts, Simpson's model could be solely applied.

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Chapter Summary

The conclusion of the research is presented in this chapter. A recapitulation of the aims of the study, the summary of the findings of the research have been presented in this chapter. Some conceptual contributions have also been made as well as the implications of the research and some recommendations for further studies.

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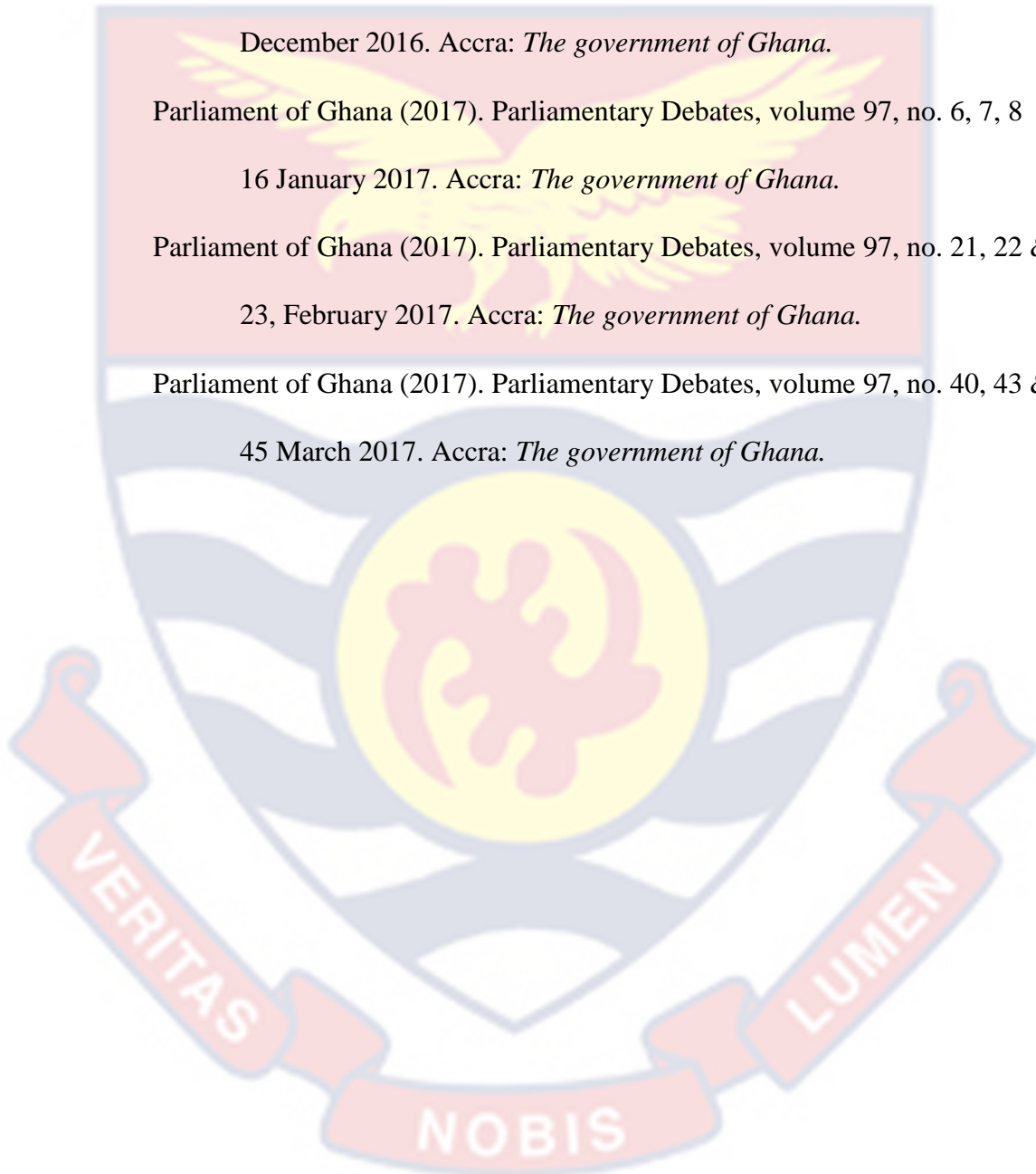
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SAMPLES OF CATEGORY A -POSITIVE SHADING

1. I believe these are measures which are part of the technical barriers to trade which we do not really understand properly. (2-08-16, pg 5723)

2. We **should** restrict ourselves to public funds (Wednesday, 2/11/2016) weak SUGGESTION

3. We **should** not even amend it. (Wednesday, 2/11/2016) OBLIGTION

4. We **should** draft it in such a way that the president cannot intervene in the process. I believe it is important when one Hon Member said that the president could do everything, but we do not let the president do everything. SUGGESTION

5. **I** *think* that clause 105 does not mean much yet. (Friday, 27/1/2017)

6. **I want** to correct an impression being created that the committee on foreign Affairs went to Ada to consider that report alone. (25-7-16,4164)

7. **I am sure** the Hon Chairman of the committee has taken a cue. (Friday, 27/1/2017)

8. **I believe** that it is appropriate to limit it to funds (Friday, 27/1/2017)I believe that Ghana could take a cue from those practices (Wednesday, 2/11/2016)

9. **I would want** to congratulate my Hon colleague. (Wednesday, 2/11/2016)

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OBLIGATION

LEXICAL DIRECTIVE

21. I believe he **must** be diligent enough. He should not be in a hurry to
    announce yaamutu **(EXT DIRECTV (27-3-17)**

22. I **assure** Honourable Colleagues that the proper thing is being done and
    we would ensure that the proper thing is thing. (27-1-17)

23. Mr Speaker, we **should** make sure that when we meet, we should have
    the requisite   quorum to conduct the business of the house.

    SUGGES/OBLIGATION

    MUST

24. I believe we **must** have him on this Board, it is very important
    (RECOMMEN WEAKER OBLIGATION, SUGGESTION/ADVICE

25. Mr Speaker, we must take the decision while we think about the broader
    implications SUGGESTION

26. But for it to work, we **must** provide the zero subsidy in the Budget.
    SUGGESTION

29. Mr Second Deputy Speaker: Hon Chairman of the Committee, if I do
    not get a good response I would not proceed. I **must** be frank with you
    (CONDITIONAL)

30. We **MUST** only be subjecting it to the by-laws of the District Assembly
    and not the Constitution (OBLIGATION

31. We **must** encourage young people to associate so that they can help and, educate each other and build a certain culture among themselves. SUGGESTION

32. Mr Speaker, in fact, we were guided by the Hon Minority Leader that when we talk of "human" we **must** always add resources. SUGGESTN

1ST NOVEMBER, 2016

SHOULD

37. In fact, it has a consequential effect that wherever we see "Scheme", we should replace that with "Authority", which was well spelt out in clause 1 and was well taken. (NECESSITY/OBLIGATION)

38. Are we then to assume that we should forget about the Memorandum, stick to the Bill itself and move to the authority? This is because they are two different things PROBABILITY

39. We should be able to explain why we are treating ECG differently from VRA. OBLIGATION

40. I think that we should give them 20 years but let us be well informed that

Government has EPISTEMIC SUGGESTION

taken adequate measures to address the debt within the energy sector.

41. He says that we should look at the distress of ECG and reconsider the onlending terms we are granting them. PROBABILITY EPISTEMIC

**42.** I think that we should go by what we have in the Report. PROBABILITY EPISTEMC

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43. Mr Speaker, probably, we should increase the 17 years to 20 years. This is because he thinks that in five years they may not be able to pay PROBABILITY EPISTEMIC

44. we should be generous with our terms, but we should consider the state of the institution. SUGGESTION/OBLIGTION

45. I will plead with my grandfather and good Hon Friend, Hon (Dr) A. A. Osei and the Hon Ranking Member that think we should allow this and let him proceed with it. INDETERMINATE

46. We should be able to tell ourselves, how much it would bring down the technical losses. WEAK OBLIGATION, IT IS IMPORTANT

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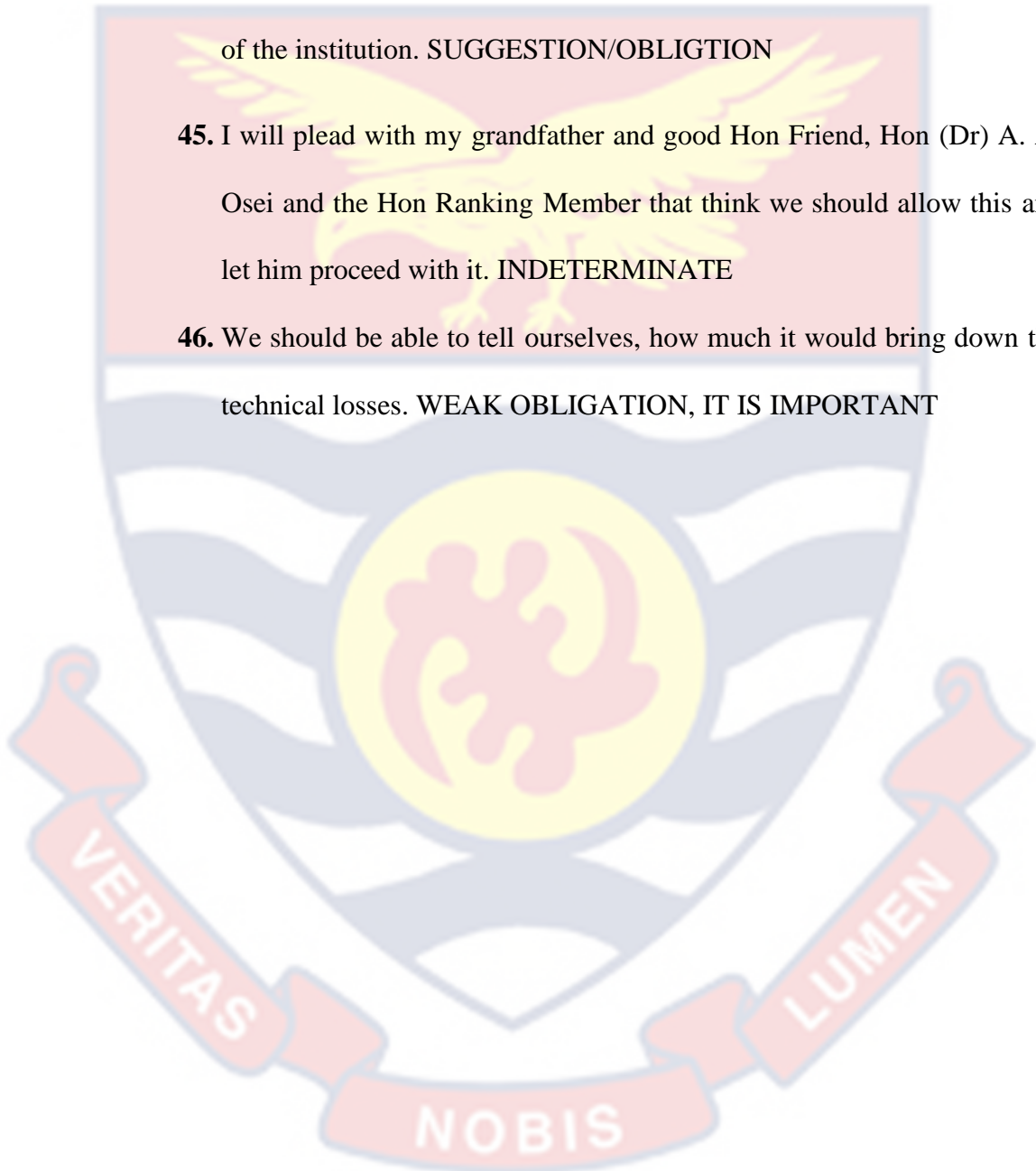
APPENDIX B

CATEGORY B- POSITIVE SHADING

47. *He must* go back to cabinet to consult and justify why he would want particular areas. *(2-08-16, 5569)* DISALIGNMENT

48. Government **should** make sure that all areas where there could disasters are inspected. (Friday, 27/1/2017) OBLIGATION

49. He *must* take regulations for its effective implementation (Tuesday, 2/8/2016) OBLIGATION

50. EPA *should* step-up their game and make sure that very serious care is taken where gas and filling stations are. (Friday, 27/1/2017). OBLIGATION

51. *Generally* speaking, others *will* fall under clause 101 (Wednesday, 2/11/2016)

52. There **shall** be a committee to be known as the house committee (Wednesday, 2/11/2016)

53. Mr Speaker, I seek your guidance by referring you to Standing Order 210

(1) and I beg to read: "Any Member of a Committee may bring up a report for its consideration, and all such reports **shall** be fully entered ..." (27-3-

17)

54. Mr Speaker, All the regulatory institutions **must** work and ensure that these magazines and quarries that are left unattended to fully closed down

(27- 1-17). STR OBLIGATION
   Attention **must** be paid to the pre-Bills (27-1-2017, pg 545)

OBLIGATION

55. Leadership **must** be guided. Mr Speaker, we should make sure that when we meet, we **should** have the requisite quorum to conduct the business of the house. OBLIGATION

56. Mr speaker, parliament's deliberative function **must** be utilised to its fullest. OBLIGATION

57. It **should** be possible, as I understand, that as we moveto terrestrial digital television, that parliament has a dedicated coverage of its own activities.
   Thankfully, I have seen GBC move towards that direction. (27-1-17 pg 545). EPISTEMIC

58. It **should** be the Hon Chief Whip of the majority as chairman, and probably the Hon Chief Whip of the minority side as the Vice Chairman. (27-1-17 pg 565) SUGGESTION

59. He **should** guide us with the financial implications, such that when government is going to take such major decisions on borrowing, it **must** be on the recommendation of parliament. (2-08-2016, pg 5569) OBLIGATION

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73. So, this is a policy issue that **must** be explained to us.

[DEMONSTRATIVES]] OBLIGATION

74. This **must** be explained as it is not helpful to ECG to do that then, and I would want the Minister to explain that to us.

75. Somebody **must** look   at the on-lending agreement again.

OBLIGATION/SUGGESTION/WEAK OBLIGATION disalignment

76. Where if the Chief Executive Officer is incapacitated or something happens, then one of the Deputies **must** act

 OBLIGATION/CERTAINTY EPISTEMC

77. To cure that, some relationship **must** be established by law between the Chief Executive and the Secretary to the Board **WEAK**

OBLIGATION

78. **There must** be somebody who work between the Board on one hand and the organisation on the other hand for the implementation of such policy directives.

79. If **TOR** cannot operate this, then they **must** as well outsource it to the Ghana Ports and Harbours **Authority (GPHA) CONDITION**

80. The State has decided that TOR, which is really the company which uses the facility for crude oil **must** handle that. **OBLIGTION** STR

81. **These** are very smart things that we are doing and **must** be supported.

[INDETERMINATE]

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APPENDIX C

CATEGORY A-NEGATIVE SHADING

82. I could *see* a situation where the principal spending officer may be treated lightly as opposed to another officer. (Friday, 27/1/2017)

    PERCEPTION

    INT

83. These are matters that I **believe** we can attend to. (27-1-17, pg 568)

84. We may have to come back and attend to the positioning of such Hon Members on the various committees. (27-1017, pg 569)

85. Mr speaker, **we can** say confidently that we are on course to achieving these goals. (25-7-16, pg 4107) EPISTE POSSIBILITY INT

86. Mr Speaker, I can understand that you have already put the question. But I may have to indulge you to raise an issue. (2-08-2016,pg 5599)

    EPIST

    POSSIB INT

    We can check it. (2-08-16, pg 5641)

    COULD 1ST NOVEMBER, 2016

87. Mr Speaker, we **could** take item numbered 41 on page 46 of today's *Order Paper.*

88. If we want, we **could** beef up the function and the areas we are suspicious that he might need some powers, Mr Speaker, may I refer you to the headnote which we amended so that my Hon Colleagues **could** advert their minds to it?

89. Mr Speaker, so once we have your guidance that we are establishing an Authority, we **could** proceed thereon.

90.   Mr Speaker, with your indulgence, we **could** move to the next clause.

91.   Mr Speaker, if you and I go to the market right now, we **could** get less than

5 per cent. EPISTE POSSIB INT

92.   We **could** do some winnowing and bring the on-lending agreement.

93.   Mr Speaker, we **could** look at it again, especially with regard to the interest rate.

94.   We **could** have done better.

95.   So, we have to use that to educate Ghanaians, to see how we **could** solve the problem. EPIST POSSIB INT

96.   we have to use that to educate Ghanaians, to see how we **could** solve the problem. EPIST POSSIB INT

97.   I **could** see from clause 43, the Powers of the Commission, that there are some elements of judicial functions PERCPTION INT

98.   I guess we **could** just further amend it. EPIST SUGGESTION INT

99.   even though one asks for say, ten cedis, we **could** give him only one cedi.

100.   we **could** take this and give it to the hon minister and then he would come here.

101.   we **could** take item numbered 27 on page 12 of today's Order Paper

102.   We **could** invest to generate 1MW and the overhead cost would be astronomical.

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APPENDIX D

CATEGORY B-NEGATIVE SHADING

103. The issue raised is how it *could* only be an administrative penalty

   (Tuesday, 2/8/2016)

104. There **may be** experts in Asante region. (Friday, 27/1/2017)

105. One Hon Member said that the president **could do** everything to

   intervene with the process. (Wednesday, 2/11/2016)

106. Ghana **could** take a cue from those practices in other jurisdictions.
   (27-1-17)

107. It **can be** discouraging for Hon Members

108. For those who **may** be disappointed that out of the choices that they

   made, they could not get any.

109. It is **possible** to plan, manage it and ensure that it does not occur. (27

   /1/2017)

110. It may be difficult if two or three Committees are holding meetings

   concurrently, but who says one cannot hold a meeting and be

   telecasted live. (27-1-17, pg 565)

111. They **may not** be too happy, but there is always an opportunity. (27-
   1-17,pg 561)

112. The argument is not that strong because the president **could** do what

   he wants. (25-7-17, pg 4221)

113. It might help if the clerks at the table would advise you on the matter

   (25-7-16, pg 4164)

415

COULD 1ST NOVEMBER, 2016

114. Maybe, she **could** carry the rest of us along. So far, I remain unconvinced and unpersuaded by the arguments.

115. The on-lending terms **could** be discussed in the Session, or if it is discussed now, **surely**, it **could** be negotiated again.

116. I was just wondering if you **could** point out to me when the Chairperson resigns, who acts as Chairperson?

117. I do not see why in administrative and financial matters, they **could** be made independent.

118. Anybody **could** have thrown out any figure and GRA has not come in.

119. If the Hon Deputy Minister for Finance **could** offer us a lead, having listened to the various positions, what she advises the will be the proper thing to do

120. If GRA itself on its letterhead **could** give an estimate, probably, that would also help.

121. the Hon Chairman **could** consider it.

122. The danger about putting these things in there is that, somebody **could** argue that when the

123. the President **could** do that under the Constitution, but Mr Speaker, that would be driving ourselves

124. Hon Chairman, they want to understand the reason behind this proposal so that they **could** support you.

125. you **could** ask them to explain why they want to *delete* it.

416

APPENDIX E

ALIGNMENT

126. INT. **I would like to associate** myself with the submission ably made by honourable colleague. Mr Speaker, it is a sad story. I recalled when it occurred. (27-1-17)

127. INT. Mr Speaker, **I congratulate** Hon Frank Annoh-Dompreh who ably made that submission. He did not allow us to sit on our oars, he was always on our neck.

128. INT. **I wish to associate myself** with the submission made by Hon Frank Annoh-Dompreh.

129. INT**. We should be** each other's keeper. The victims are neither affiliated with the New Patriotic Party (NPP), National Democratic Party (NDC), the Peoples' National convention (PNC), and the Progressive People's Party (PPP). They do not belong to any party. They belong to Ghana and they are Ghanaians. (27-1-17).

130. INT. **We think** that if these things are done and done properly, Ghana would not suffer such disasters again.

131. INT. **I associate** myself with the statement made by Hon Frank Annoh-Dompreh. (27-1-17)

132. INT. **I support** the request that parliament takes up the issue and sees to it that we help the victims who are concerned rather than leave it to the Hon Member. (27-1-17).

133. EXT. Mr Speaker, …..**probably, if he** was canvassing for bi-partisan support which should be the case in dealing with a national emergency, he should not to have thrown partisan innuendos which

would invite the kind of opposition that he himself invited. (27-1-17, pg 545)

134. INT. **I want to add** my voice to that of my Hon Colleague who spoke earlier, that as members of parliament, we are the first point of call. (they are duty bound to do certain things.)

135. INT. **I associate** with it, particularly, the committee on subsidiary Legislation (27-1-17, pg 545)

136. AL INT. Mr Speaker, **I support** the amendment ably made by the Hon Member for Manhyia South. In my view, once a year would be appropriate but since we are looking at the functions of the Central Bank, it is clear that twice a year, makes no difference. On that basis, we support the amendment (2-08-16, pg 5644) [ones knowledge offacts]

137. AL. INT. Mr speaker **I think** that as my honourable chairman has said, statistical information is very crucial to the development of a nation. For that reason, I urge Hon Members to adopt the report. (25-7-16,pg 4165) (alluding to facts)

138. AL. INT**. I agree** with the Hon Minority leader's additional amendment to the initial amendment.

139. DIS EXT. **We would want** to leave this to the discretion of the Minister for Finance on borrowing. By what he said, he knows that by this provision, he does not need to consult any person. (2-08-16, pg 5569)