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DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH GOMBE STATE UNIVERSITY

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# Political Discourse Analysis of Selected Plenary Speeches of Nigeria's Senate President Godswill Akpabio

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# **Abstract**

This paper investigates the body of research known as political discourse analysis. It begins by situating its arguments within the purview of linguistic and social sciences. Adopting an inclusive conception of politics and discourse, the essay considers the relationship between political discourse analysis (PDA) and critical discourse analysis (CDA), as being inextricably intertwined. The essay discusses different conceptions of what constitute political discourse and its appropriate objects of study, using Senator Godswill Akpabio's plenary speech as a case in point. The selected plenary speech was taken from the internet; analysis of the obtained data is conducted using Aristotelian five pillars of rhetoric: memory, invention, style, delivery, and arrangement. Special attention is focused on Invention for its critical concern with ethos, pathos, and logos (ethical, emotional, and logical appeals). The results of this analysis reveal that Senator Akpabio's speech, delivered during plenary session, has distinctive features and communicative effects/appeal which are different from everyday communication. Thus, most of the lexical features such as repetition, synonymy and hyponymy are widely used in the selected speech of Senator Akpabio to achieve political ideologies and strategies.

**Keywords:** Politics, Discourse, Senator, Ethos, Pathos, Logos, Rhetoric, Plenary Speech

#### Introduction

This essay identifies and analyses rhetorical devices in Senator Godswill Akpabio's plenary speech. The aim is to identify specific rhetorical devices which are described as interactional resources, analyse their uses and discuss possible effects that they may have when included in a political speech. The results are based on my interpretations own but are supported by information provided in current literature by analysts and researchers of rhetoric use. The result findings could probably serve as evidence of the need for better understanding of the devices used by politicians in their relentless endeavors to influence audience decisions.

Political speeches, spoken or written, are instances of political discourse; they are not the result, but part of politics, and are "historically and/or culturally determined" (Bochman, 16). Typically meant for a



wider public, "they include topics on political activities, ideas, and relations" (Schaffner, 68). Whichever setting a political speech might have, similar topics are discussed, and similar goals are intended. Typical intentions of addressers in political speeches include "coercion, resistance, opposition and protest, legitimization and delegitimization" (Chilton and Shaffner 98).

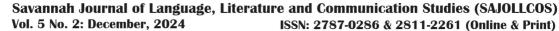
According to Schaffner. "political are speeches not homogenous genre but include a range of subcategories depending on communicative situation context" (32). This context includes the description of interlocutors or audience such as the WH-questions: who is speaking to whom? Where? When? Why? For this reason, analysis of political speech usually includes different levels of meaning generation in language i.e., phonetic/phonology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. These multiple layers are essential because political speech reflects more than the ideals of the individual speaker; it also reflects their group, political party, government, or nation depending on the level of speech.

Ideology is a crucial issue of Critical discussion in Discourse Analysis. Political discourse is seen as a valuable resource for learning about stance. speakers' thoughts, and "Belief systems" or "ideas" that control and integrate other socially shared viewpoints are referred to as ideology (van Dijk 116). Fairclough claims that "the choice of writing in a text" is influenced by and helps to build social ties among participants, and that the speakers/authors' choice of phrases is ideologically significant (Fairclough97). To conduct a more thorough ideological evaluation, van Dijk designed the "Ideological Square". It is a four-dimensional approach to determining people's thoughts, opinions, and position, among other things. It is mirrored in the following manner:

- A. Highlighting positive aspects of Ourselves.
- B. Stressing or communicating negative feelings or information about Them.
- C. Suppressing / downplaying favourable elements of Them
- D. De-emphasizing or suppressing negative parts of Ourselves (van Dijk 98).

This demonstrates how we can use mild expressions to substitute blunt or exaggerated statements to make long or short remarks about our own or others' positive or negative attributes, emphatically or not, in an overt or hidden way.

Rhetoric is a field that dates back to the 5th century B.C. in Greece (Richards 2008). It is the study of the art of persuasion, or orators' capacity to persuade an audience of their views or opinions (Prill 1987; Corbett; Lanham; Metcalf; Borg; O'Keefe ). Rhetoric permeates our daily lives; people try to persuade others of their beliefs and thoughts. Sellers, lawyers, religious men, politicians, or election candidates try to persuade customers, clients, judges, or voters to buy their products; convince people to adhere to a specific creed, follow certain principles, or convert to one religion, call the public to action by persuading the audience of their viewpoints, or to do an action.





Aristotle classified rhetoric into five pillars: memory, invention, style, delivery, and arrangement. Invention includes three angles of analysis: ethos, pathos, and logos (ethical, emotional, and logical appeals).

Ethos. according the classical approach, refers to the speakers' personality and character, as well as how their reliability and credibility are reflected in their speeches through the words they choose. This covers how presenters convey their knowledge, authority, intellect. and candor (Aristotle, Rhetoric, in Aristotle 34). According to the current view. ethos encompasses both the speakers' personality and standpoint. Political charisma (language, voice), look, and lifestyle are all part of the personality. The speaker's attitude toward himself, the message, and the audience are three-dimensional (Cockcroft et al., 17). The speakers' attitude toward themselves is reflected in their personality traits such as optimism, realism, thoughtfulness, imagination, and hatred, among others. speakers' commitment or noncommitment to the truth of the message is indicated by their position toward the message.

Pathos, according to Greek and Roman conceptions, is appealing to the audience's sentiments and passions. Speakers attempt to stimulate the emotions of the audience in order to urge people to act or react to specific situations (Sloane 67). There are both direct and indirect appeals to the audience's emotions in an attempt to convince them. Speakers try to stir positive or negative emotions of the audience in

an unmediated way by direct appeals certain emotions such pessimism, optimism, hatred, love, unkindness, enmity, friendship, greed, compassion, pity, and fear, among (Aristotle. other emotions Cockcroft et al. 23). Indirect appeals rhetorical questions use storytelling elicit emotional to responses from the audience.

The use of logic and reasoning to support speakers' arguments is logical appeals. There are several forms of arguments that speakers might use to back up their claims, as noted below:

- 1. Quoting authoritative sources or people in positions of power (Aristotle, Rhetoric in Aristotle 23).
- 2. Examining the causes and consequences of a problem (Aristotle, Rhetoric in Aristotle 13; Ehninger &Brockriede 34).
- 3. Future-Prediction: This is an argument based on foreseeing future events grounded on current circumstances (Sproule 25).
- 4. Maximisation-Minimisation:
  This is an argument based on paying additional attention to a certain point or underestimating an issue on purpose (Sproule 31).
- 5. Fear Appeal: This is an argument that highlights the heinous or annoying consequences of an issue (Sproule 36).
- 6. Dilemma Appeal: This is a type of argument that focuses on finding solutions to a specific problem and



- providing remedies (Sproule 36).
- 7. Parallel instances: Comparing and contrasting different cases or circumstances (Aristotle, 45; Ehninger & Brockriede, 78).
- 8. Statistics-Based Argument: Using numbers, percentages, measures, and comparisons to make a case (Sproule, 198; Ehninger and Brockriede, 23).
- 9. Analogy Argument: This is an argument in which similar points of different entities, objects, or concepts are highlighted (Sproule, 18; Ehninger & Brockriede 34).
- 10. Argument from the Past: Participants should fulfill their promises (Aristotle, 34).
- 11. Consequences-Based
  Argument: Investigating positive or negative consequences of an issue (Sproule, 198; Ehninger &Brockriede, 24).
- 12. Examining the causes and effects of a problem (Aristotle 24, Ehninger&Brockriede 67). Although Aristotle's taxonomy and perspective of rhetoric, or the art of persuasion, was introduced hundreds of years ago, it is still employed as a theoretical political framework for speech analysis in the twenty-first century, as will be explored later. The Aristotelian taxonomy of rhetoric will be used in this essay, with one canon, invention, being the focus. It will examine Akpabio's ethical, emotional, and logical appeals to persuade the public of his ideas, points of view and call them to action.

# Political Rhetoric and the Context of Nigerian Politics

The use of rhetorical devices as a persuasive strategy has become fashionable in the Nigerian political De Wet observes terrain. "politicians rise to power because they can talk persuasively to voters and political elites...politicians are endlessly geared to persuade voters to their own or party's point of view" (54). Van Dijk notes that it is expedient to undertake a critical study of the language of politics because it reveals how politicians fight to secure power. He sees this as an instrument of mind control by the dominant ideology. Ideological values have become a significant strategy in political discourse. It has often been observed by scholars that rhetoric is used to justify ideological values in argumentation.

Peil's survey of the Nigerian political terrain reveals the enormity of social problems that exist as a result of the different ethnic groups in the country. He reveals there has been a widely spread disregard for ethical consideration, as manifested by the prevalent and tolerance of corrupt practices throughout levels of official life. A study of participation democratic has to involve an analysis of political language. This seems inevitable because of the interrelatedness of language and politics. Peil observes that the popular image of the Nigerian politician reflects a singular dearth of moral guidance, especially in his public announcements. The Nigerian political atmosphere has been



characterised with insincerity, lies This explains why and greed. electorates take politicians' statements with a pinch of salt. The language used by politicians is carefully selected to persuade and upon audiences. Linda impact Thomas et al. write that "Politicians throughout the ages have owed much of their success to their skillful use of rhetoric, whereby they attempt to persuade their audience of the validity of their views by their subtle of elegant and persuasive language" (39). How and where linguistic features are used and how they are positioned alongside other linguistic features affect how people interpret the message.

The aim of this essay is to identify, analyse and discuss some examples of rhetorical devices used in Senator Godswill Akpabio's plenary speech to show how their choice, structure and organisation can affect the arguments of persuasion in the text. This essay will identify a number of different rhetorical devices concentrating on those devices functioning as interactional resources in one speech. The essay intends to answer the following research questions: How do rhetorical devices affect the message in a text? What function do these devices have in a text? Why do writers include rhetorical devices in a text? What particular devices does Brown use in his speech?

Senator Godswill Akpabio is currently the Nigeria's Senate President and has delivered many plenary speeches thus far. These speeches have dealt with economic matters and decisions but have not always included general political issues. Moreover, Senator Akpabio's plenary speech on "prayers to the senators' mailboxes" is an important speech that is of special interest to liguists. Therefore, attempting to interpret and understand the message Akpabio presents in this speech is a significant step towards increasing our awareness of some rhetorical techniques, and their role in persuasion.

First, a brief discussion of the terms 'ethos', 'pathos' and 'logos' will presented followed explanation οf the term metadiscourse and a short discussion of the various definitions of rhetoric. The analysis of Akpabio's speech will then be done and will involve the study of linguistic features such as conjunctions, modals and pronouns, to show how they function in a text and how they can be used in combination with rhetorical devices. Conjunctions, modals and pronouns in a text may appear to an audience to be simple linguistic items fulfilling basic grammatical functions; however it is the use of these features in which help language us betterunderstand the content of the message being delivered. Other rhetorical features studied will include boosters, transitions, selfmention, engagement markers and three-part statements. These features, in combination with the other lexical items mentioned above, will be analysed to show how they function in and impact on the message in the text. Since Akpabio's speech was an oral presentation, there are many other factors which could have been considered. These include



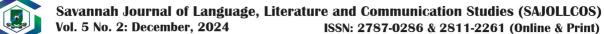
characteristics such as a low or high pitch in the speaker's voice, head movements, facial expressions, and eve contact and so on. No one can dispute the fact that these factors are important contributions to the overall quality and impact of the speech. However, in the interest of time this paper willnot comment on these features but will instead concentrate on the written text. For this essay, the decision to analyse the text alone used by the speaker greatly minimises the risk of the message content being altered through the use of different reporting techniques. Another important factor which could affect the content of a speech before it reaches the audience is the use of indirect speech. Fairclough writes that "An important variable in the representation of discourse is the degree to which boundaries are maintained between the presenting discourse and the represented discourse - between the voices of the reporter and the person reported" (81). Furthermore, "Direct quotations also preserve the original wording, not, for instance, changing the tense of verbs, the person of pronouns, or 'deictic' words such as this and here." (81). The reporter may simply paraphrase what is said in the speech instead of providing the audience with the actual words used by the speaker. The reporter may also and "transform translate" (Fairclough81) the words to suit the style of the person or

organisation reporting. Therefore, political speeches can sometimes be interpreted as being complex and fragmented messages. In analysing a text there is a risk that the analyst,

just like anyone else reading or hearing the text, can never completely objective. Thus, it is avoid difficult to personal interpretation when conducting a of a text. since backgroundknowledge and attitudes always influence our decisions as to what information is relevant or reliable from the evidence provided in the text.

Political discourse includes a resources. variety of rhetorical However for this essay, the features of what is termed metadiscourse are used. Metadiscourse basically represents the idea that communication is more than just our exchanging information, but also involves our personalities, attitudes and assumptions as communicators. In addition metadiscourse represents a speaker's or writer's attempts to guide the receiver's perception of a text. As we speak or write we are negotiating with others and making decisions about the effects we are having on our listeners or readers. defining characteristics communication in metadiscourse terms are interactive resources and interactional resources.

Interactive resources are used to organise propositional information. Propositional information information containing suggestions or offers. These suggestions or offers signal the speaker's attempts to organise the arguments in a text so that thev meet the reader's understanding of the content of the suggestions. In addition suggestions guide the reader towards the speaker's preferred goals (Hyland 44-49). Interactional resources





involve the audience in the discourse by alerting them to the speaker's perspective towards both propositional information and the audience themselves (Hyland 3). Resources which can be classified as interactive are transition markers. frame markers and

endophoric markers while interactional include features resources such as boosters, attitude markers, three-part statements and self-mention.

According to Hyland "Since people are not persuaded until they are convinced that something is true, the rhetoric involves demonstrating how something is true or how it can be shown to be true." (63). He specifies the three major components of communication as the speaker, the hearer and the content or the argument (Hyland 64). A speaker has to adjust the arguments of persuasion accordingly to accommodate the differences in these three major components. But, how does the speaker adjust the content so that the hearer can and will be persuaded? Hyland (65) argues that there are three major means of persuasion which ensure response on the part of the reader. These, he writes, are 'ethos' which is concerned with the appeal of one's character. 'Pathos' which involves "affective appeals and focuses on the characteristics of the audience rather than the speaker, considering its education level. ethnicity, gender, age. interest, background, knowledge, group membership and so on" (Hyland 65). Finally, 'logos' concerns the speech "its arrangement, complexity, types of evidence and

arguments and so on" in other words the appeal to reason (Hyland 65). To better understand these three means of persuasion, a closer examination of what they involve and mean will be done in the analysis.

'Ethos' is concerned with the personal appeal of one's character. Here, the assumption is that a writer may have certain credibility prior to preparing or delivering a text, but Hyland opines that they "must always re-establish it during the course of the discourse itself" Furthermore, people "do not see 'ethos' as a static quality or as an attribute to a person, but as the dynamic and interpretive result of the interaction between the writer and reader through the text itself" (64). Examples of 'ethos' in AKpabio's speech are shown in excerpt 1 below.

# Excerpt 1

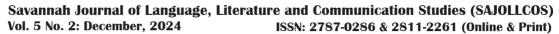
I think it's constitutional, as Vice-

I have not seen anywhere where the Senate President is either a Vice-Chairman or even a Chairman

I will not ehh. I will draw that statement.

In order to allow you enjoy your holiday, the Senate President has sent prayers to your mailboxes to assist you to go on a safe journey and return.

Initial assumptions can be made that Akpabio, being the persuader here uses these rhetorical devices to present his character through "ethos" or his own personal appeal. The arguments he chooses here can also be interpreted by the audience as being 'ethically appealing'. Another instance of ethos is seen when senator Akpabio states that: "I will not ehh. I





will draw that statement."Here, the speaker uses language that implies a decision-making process, as if the statement has a will of its own. This subtle personification contributes to ethos by emphasizing the speaker's authority and responsibility. Akpabio further states that "In order to allow you enjoy your holiday, the Senate President has sent prayers to your mailboxes..."The act of sending prayers is described in a way that personifies the Senate President's intentions, making it more relatable demonstrating a thoughtful. While these examples are somewhat they contribute subtle, to personified presentation of individuals' actions and intentions within the context of the passage.

The next means of persuasion which Hyland proposes is 'pathos' which involves "affective appeals and focuses on the characteristics of the audience rather than the speaker, considering education its level. ethnicity. gender, age. interest. background. knowledge. group membership and so on" (65). So then, people who listen to Akpabio make a speech will listen to what he has to say about himself, how his dynamism is portraved, how his text allows for interaction between himself and those listening. Another point is that of appealing to the audience with emphasis on their characteristics and knowledge. When Akpabio delivers a speech, audiences can interpret the in many different ways. Therefore, Akpabio must not only be concerned with the propositional content of the text, but also be aware of the audience and be able to appeal

to their knowledge of the world, their emotions and their needs. Examples of 'pathos' in Akpabio's speech can be seen in excerpt 2:

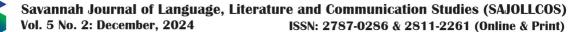
# Excerpt 2

This wish, colleagues, as a result of your patriotism and love for the country, all committee chairmen should pick up the list of their committee members from the office of the leader. And then, as soon as Senator Maye picks up, takes his oath of office, we shall rearrange the office of the leadership. In order to enable all of us to enjoy our holidays, a token has been sent to our various accounts by the Clerk of the National Assembly.

Assumptions here are that Akpabio acknowledges the needs of the audience or 'persuadee

emotion' through "pathos". He uses phrases and expressions such as 'committee members', 'office of the leadership' 'oath of office' and 'all chairmen' committee with awareness that these are important personalities for most audiences. Trying to make sure that everyone sees the content as credible will not be possible. However, appealing to as many as possible is the goal.

The final means mentioned above, "logos", concerns the speech itself, "its arrangement, length, complexity, types of evidence and arguments and so on" (Hyland 65). In other words, logos isthe appeal to reason. To fulfill the requirement of evaluating persuasive arguments is to look at the places where people may or may not be persuaded. Discussions





below will deal with how certain sentences may allow the reader or hearer to feel that it appeals to their sense of being a part of the process or their sense of membership in the political framework. One example of "logos" in Akpabio's speech is shown in excerpt 3 below:

# Excerpt 3

"In order to enable all of us to enjoy our holidays, a token has been sent to our various accounts by the Clerk of the National Assembly."

Conclusively, Akpabio presents the logics or 'persuasion' in his message, thus applying "pathos". Other factors such as culture may serve to influence reader understanding.

The basic fundamental components of rhetoric have been looked at and discussed. The speaker's awareness of and use of the elements of the three abovementioned means. important attributes for a balanced effective and more persuasive argument or statement. People use their interpretations of the speaker's character presentation, his appeal to reason, and the given types of evidence provided to be persuaded.

One other rhetorical device frequently noticed when reading Senator Akpabio's speech are the person pronouns, in particular third person plural, **we** and **us**. By using **we** and **us**throughout his speech, he creates an atmosphere where the reader is welcomed into the text. The reader is not only drawn in but is connected to the speaker through these inclusive pronouns. In addition, Akpabio "claims an equality with his audience" (Hyland 71) thus, creating

a sense of reader-writer combination towards common goals. Akpabio's credibility is also strengthened in this case. Let us look at the examples, carved out from the above excerpts:

We shall rearrange the office of the leadership. In order to enable all of us to enjoy our holidays, a token has been sent to our various accounts by the Clerk of the National Assembly.

Akpabio uses we sometimes inclusively as in "we shall rearrange" to include the reader or listener. In other instances however, he uses we exclusively. There are even situations where Akpabio uses we in a somewhat ambivalent way. So not only does he use we in rhetorically different ways in his discourse but he makes sure that all areas of political persuasion are covered through these combinations. We can be interpreted, on the one hand, as Akpabio's attempts to place everyone under one umbrella, while on the other hand placing him in a leadership role as one who can speak for the senators. Through these vague and shifting uses of we, he "claims the right to speak for the senate as a whole" argues (Fairclough 181).

Another very noticeable technique used by Akpabio to persuade the reader to understand, accept and agree with his viewpoint is through the use of the *interactive* resource feature transition. Transition denotes "how the writer intends the connections between elements of the discussion to be understood" (Hyland: 2005:76). Transitions are realised through the use of conjunctions such as (and orbut). But, when analysed





semantically, is restricted to linking two clauses, while *and* can link more than two clauses.

A very important point however is this, whenever *and* is used as a coordinator in a sentence, the clauses should have enough content in common to justify their inclusion.

# Summary, Conclusion and Recommendation

The aim of this essay is to analyse the use of some rhetorical devices in Senator Godswill Akpabio's plenary speech which he delivered to the Nigeria's Tenth Assembly. mentioned in this essay, Senator Akpabio's plenary speech has been analysed in this essay as one of the important speeches triggers linguistic research. There are many different strategies which politicians use in their bid to influence audiences and the use of rhetorical features as a strategy of persuasion has been studied in this essay as one such strategy. The essay suggested that, even though rhetoric use began with the ancient Greeks, its devices are still being used today and is especially prevalent in political speeches. The analysis involved identifying rhetorical devices and discussing their role through linguistic features in sentences, and how their use affects sentence structures and what the resulting rhetorical impacts can method used in this essay does allow amount of for some free interpretation as, before the analysis of the speech was done, being aware of the fact that political speeches almost always contain rhetorical devices may have affected the intensity of the interpretations of some areas of the text.

Measuring the effectiveness of the use of rhetorical features or devices in a speech is a difficult process as rhetoric use allows for interaction and exchange between speaker and audience. This interaction involves speaker expectations and audience interpretations which cannot predicted, but are available for interpretation through studies of this relevance. The interpretations and the resulting explanations given in this essay have been supported by studies done by many researchers and analysts in the field of rhetoric. The devices analysed do represent all rhetorical devices identified in the essay; however this was mainly due to the limitations of the essay.

Analysing Senator GodswilAkpabio's speech revealed that each rhetorical device identified exerted the presence and combinations of even more. Their combined functions made the analysis even more interesting and complex.

Linguistic features used by Akpabio appeal to the audience through his choreographed inclusion of character or background, 'ethos', his audience 'pathos'. awareness. and his presentation of logical information or evidence, 'logos'. There are many different ways in which a political speech can be analysed. However for this essay, the focus on rhetorical devices represented only one way. Another study could involve other rhetorical devices of more interactive nature which would involve analysing features such as frame markers and evidentials. The



interactional features which were studied in this essay focused more on audience and the speaker asparticipants in the interactional opportunities which became available through the speech. This choice of focus increased the possibility of the analyses being more on a community level, that is, it shows the speaker's awareness of anticipated audience interpretations combined with the personal appeal of the speaker and also the provision of evidence in the text being presented. However some drawbacks in this essay have been the absence of an analysis of the human factors involved in the presentation of the speech, that is, direct audience responses, the tone of the speaker's voice, body language and so on. As mentioned in the essay, these can be interpreted as being inextricably combined with the text, when a study of the overall presentation of the speech is being done. Therefore the exclusion of these human factors from the analysis done in this essay may be seen as a detriment to the results of the study.

Finally, conclusions drawn from Akpabio's speech are that there is of rhetorical included in the text. This evidence coincides with the established devices suggested by analysts and researchers. It is difficult to confirm whether Akpabio's use of rhetorical devices is deliberate or not but the strong possibility exists that Nigeria's Senate President is very much aware of the impact carefully selected and structured linguistic features have on an audience.

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