

DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES OF IDEOLOGICAL REPRESENTATIONS IN POLITICAL SPEECHES: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SELECTED SPEECHES OF KWAME NKRUMAH

Aikins Addae¹

University of Education, Winneba, Ghana

Department of Basic Education

fenyigh@gmail.com

Daniel Arkoh Fenyi²

University of Education, Winneba, Ghana

Department of Applied Linguistics

Hamidu Alhassan³

Saint Monica's College of Education

Mampong, Ghana

ABSTRACT

To win political power, political actors sometimes adopt linguistic and rhetorical strategies that enable them to communicate effectively with their audience. This makes the study of the language of politics an interesting academic exercise. Earlier studies on political speeches, in Ghana, especially, have tended to be a description and an analysis of style, innovative and persuasive strategies of politicians and the manipulation of linguistic structures to champion individual interest in presidential speeches. Not much has been done in terms of the functional implications of these rhetorical devices. This study therefore attempted a critical discourse analysis of selected speeches of Kwame Nkrumah to investigate the role of language in creating ideology and sustaining power as well as ideological discursive structures in political speeches. The study specifically investigated linguistic expressions which carry these ideological colourations in the speeches under review. The study employed the qualitative research approach and textual analysis as the design. The sampling method was purposive, and the analysis was done thematically. The study employed the theoretical frameworks of Fairclough's CDA and Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to analyse the speeches. The study revealed that the ideologies were carried out through these discursive structures: evidentiality, pronouns, agency, metaphor, intertextuality, rhetorical question and strong modal of obligation. The study also revealed that Nkrumah relies on language to produce ideologies of nationalism, patriotism, national self-image, hope, power and dominance in his speeches. The study further revealed that the discursive structures produce and sustain power and unequal power relations between Nkrumah and his

audience. The study afforded much evidence to conclude that politics is a game that can be successfully played through a skillful employment of language. The study, therefore, concludes that the speeches that were analysed were used as a means of establishing, maintaining, and sustaining power and asymmetrical power relations.

Keywords: rhetorical devices, linguistic structures, persuasive strategies, ideologies, discursive structures

INTRODUCTION

Language and politics are inseparable fields. Politics is a means through which people express their wish on others and it is language they rely on to get this accomplished. It is this close affinity between language and politics that informs Beard's (2000) thinking that the political branch of discourse analysis needs to be taken more seriously. According to Beard (2000: 2), looking at the language of politics as an occupation is important because it helps us to understand how language is used by those who wish to gain power, those who wish to exercise power and those who wish to maintain power. It is important to indicate that one very important thing about political speeches is that politicians rely on language in order to control their audiences. This position is supported by Fairclough's (2012) idea that:

Language is significant in the production, maintenance and change of social relations of power. Indeed, it is a political tool employed to grab the attention and support of the electorate and manipulate their minds with the view to gaining and retaining political power (p. 74)

The position of Fairclough in the extract above shows that politics is one vocation which is indispensably yoked with language. In many cases, politicians will have to be at their persuasive best in order to win votes. The best speakers, therefore, stand the best chance of swaying the opinions of others in one particular way or the other. Language is therefore a great tool in politics.

In Ghana, a more recent and current development which shows the significance of language in politics is what is referred to as serial callers. In Ghana, there are men and women who have made it their duty to phone in into radio programmes to air partisan views, criticise opponents, praise their favourites, and make suggestions on political issues. This indicates that language is recognised among Ghanaian politicians as a powerful tool that can achieve political power. In this regard, also, language is recognised among politicians as a tool of persuasion and control. This explains why, in Ghana, political parties look for intelligent and linguistically competent speakers who could function as serial callers and add impetus to their political views for better or

for worse. The inevitable essence of language in politics is further maintained by Lawan (2016: 12). Lawan indicates that:

of all the resources available to man, his most cherished explored and exploited resource is language. Language provides the variant selections and possibilities which he uses to manipulate and control people to achieve desired interests, which are often politically inclined.

What Lawan (2016) seeks to say is that language offers one the opportunity to wield power over others. Language becomes a very important political tool and how skillful one is in its usage promises success in whatever endeavour the person is using the language for. This is what makes Anderson (2014) say that no matter how good a political leader is, his political success depends fundamentally on what he says and how he says it. This same idea is supported by Fairclough (2012) when he indicates that language provides the resources for people to achieve their desires. Obviously, language has as much influence on politics as politics is on language.

It is important to indicate that, just like any other country, the political landscape of Ghana has always been replete with numerous political discursal activities such as campaign speeches, manifestoes, presidential speeches etc. and other discourses have featured prominently from the pre-colonial era to the modern era. The truth is that from the late John Mensah-Sarbah's push for the emancipation of the native Ghanaian and Nkrumah's drive for independence to Rawlings' revolutionary diatribes and the myriad of voices of the opposition, political discourse has played its role in conscientizing the people and giving politicians an inkling of what they stand for, at least, at the face value (Adjei-Fobi, 2012). This study therefore attempts a critical discourse analysis of selected speeches of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah to investigate discursive strategies of ideological representations in his political speeches. This will help to expose the linguistic resources that help Nkrumah to conceal his ideas in order to control the minds of his people.

It is important that this study focuses on Nkrumah as a historical figure in Ghanaian politics. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah remains one of the famous political figures in Ghana and Africa as a whole who needed great rhetorical skills, especially, because of his fight for independence for Ghanaians and Africans in general. Again, Nkrumah's desire for Africa unity and ultimately as president explains his need for language skills. Adjei-Fobi opines that Nkrumah relied on language to project his socialist ideologies anywhere and at any time he spoke. For example, Nkrumah projected his ideologies through groups like the Boys' Brigade which he christened 'Young Pioneers'. One of Nkrumah's 1963 speeches relied heavily on language to express his socialist views saying:

In order to attain these objectives, we have accepted the socialist pattern of society believing that a certain level of economic growth of a

less-developed country such as Ghana, state enterprises can co-exist with private businesses...

It is obvious that Nkrumah is respected and remembered by Ghanaians not just because of his socialist ideologies but crucially also because of his fight for independence. In Ghana, Nkrumah is, at least, remembered during every 6th March because on 6th March, 1957 he won independence for Ghanaians. Even after independence, Nkrumah continues to speak about Africa unity and against neocolonialism. His fight for Africa and against neocolonialism explains why he organises and attends conferences of Heads of African states at which he makes many fiery speeches on what he refers to as 'The African Revolution'. For example, in his speech at the Casablanca conference he was explicit in his revolutionary voice:

Your Majesty, Excellencies, let us unite, for in unity lies strength and as I can see it, African states must unite or sell themselves out to imperialist and colonial exploiters

Against this background, it is worthy of note that Nkrumah had always seized the opportunity of addressing various audiences on issues that resonate beyond national and even continental borders. He was not only addressing Ghanaians and Africans for that matter; he spoke to the British government and the whole world at large. There was therefore the need on the part of Nkrumah to choose and select words carefully to achieve the effects he intended. Language becomes the means through which Nkrumah can influence the minds of his audience. It is therefore the focus of this study to analyse five political speeches of Nkrumah with the view to demonstrating the way in which he uses language to control and influence his people.

The previous studies on political speeches, especially, in Ghana, have tended to be a description and analysis of style, innovative and persuasive strategies of politicians, and manipulation of linguistic structures to champion individual interests in presidential speeches (Adjei-Fobi, 2012; Djabetey, 2013; Anderson, 2014; Abokoma & Alofa, 2015; Sharififar & Rahimi, 2015; Gameli & Angmorteh, 2016). There is thus the need to investigate how texts produce ideology, reproduce and sustain power and unequal power relations and how ideological or political undertones are projected in Ghanaian political speeches (by means of language). This study uses Critical Discourse Analysis to examine the role of language in creating ideology and sustaining power relations as well as ideological structures in selected speeches. These hidden ideologies and power relations are created, enacted and legitimated by the application of certain linguistic devices. The researcher attempts to unravel these hidden meanings and connotations of ideology

in selected political speeches of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah through his use of language. The researcher deems a study of this nature important as it will expose hidden motives that Ghanaian presidents cloth in language in order to manipulate and/or influence their audience through their speeches in order to win political power.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Linguists of the functional and the pragmatic perspectives see language in terms of the function it performs in social institutions. Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) provides the theoretical framework for the functional study of language (Halliday, 1985; Fowler, 1991; Van Dijk, 1989; Fairclough, 1989, 1992). Unlike formal linguists whose focus is on the analysis of linguistic structures such as grammar, vocabulary, sentence structure etc. critical linguists aim to examine the social implications (function) of language to describe linguistic processes in social context, and to reveal the 'ideological and political investments' (Fairclough, 1992: 315) in language. CDA practitioners view language study as the means of understanding how the society works (Fairclough, 1992). CDA practitioners uncover meanings that are embedded in the social system (Halliday, 1985) as cited in Min (1997, p.148). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is, thus, a theoretical approach to language study which seeks to find out the role of language in social structure (Fairclough, 1989). CDA postulates that language functions ideologically and therefore it is the function of the discourse analyst to expose these hidden meanings. CDA tries to unearth the ideological underpinnings in language, and further shows how language function to show power differentials in discourse (Van Dijk, 1995).

In consonance with the idea that language is a social practice, the method of systematic textual analysis adopted in this study to unearth the way in which discourse operates in society comes from the three dimensional frameworks proposed in Fairclough (1989, 1992). This framework is adopted because "it establishes the link between ideology and language" (Min, 1997, p. 149). Thus, the socio-cognitive approach helps to understand and examine the ideologies that are inherent in the selected political speeches and the textual analytical approach helps to reveal the discursive formations underpinning the ideologies. The analytical framework adopted in this study thus "synthesises the external manifestation of ideology in language with the internal mental effects on the audience or listeners of the selected political speeches" (Min 1997, p. 149). The essence of this integral analytical approach is thus to achieve a unified analysis of how ideologies in the selected political speeches of Nkrumah are discursively formulated.

RELATED LITERATURE

A lot of researchers in and out of Ghana have taken a critical reading of political discourse to unravel hidden meanings (Abokoma and Alofa, 2015; Anderson, 2014; Gameli and Alofa, 2016; Lawan, 2016; Ayaawan and Opoku, 2020). Many of their studies have focused on the structural analysis of the text. Ayaawan and Opoku (2020) examine inaugural speeches from a critical discourse analysis point of view. They look at the discursive formations governance in the selected inaugural speeches. Using the dialectical relational approach and drawing specifically on the concepts of subject positioning, agency in discourse and intertextuality, the analysis

examines the ideological discursive formations of governance expressed in the inaugurals as discourse types as well as looks at the issues of subject positioning and agency and their ideological implications in the inaugural addresses. The analysis reveals that though there is an extent to which the ideological discursive formation of collectivism has been naturalised in the addresses, there exist differences in terms of how the subject is characterised within this collectivism. It also reveals that there are differences in how the principals of the two political traditions express agency within the addresses looks at ideologies and lexical choices in political speeches, and focuses on the political discourse structures within ideological strategies which have been used to express political stance through the topics the speakers approach. Earlier, Abokoma and Alofa (2015) examine the roles of rhetoric in the famous Independence speech given by the first president of the Republic of Ghana, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah on 6th March, 1957 when Ghana won her Independence from the British rule. They maintain that the speech adopts the elements of rhetoric to inform, encourage and persuade its audience. Similarly, Gameli and Angmorteh (2016) look at the rhetorical strategies used in Ghana's state of the Nation's address. The analysis reveals the use of identification with audience, acknowledgement and linguistic resources such as transitivity, modality and persuasive narratives with the aim of persuading the audience to give him a second chance in office as president of Ghana.

Anderson (2014) also takes a stylistic analysis of selected political speeches delivered by John Evans Atta Mills. Anderson (2014) points out that John Evans Atta Mills employs stylistic features such as repetition, codeswitching, biblical allusion, historical, imagery etc. to present his ideas to his audience. He indicates that inherent in the stylistic features used by John Evans Atta Mills was the speaker's mental disposition, his world view and traces of his background. Similarly, Djabetey (2013) attempts a critical discourse analysis of the power relations, ideologies and persuasive techniques employed through language in selected campaign speeches of two presidential candidates - Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo-Addo and John Dramani Mahama during the 2012 general elections in Ghana. The researcher considers the linguistic and textual features of the selected speeches and the socio-cultural situations that influence the speeches. The analysis employs critical analytical frameworks mainly in the critical discourse analysis (CDA) domain with other related frameworks serving as additions. It analyses these under three subtopics: descriptive, interpretational and explanation, to reveal the hidden underpinnings by which the speakers sought to persuade their audience to endorse their quest for power. The findings reveal that the selected candidates project power relations and use strategies that are ideologically motivated in presenting their ideas to their audience. These strategies have an ultimate aim of persuading the audience to endorse their bid for the position of president. The

relations developed and ideologies presented by the speakers are woven into the speeches implicitly and explicitly. The analysis reveals the following persuasive strategies among others: self-projections; blurred agency; literary devices; intertextuality, speech acts which are developed and supported by appropriate interpretation of the social practices of context towards persuading the audience. Djabetey (2013) admits that there is the need to demystify these hidden ideologies in order to liberate the less privileged ones who are unable to decode the messages. Lawan (2016) also takes a critical discourse analysis of metaphor in selected acceptance and inaugural speeches of President Goodluck Jonathan and Barack Obama. The purpose of the study is to analyse through critically the metaphoric use of language in President Goodluck Jonathan and President Barack Obama's acceptance and inaugural speeches. The speeches were carefully selected and the study paid attention to the functions and roles metaphors play in speeches and, the different forms of metaphor used in the speeches. With a total of twelve (12) types of metaphors used, the study reveals that metaphors perform different functions apart from being elements of literary aesthetics or verbose display of language proficiency. These earlier studies have shed light on the fact that politicians try as much as possible to conceal their ideas in their speeches in a way that will go unnoticed. This study therefore looks at the linguistic structures that project these ideologies.

METHODOLOGY

In this study, the researchers adopted the qualitative research approach. The researchers used this design because of two main reasons. First, CDA itself as a method of analysis is qualitative in nature (Fairclough, 1992). Second, qualitative research approach is a text-oriented study which offers a highly systematic and robust description, analysis and interpretation of events which are discovered in real life situations (Fairclough, 1992; Marianne & Louise, 2012).

With the sampling of the data, the speeches of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah (on the internet) were selected on the basis of how well ideologies and ideological discursive structures were embedded in them. There were a lot of speeches published on the internet from which the researchers selected the most persuasive ones, which have ideological implications. The researchers also selected the speeches based on they being considered the most important ones of Kwame Nkrumah (Adjei-Fobi, 2012; Abokoma & Alofa, 2015; Darko, 2016). Again, the speeches were selected based on their success, not necessarily because of the presence of ideologies but because of the occasions during which they were made and the general effect they had on the general public (Van Dijk, 1995). This method of sampling ensured that the relevant data which met the objectives of the study were selected.

At the end of the data collection, what the researchers did was to do a general reading of the selected political speeches. The purpose of the first reading was to familiarise themselves with the information in the speeches. Secondly, the researchers did a background study of the speeches taking into consideration the history, the purpose, the occasion and the period in which those speeches were made. Afterwards, a critical reading was done to find out the hidden ideologies focusing on the ideological discursive structures. The researchers further went on to

look at how the linguistic structures show power relations. The speeches were numbered to allow for easy references as:

1. Independence Day speech, 1957 - KN01
2. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's speech on July 10 1953 at the House of Commons, London, UK (KN03)
3. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's speech in Addis Ababa, 1963 (KN02)
4. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's speech at the closing session of the Casablanca conference on Saturday, January 7 1961 (KN04)
5. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's speech at the opening session of the first meeting of the Editorial board of the Encyclopaedia Africana on September 24, 1964.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This section discusses the ideological discursive strategies that were used by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in his speeches.

Fluidity of Pronouns as an Ideological Discursive Strategy

Traditionally, pronouns are defined as words that are used to replace nouns especially, because we do not want to repeat those nouns. The study shows that Nkrumah relies on pronouns to project his ideologies. According to Sharndama (2015: 22), 'the use of pronouns in political discourse goes beyond substitution of a noun in traditional grammar to self-emphasis, self-responsibility, inclusiveness, solidarity and unity of purpose. As evident in 1, Nkrumah also uses pronouns to establish oneness with the people:

Extract 1. We must learn from the mistakes of others so that we may, in so far as we can avoid repetition of those tragedies which have overtaken other human societies. We must not follow blindly, but must endeavour to create. We must aspire to lead in acts of peace (KN02)

It is clear from extract 1 that Nkrumah uses pronouns to show solidarity with the people in order to put himself in a positive light. This sense of belongingness is anchored through the pronoun 'we'. The truth is that even though Nkrumah is commanding the people as one with the outmost power yet his use of the royal 'we' clouds the imperiousness of his tone.

Nkrumah sometimes uses pronouns as a means to obscure responsibility and agency. Nkrumah makes it difficult to see who actually needs independence. He presents the pronouns as if he is not part of those who need independence. Sometimes he gives his speeches as a representative of political groups, governments, nations, and sometimes as an individual. This indiscriminate use of pronouns makes it difficult to detect what position he is coming from when he speaks. His use of pronouns is undoubtedly persuasive and deceptive. Examples have been given in extracts 2 and 3:

Extract 2. An African people proclaim that they are ready to assume the stature of free men and to prove to the world that they are worthy of the trust (KN03).

Extract 3. For we are ripe for freedom, and our people will not be denied. They are conscious that the right is theirs, and they know freedom is not something that one people can bestow on another as gift. They claim it is their own and none can keep it from them (KN03).

It can be observed from extracts 2 and 3 that Nkrumah uses pronouns in a way that is quite indeterminable. For as a speech that is presented before the colonial masters for independence, there is the difficulty to find out who the pronoun 'they' are at a first glance. Similarly, the use of 'we' is ambiguous. Though, in 3, the pronoun 'we' refers to 'our people', there is some level of cloudiness in terms of its specific referent in the world of reality. The question as to whether Nkrumah is talking about Africans in general or Ghanaians is uncertain taking into consideration the occasion of the speech. Again, in extract 3 for example, the pronoun 'we' in '*For we are ripe for freedom*' could refer to Nkrumah and all Ghanaians or Nkrumah and all Africans. The pronouns 'we', 'us' and 'our' have been used to create a shared sense of responsibility and duty, and group solidarity. This use of the pronoun by Nkrumah accords with Sharndama's (2015) thinking that the pronoun 'we' is used as a communicative tool to show that the speaker and the audience belong to the same line, have the same mission/objective, and that it also shows solidarity. Also, the pronoun 'they' in 'they are conscious that the right is theirs' could also refer to Africans in general or Ghanaians only. It is thus obvious from extract 3 that Nkrumah is not consistent with his use of pronouns. His ambiguous stance enables him wins the support of Ghanaians and Africans in general.

In extracts 4 and 5 below, the pronoun 'I' has been used to express personal feelings, personal responsibility and self-reference. It is important to point out that though Nkrumah uses 'I' for ideological reasons, he sometimes uses it to show power as a means of controlling the mind of his audience. Examples can be seen below:

Extract 4. I am happy to be here in Addis Ababa on this most historic moment. I bring with me the hopes and fraternal greetings of the government and people of Ghana (KN03)

Extract 5. We can begin to ascertain whether in reality we are the richest, and not, as we have been taught to believe, the poorest among the continents. We can determine whether we possess the largest potential in hydro-electric power and whether we can harness ... (KN02)

It is important to point out that the use of 'I' by Nkrumah can be seen in three ways. It functions as the government, an individual and as an autobiographical representative and all these realisations are made in positive lights.

Evidentiality as a Discursive Tool

President Kwame Nkrumah is able to employ evidentiality in the form of figures, statistics, analogy, stories etc. in his speeches for ideological reasons. First, he is able to create stories to bring back memories in order to persuade people and make his message believable and creditable. The essence of evidentiality is to show the truthfulness and validity of a source of message (Palmer, 1986). Palmer notes that evidentiality shows the power that the speaker has over whatever he says as true or false. Thus, the use of evidentiality shows the authority of the speaker over his audience as regards the topic under discussion. The purpose is to develop a somewhat permanent balance, with the speaker above and the audience at the lower end. In extract 6, Nkrumah is projected as someone who has in-depth knowledge and proof of what he is talking about. This can be seen below:

Extract 6

Our continent certainly exceeds all the others in potential hydroelectric power, which some experts assess as 42% of the world's total. What need is there for us to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water for the industrialised areas of the world? (KN02)

As we can see from extract 6, Nkrumah extols the superiority of Africa in terms of hydroelectric power to the colonial masters. He shows how Africa has become the major supplier of hydro to the western world. He succeeds in convincing his audience by giving figures in the form of percentages to clarify his argument. This presents him as a powerful leader who has in-depth knowledge of what is going on in his country. By this, Nkrumah succeeds in making his people believe in version of truth knowing they have no way of verifying the truth. Nkrumah further takes advantage of and questions why Africans should remain slaves to the colonial masters when the former will be the producers of hydro power for the latter.

Ideologically, Nkrumah is building in the cognition of the audience the idea that the colonial masters are not as powerful as purported, for they depend on the blacks for survival. This implies that the respect accorded the colonial masters might be overstated and not so well deserved. This is one of the methods Nkrumah deploys to build in his audience the spirit of nationalism and hatred towards imperialism. As can be further seen from 6, it is clear that Nkrumah puts the African continent in a positive light and further makes Africans superior to the white colonisers. Nkrumah relies on evidentiality to project the ideology of national self-image and nationalism.

Furthermore, Nkrumah takes advantage of evidentiality to provide concrete instances of white manipulation of the Africans. He does this to instil power in his audience to be emotionally charged in order to join in the fight for independence. In 7, for example, Nkrumah expatiates on how African resources are exploited by the white colonisers. Nkrumah's speech and series of examples show his nationalistic sentiments and commitment to the fight for independence. See extract 7 below:

Extract 7

It is said, of course, that we have no capital, no industrial skill, no communications, and no internal markets, and that we cannot even agree among ourselves how best to utilise our resources for our own social needs. Yet all stock exchanges in the world are preoccupied with African's gold, diamond, platinum, copper and iron ore. Our capital flows out in streams to irrigate the whole system of western economy. Fifty two percent (52%) of the gold in Fort Knox at this moment, where the USA stores its billion, is believed to have originated from our shores. Africa provides more than 60% of the world's gold (KN02).

As we can see from extract 7, Nkrumah provides empirical evidence as witness of white colonisers' exploitation of Africa. Nkrumah lays bare the fact that all the heavy industries and weapons which make the colonial masters powerful are from Africa. Ideologically, Nkrumah is subverting the power relations between Africans and the white colonisers. What Nkrumah does here is to prove that the colonial masters will be powerless without the Africans. If Africans refuse to supply the colonial masters with the raw materials, they will cease to be powerful, physically, socially, economically and politically. By implication, Nkrumah seeks to suggest that the colonial masters, in reality, are not as powerful as they appear to be. Nkrumah states that there is the need therefore for Africans to remain united and defeat imperialism and colonialism. Nkrumah has done this perfectly through the discursive use of evidentiality, which shows the power one has over the subject matter under consideration. Implicitly, this technique projects him as an all-knowing leader in the fight for African emancipation. Thus, Nkrumah's central message to fight for independence now is better understood at this point of the analysis.

Strong Modals of Obligation

Nkrumah employs some modals to show power and dominance between him and his audience. An example can be seen in the extract below:

Extract 8. I must say at the outset that a broad policy having been laid down, the precise plans for achieving it must be left to the Editorial Board and its staff of competent experts. (KN05)

In extract 8, power and dominance are enacted through linguistic structures. The strong modal of obligation ‘must’ show how powerful Nkrumah is. It is obvious from **8** that Nkrumah is giving out the kind of responsibility that lies on his people to be able to achieve their goals. In this regard, he is drawing attention to his personality as the superior person who knows what should be done to achieve the plan that has been laid out. Thus, the power gap between Nkrumah and his listeners is best revealed in the strong modal of obligation ‘must’ which has been used to commit the people to a certain kind of duty.

Nkrumah’s recurrent use of strong modals of obligation and assertive words in his speeches is not accidental. It shows his continuous sense of power and authority over his people and over what he says. Just as he does in extract **8** above, he repeats that in extract **9**:

Extract 9. But just as we understood that the shaping of our national destinies required of each of us our political independence and bent all our strength to this attainment, so we **must** recognise that our economic independence resides in our African union and requires the same concentration upon the political achievement (KN02)

As can be seen in extract **9 above**, Nkrumah relies on the ideology of solidarity to show power difference between himself and his audience. Nkrumah associates himself with the people and informs them of how to become economically independent. As the most powerful, he commits the people to remain united since unity is a prerequisite to economic independence as demonstrated in the sentence ‘*so we **must** recognise that our economic independence resides in our African union and requires the same concentration upon the political achievement*’. He uses the strong modal of obligation ‘must’ to persuade the people to do that. Thus, power as a means of dominance and persuasion is further revealed through language. See extract 10:

Extract 10. We shall accumulate machinery and establish steel works, iron foundries and factories; we shall link the various states of our continents with communications by land, sea and air. We shall cable from one place to another, phone from one place to the other and astound the world with our hydro-electric power; we shall drain marshes and swamps, clear infested areas, feed the undernourished, and rid our people of parasites (KN02)

In extract **10**, for example, Nkrumah uses another strong modal, ‘want’ to inform the people what needs to be done. The use of the strong modal ‘shall’ communicates his sense of

attachment to what he says. Nkrumah is ideologically manipulating the minds of the people to see him as a man who means what he says. It is the powerful who automatically acts so.

Manifest Intertextuality as a Discursive Strategy

Fairclough (1992) indicates that manifest intertextuality is a pronounced form of intertextuality whereby texts explicitly draw on other texts, for instance, by citing them. President Nkrumah resorts to this use of intertextuality as a means of persuading the people when the need arises. Using intertextuality in a harmonious way obliges the interlocutors to adopt his point of view. Intertextuality becomes an ideological discursive strategy in which a superior voice is invoked so that the audience listens to the speakers. As evident in **12**, Kwame Nkrumah relies on manifest intertextuality to speak against colonization.

Extract 11. Mr. speaker, for my part, I can re-echo the words of a great man: 'man's dearest possession of life, and since it is given in to live but once, he must so live as not to be besmeared with the shame of cowardly existence and trivial past, so live that dying he might say: all my life and all my strength were given to the finest cause in the world – the liberation of mankind (KN03)

As clearly shown in extract **11**, Nkrumah effaces from what he is saying by quoting the exact words of a great man whom the people revere. Nkrumah has talked about the need to fight for their freedom without the people having any cause to implicate him. As a speech delivered in London before the colonial masters, he has concealed himself through language to speak against the denial of one's freedom which the colonial masters have done.

Historical Allusion as a Discursive Strategy

One other form of intertextuality as a discursive strategy that is found in the speeches of Kwame Nkrumah is historical allusion. Nkrumah relies on this ideological tool to show that he has knowledge of the past history of his country and continents.

Kwame Nkrumah employs historical allusion in talking about the political history of the people to make them reexamine their current state. This use of allusion aims to fight colonialism. See extract 12:

Extract 12. In the early days of Christian era, long before England had assumed any importance, long even before her people had united into nation, our ancestors had attained a great empire which lasted until the eleventh century, when it fell before the attacks of the Moors of the North. At its height that empire stretched from Timbuktu to Bamako, and even as far as to the Atlantic. It is said that lawyers and scholars were much respected in that empire and that the inhabitants of Ghana wore garments of wool, cotton, silk and velvet (KN03).

As clearly shown in **12**, Kwame Nkrumah takes a mental journey to the past of Ghana and Christianity to inform the world of the good history of Ghana before the arrival of colonialism. He paints a good image of Ghana then, and settles on a bad one now, after colonialism. He reveals the presence of self-identity, respect for human life, cultural superiority and civilization before the coming of the White man. Ideologically, Kwame Nkrumah is painting a good image of his country, Ghana, and paints a bad image of colonialism. In essence, the woes of Ghana can be explained in terms of the coming of the White man.

Rhetorical Question as a Discursive Strategy

Rhetorical questions are those that do not need direct answers which are implied by what they say. In this study, rhetorical questions are used for ideological projections, to chart a common front between Nkrumah his audience, to raise thought provoking issues and to highlight the socio-economic and socio-political desires of the people. As an ideological strategy, the audience are left to provide answers to the questions raised. The objective is to arouse the senses of the people to make decisions for themselves. Examples from the speeches of Nkrumah can be found in extracts 13 - 15:

Extract 13. Is it not unity that can weld us into an effective force, capable of creating our own progress and making our valuable contribution to world peace? (KN02)

Extract 14. Which independent African state, which of you here, will claim that its financial structure and banking institutions are fully harnessed to its national development? Which will claim that its material resources and human energies are available for its own national aspirations? Which will disclaim a substantial measure of disappointment and disillusionment in its agricultural and urban development? (KN02)

Extract 15. Are you afraid to tackle the bull by the horn? For centuries, Africa has been the mulch cow of the Western world. Was it not our continent that helped the Western World to build up its accumulated wealth? (KN02)

It is clear from extracts **13**, **14** and **15**, that Nkrumah relies on rhetorical questions to project the ideology of nationalism. For example, in extract **14**, Nkrumah uses rhetorical questions to invite the people to assess how their resources are used by the colonial masters. Ideologically, Nkrumah is influencing the minds of his audience to see the colonial masters as ‘cheats’, for they

are misusing their resources with impunity and to the detriment of the African. Again in extracts **14 and 15**, Nkrumah is more militaristic in his tone. Nkrumah poses himself as a revolutionary and lays bare the 'crafty' nature of the Whites. The extracts show Nkrumah's urgent desire to drive out colonialism from Africa. Thus, Nkrumah relies on rhetorical questions to project an ideology of nationalism in his audience.

Metaphor as a discursive strategy

War metaphor

One of the metaphors that is foregrounded in the speeches of Nkrumah is war metaphor. The idea that politics is war appears to be stuck in the minds of the people and so Nkrumah capitalises on that to reflect his views on what politics is.

In extract **16**, Nkrumah shows the triumphant journey he has made with his people at the war front. This war is a fight for independence. This can be seen in the extract below:

Extract 16. At long last, the battle has ended! And thus Ghana, your beloved country is free forever (KN01)

It is obvious from extract **16** that Nkrumah relies on war metaphor to inform the people of the kind of ordeals and fight they have gone through in order to attain independence. The word 'battle' takes the minds of the audience to a real battlefield. This communicates effectively the kind of struggles and oppositions they have gone through to attain independence. This war metaphor is carried on in the extract below:

Extract 17. And yet again I want to take the opportunity to thank the Chiefs, the farmers, the women, who have so nobly fought and won the battle (KN01)

As evident in extract **17**, Nkrumah refers to colonialism as a battle. Ideologically, Nkrumah is raising the consciousness of the audience to understand how the real sense of colonialism is like. As a phenomenon to be battled, the implication is that the white colonisers are enemies and therefore they have to be combated. The words 'fought' and 'battle' communicate the militaristic sentiments that Nkrumah is building in the minds of his audience towards colonialism. The truth is that colonisation must be fought and the people must come to face it as an enemy.

Again, Nkrumah wages war against certain bad happenings in the country. He evokes a sense of war to fight against those issues in the country. These are presented as enemies and the people as fighters. In the extract below, Nkrumah incenses his audience against imperialism and oppression.

Extract 18. For we repudiate war and violence. Our battles shall be against the old ideas that keep men trammled in their own greed; against the crass stupidities that breed hatred, fear and inhumanity (KN03)

Extract 19. The eyes and ears of the world are upon you; yea, our oppressed brothers throughout this vast continent of Africa and New World are looking to you with desperate hopes, as an inspiration to continue their grim fight against cruelties which we in this corner of Africa have never known cruelties which are a disgrace to humanity and to the civilization which the Whiteman has set himself to teach (KN03)

Extract 20. We repudiate the evil doctrines of tribal chauvinism, racial prejudice and national hatred. We repudiate these evil ideas... (KN03)

From extracts **18 - 20**, it can be seen that Kwame Nkrumah evokes the idea of war through the words ‘fight’, ‘battle’ and ‘repudiate’ to demonstrate the people’s hatred of colonization, slavery, racism and oppression. Nkrumah succeeds in raising the anger of his audience against these phenomena.

Religious Metaphor

One other metaphor that is foregrounded in the selected speeches of Nkrumah is religious metaphor. Nkrumah’s recurrent use of Biblical language is presumably intended to achieve some ideological aim. First, they show that Ghana is a religious society and that many or almost every Ghanaian believes in God. The use of the metaphors also seeks to suggest that it is God who controls everything in the country, including politics in Ghana. Again, the use of religious metaphor helps Nkrumah to project his religious inclinations. An example can be found in extract 21:

Extract 21. Your Majesty, Excellencies, let us unite, for in unity lies strength and as I see it, African states must unite or sell themselves out to imperialist and colonialist exploiters for a mess of pottage, or disintegrate individually (KN04)

In extract **21**, Nkrumah uses the metaphor of the ‘pottage’ to refer to the African situation of soliciting material needs from the white colonisers by selling their freedom. This metaphor captures a biblical allusion to Jacob and his brother Esau (Gen. 25: 29-34) which recounts how Esau sells his natural right and status as an older brother just for a meal. This metaphor brings to the fore the colonialists’ effort to give the African something very temporary and trivial in exchange of their God-given right of eternal freedom and sovereignty. He deplores the situation where Africans might reduce themselves to mere merchandize. This also alludes to the slave trade. Therefore, he predicts that without unity, Africans can find themselves selling their inalienable rights.

Furthermore, in extract **22**, Nkrumah relies on religious metaphor to criticise the hypocritical attitude of the White colonisers as Christians. He shows how the colonisers manipulate the blacks under the guise of religion through the metaphor of salvation. In the name of bringing salvation, the whites rather brought savagery. This can be seen in the extract below:

Extract 22. The heroes of our future will be those who can lead our people out of the stifling fog of disintegration through serfdom, into the valley of light where purpose, endeavour and determination will create that brotherhood which Christ proclaimed two thousand years ago, and about which so much is said, but little done (KN03)

In extract **22**, Nkrumah introduces the idea of salvation to his readers. He shows that the champions of the future of Africans are those that can help them come out of colonization into freedom. The word ‘stifling fog’ connotes the slavery while the word ‘light’ represents a state of freedom which Nkrumah seeks to achieve. There is therefore the need for a saviour (Christ) to redeem the people from misery.

President Nkrumah uses religious metaphor in most of his speeches analysed. In the extracts below, he invokes the blessings of God on his country.

Extract 23. Let us now fellow Ghanaians, let us now ask for God’s blessing and for only two seconds in your thousands and millions, I want to ask you to pause only for one minute and give thanks to the almighty God for having led us through our difficulties, imprisonments, hardships, and sufferings to have brought us to the end of our trouble today (KN01)

In extract **23**, President Nkrumah further shows his belief in the almighty God. He asks the blessings of God for his country. Ideologically, he means two things. First, the country needs God’s blessing and secondly, the country can be great and strong only through the power (grace) of God. No one except God can turn the fortunes of the country. Nkrumah, in extract 22, shows that just as God delivered the people of Israel so has He delivered him and his people from slavery. The implication is that the colonial masters are the Pharaohs while Africans are the Israelites.

Ideologically, the use of religious metaphors gives spiritual credence and authority to the speeches of Nkrumah. Nkrumah knows that Ghanaians are religious and that is why he alludes to their shared religious beliefs to compel the audience to support him and vote for him. Nkrumah reveals himself as powerful through the ideological representation of superiority based on the dependence of the almighty God. This confirms Nkechi’s (2015) idea that ‘religious metaphors are used by politicians to invoke religious sensibilities to project images, especially the God

factor, as supreme determiner of all thing to show that no one can challenge what God says' (p. 143) and ultimately what they also say. This shows that religious allusions and metaphors were used as discursive strategies to manifest power difference between Nkrumah and his audience.

Solidarity Metaphors

One noticeable discursive strategy in the speeches of Kwame Nkrumah is the way he shows commonality/associations with the citizens. Ideologically, Nkrumah projects this association through an emotionally charged relationships with the citizens in order to have their sympathy, love, trust and confidence. An example can be seen below:

Extract 24. Let us now fellow Ghanaians, let us now ask for God's blessings
...my friends and family (KN01)

As we can see from extract **24**, Nkrumah addresses the people in a way that establishes a common ground between him and the citizens. The words 'fellow', 'family' and 'friends' connect him and the people as one. Ideologically, Nkrumah is influencing the minds of the people to see him as their own. Nkrumah further relies on solidarity metaphor to appeal to the conscience of the people to have the spirit of Africanism. This can be seen below:

Extract 25. We meet here today not as Ghanaians, Guineas, Egyptians,
Algerians, Moroccans, Malians, Liberians, Congolese or Nigerians, but as
Africans (KN02)

It can be seen from extract **25** that Nkrumah dissuades people from seeing themselves as belonging to individual countries. The use of 'we' erodes individualism and creates the sense of a united front. In this way, Nkrumah will have the support of all Africans not just Ghanaians. This makes him a unifier and a true Pan-Africanist. By establishing a common relationship with the people, he is influencing the citizens to see him as humble. Nkrumah also does that here:

Extract 26. We have awakened. We will not sleep anymore. Today, from now
on, there is a new African in the world! That new African is ready to fight his
own battles and show that after all, the black man is capable of managing his
own affairs (KN01)

In 26, Nkrumah plants the spirit of nationalism in his audience in order to bring them together to fight for a common course. He informs his people to feel proud as Africans. Nkrumah instils hope also in them when he says ‘there is a new African in the world’. The use of solidarity metaphors therefore helps Nkrumah to project the ideology of hope and nationalism in his speeches.

Disease Metaphor

Nkrumah also thinks and talks of colonialism in terms of disease. In his speeches, he equates colonisation to several forms of illness. Examples are found below:

Extract 27. Our people supported us in our fight for independence because they believed that African governments could **cure** the ills of the past in a way which could never be accomplished under colonial rule. (KN03)

Extract 28... the **symptoms** of our troubles will grow, and the troubles themselves become **chronic**. (KN03)

Extract 29. Only African unity can **heal** this festering sore of boundary disputes between our various states. (KN03)

In 27, 28 and 29, Nkrumah relies on the words ‘cure’, ‘symptoms’, ‘chronic’ and ‘heal’ to give a concrete representation of what he is talking. In the mind of Nkrumah, the subject of colonialism and its effects on the people can be understood by using words from the field of medicine. These words are more concrete to give the intended effect of colonialism on the people. In this way, Nkrumah is able to charge the people to react towards colonisation.

CONCLUSION

The study has shown that language plays a crucial role in human existence as a means of socialisation. Language has been revealed as a means of communicating ideologies and events of the world. In the tradition of CDA, this study has confirmed that text and talk have social and cultural character and that discourse functions ideologically. This CDA tenet has been justified owing to the fact that the study revealed potential hidden ideologies such as positive, nationalism, patriotism etc. in the speeches analysed. Language as a means of enacting power has also been valid true by this study. One of the social functions of language as opined by Fairclough (1989) is power. According to CDA, language is a means by which people conceal power as a means of persuasion and domination (Van Dijk, 2006). In this study, power has been enacted, reproduced and legitimated through the use of language. It is important to point out that language and politics are inseparable fields. Politics is truly a means by which people impose their wish on others and it is language they rely on to get this accomplished. The study provides much evidence to conclude that politics is a game that can be successfully played through a skillful employment of language. Politicians mask their ideologies in their language in a way that will not be immediately noticed by their audience. The reason for concealing these ideologies is

that, in most cases, they do not square up with the realities of the day. In this way, we can say that politicians take advantage of the low literacy rate of their members as well as the naivety of their members to manipulate their minds and impose their will on them (tell them who to vote for). The ability to manipulate language is thus critical to political success, at least, in Ghana.

It is important to conclude that this study has confirmed that CDA is an important theoretical and methodological tool for the study of how discourse functions ideologically, especially, in terms of helping to unearth hidden ideologies in discursive structures. The study therefore concludes that the speeches that were analysed were used as a means of establishing, maintaining, and sustaining power and asymmetrical power relations.

This study ultimately concludes that language is ideologically loaded and that it has social, cultural, religious and political character.

REFERENCES

- Abokoma, A. A. & Alofa, B. A. (2015). "A Rhetorical Analysis of Osagyefo Dr Kwam Nkrumah's Independence Speech". *New Media of Mass Communication*, Department of Communication and Media Studies, UEW – Winneba, ISSN 2224-2375.
- Adjei-Fobi, C. K (2012). "A Rhetorical Analysis of Political Discourse: A comparative study of the use of metaphors in the speeches of Nkrumah and Rawlings". A published M.Phil. Thesis, Department of English, University of Ghana, Legon.
- Anderson, J. (2014). "A Stylistics Analysis of Some Selected Political Speeches by John Evans Atta Mills", A published MPhil. Thesis, University of Ghana, Legon.
- Ayaawan A. E & Opoku, G. (2020). 'Ideological discursive formations in an emerging democracy': the case of the presidential inaugural of Ghana in the fourth republic: *Ghana Journal of Linguistics*, 9:1, 47- 72
- Beard, A. (2000). *The Language of Politics*. London: Routledge.
- Darko, O. R. (2016). "Analysis of two Speeches by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah: Applying Interpersonal Metafunction of Systemic Functional Grammar". A published Master's thesis, Department of English, University of Ghana, Legon.
- Djabetey, I. N. (2013). "Language, power and ideology: A critical Discourse Analysis of selected speeches of Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo-Addo and John Dramani Mahama". A published M.Phil. thesis, Department of English, University of Ghana, Legon.
- Fairclough N. (1992b). Linguistic and Intertextual Analysis within Discourse Analysis. *Discourse society*, 3:193-217.
- Fairclough, I. & Fairclough, N. (2012). "Political Discourse Analysis: A method for advanced students". New York: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). "Language and power (2nd ed.)". London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (2001). "Language and Power (2nd edition)". Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.

- Fairclough N. (1992). Linguistic and Intertextual Analysis within Discourse Analysis. *Discourse society*, 3:193-217.
- Gameli, K. R., and Angmorteh, P. M. (2016). "Analysis of the Persuasive Strategies in the 2016 state of the Nation's Address". *International Journal of Innovative Research in Education, Technology and Social Strategies*, 3(1), ISSN 2467-8163.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1985). "An Introduction to Functional Grammar". London: Edward Arnold.
- Lawan, H. M. (2016). "A Critical Discourse of Metaphor in Selected Acceptance and Inaugural Speeches of Presidents Goodluck Jonathan and Barack Obama". Retrieved from kubanni.abu.ng/jspuri/critical-discourse-analysis.
- Marianne, J. & Louise, J. P. (2002). "Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method". London: Sage Publications.
- Min. S. J. (1997) "Constructing Ideology: A Critical Linguistic Analysis". *Journal of Studies in the Linguistic sciences*, vol. 27:pp. 148 -165.
- Nkechi, I. G. (2015). "Critical Discourse Analysis of Selected Political Campaign Speeches of Gubernatorial Candidate in South-Western Nigeria, 2007-2014". A Published PhD thesis, Department of English/Literary Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsuka.
- Palmer, F. R. (1986). "Mood and modality". Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sharififar, M. and Rahimi, E. (2015). "Critical Discourse analysis of political speeches: A case study of Obama's and Rouhari's Speeches at UN". *Theory and Practice in Language studies*. 5 (2) ISSN 1799-2591. Retrieved on February 2017 from <http://dx.doi.org/10.17507/tpls.0502.14.,pp.343-349>.
- Sharndama, E. C. (2015). "Political Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis of President Muhammadu Buhari's Inaugural Speech". *European Journal of English Language and Linguistics Research*, 3(3), pp.12-24.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1995). "Aims of Critical Discourse Analysis". *Journal of Japanese Discourse*, vol.1, pp. 17-27.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2006). *Discourse and Manipulations: Discourse and Society*. 17(2): 359 - 383.