

**A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE 2016 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
CAMPAIGN DISCOURSE IN ZAMBIA WITH REFERENCE TO ONE OPPOSITION
CANDIDATE**

By

Clare Mwiinga

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of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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DECLARATION

I, Clare Mwiinga do hereby solemnly declare that *A Rhetorical Analysis of the 2016 Presidential Election Campaign Discourse in Zambia with Reference to one Opposition Candidate*, represents my own work. The sources of all materials have specifically been acknowledged and the Thesis has not previously been submitted for a Degree at this or any other University.

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APPROVAL

This Thesis by Clare Mwiinga is approved as fulfilling the requirements for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistic Science of the University of Zambia.

Examiners' Signature:

1.....

Date:

2.

Date:

3.....

Date:

ABSTRACT

This study investigated the campaign discourse of the 2016 presidential elections in Zambia with a view to showing how rhetorical devices were employed by one Opposition candidate in order to achieve persuasion in his campaign discourse. Specifically, the study focused on the campaign speeches by Mr Hakainde Hichilema in the run up to the August 11, 2016 elections. The investigation was carried out through content analysis of the campaign speeches. The study was informed by the Rhetorical analytical framework.

The corpus was obtained by the researcher collecting the recorded campaign speeches in video form from ZNBC and Muvi televisions and transcribed verbatim. By analysing the campaign messages by Mr Hichilema, the study shows that he employed rhetorical devices which include parallelism, allusion, use of pronouns, code switching and presupposition in his discourse in order to win support of the electorate. The study reveals through rhetorical analytical framework that rhetoric is the ability of the rhetor to exploit language as an essential instrument to achieving the audience's adherence to his or her standpoint.

The study concludes that the candidate employed various rhetorical devices which include aesthetic expressions, syntactic elements and code switching to woo support of the electorate and that it matters how politicians present what they say when campaigning. Besides, the study has established that the rhetorical theory is specifically interested in the skill employed in communication in order for the rhetor to convince the audience of his or her own standpoint and spells out detailed resources of rhetoric which are ethos, pathos, logos and kairos. In order to achieve persuasion, these different appeals to effective communication, should be exploited in a certain way according to the context, the speaker, type of audience and subject matter as well as its timeliness. In addition, the study has revealed that, when campaigning, politicians make use of the rhetoric of blame and bluster through polarization as a strategy to winning support of the electorate. Further study has shown that the political candidate under examination, through the use of rhetorical devices, leaned on the extremely polarized view of *us* versus *them*, where himself belonged to the positively represented in-group and the opposing group was firmly placed in the out-group, derisively whenever possible. This polarization gave the political candidate under study an advantage over his opponents.

DEDICATION

To my two beloved late grandmothers; Catherine Nakantu, dad's mother and Elina Chibozu, mum's mother. May your souls rest in eternal peace dear grandmums.

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ACRONYMS

EL	Edgar Lungu
HH	Hakainde Hichilema
IGM	Ideational Grammatical Metaphor
KK	Kenneth Kaunda
PF	Patriotic Front
UPND	United Party for National Development
ZNBC	Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation

KEY WORDS

Aesthetic
Allusion
Campaign
Code switching
Cohesivation
Election
Electorate
Ethos
Kairos
Linguistic element
Logos
Metaphorical
Modality
Nominalization
othering
Parallelism
Passivization
Pathos
Polarization
Political discourse
Political Rhetoric
Power relations
Presupposition
Propaganda
Rhetorical devices
Rhetorical theory
Syntactic elements
Unification
Us versus Them

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

This study examines the political campaign discourse of the 2016 presidential elections in Zambia with a view to establishing the persuasive strategies of this discourse. This is done by applying the Rhetorical framework to analyse how rhetorical devices were employed to achieve persuasion in the presidential campaign discourse in Zambia leading to the August 11, 2016 elections.

This chapter gives the background information of the study. It presents the specific problem under investigation and the rationale for the research. The chapter also outlines the purpose and the objectives of the study with the specific research questions that were addressed. It further presents the rhetorical situation of the 2016 election campaign discourse in order to place the study into context. In addition, the chapter outlines the scope, delimitation and limitations of the study. The chapter ends with the organisation of the thesis and a summary.

1.1 Background to the Study

1.1.1 Political Discourse

Political discourse is a broad category. It is the discourse of politicians. Discourse is political when it accomplishes a political act in a political institution, such as governing, legislation, electoral campaigning, parliamentary debate among others. Studies on political language include investigation into different sub-genres such as electoral language, party political language, the language of diplomacy and international relations, the language of social conflict, the language of parliament and others (Locke, 2004).

Benoit (2006: 10) characterises political campaign discourse that “there can be no question that political campaigns are instrumental means to achieving a particular end (obtaining political office) or functional in nature.” Benoit contends that political campaign discourse seeks to acclaim or inform the public about the good points of the politician, attack, or criticise the opponent and defend the politician against negative criticisms.

Van Dijk (1998) posits that political discourse is not a genre, but a class of genres described by a social domain, that of politics. The many genres that belong to the domain of politics include government deliberations, parliamentary debates, party programmes, and speeches by politicians.

According to Schaffner (1996), political discourse, as a sub-category of discourse in general, can be based on two criteria: functional and thematic. Political discourse is a result of politics and it is historically and culturally determined. It fulfils different functions due to different political activities. It is thematic because its topics are primarily related to politics such as political activities, political ideas and political relations.

In addition, Van Dijk (2001) avows that political discourse can be narrowed down to the set of activities politicians involve themselves in. According to him, the study of constructions of political discourse topics, coherence, lexical style, disclaimers, and rhetorical features may expose much about the distinctive character of this discourse.

Essentially, the present study analyses political discourse. Johnson and Johnson (2000) explain political discourse analysis as the arena of discourse analysis which centres on discourse in political forums such as debates, speeches, and hearings as the phenomenon of interest. The study focuses on a significant form of political discourse, the election campaigns.

1.1.2 Language and Politics

Sapir (1939) considers language as a purely human and non-instinctive method of expressing feelings and yearnings by way of a system of freely produced symbols. The noticeable role of language in the life of every human being and the society as a whole cannot be under-estimated or over emphasised. This is because language is used as a medium of serenity, persuasion and advancement on one hand and a medium of uproar, disorder and retrogression on another hand. Language is given expression in various contexts, amid which include media, religious and familial or domestic and social settings (Van Dijk (2001).

Politicians use language to achieve their ambitions and employ various complicated expressions to win support from the electorate. The use of language gives rise to the term discourse and discourse is contextualised in varying mediums, sometimes referred to as genre.

The term politics is from Greek: *πολιτικός* politikos, which denotes “of, for, or relating to citizens,” in the course of making decisions pertaining to all members of each group (James,

2014). In a narrow sense, the concept designates to accomplishing and exercising positions of governance, specifically, organised control over a human community, especially a state. Furthermore, politics is the practice of the dispersion of power and resources within a given community as well as the interrelationship(s) among communities (James, 2014). There are a variety of methods that are deployed in politics, including promoting or forcing one's own political opinions among people, negotiation with other political subjects, making laws, and exercising force, including warfare against opponents.

James (2014) further contends that politics is about power and that a political system is a structure which defines appropriate political methods within a given society.

Language has a key role in the exchange of values in social life and transforming power into right and obedience into duty. It may both create power and become an area where power can be applied. Social values and beliefs are the products of the institutions and organisations around people, and are created and shared through language. Rousseau (2004) highlights this point by positing that “the strongest is never strong enough always to be master unless he transforms his power into right and obedience into duty” (Rousseau, cited in *The New Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thoughts*, 1999: 678). Edwards (2006: 324) notes that people do not “react to the world on the basis of sensory input but, rather, of what we perceive that input to mean”. This is because language use corresponds to views of the social status of language users, thus providing simple labels which evoke social stereotypes that go far beyond language itself.

According to Wareing (2004:9), the effective function of language is concerned with who is allowed to say what, which is “deeply tied up with power and social status.” In other words, how individuals choose and use different language systems varies according to who the speakers are, how they perceive themselves and what identity they want to project. Language use also varies according to whether the situation is public or private, formal or informal, who is being addressed and who might be able to overhear. Likewise, Meyerhoff (2006) points out that we draw very powerful inferences about people from the way they talk.

Fairclough (2000:97) notes that political identity is constructed, and leader identity in contemporary politics is generally built upon a tension between the public office and the private individual, “the extraordinary position of the leader and the ordinary person who holds it”. In terms of language, this means a tension between the public language of politics and everyday language.

Communicative style is a matter of language in the broadest sense with the use of verbal language as well as other aspects contributing to the complex bodily performance that constitutes political style. “A successful leader’s communicative style is not simply what makes him or her attractive to voters in a general way; it conveys certain values which can powerfully enhance the political message” (Fairclough, 2000:4).

In essence, politics is concerned with power and influence, for instance, how to obtain power, how to make decisions and control resources within a jurisdiction. It includes how to control and employ the insights, conduct and ideals of those one governs. To achieve this perspective, politicians rely on language as a missile and formidable tool in winning public support. Language, therefore is seen as a means for realising politician’s ambitions and interests. This implies that politics is intrinsically dependent on language (Michira, 2014). Complex relationships between the ruled and the rulers are sanctioned and negotiated through language. In this process then, language plays a crucial role, because every political action is prepared, accompanied, influenced and played through language (Fairclough, 1995).

1.1.3 Political Campaigns

Political campaigns for elections are public declarations of political parties in which they shape their policies and inform electorates of how they would govern the country given the mandate to assume office and exercise power (Klingeman et al., 1994). Given their influential objective, political campaign discourses are replete with modal auxiliary verbs, syntactic features and pronouns that seek to espouse various ideologies and emphasise particular interest of a political party. As Quirk et al, (1973) demonstrate, a modal auxiliary verb can be used together with a main verb and pronouns to express differing attitudes towards a proposition; possibility, certainty, permission, intention, among others. It can therefore be posited that when campaigning, politicians do find modal auxiliary verbs and pronouns very useful rhetorical strategies to employ in an attempt to persuasively convey the campaign message of their party to the electorate. The other tools that politicians use to persuade the electorate are the use of pronouns and pragmatic strategies including implicature, code switching and inference.

Van Dijk (2006:733) notes that political situations do not simply cause political actors to speak in certain ways, instead “there is a need for a cognitive collaboration between situations and talk or text, that is, a context”. Such contexts define how participants experience, interpret and represent the for-them relevant aspects of the political situation. Political discourse is not only defined with political discourse structures but also with political contexts.

A persuasive rhetorical unit, the political campaign speech is the cornerstone text in political discourse. Zand-Moghadam and Bikineh elucidate the importance of political discourse by observing that by certain use of linguistic means, politicians may accomplish their own political aims which are to shape people's thoughts and to convince them to act as they tend.

1.1.4 Rhetorical Devices in Campaigns

Rhetoric is “the art of using language so as to persuade or influence others; the body of rules to be observed by a speaker or writer in order that he may express himself with eloquence” (*Oxford English Dictionary*). It is the skill of persuasive interaction in a given circumstance. Put simply, rhetoric refers to how people use language in communicating their ideas in an endeavour to win over an audience (Kangira, 2005).

Somers (2019) avows that a rhetorical device is a linguistic instrument that makes use of a particular kind of sentence structure, sound, or pattern of meaning in order to conjure a certain reaction from an audience. Each rhetorical device is a distinct means that can be employed to construct an argument or render an existing argument more convincing. Individuals engage in rhetoric any time they try to inform, persuade, or argue with someone. People experience the power of rhetoric when they have an emotional reaction to a speech or change their mind about an issue after hearing a skilled debater's rebuttal. Individuals can improve their ability to process or convey information by developing a basic knowledge of rhetorical devices, while at the same time strengthening their persuasive skills (Somers, 2019).

In political contexts, successful speakers need to appeal to attitudes and emotions that are already within the audience. When the listeners figure out that their beliefs are understood and supported, the political candidate has created connections between the audience and the message that they wish to communicate. To be persuasive, political candidates employ a variety of rhetorical strategies. Some common strategies include parellism, presupposition, allusion, metaphor, propaganda, lexicalization and cohesivation, use of pronouns and pragmatic strategies including implicature, code switching and inference.

According to Jones and Peccei (2004), politicians throughout ages have achieved success, due to their “skilful use of rhetoric,” by which they aim to persuade their audience of the validity of their views, delicate and careful use of elegant and persuasive language.

The present study demonstrates how the political candidate employed certain rhetorical devices to powerfully enhance his political message during campaigns in order to win support of the electorate.

1.1.5 Persuasion as Campaign Strategy

According to Black (2014:13), “persuasion refers to the intention, act and effect of changing an audience’s thinking. So persuasion should be considered a speech act; this means that it is a type of language that changes cognition, rather than simply describes it”. This means that the speaker intends to persuade in order to alter the listener’s view. Hence, “persuasion” heavily depends on the context of the communicative situation as the speaker needs to consider why she or he intends to persuade, how she or he intends to persuade and how she or he expects the audience to respond. Black (2014) further posits that “persuasion” is the type of language through which the speaker changes the audience’s opinion while the term “rhetoric” as pointed out above, explains how persuasion is accomplished. In other words, “rhetoric refers specifically to the methods that the speaker uses to persuade, rather than to the whole gestalt of intention, action and effect” (Black, 2014:13). We can therefore conclude that rhetoric does not refer to the persuasive purpose of language, but to the means that make language persuasive.

The main objective for politicians when they are campaigning is to persuade their audience of the validity of their political claims. Political influence flows from the employment of resources that shape the beliefs and behaviours of others. Common resources include expert skills, the restriction of information, the ability to confer favours on others or to injure them without physical force, and subtle or crude bribery. Edelman (1977: 123) states that the knowledgeable politician becomes successful by “using his or her knowledge of informal influence.”

The study attempts to analyse rhetorical strategies in the 2016 presidential campaign discourse by examining how one opposition candidate employed certain rhetorical devices to achieve persuasion in his campaign discourse.

1.2 Background to the Research Problem

1.2.1 Zambia's Political History

Zambia's political history can be traced way back to 1889 when Britain instituted control over Northern Rhodesia managing the area using a scheme of indirect rule which bestows power in the hands of local rulers.

Cecil Rhodes' British South African Company (BSC) signed treaties with African tribes like the Tabwa, Lungu and Mambwe as well as chiefs such as King Lewanika of the Lozi people. Tribes such as the Bembas and Ngonis that were not willing to negotiate were defeated by the British and forced into wage labour. Rhodes governed the area until 1924 when it became a British protectorate (Lumba, 2014).

The discovery of copper and lead mining accelerated development and immigration, which engaged about 4,000 European skilled workers and some 20,000 African labourers by late 1930s. In the subsequent pursuit of economic development, the British forced hut tax that condemned and relegated people to work as wage labourers in order to get some income to pay. Africans had to resist dehumanising situations, fight discrimination and white domination. At one point, the colonial administration arbitrarily imprisoned Africans and deprived them of other rights, through the imposition of the ill-reputed restriction order of September 1956.

The Restriction Order was challenged by the African leadership in the courts and it was ruled in their favour since it was proved to be illegal. The colonial administration refused to accept defeat and made sure that Africans that were already in custody did not have the opportunity to walk freely until they had served their full term of prison.

This injustice and white minority rule gave rise to the nationalist movement that was resolved to fight an intrinsic administration that disadvantaged Zambians. The education which was being provided by both the colonial administration and the missionaries enlightened many black people. The blacks took up the mantle and fought against local injustices and later, through trade unions, fought for independence, welfare associations and legislative council which had been the preserve of the white community from 1925 to 1948.

Some Africans were chosen to serve in the legislative council in 1948. Following these appointments, the first independence movement begun in 1949 when the African Nationalist Congress (ANC) was created to oppose white settler forceful manoeuvres for unification in

order to keep power. In the early 1950s, under the management of Harry Nkumbula, ANC battled against the establishment of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland vigorously but was unsuccessful.

Afterwards, in 1953, London enforced a compromise through the formation of a federation where African MPs were empowered to query legislation considered racist. It was also seen as a potential concession to black nationalists in the region who were starting to ask for independence.

However, the Kamuzu Banda led black nationalists in Nyasaland and those marshalled by Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula and Kenneth Kaunda in Northern Rhodesia expressed worry that Southern Rhodesia white settlers would seize the federation's authority. True to their fears, the Federation's first prime minister was Godfrey Huggins, who had already served as PM of Southern Rhodesia for 23 years.

During its decade of existence, the federal government "creamed off" the revenues from Zambian copper mines to develop Southern Rhodesia's impressive economic structure. By 1958, the booming copper industry had attracted about 72,000 whites to Northern Rhodesia and they dominated over blacks more and more.

Northern Rhodesia was the centre of much of the turmoil and crisis that characterised the federation in its last years. At the core of the controversy were insistent African demands for greater participation in government and European fears of losing political control. The Black Nationalist leaders were frequently arrested to subdue the momentum of the liberation struggle.

It is argued that the experience of imprisonment had a moderating influence on Nkumbula, as opposed to the radical influence on Kaunda. Nkumbula became increasingly influenced by White liberals and was seen as willing to compromise on the fundamental issue of majority rule (Times of Zambia, 2014).

Opposition to Nkumbula's alleged autocratic leadership of the ANC eventually resulted in a split with Kaunda, who went on to form the Zambia African National Congress (ZANC) in October 1958. ZANC was banned in March, 1959 and in June, Kaunda was sentenced to nine months imprisonment.

While Kaunda was still in prison, the United National Independence Party (UNIP) was formed in 1959. Upon release from prison, Kaunda took over the presidency of UNIP, and together

with other leaders like Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe transformed and organised it into a more militant liberation vehicle than Nkumbula's ANC.

Consequently, UNIP rapidly took the leading position in the struggle for independence and eclipsed the ANC. Nkumbula's political career suffered setbacks following his nine months' imprisonment (April 1961 – January 1962), for causing death by dangerous driving as well as his allegedly ill-advised secret electoral pact with the Whites-only United Federal Party.

The British government came to a realisation that independence for African countries was now inevitable especially that there was a change regarding world opinion about imperialism and that a number of French -African colonies had become independent (Times of Zambia, 2014).

In 1961 the British Secretary of State for colonies proposed a constitution for Zambia, which would guarantee African control. The white settlers pressured him into changing it in order to give them control.

However, according to Grey Zulu, Kaunda, the teacher turned militant nationalist leader threatened to 'paralyse' the government unless the new constitution was restored back. Kaunda called for peaceful protests but there were violent rebellions and sabotage as this turmoil came to be known as the famous cha-cha-cha.

Eventually, the British government concented and the constitution was amended to give the Africans a slight majority in the Parliament. In the elections of 1962, ANC and UNIP formed an alliance in an intermediary government and in 1963, the federation was dissolved. The UNIP/ANC coalition lasted until the pre-independence polls of January 1964, when UNIP won fifty-five seats to the ANC's 10 seats. Kaunda became Prime Minister while Nkumbula came to be the leader of the opposition (Lumba, 2014).

Northern Rhodesia became an independent republic in 1964 and was renamed Zambia and Kenneth Kaunda became the first Republican President of Zambia.

Kaunda ruled until 1991 when he legalised opposition political parties and Zambia ratified a new constitution in August 1991. The Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) promptly organised itself as the main opponent to the UNIP (<https://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/World-Leaders-2003/Zambia-POLITICALBACKGROUND.html>).

With the coming of multi-partism, there has been competitive campaigns and strategies in the country by different political players in order for them to win the elections. Since there was now more than one party and therefore more than one candidate, the presidential candidates needed to be more persuasive in their campaigns in order to convince the electorate to vote for them. The first multi-party elections were held in 1991, and Frederick Chiluba, a founding member of MMD, ran for presidency and emerged winner.

In the 2001 elections, Chiluba adopted Levy Patrick Mwanawasa as presidential candidate under the MMD and ten other candidates vied for presidency. The increasing number of candidates entailed that presidential candidates needed to employ more competitive campaign strategies in order to be more persuasive in their campaigns. However, the race was between the two; Levy Mwanawasa, candidate of the MMD and Anderson Mazoka, candidate of the United Party for National Development (UPND), who finished in a near tie, with Mwanawasa apparently winning with a margin of 11,000 votes. This tight contest could have been as a result of the competitive campaign strategies employed by these candidates in order to achieve persuasion.

Levy Mwanawasa died in office towards the end of his second term in August 2008, and there was a presidential by-election in November 2008. The candidates during the by-election continued to employ competitive campaign strategies in order to achieve persuasion and woo more supporters to themselves during elections. With the increase in the number of presidential candidates vying for elections, there was need for contestants to come up with more convincing strategies. They made use of various rhetorical devices such as lexicalisation, requesting and allusion among others. The Vice President Rupiah Banda emerged winner and was sworn in as fourth republican president.

In September 2011, the next general elections were held. Different presidential candidates took part and made use of various campaign strategies in order to win the elections and assume the position of republican president. During these elections, Rupiah Banda lost to Michael Sata and the Patriotic Front party took over government. Michael Sata reigned for only three years as he also died in office in October 2014 (Times of Zambia, 2014).

In January 2015 a by-election was conducted, in which a number of candidates vied for the position of Republican President and continued to solicit for support in order to come out victorious in the elections. The candidates then had to employ more competitive campaign

strategies in the form of campaign speeches, bill boards, manifestos, campaign posters and others in order to convince the electorate to vote for them. Edgar Lungu under PF won the elections and became the sixth Republican President of Zambia after winning a narrow election victory to replace former leader Michael Sata. Edgar Lungu polled 807 925 (48.33%), beating his closest rival Hakainde Hichilema narrowly, who polled 780 168 (46.67%) votes (Electoral Commission of Zambia, 2015).

Mr Lungu's presidency has thus far been criticised for failing to halt the depreciating kwacha. However, economic challenges facing Zambia, in particular the depreciating kwacha, have been attributed to the global fall of commodity prices. Zambia derives over 90% of its export earnings from a single commodity, copper, which has lost about 45% of its value on the international commodity markets. These are some of the aspects on which candidates in the 2016 presidential election campaign speeches focused during their campaigns in order to win support of the electorate. Therefore, the campaign strategies at the time, were very competitive.

The pieces of discourse under examination in the present study are the campaign messages of one of the leading presidential candidates in the run up to the August 11, 2016 elections. The candidate under investigation is Mr Hakainde Hichilema of the United Party for National Development (UPND). The study focuses on Mr Hakainde Hichilema because he was the main opposition candidate in the 2016 elections, and as an opposition party leader, he worked hard to employ more effective campaign strategies in his campaign speeches to persuade the electorate in order to win the elections. The election campaign speeches for Mr Hichilema therefore contained very persuasive because he needed to convince the people that he was a capable leader who could change their lives for the better.

1.2.2 The Background of the Presidential Candidate under Investigation

As pointed out above, the candidate under investigation is the UPND's Mr Hakainde Hichilema who was the main opposition candidate during the run up to the August 11, 2016 elections in Zambia. His main task was to challenge the ruling party in the elections and therefore needed to be more persuasive in his campaign speeches, in order to unseat the incumbent president.

Mr Hakainde Hichilema, fondly known as HH, was born on June 4, 1962 in the Southern province of Zambia in Monze District. Mr Hichilema was admitted to the University of Zambia where he studied and graduated in 1986 with a Bachelor of Arts (BA) in Economics and

Business Administration. He thereafter pursued an MBA in Finance and Business Strategy at the University of Birmingham in the United Kingdom.

He served as the Chief Executive Officer of both Coopers and Lybrand Zambia from 1994 to 1998 and Grant Thornton Zambia from 1998 to 2006

(<https://www.zambianobserver.com/biography-of-incoming-republican-president-of-zambia-hakainde-hichilema/>).

Mr Hichilema ran as the UPND candidate in the 2006, 2008, 2011, and 2015 elections, without winning the elections.

In order to woo support for himself and his party in the 2016 elections, Mr Hichilema had to put more effort than he had done in the previous elections by employing better and competitive campaign strategies during his campaigns in order to convince the electorate to support him during elections. He therefore employed certain rhetorical devices in order to achieve persuasion in his campaign speeches.

1.2.3 The Rhetorical Situation in Zambia During the run-up to the 2016 Elections

In order to present a thorough analysis of the rhetoric devices Mr Hakainde Hichilema employed during the 2016 election campaign speeches, it is imperative to briefly consider the rhetorical situation in the country at the time of the 2016 elections. According to Medhurst (1996:3) a rhetorical situation is “a complex of persons, events, objects, and relations presenting an actual or potential exigency which can be completely or partially removed if discourse, introduced into the situation, can so constrain human decision or action as to bring about the significant modification of the exigency.”

The August 11, 2016 presidential elections in Zambia were held with a backdrop of three major events in the country. The first one being that the 2016 elections were the first ones to be held under the new constitution which was endorsed and signed in January 2016 by the Republican President at the time, Mr Edgar Lungu. The second event was that one of the clauses in the constitution was the fifty plus one (50+1) clause, which stipulated that for a candidate to be declared winner they were required to secure at least fifty percent plus one votes of the total votes cast (Appendix I). This feature was unique because it was the first time that this clause was to be applied to the Zambian presidential elections.

The third one was the running mate clause (Appendix II), which was a requirement that each candidate needed to have had a running mate. This running mate would automatically assume the position of Vice President if the candidate won the presidency and, would take over as Republican President in an event that the sitting president died in office. This candidate or running mate would not be fired in any circumstance by the president. As result of this clause, the political parties and candidates worked hard during campaigns in order to claim victory in the first round to avoid a rerun of elections. The candidates therefore had to use more competitive strategies in their campaign speeches to persuade the electorate to vote for them. To this effect, the UPND fielded Mr Geoffrey Bwalya Mwamba as a running mate to Mr Hakainde Hichilema.

These events; the new constitution and the clauses (50+1 and running mate) made the 2016 elections to be very competitive and affected the campaigns in that the candidates had to work hard to achieve the conditions outlined above. Therefore, the candidate under investigation, Mr Hakainde Hichilema, made use of effective persuasive strategies in order to convince the electorate to vote for him and his party.

Trent and Friedenberg (2000) posit that political election campaigns in general are communicative processes. They argue that it is this campaign message or rhetorical discourse that is at the centre of presidential election campaigns. Rhetorical discourse therefore outlines an interface between the goals of the candidate and those of the electorate, “just as it serves as the bridge between the dreams or hopes of the voter and the actions of the candidate” (Trent & Friedenberg, 2000: 17). Put simply, presidential rhetoric in political campaigns assists the political candidates to develop and keep up public support for themselves and their policies (Buchanan 1991; Joslyn 1990; McKelvey & Ordeshook 1984).

1.2.4 Zambia’s Ethnolinguistic Background

Zambia is situated in Southern Africa and is a home to a great number of different ethnic groups. Zambia is home to about 73 different ethnic groups. That means that Zambia technically has about 73 different spoken languages, although some researchers technically categorise many of these languages as dialects of each other. Therefore, Zambia is a heterogeneous nation linguistically. Although there are several languages spoken in Zambia, seven of them are officially recognised as regional languages. These represent the major languages of each province: Bemba is spoken in Northern, Luapula, Muchinga and the Copperbelt Provinces, Nyanja is used in Lusaka and Eastern provinces, Lozi in Western

Province, while Tonga is spoken in Southern and Central Provinces and Kaonde, Luvale and Lunda are used in Northwestern Province. These seven languages are used, together with English, in early primary schooling and in some government publications. A common orthography was approved by the Ministry of Education in 1977 (Marten, Lutz; Kula, Nancy C., 2008 & Kashoki, 1990).

According to the 2000 census, the most widely spoken languages in Zambia are Bemba which is used by 35% of the population as either a first or second language, followed by Nyanja with 37%, then Tonga with 25% and Lozi with 18% (Chanda & Mkandawire 2013).

Mkandawire (2017) posits that in some languages, especially Bemba and Nyanja, Zambians distinguish between a 'deep' form of the language, which is associated with older and more traditional speakers in rural areas, and urban forms. These forms are sometimes referred to as "town language" or Chitauni, such as Town Bemba and Town Nyanja that combine a large number of borrowing from English and other inventions. The English language, which is the language of the former colonial masters, serves as a unifying language among educated Zambians. It functions as a national lingua franca. English is the first language of only 2% of Zambians but is the most commonly used second language (Kashoki, 1990).

The English language is the official language in Zambia and is used in formal domains and therefore the language of politics. When politicians are campaigning, they use English since politics is an official domain. However, as they campaign, political candidate see it fit to code switch from English to a Zambian language used in the area where they are campaigning and from Zambian language to English. At times the candidate rivets to using Zambian languages completely in order to achieve her or his objective, which is to woo support of the electorate. The code switching is employed to achieve the meaning of the intended message or certain effects which political candidate may not achieve when the English equivalent is used (Ademilokun, 2015). As Washington-Harmon (2020) contends, when someone speaks to another person in a language the other person comprehends or in a way that puts that person at ease, the probability of creating a connection with that person increases. Political candidates therefore, employ code switching as a rhetorical device in order to achieve persuasion with the electorate. The candidate under investigation, Mr Hakainde Hichilema, made use of code switching as a rhetorical device in order to achieve persuasion in his campaign messages.

1.3 The Statement of the Problem

Political campaign speeches are replete with certain rhetorical devices that carry with them particular images that are invoked by the politicians' diction during campaigns. These rhetorical devices are employed by political candidates in order to achieve persuasion in their campaign messages. Political candidates make use of various rhetorical devices in different circumstances in order to solicit for support from the electorate.

The studies that have been conducted on political rhetoric in general include; Kangira (2005) on the rhetoric of presidential election campaigns in Zimbabwe, Michira (2014) on the rhetorical devices and strategies in the presidential campaign discourse in Kenya and Šlesingrová (2015) on features of persuasive language in presidential campaign speeches in Prague. While Ademilokun (2015) analysed the discursive strategies in political campaigns in Nigeria, Korhonen (2017) analysed how language is used to advance political goals in America and Mwiinga (2015) performed a critical discourse analysis of parliamentary debates in Zambia.

Therefore, very few studies have been conducted on the subject of how rhetorical devices are used by politicians in their campaign messages in order to win support of the electorate in Zambia, despite the substantial availability of literature on the topic. As a result, very little is known regarding how these rhetorical devices are employed by political candidates in their campaign speeches in Zambia in order to achieve persuasion. It is in this regard that the study investigated how rhetorical devices were employed in the 2016 presidential campaign speeches in Zambia by the political candidate under investigation in order to evoke unconscious images and emotions in the audience with a view to achieving persuasion.

1.4 Purpose of the Study

The main objective of the study was to show how rhetorical devices were employed in the 2016 election campaigns by the political candidate under investigation in order to achieve persuasion in his speeches. Specifically, the objectives of the study were to:

- (i) examine the rhetorical function of aesthetic expressions in achieving persuasion in the political campaign speeches by the presidential candidate under examination.
- (ii) analyse how the syntactic elements were used as rhetorical devices in political campaign speeches by the presidential candidate under examination in order to achieve persuasion.

(iii) establish the rhetorical significance of code switching in achieving persuasion in the political campaign speeches by the presidential candidate under examination.

(iv) analyse how the rhetorical function of presupposition was employed as a rhetorical device in order to achieve persuasion in the political campaign speeches by the presidential candidate under examination.

1. 5 Research Questions

(i) What is the rhetorical function of aesthetic expressions employed by the presidential candidate under examination in order to achieve persuasion in his political campaign speeches?

(ii) How were syntactic elements used as rhetorical devices in the political campaign speeches of the political candidate under investigation in order to achieve persuasion?

(iii) What is the rhetorical significance of code switching in achieving persuasion in the campaign speeches of the political candidate under investigation?

(iv) How is the rhetorical function of presupposition employed by the candidate under investigation in order to achieve persuasion in his campaign speeches?

1.6 Rationale

Election campaign is a form of political discourse in which politicians employ certain rhetorical devices to influence the outcome of an election. The presidential campaign speeches have remained relatively under researched in the literature, especially in Zambia. In the areas where this linguistic phenomenon had been conducted, the studies have to a large extent focused on how indirection is demonstrated in political interaction thereby foregrounding the elements such as euphemism, metaphor and hedging in the political campaign speeches. The present study is significant in that it will provide realistic data on how the political candidate under investigation employed rhetorical devices in his campaign speeches in order to achieve persuasion. It is also hoped that the investigation may provide further evidence and support for the analytical position about the Rhetorical theory that rhetoric is the skill of persuasive interaction in a given circumstance.

Since many studies in this area focused on how indirection is demonstrated in political interaction, the study adds new insights in the growing body of sociolinguistics and discourse

analysis in Zambia. Finally, the study will hopefully be used to serve as the springboard for further research on the relationship between language and political rhetoric.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The corpus of data in this research consisted of the campaign speeches of one of the leading presidential candidates during the election campaigns leading to the 2016 general elections. Therefore, the discourse from the campaign speeches of one of the leading presidential candidates running to the 2016 general elections constituted the sample for the study. The campaign rallies conducted by the candidate under study, across the country between 11th May and 10th August 2016, were sampled at random. The study therefore did not include posters, songs, manifestos or other forms of political discourse.

1.8 Delimitation of the Study

The data for the study were generated from speeches of the campaign rallies that were conducted in different parts of the country.

1.9 Limitations of the Study

The study recognises limitations regarding the kind of data that was collected. The study only focused on the campaign speeches of one candidate, to the run up to August 11, 2016 elections, an opposition candidate. The findings therefore cannot be generalised to other candidates because the rhetorical devices employed were unique to this particular candidate.

1.10 Explanation of Concepts Related to the Study

1.10.1 Linguistic Manipulation and Politics

In the present study, the peculiarities between the concepts language and politics are viewed considering the explanations presented by Chilton (1998). Thus, language is ‘the universal capacity of humans in all societies to communicate’, while by politics he means ‘the art of governance’. Thus, the study views language as a tool to interacting in diverse circumstances or in various organisations being conventionally recognised as political atmosphere.

It has been argued that the strategy that one group of individuals takes to make the other group of people do what it intends to be done is known as a linguistic strategy. It involves

manipulative application of the language. Therefore, ‘linguistic manipulation is the conscious use of language in a devious way to control the others’ (section 2.7).

Linguistic manipulation can also be regarded as a powerful mechanism of political rhetoric because political discourse is primarily focused on persuading people to take specified political actions or to make essential political decisions. In other words, language performs an important ideological function because it is a tool by means of which the manipulative objectives of politicians become obvious.

Thus, the language applied in political discourse employs a wide range of rhetorical devices at the phonological, syntactic, lexical, semantic, pragmatic and textual levels. This application is aimed at constructing the type of the language that can be easily espoused by the mass media and memorised by the target audience.

1.10.2 Features of Political Discourse

Political discourse, which depends primarily on language, is “a form of social action always determined by values and social norms, by conventions (as naturalised ideologies) and social practices and always delimited and influenced by power structures and historical process” (Wodak,1995).

Political discourse is represented in many communicative methods such as: speeches, election campaigns, commentaries in newspapers, interviews and conferences. Politicians usually employ simple language, direct and mixed with colloquial speech. They also make use of proverbs and idioms. These characteristics make politicians’ language very informal. Politicians therefore, to a large extent use two forms of style; a rhetorical style which can include, for instance, local dialects in the case of Zambia, such as in code switching, and the language of politics (Fairclough 2001:8). Words are intentionally and politically informed. The following are some of the features of political campaigns employed by politicians during campaigns.

1.10.2.1 Manifesto

The word manifesto is derived from the Italian word manifesto, itself drawn from the Latin manifestum, meaning clear or noticeable.

A manifesto is a printed verbal declaration of the objectives, motives, or opinions of the issuer, be it an individual, group, political party or government (Robertson, 1890). A manifesto

normally consents to a previously published view or public agreement and/or fosters a new idea with prescriptive concepts for hauling out changes the author deems should be constructed. It often is political or artistic in nature, but may present an individual life's standpoint (Robertson, 1890). Politicians make use of manifestos to make themselves and their parties known to the electorate. In their manifestos, they declare their objectives, plans and intentions to the electorate once elected to office.

1.10.2.2 Political Campaign Speeches

A political campaign is an orderly effort which strives to manipulate the process of decision making within a particular group of people. In democracies, political campaigns normally refer to electoral campaigns, through which government bodies are elected or referendums are decided. In modern politics, the highly-profiled political campaigns are centred on general elections and contestants for head of state or head of government, usually a president or prime minister (Gunn & Skogerbø, 2013).

Process of Campaigning

The first part of any campaign for a candidate is making a decision to contest. Prospective candidates will usually discuss with family, friends, professional associates, elected officials, community leaders, and the leaders of political parties before they settle to contend in an election. Candidates are usually recruited by political parties and lobby groups who are interested in selecting like-minded politicians. During the period of recruiting, people contemplating running for office will consider their ability to put money together, organisation, and public image required to win an election. Many campaigns for major office do not go beyond this stage as people often feel insecure in their ability to win.

Once a candidate decides to run for an election, they would make a public announcement. This announcement could be in a form ranging from a simple press release to concerned media channels to a major media occasion followed by a speech tour. Usually, many people come to know that a candidate is going to contest for a particular office before the announcement is made. Prospective candidates decide to be coy about whether they are running for office or not as a deliberate practice either to "test the waters" or to hold the media's attention.

During this period, candidates tour the area they are running in to meet up with voters; interacting with them in large gatherings, small groups, or on one-on-one basis. This process enables voters to understand and get a better picture of a candidate than just reading about them in a paper or seeing them on television. At times candidates launch expensive media campaigns

during this period to introduce the candidate to voters, but many wait until the election day is closer.

On the other hand, campaigns often dispatch volunteers into local communities to rally with voters and persuade them to support the candidate. In addition, the volunteers identify supporters, recruit them as volunteers or encourage them to register as voters if they are not already registered. This exercise of identifying supporters becomes useful later as campaigns remind voters to cast their votes. Late in the campaign, political parties undertake expensive television, radio, and direct mail campaigns with a view to persuading voters to support the candidate.

The presidential candidate under examination went through this process formally, which included filing for nomination. Thereafter, the campaigns were seriously conducted during the campaign period which lasted for three months, from 11th May to 10th August 2016.

The present study focuses on the political campaign speeches as a feature of political discourse. It examines the campaign speeches by one of the leading presidential candidates of 2016 elections. The campaign speeches are a form political discourse which is naturally occurring language as it is not planned or prepared in advance. Political campaign speeches are therefore ideal for investigating rhetorical devices which the candidate under investigation employed in order to achieve persuasion. As pointed out above, the candidate under investigation, being an opposition candidate, needed to work hard in order to convince the electorate to vote for him. He therefore, made use of powerful campaign strategies in order to achieve persuasion in his election campaign speeches.

Other features that are used in political discourse, but to a lesser extent, include songs, posters, treaty and political commentaries.

1.11 Organisation of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into nine chapters. The first chapter introduces the study by giving background information to the investigation, giving the specific problem under investigation and the rationale for the research. The chapter also gives the purpose and objectives of the study with the specific research questions that were addressed by the study. This is done in order to put the study into context. It further presents the scope and limitations of the study as well as a number of concepts that the study made use of in order to unpack a number of aspects as presented in political rhetoric. The chapter closes with a general organisation of the thesis.

The second chapter presents the literature related to the study. This presentation is done in order to place the investigation within the context of similar studies, thereby making the present study rich as well as justifying it.

Chapter three presents the analytical framework that informed the study. In order to adequately analyse the discourse of the presidential candidate under examination, the study made use of the Rhetorical analytical framework. Rhetorical analytical framework is concerned with how people use language to communicate their ideas in an endeavour to win support of an audience. The Rhetorical analytical framework is also used to demonstrate how the political candidate under investigation employed certain rhetorical devices by choosing particular linguistic units to meaningfully convey his campaign message as well as how he presented his arguments to the electorate in a convincing manner. The chapter also presents the different aspects of rhetoric for effective communication, which are ethos, logos, pathos, and Kairos.

Chapter Four provides the methodology and the philosophical foundations on which the methodology of the study is built. It indicates the research paradigm, study design, sources of data, sample size and sampling techniques, and how the data were analysed in the study. The chapter ends with ethical considerations undertaken in the study.

The fifth chapter examines the rhetorical function of aesthetic expressions in achieving persuasion in the political campaign speeches. The investigation answers research question and objective number one which was intended to examine the rhetorical function of of the aesthetic expressions in the campaign speeches of the candidate under examination.

The sixth chapter analyses how syntactic elements were employed as rhetorical devices by the political candidate under examination in his campaign speeches during the campaign rallies in order to achieve persuasion. The analysis answers research question and objective number two which was aimed at examining how syntactic elements were exploited as rhetorical devices by the presidential candidate under examination in his campaign speeches in order to achieve persuasion.

The seventh chapter discusses the rhetorical significance of code switching in political discourse. The aim of the investigation is to answer research question and objective number three which sought to establish the rhetorical significance of code switching in achieving persuasion in the political campaign speeches by the presidential candidate under examination.

Chapter eight discusses the rhetorical function of presupposition as exploited in the presidential campaign discourse by the candidate under examination during campaign rallies. The analysis answers the research question and objective number four which is aimed at analysing the rhetorical function of presupposition in the campaign discourse of the presidential candidate under study in order to achieve persuasion.

Finally, chapter nine provides overall conclusions regarding the rhetorical analysis of the 2016 Zambian presidential election campaign discourse. The conclusions are with regard to one of the presidential candidates and how he exploited rhetorical devices in his campaign speeches in order to achieve persuasion. The chapter brings out key issues that were brought about by the findings of the study. In addition, the chapter presents a summary of the main findings that emerged from the analyses in relation to the research objectives in order to show how far these objectives have been addressed in the study. The chapter further presents some contributions of the study to new knowledge in the fields of discourse analysis and sociolinguistics. Based on the findings, the chapter gives suggestions for future action in the form of recommendations. Appendices follow the last chapter.

1.12 Summary

The chapter has introduced the rhetorical analysis of the political election campaign discourse of one of the leading presidential candidates in Zambia in 2016. The presentation began with the background information on language and politics to political discourse. Next, the background to presidential campaigns leading to the run-up to the August 11, 2016 elections and the rhetorical situation that characterised the political scene during the campaigns as well as Zambia's ethnolinguistic background have been highlighted. The chapter has also presented the problem under investigation, the objectives of the study and specific questions through which the objectives are addressed. The chapter further presents the rationale, scope, delimitation and limitations of the study. Finally, it gives an explanation to the concepts that are related to the study and ends with the organisation of the thesis. The next chapter presents the review of the literature related to the study. This presentation is with a view to placing the investigation within the context of similar studies in order to enrich it as well as to providing a justification for it.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the introduction and background information to the study. This chapter sketches a vignette of the extant literature on the rhetorical analysis of political discourse with the aim of positioning the present study therein. The literature reviewed begins by considering the studies on political discourse analysis in general and those that were conducted in Zambia. The chapter then outlines studies on political discourse analysis and rhetorical analysis, and those on political persuasion. The chapter further highlights studies conducted on polarization and modality in political discourse as well as those done on linguistic manipulation and political rhetoric.

2.1 Studies on Political Discourse Analysis in General

Studies on political discourse to a large extent focused on how indirection is demonstrated in political interaction. These include the use of euphemisms and metaphors in political campaigns (Mihas, 2005), the syntactic and semantic properties of “Yes we can” (Bista, 2009), the use of hedging in political discourse (Fraser, 2010) and the semantic implication of modal auxiliary verbs in political manifestos as well as ideology and power relation in the pronoun (Nartey & Yankson, 2014). Van Dijk (2006; 2008) brings out some of the crucial sociocognitive practices fundamental to the creation and understanding of ideological discourse and surveyed some general properties of ideologies as forms of social perception and their associations to political text and talk. Other studies include critical discourse analysis of presidential speeches and parliamentary discourses (Andreassen, 2007; Hovarth, 2008; Rashid & Souzandehfar, 2010; & Mwiinga, 2015); and language of politics (Machira, 2014) and on the rhetoric of presidential election campaigns (Kangira, 2005). Mcclay (2017) reveals the ways in which reality is constructed through representations of social actors; while Korhonen (2017) performed an analysis of how language is used to advance political goals in America.

2.2 Studies on Political Discourse Analysis in Zambia

Studies on political discourse analysis in Zambia are very few. One study that seems relevant to the present study is the one done by Mwiinga (2015) on a critical discourse analysis of parliamentary discourse.

In her study, Mwiinga (2015) performed a critical discourse analysis of linguistic features of the parliamentary debate on the lifting of the immunity of the fourth Republican President in Zambia. Her findings demonstrate that the debate session was characterised by unequal power relations and discursive polarization in that members of parliament presented a world view of ‘us’ versus ‘them’ of positive *us* presentation and negative *them* presentation respectively. In her later study, Mwiinga (2020) further established that the discourse of the arguments of individual members of parliament is persuasive and reasonable at the same time. In addition, the relationship between the discursive event and discursive structure idea was established in the study. The immunity lifting, which is the discursive event shaped the debate session, the discursive structure.

The point of departure of the present study and the studies by Mwiinga (2015 & 2020), is that Mwiinga did not examine rhetorical devices in presidential campaign discourse. The present study therefore fills this gap.

2.3 Political Discourse and Rhetorical Analysis

A number of studies on political discourse have been conducted within the African continent, while others were conducted outside the continent. Most of these studies dealt with presidential addresses and campaign speeches, and to some extent political debates. A few of the studies concerned themselves with euphemisms and metaphors, syntactic and semantic properties, hedging, and ideology and power in political campaigns. These studies are presented below with a focus on rhetorical devices.

2.3.1 Political Discourse and Rhetorical Analysis in Africa

In a rhetorical study in Zimbabwe, Kangira (2005) conducted a study on the rhetoric of the 2002 presidential election campaigns. The study focused on the analyses of the rhetoric employed by the two major contestants in the 2002 presidential elections – the one who was holding office at the time, President Robert Gabriel Mugabe, candidate of the Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) and the opposition candidate, Morgan

Tsvangirai, of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). The study made use of the Rhetoric and Rhetorical theory for analysis. Kangira demonstrates through his study that both parties employed negative advertisements during their election campaigns. This persuasive attack yielded negative impression of both candidates. The rhetoric provoked political cynicism of the candidates in the view points of the electorate. The ZANU PF candidate made use of combined memory and nostalgia in all the four funeral addresses in order to solicit for support from the electorate. The MDC candidate's rhetoric was centred on the demand for a change of government. The study demonstrates that Tsvangirai's rhetoric which called for change was more persuasive to the electorate than Mugabe's and that had the electoral process been free and fair, Tsvangirai could have emerged victorious.

The present study is related to the study by Kangira in that the present study performs a rhetorical analysis of the campaign speeches of one of the opposition presidential candidate in the 2016 elections with a view to establishing rhetorical persuasion. The study by Kangira informed the present study as it revealed the importance of rhetoric in political campaigns and showed the strategies employed by politicians in order to woo support of the electorate.

Michira (2014) applied descriptive methods of CDA to critically analyse the rhetorical devices and strategies in the presidential campaign discourse of April 4, 2013 elections in Kenya. He used both primary data, which included speeches, party manifestos and campaign video clips; and secondary data which included newspapers and online sources, to analyse the literary devices and strategies that were used by the main contenders for the presidency. The contenders were Uhuru Kenyatta of the Jubilee Coalition (JC) and Raila Odinga of the Coalition Reform and Democracy (CORD). Michira demonstrates that language is a formidable tool that politicians employ to communicate policies and ideological positions as well as to create certain insights in order to influence and manipulate the votes with a view to gaining an advantage over their opponents.

The relationship between the present study and Michira's is that like Michira's, the present study endeavoured to investigate and establish the rhetorical strategies of the presidential campaign discourse in Zambia leading to the August 11, 2016 elections. The study did so by critically analysing the rhetorical devices and strategies in the 2016 political campaign speeches employed by one presidential candidate in order to achieve persuasion. However, the study by Michira involved different features of political discourse which could have affected the objectivity of the findings and hence the usefulness of the present study.

In Yola Metropolis of Adamawa State of Nigeria, a study was conducted on the stylistic of selected campaign posters by Sharndama and Mohammed (2013). They used Crystal and Davy's (1985) Linguistic stylistic model for analysis. The study demonstrates that at graphological level, campaign posters are different in shapes and sizes and are beautifully designed to attract the attention of the electorate or passers-by. In addition, the vocabulary is descriptive and emotive aiming at enticing to change and accept the political candidate. Furthermore, the linguistic features are generally descriptive, emotive and persuasive. This study fits into the present one in that the present study investigated rhetorical devices in political discourse and endeavoured to establish how these linguistic features were employed to achieve persuasion on the part of the electorate. However, this study focused on a different feature of political discourse, campaign posters, leaving a gap regarding how rhetorical devices are employed in speeches in order to achieve persuasion, which the present study fills in.

In their exploration of semantic underpinnings of modal auxiliary verbs in the 2012 manifesto of a popular Ghanaian political party, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) in Situ, Nartey and Yankson (2014), affirmed that political rhetoric is conditioned by specific aims and exact themes. They demonstrate perceptibly that modal auxiliary verbs have the propensity to reveal very subtle and nuance meaning of the meanings of the nature of political discourse. Rooted in a content qualitative research paradigm, the analysis reveals that modal auxiliary verbs are used extensively in the manifesto to give the message a sense of intention, promise, obligation and necessity in a conscious and strategic attempt to persuade the electorate. Thus political election manifestos of political parties, explicitly stipulate their policies in a bid to win over the electorate (cf Bista, 2009). This study informed the present study in that the present study examined syntactic elements, including the modal auxiliary verbs *will* and *can*, and how they were employed as rhetorical devices in the discourse of the presidential candidate under investigation. Thereafter an analysis of how these syntactic elements and rhetorical devices were used to persuade the electorate was conducted. However, the study by Nartey and Yankson focused on a narrow scope of the semantic aspect of political discourse and not how rhetorical devices are used to achieve persuasion, hence the importance of the present study.

Jarraya (2013) investigated persuasion in political discourse in the last speech of the former Tunisian president, Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, delivered one day before he left the country in the middle of the Tunisian Revolution that sparked the so called Arab Spring. The research was performed within a discourse analysis framework.

In the study Jarraya analysed sentences to check their illocutionary force in light of Searle's typology of Speech Act Theory. After that, an analysis of agency was carried out to investigate the persuasive dimension of the use of deictic pronouns to construct the self-image as well as the image of the *Other*. He also examined the speech using the three appeals of Aristotle; ethos, pathos and logos, and its use of diglossia. Lastly, he employed the Gricean maxims to check whether the Cooperative Principle is observed or not and whether the deviation is intended for persuasive ends.

The findings of the study indicate that multiple speech acts were used in the same utterance either with or without an explicit performative verb. Some speech acts may be used as a medium to carry *other*. The results of the study also showed how the strategic use of deictic pronouns and agency with certain illocutionary forces helps construct *otherness* as well as the *self*. This process is enforced by the marked use of ethos, which is a crucial strategy of persuasion in political discourse.

Even though the use of Tunisian dialect represents a deviation from the norm, the findings show that emotions are more effectively conveyed in a dialect than in Standard Arabic. The nonobservance of the Gricean maxims is found to be a persuasive strategy to manipulate the audience. However, the study did not take into account the importance of the context in achieving persuasion but relied on linguistic tools only which leaves a gap regarding the ethos aspect on the part of the speaker. Persuasion has to be paralleled with a good awareness of the context. The present study fills in this gap in that it examined rhetorical devices in the light of the three appeals to rhetoric paralleling with the speaker, type of audience and the context.

Furthermore, Ekhareafa and Akoseogasimhe (2015) demonstrate how political adverts can be employed by creatively constructing verbal and visual strategies to project political aspirants for acceptance by the Nigerian electorates. They did so in a study in which they performed a textual analysis of some political campaign advertisements for the 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria with a view to unearthing the development issues raised, religious and personal attacks inherent in the published advertisements. The data for the study comprised of eight adverts which were purposively selected and published in two Nigerian newspapers from January to March 2015. This period was the peak period of electioneering campaigns for the 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria. The advertisements generally focused on the two leading parties in the country (People's Democratic Party and All Progressives Congress). The data obtained were analysed using the Textual analysis research design.

In the study, the appeal to history for the education of the electorate about the previous deeds of certain political contestants, making the campaigns evidence-based, the foregrounding of credibility matters and the emphasis on change served as useful rhetorical appeals in the discourse upon which the analysis was anchored and which allowed for their effective interpretation. The study further revealed that other noticeable discursive themes in the discourse are attacks and counter attacks, hate and brand association. This study does not take into account the appeals to rhetoric which are crucial for a political candidate to be accepted by the electorate. The present study endeavoured to analyse rhetorical devices in the 2016 political campaign discourse in order to establish useful rhetorical appeals in the discourse of the presidential candidate under study by taking into account the four appeals to rhetoric which are pathos, ethos, logos and kairos. The rhetorical devices employed by the present study include historical and social allusion employed as rhetorical strategies in the campaign speeches.

2.3.2 Political Discourse and Rhetorical Analysis in the Middle East

In Iraq, a study was undertaken in the perspective of performance on how politicians in political interviews rely on pragmatic strategies to grapple with conflict between being uncooperative and truthful. The study was undertaken by the College of Basic Education Researchers (2010), by analysing four Iraqi interviewers. They applied an eclectic model based on previous works on the pragmatic analysis of political discourse. The results of the study indicate that indirection is an essential property of any political discourse. It was revealed that in Iraq, communication is accomplished through strategies such as word play, metaphor, circumlocution, use of approximation and numbers with citations from historical speeches and from the Holy Quran. The study also showed that cultural differences are reflected in the kind of verbal indirectness that politicians use. This study did not investigate political discourse hence the usefulness of the present study. The present study analysed how syntactic elements, metaphorical expressions among others are used as rhetorical devices by the political candidate under study in order to achieve persuasion during campaign speeches.

In their study, Maks and Vossen (2010) examine the saliency of deontic constructions in election manifestos. To them, election manifestos have a predominant use of deontic constructions that seem to fit very well the expression of principles, behaviour and policies as promoted in manifestoes. The study reveals that the principles and policy measures captured in a manifesto are often linguistically comprehended with deontic structures of modal verbs

and adjectives. This comprehension, according to Maks and Vossen, is because the message of a political manifesto is intended to be reassuring. Hence, the use of deontic modals seems appropriate since such verbs echo a certain level of commitment, zeal and enthusiasm by the political party. The study by Maks and Vossen analysed manifestos and not campaign speeches giving a departure with the present study. The present study investigated some syntactic elements including the modal verbs *will* and *can*, in the campaign discourse of the presidential candidate under study as rhetorical devices with a view to establishing how they helped to achieve persuasion with the electorate.

2.3.3 Political Discourse and Rhetorical Analysis in America

Bista (2009) examined the syntactic and semantic properties of *Yes, we can*, as used by the US president, Barack Obama. The phrase *Yes, we can*, represents various forms of meaning - challenge, possibility, ability, permission and opportunity – in social, political and linguistic domains alike. A popular repetitive expression in president Obama's speeches, this phrase, supposedly, highlights his political will, nerve and confidence in addressing an allegedly downcast American citizenry in an endeavour to inspire and motivate them along the tangents of advancement and prosperity. The point to be taken cognisance of is that the use of *can* in 'Yes, We Can' gives the message a serious tone given the senses of promise, possibility and ability that are likely to be elicited by the modal auxiliary verb.

The present study likewise, analysed the use of modal verbs, including *can* as exploited in political discourse. The study also endeavoured to ascertain whether the syntactic elements, in this case pronouns, used in the campaign discourse highlight the political will of the presidential candidate under examination and how they are employed as rhetorical devices.

Another study was undertaken by Horváth (2008) who adopted Fairclough's (1995) assumptions about critical discourse analysis, that ideologies reside in texts, that it is not possible to 'read off' ideologies from texts and that texts are open to diverse interpretations. He undertook this study by examining the persuasive strategies of president Obama's public speaking as well as the covert ideology, enshrined in his inaugural address. The selected corpus' ideological and persuasive components were assessed, thus revealing Obama's persuasive strategies. For instance, in his inaugural speech Obama exploits the ideology of love by quoting from the Bible as shown below.

Love is patient, love is kind. It does not envy, it does not boast, it is not proud. It is not rude, it is not self-seeking, it is not easily angered, it keeps no record of

wrongs. Love does not delight in evil but rejoices with the truth. It always protects, always trusts, always hopes, always perseveres. Love never fails. (I Corinthians 13:4).

When I was a child, I talked like a child, I thought like a child, I reasoned like a child. When I became a man, I put childish ways behind me. Now we see but a poor reflection as in a mirror; then we shall see face to face. Now I know in part; then I shall know fully, even as I am fully known. And now these three remain: faith, hope, and love. But the greatest of these is love. (I Corinthians 13:11).

(Horváth, 2008:54)

Hovárth demonstrates through the results of the study that the overall, underlying theme of the speech was inspired and empowered by the ‘strength from the heroic past’, which should be used as a resort for rebuilding the nation in the time of the global financial crisis and the threat of global terrorism. The excerpt below from the inaugural speech illustrates this view.

Recall that earlier generations faced down fascism and communism not just with missiles and tanks, but with the sturdy alliances and enduring convictions. They understood that our power alone cannot protect us, nor does it entitle us to do as we please. Instead, they knew that our power grows through its prudent use. Our security emanates from the justness of our cause; the force of our example; the tempering qualities of humility and restraint. We are the keepers of this legacy, guided by these principles once more, we can meet those new threats that demand even greater effort, even greater cooperation and understanding between nations.

(Hováth, 2008:50, 51)

Furthermore, in the study the discursive event and discursive structure interrelatedness idea proposed by Fairclough (1995) was confirmed. The inaugural address - the discursive event shaped the text – the discursive structure. In addition, the discourse became subject of interpretation by the audience, which in turn shaped the discourse practice of Obama that followed.

The study by Horváth analysed inaugural speeches whose focus is different from campaign speeches that focus on achieving persuasion. The present study therefore fills this gap by analysing campaign speeches and showing how the candidate under study made use of the rhetorical devices to achieve persuasion.

In a study in America, Kazemiam and Hashemi (2014) analysed Barack Obama’s 2012 Speeches in the light of Halliday’s Ideational Grammatical Metaphor, Rhetoric and Critical Discourse Analysis. Their major objectives of the study were to investigate and analyse Barack

Obama's 2012 five speeches, which amounted to 19 383 words, from the point of frequency and functions of nominalization, rhetorical strategies, passivization and modality, in which the effective and dominant principles and tropes utilised in political discourse can be grasped. Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis frameworks based on a Hallidayan perspective were used to depict the orator's deft and clever use of these strategies in the speeches which are bound up with his overall political purposes.

The study concluded that the analysis of Mr Obama's 2012 speeches infers that the addresses were prepared by a deft orator and are not impromptu speeches. Meanwhile, multiple linguistic and rhetorical strategies were exploited for the efficiency of the speeches. They are inextricably intertwined and, at times, it is hard to uncouple one from another as they are often multifunctional. The tendency and priority to apply more nominalization, passivization and modal verbs by the political orator in Mr Obama's speeches are the vital reasons for making his language powerful, impressive, persuasive and ambiguous as well. Primarily, by metaphorizing a process and passive voicing, Mr Obama can mirror a fact, or express his intended meanings implicitly as in a compact and dense form. Secondly, nominalization is a means to assisting him to expand his discussion cohesively and step by step, which employs compound passages encapsulated in nominal forms as theme.

Finally, nominalizations construct and contribute to abstraction, generalisation, impersonality, objectification, information load, language economy and cohesion, ambiguity and, beauty of the texts. Upon listening as well as reading Obama's speeches, it will be noticed that, in nearly all paragraphs, there are some eye-catching tropes along with plenty of recurrent syntactical and lexical clauses attracting the audience and readers' attention. Besides, it is immediately apparent from the selected speeches that President Obama relies heavily on rhetorical devices, particularly, parallelism tropes and unification strategy. Rhetorical devices investigated in the study are used as persuasiveness properties to improve the effectiveness, clarity, and beauty of the speeches. The aim is to persuade, to inform, to convey personal ideologies, to emphasise inter-relatedness of delivered messages, to signify differentiation, and to demonstrate orator's solidarity with the audience.

Like Kazemiam and Hashemi's investigation, the present study identified and examined syntactic elements which include parallelism, nominalization and unification in the campaign speeches of the presidential candidates under study, with a view to establishing their effect on the electorate.

In another study, Šlesingrová (2015) analysed some features of persuasive language in selected presidential campaign speeches of two candidates in Prague. The aim was to investigate how the rhetorical device of conceptual metaphor is employed in the election campaign speeches of Barack Obama and Mitt Romney. The political speeches were analysed under the theoretical framework of the critical metaphor analysis and critical discourse analysis. Besides the analysis of the metaphorical concepts that support the myth creation, and other rhetorical devices were examined in the selected corpus of both speeches for their persuasive function. In addition, the study examined other rhetorical devices in the selected corpus of both speeches for their persuasive function.

The study concluded that both candidates employed a number of other rhetorical devices which enhanced the persuasiveness of the speeches. Based on the qualitative analysis of the figurative language the density of the devices differs in the speeches of both politicians. While Obama uses approximately five devices per each 100 words in the analysed corpus, Romney employs about three rhetorical devices per the same number of words. Therefore, Obama used about 66% more of figurative language in the form of rhetorical devices than his opponent. These findings signify that Obama's speech is richer in schemes and tropes than Romney's. Hence, in Obama's speech there is a denser interaction of metaphors with schemes and other tropes, which significantly enhances the persuasive force of Obama's rhetoric. The present study dealt with the rhetoric analysis of campaign speeches of the candidate under investigation and therefore examines how rhetorical devices enhance persuasive force, like Šlesingrová's study. The point of departure however is that Šlesingrová did a comparative study of two candidates while the present study analysed campaign speeches of one candidate.

2.4 Persuasion in Political Discourse

A number of studies have been conducted on political persuasion as presented below.

Ademilokun (2015) reveals that while discourse continues to be an effective platform for political struggles and power play, it also highlights the cultural, linguistic, and social factors which had a bearing on the language use of political actors in South Western Nigeria. This was in a study on the discursive strategies in selected political rally campaigns of 2011 elections in South Western Nigeria. Ademilokun performed the study with a view to revealing the dynamics of political persuasion and mobilisation in contemporary natural political communication in Nigeria. The data for the study were gotten from two political rallies in each of the six South Western States in Nigeria. The political rallies were purposively selected. The

data were analysed by applying the analytical tools of Systemic Functional Linguistics. The results of the study revealed that the participants employed discourse strategies such as allusion, flattery, praise and provocative language among others. The present study is related to Ademilokun's in that it also examined persuasive strategies in political discourse. However, the point of departure is that the study by Ademilokun ended at identifying the persuasive strategies without evaluating them. The present study took care of this gap by focusing on how rhetoric devices were employed in campaign discourse to achieve persuasion.

In another study in Nigeria, Opeibi (2009) examined political campaign discourse, focusing on the persuasion of the speeches. However, the data for the study was not obtained from political rallies but newspapers which did not constitute the natural data of political rallies. Moreover, the study captured a distant time in Nigerian politics and political discourse. The present study fills in this gap by examining rhetorical strategies in campaign discourse as articulated by one of the political candidates during campaign rallies, which is naturally occurring language.

Abdullahi-Idiagbon (2010) studied persuasion in political campaign speeches of the 2007 Nigerian elections but the scope of his study was narrow as he used only three presidential campaign speeches as data for his work. Therefore, it is apparent that there is yet not much research that has accounted for the natural dynamic discourse of politicians at political rallies which represents a central part of political mobilisation crucial to political stability, especially in Zambia, hence the need for the present study.

Concerning pronoun choice by politicians, Lakoff (1990) argued that personal pronouns work subliminally on the listener and do not stir doubt as nouns would, even when their meanings and roles have been tactically influenced. In one of the studies in which she examined the late U.S. President Reagan, Lakoff (1990) posited that Reagan's employment of *we* is often ambiguous in its referential domain. This ambiguity leaves the American people uncertain whether or not they are being referred to. She examined the late U.S. President Reagan's employment of the first-person plural pronoun *we* in a public speech delivered on television to announce his decision to run for a second term as President in 1984. Lakoff (1990) further established that such ambiguity in Reagan's use of the pronoun *we* may produce either a dichotomous or connective outcome in the American people. This view was established in that Reagan employs hearer-inclusive *we* to ascertain solidarity with the listener, and hearer-exclusive *we* to denote his function as U.S. President and his administration. The employment of these pronouns by the former US president was used as a persuasive strategy. Lakoff's study

did not really focus on persuasion as it dealt with speeches on the television whereby the appeals of communication logos, pathos and ethos cannot be applied and therefore difficult to achieve persuasion. The present study made use of the appeals to rhetoric in the analyses syntactic elements, including the first-person plural pronoun *we*, both hearer-inclusive and hearer-exclusive and other devices in campaign speeches. The study further establishes how these elements were employed as rhetorical devices in political discourse, to winning support of the electorate.

2.5 Polarization in Political Discourse

Studies conducted on polarization in political discourse, across the globe, are presented below.

In America, a study about a critical discourse analysis of the debates between Republicans and Democrats over the continuation of war in Iraq was conducted by Rashidi and Souzandehfar (2010). They used van Dijk's (2004) framework adopted from politics, ideology and discourse to detect discursive structures within the transcripts of the candidates' speeches to discover the ideologies underlying them. The purpose of the study was to show how a single reality, that is the continuation of war in Iraq by the American troops, was presented and viewed by the two major American political parties' (Republicans and Democrats) candidates of the United States presidential primaries of 2008. The macro strategies of 'positive self-presentation' and 'negative other-presentation', which are intimately tied up with 'polarization' of in-group versus out-group ideologies or *Us-Them*, plus the 25 more subtle strategies turned out to be very accurate criteria for the evaluation of attitudes, and opinions (cf Andreassen, 2007).

The speeches selected in the study were given by the candidates in a range of time from 5th September, 2007 to 7th February, 2008. Below is one of the sample speeches used in the analysis of the debates.

Text 1 transcript of Senator John McCain's CPAC Speech on February 7th 2008.

...

Senator Clinton and Senator Obama will withdraw our forces from Iraq based on an arbitrary timetable designed for the sake of political expediency, and which recklessly ignores the profound human calamity and dire threats to our security that would ensue. I intend to win the war, and trust in the proven judgement of our commanders there and the courage and selflessness of the Americans they have the honour to command. I share the grief over the terrible losses we have suffered in prosecution. There is no other candidate for this office who appreciates more than I do just how awful war is. But I know that the costs in lives and treasure we would incur should we fail in Iraq will be far greater than

the heart breaking losses we have suffered to date. And I will not allow that to happen.

The text uses *negative other presentation*, and *lexicalizations* as arbitrary time table' which is designed for the sake of 'political expediency'. The speaker tries to exaggerate the gravity of the situation by using *hyperbolic* phrases such as 'profound human calamity' and 'dire threats' implying that the continuation of war in Iraq is inevitable. He shows the troops and the American people as his, and consequently the republicans' *friends and allies* through *polarized* terms like 'our forces' in the first line and 'our security' in the last line of the first paragraph. Particularly, the phrase 'dire threats to our security' could be considered as a political strategy to win the consensus of the whole nation. After criticising democrats in the first paragraph of the transcript, Senator McCain employs *positive self-presentation* to glorify his own measures which would be taken in the future ('I intend to win the war') and his party's activities which have been done so far ('the proven judgement of our commanders').

The results of the study show that, CDA in political discourses provides a great opportunity to discover the realities which have been naturalised as 'non-ideological common sense' (van Dijk, 2004).

The study by Rashidi and Souzandehfar does not analyse campaign discourse and did not focus on persuasion leaving a gap that has been taken care of by the present study. The present study analysed instances of polarization in campaign speeches which was mainly employed as a rhetorical strategy by the candidate under investigation to achieve persuasion by making use of 'positive *self* presentation' and 'negative *other* presentation'.

Wirth-Koliba (2016) demonstrates that the 'us' and 'them' relationship is constantly present in politics, therefore different means of constructing such relations are needed. He made this conclusion in the study he conducted with the aim of presenting the diversity and dynamics of interpersonal relationships represented in political discourse. Wirth-Koliba contends that in almost every political activity there is the opposition camp ('them'), as well as that of the allies ('us'), as a result of which relations of inclusion and exclusion are invariably present. The study dealt with 'us' and 'them' constructions from a pragma-cognitive perspective. The results of the study revealed that the means by which these relations are structured depend on the speaker's intentions in the discourse, which in turn determines the way the 'us' and 'them' are presented. Besides, relationships of inclusion and exclusion within a single discursive event

are dynamic and prone to alternations, since motives behind and implications of particular fragments which constitute the discursive event as a whole, may vary.

The analysis indicated that the deictic centre of a political speech that may be constructed depends on many factors, such as the goal that a particular section of the speech has, that is, whether to warn, to persuade, to accuse, and many others. It also depends on what resources the speaker has at hand, such as mental context models, joint experiences and beliefs, position/power, and so on. Finally, on the development of the communicative event, that is, prior sentences/fragments have influence on the ground for the ones that follow. Depending on these factors, some devices may be more appropriate and effective in establishing and maintaining the 'us' and 'them' opposition in certain circumstances, whereas others, not necessarily so, may prove to be a better choice elsewhere.

The present study identified instances of *us/them* expressions of positive in-group representations and negative out-group representations respectively in the discourse of the candidate under study. The study further analysed how these polarized expressions turned out to be powerful rhetorical strategies to achieving persuasion in the campaign messages by the political candidate under investigation, in different circumstances.

In another study, Mcclay (2017) examined Trump's political campaign discourse in the 2015 - 2016 presidential election race. He specifically investigated how the discourse was created in three of Trump's political speeches to discover how Trump constructed discourse to present a reality for his audience that framed his ideology. Throughout the 2015-2016 presidential election races, Trump's speeches have been a source of outrage, controversy and enthusiasm across America and throughout the world. His rhetoric and discourse have separated him as a singular political actor worthy of individual scrutiny. The goal of Mcclay's study was to reveal the ways in which Trump constructed a reality for his audience through representations of social actors. The analysis showed that Trump's speeches reveal an ideology consistent with strategic patterns of *us* versus *them*. By identifying these explicit patterns, the study highlights the importance of understanding the underlying ideology of Trump's messages in the interpretation of the discourse he uses to frame it.

Like Mcclay's study, the present study endeavoured to analyse and reveal how the presidential candidate under examination constructed a reality for his audience through representations of social actors. This analysis is with a view to presenting a reality for his audience through

employing the *us* and *them* presentations, and how these presentations were employed as rhetorical devices to achieve persuasion in his campaign messages.

On the other hand, Korhonen (2017) performed an analysis of how Donald Trump used language to advance his political goals and called it the rhetoric of blame and bluster. The results reveal that Trump's rhetoric was highly effective. No matter what form of media he used, or whether he was fighting for the Republican nomination or explaining his policies on Twitter, Trump sought to alter the public's insight of what was happening in the US and the world. He endeavoured to impose the world view of him and his supporters: That America is being threatened, disrespected, and abused by the rest of the world, and that the previous political establishments had allowed this to happen.

The study concludes that from his rhetoric, Trump thrives when he has someone to blame: An adversary or opponent of some kind that he could use to contrast his ideology to, as well as accuse of foul play and divert attention to whenever he himself is being criticised. During the early days of the primaries, it was the political establishment itself that Trump targeted, both Democrats and Republicans, but most notably the favourites of the GOP. After gaining the nomination, Trump unleashed an unprecedented barrage of criticism on Clinton, seeking to paint a picture of her as the personification of everything wrong with typical politicians and the old establishment. And finally, after becoming president and finding himself under fire by critics for his policy decisions, Trump diverts the attention elsewhere by blaming the liberal media and Obama. In short, Trump needs an enemy.

Korhonen's study is related to the present one in that the present study endeavours to ascertain how the political candidate under study managed to woo support for himself and of the electorate by employing polarized views as rhetorical devices. The candidate under investigation achieved this perspective by presenting himself positively and his opponents negatively (or indeed blaming them) thus employing the positive *us* and negative *them* presentations respectively.

In addition, Muzid (2007), examining George W. Bush's speech, established a distinction between a supposedly free, just and developed (utopic) *us* and a dictatorial, illegitimate, terrorist and uncivilised (dystopic) *them*. This conclusion was arrived at when he examined the speech delivered by George W. Bush nine days after the attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon and some other US targets, on September 11, 2001. Muzid performed a critical discourse analysis of presuppositions and strategic functions, in addition to brief

comments on the use of propaganda devices. This approach makes it possible to explore the tension between idealism and pragmatism, the conflict between *us* and *them*, and the other aspects of ideologies and power relationships found in the speech.

The conclusion was that Bush's speech instantiates many strategic functions characteristic of political speeches in general: coercion, dissimulation, (de)legitimation, resistance, protest and opposition, consensus and populism. It also exemplifies the tension, characteristic of American political speeches in particular, between idealism and pragmatism. These functions and ideological operations are performed, at least partly, through presuppositions and propaganda devices. The speech (Bush's) is coercive in the sense of making a number of assumptions, many of which would be controversial, and which are difficult to challenge by hearers. The speech is dissimulating, in the sense of diverting attention from troublesome and controversial issues, emphasising the merits of the US and the demerits and maladies of Taliban and al Qaeda and under representing or mis representing the Arab and Muslim world.

The point of departure between this study and the present study is that the study by Muzid neither focused on political campaigns nor how persuasion is achieved which is the focus of the present study. The present study attempted to analyse how presuppositions and strategic functions through *us* versus *them* presentations are employed as rhetorical devices in the political campaign speeches by the candidate under investigation, during the 2016 presidential campaigns in Zambia. The study further analysed how the electorate were persuaded to support the candidate through the use of these devices.

In Europe, Andreassen (2007) did a critical discourse analysis of Margaret Thatcher's and Tony Blair's farewell addresses. The political discourse under scrutiny were Margaret Thatcher's address to the parliament on Friday 23rd November, 1990, just hours after she had formally resigned both as Leader of the Conservative Party and Prime Minister. The other one was Tony Blair's last address to his own party, on Tuesday 26th September, 2006, after his much publicised decision to step down both as Party Leader and Prime Minister. In addition, Andreassen analysed a collection of five newspapers representing different owners, which presumed different political affiliations, as well as socio-economical readerships, to provide a representative selection of the British national newspaper market. The newspaper materials were collected from a day after Blair and Thatcher held their speeches, from *The Sun*, *The Daily Mirror*, *The Daily Mail*, *The Guardian*, and *The Daily Telegraph* respectively.

The findings of the study reveal that both Thatcher and Blair leant on the extremely polarized view of the world that is so common in two party political systems.

Andreassen concludes that the contents and aims of Blair's speech are almost identical with those of Thatcher sixteen years earlier. They are both fighting the same battle, both personally and on behalf of their parties, in an attempt to create a polarized world of *us* versus *them*, where they themselves belong to the positively represented in-group and the opposing side is firmly placed in the out-group, negatively or derogatorily whenever possible. The main focus, as always in politics, is to win the forthcoming election (cf Rashidi & Souzandehfar, 2010).

Both Thatcher and Blair, although from complete opposite perspectives, glorified their own good achievements, omitted the dubious ones, but heavily criticised and blamed the Opposition for almost everything that was wrong in Britain. Speeches were brilliant tokens of the most central technique of polarization: positive self-presentation and negative *other* presentation. This conclusion confirmed the hypothesis that both Thatcher and Blair tried to cement their legacies through the language they used, by access to influential discourses, and through power of definition - and that the two farewell addresses mirrored each other.

Like Andreassen's, the present study identified instances of the discursive polarization of *us* versus *them* of positive *us* presentation and negative *them* presentation in the presidential campaign speeches of the candidate under study, and then analysed how they were employed as rhetorical devices. Further, instances of self-glorification and negative other presentation of the opponents were analysed. The candidate under investigation glorified himself by expressing the good things he would do for the people, and blamed his opponents for the problems that people were experiencing in the country. The departure however is that Andreassen's study did not political campaigns but on farewell addresses and discursive polarization which did not require persuasion.

Furthermore, Muqit (2012) submits that pronouns can be used to explain the ideology and power relation in political discourse. He made this submission through an investigation of ideology and power relation reflected in the use of the pronoun in the Osama bin Laden speech text entitled *The Wind of Faith*. He applied Fairclough's (1989), Jefferson's (1968), and van Dijk (2000) theories in the research and Creswell's (2009) method. He submits that one of the SFL elements used to cover the ideology and power relation is the pronoun. The context of the power inside the pronoun shows the figurative and metonymical instrument in which it is directed by the speaker or user of the discourse. It is understood by analysing how the discourse

is embodied in the appropriate pronouns to clarify the intended message, such as the stylistic features chosen to clear the meaning and purpose.

The ideologies of Osama consist of five types which are then classified into two ideologies: the divinity ideology and the political ideology. The power relations can be seen in three types: the power relation between Osama and the God, the power relation between Osama and the United States, and the power relation between Osama and other Muslims.

In Osama's speech text, the pronouns are used to denote *them* by various usage. The pronoun *I*, *we* and *our* belong to Osama and his group. In contrast, the pronouns *them*, *they*, *their*, *its* and *it* are referring to the United States and its people.

Like Muqit's study, the present study attempted to examine certain syntactic features (pronouns *I*, *we*, *them*) in the campaign discourse of the presidential candidate under examination, to bring out how these linguistic forms reveal power relations between themselves and their in-group members as well as between themselves and out-group members. The study also analysed how the political candidate under study employed these pronouns to express polarization and how they were used as rhetorical strategies.

Finally, Heatherington (1980), in his study, lists the sorts of language exploitation indulged by politicians. These include good feelings – evocating feelings of patriotism, for instance 'vote for *Us* is patriotic, good; while vote for *Them* is non-patriotic, treacherous'. There is also direct flattering of audience, for instance, 'the sensible voter; and reference to "the record", for instance, his / her voting record, wisdom, skill and their benefits for his / her audience (cf. van Dijk, 2004).

The present study endeavoured to identify instances of propaganda devices and flattery through polarization in the campaign discourse by examining persuasive strategies in the campaign speeches of the presidential candidate under study. The analysis in turn endeavoured to establish how these practices were employed as rhetorical devices during the 2016 election campaigns.

2.6 Modality in Political Discourse

Three studies by Shayegh (2012), Shayegh and Nabifar (2012) and Wang (2010) demonstrate the importance of the relationship between modal verbs and power in political discourse.

Shayegh (2012) presents a critical discourse analysis of modality in the political discourses of Barack Obama and Martin Luther King. He conducted the study by drawing on a combined framework of Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar and Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis theories. Shayegh's study establishes that both speakers for the most part use the modal *will* as a way of insisting on the legitimacy of information in terms of likelihood and usuality. In a related study, Shayegh and Nabifar (2012) show that Barack Obama uses modality, amid other linguistic resources, to generate positive or negative power in his interviews. Again, the potentiality of modal verbs to reflect power and ideology relations are underscored in Wang's (2010) critical discourse analysis of Barack Obama's speeches.

These studies did not focus on persuasion leaving a gap which was taken care of by present study. The present study analysed modality which include the modal auxiliary verb *will*, and *can* among other rhetorical devices in order to establish the persuasive strategies of political discourse by one candidate in the 2016 presidential election campaigns.

Boicu (2007), analysing Ashley Mote's political speeches, reveals that the speaker's use of modal verbs contributes to the mitigation or aggravation of the illocutionary forces prompted by the speech acts she or he articulates. The study therefore supports the position that modal verbs, depending on their contextual usage, have the inclination to weaken or exacerbate the proposition of an utterance.

The study by Boicu is narrow as it does not go deeper to examine other aspects at play in making the message to be weak or strong. Neither does the study analyse the effect these modal verbs have on the audience. The present study takes care of this gap by examining the use of modality and how it was employed as a rhetorical device in campaign discourse of the presidential candidate under study. The study therefore examines modal verbs as rhetorical devices in achieving persuasion in political campaign discourse.

2.7 Linguistic Manipulation and Political Rhetoric

In line with linguistic manipulation and political rhetoric, a number of studies are cited below.

In a study on the use of language and political rhetoric, Rozina and Karapetjana (2009) submitted that linguistic manipulation can be considered as an influential instrument of political rhetoric. The analysis was envisaged from the perspective of linguistic manipulation. The study was devoted to exploring allusion, metonymy and metaphor - the linguistic devices used in rhetoric. The two researchers applied the methodology of inquiry which has general

principles of qualitative research, and it has been based on the discourse analysis of the authentic source materials published in *The Baltic Times* (2006) and *The Times* (2006). The authors of the paper therefore have been guided by selected principles of text linguistics and text pragmatics. The study by Rozina and Karapetjana took a narrow focus of linguistic manipulation which is just a part of political rhetoric and therefore the justification of the present study.

Bull and Fetzer (2006) tested the hypothesis that politicians might make use of the potential ambiguity of personal pronouns (particularly *you* and *we*) to equivocate in response to awkward questions in political interviews. Their analysis was based on 20 televised interviews with the leaders of the three major British political parties during the 1997 and 2001 British general elections, and one interview between the Prime Minister Tony Blair and Jeremy Paxman, broadcast just before the war in Iraq in 2003. They analysed question-response sequences on the basis of Bavelas et al.'s (1990) theory of equivocation and Goffman's (1981) concept of footing. Bull and Fetzer found that there was no evidence that politicians made use of the potential indeterminacy of personal pronouns in an attempt to equivocate in response to awkward questions in political interviews. Instead, they proposed three reasons for the use of pronominal shifts by politicians (Bull & Fetzer, 2006: 31).

One reason is to deflect personal criticisms. For instance, they noted that Tony Blair used a pronominal shift from *I* to *we*, (referring to the government), when he responds to defend his credibility with the public. The second reason is to dodge awkward choices. Bull and Fetzer (2006) observed that when questioned by an audience member about the issue of race relations in the Conservative Party, William Hague replied only for himself, not the Conservative Party's stance. The third reason for politicians is that the employment of the self-reference involved in collective *we* may be a way of showing personal modesty.

Bull and Fetzer concluded that the investigations in the article serve to improve our comprehension of how politicians manage language of politics in political communication. For instance, politicians tend to equivocate in response to awkward questions posed; they capitalise on rhetorical devices, such as three-part lists and contrasts, to invite audience applause to reflect their greater popularity, group identity or solidarity with the speaker and the party the speaker represents in political speeches. They strategically use personal pronouns to designate their attitudes, social status, gender, and motivation. Personal pronouns can also be used to show vagueness and imprecision as well as precision. This study did not analyse the use pronoun as

a rhetorical device to achieving persuasion in political communication which is the focus of the present study. The present study examined how the political candidate under investigation managed language by capitalising on syntactic elements such as personal pronouns (especially the *we* pronoun), employed as rhetorical devices to achieve persuasion in his campaign speeches.

In a study of Polish and American political discourse, Kuzio (2013) investigated frames of self-presentation in constructing persuasive messages. The study concluded that political speech presents persuasive techniques used by Jarosław Kaczyński and Newton Gingrich to create a positive image and convince people to their points of view. Moreover, the speech showed that the frames evoked seem to present universal values, since they need support from both female and male voters. It has been found out that the politicians did not eschew manipulative tactics. Secondly, it should be emphasised that the interpretations concerning these particular speeches cannot be generalised onto the respective political climates. Thus, certain limitations should also be taken into account while analysing the same excerpts from the political discourse. It should also be taken into account that these two samples cannot be considered as representative units to all politicians within given cultures. Yet, it needs to be realised that this analysis can be perceived to be an attempt to show how frames can be exploited to analyse verbal communication.

While Kuzio's study focused on how persuasive messages are constructed, the focus was on how frames were evoked in verbal communication therefore rendering the present study useful. The present study analysed how political candidate under study manipulated language as a rhetorical device to create a positive image of himself in order to convince the electorate of his point of view.

2.8 Summary of Chapter

This chapter has presented a review of some of the available literature related to the study. The studies cited dealt with the discourse focusing on rhetorical analysis and political discourse, persuasion and polarization in political discourse. Other studies focused on modality in political discourse and those conducted on linguistic manipulation and political rhetoric. Even though there are studies on political discourse and rhetorical analysis, they have to a large extent to do with presidential speeches or politics in general, giving us very little information to improve our understanding on how rhetorical strategies are used to achieve persuasion in the presidential campaign discourse. In addition, such studies within a Zambian context are virtually non-

existent, hence the justification and usefulness of the present study. The study investigated how one of the opposition candidates employed rhetorical devices in the run up to the August 11, 2016 elections in Zambia. This analysis was done with a view to establishing how persuasion was achieved during campaigns. The next chapter discusses the analytical framework that informed the study.

CHAPTER THREE

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter highlighted the literature review and placed the investigation within the context of similar studies thereby enriching it. This chapter explains the analytical framework that informed the study. As pointed out in chapter one of this thesis, the study examined the campaign speeches of one of the presidential candidates leading to the August 11, 2016 general elections in order to establish how the candidate used rhetorical devices in order to achieve persuasion in his campaign speeches. In order to adequately analyse the discourse of this candidate, the study made use of the Rhetorical analytical framework as its guide.

Rhetorical framework is concerned with the skill of persuasive interaction in a given circumstance. That is, how people use language when communicating their views in an endeavour to win over an audience (Kangira, 2005).

This framework is ideal for the present study since it is concerned with how individuals employ language in communication in order to persuade and convince their audience of their standpoints. In the study, the Rhetorical analytical framework is applied by analysing campaign speeches of the candidate under investigation, identifying and evaluating the rhetorical devices that this candidate employed in order to achieve persuasion. This analysis is done with the realisation that when political candidates are campaigning, what matters is not just what they say but rather how they present what they are saying to the audience. It is this ‘how they say’ or how they use language to win over the electorate, which is the focus of the study. The analysis is done by applying the four appeals of rhetoric as given by Aristotle.

The present study therefore analyses the campaign speeches of one of the presidential candidates of the 2016 general elections by identifying and analysing rhetorical devices with a view to establishing how persuasion was achieved in the discourse.

3.1 Origins of Rhetorical Theory

The origin of rhetoric as an art can be traced to the first century BC in ancient Greece. Rhetoric was then propagated by the Sophists or rhetoric teachers including Protagoras and Gorgias during the fifth century BC.

This period of the Sophists was followed by ancient philosophers such as Isocrates, Plato and Aristotle. This group of philosophers questioned the viewpoints of their antecedents and advanced their own methods to rhetoric. Plato submitted that “the sophists cared not for the truth of an argument, but only how they might appear to win it” (www.preacahersfiles.com). Aristotle, who was Plato’s student, explained rhetoric as an “art of finding in any given case the available means of persuasion” (Garver 1998:307). For Aristotle, an argument must be achieved by the persuasive stance of what is true rather than the winning of an audience by appealing to their emotions. Aristotle further described rhetoric as consisting of four sources of persuasion, which are, ethos, logos, pathos and kairos.

Afterwards, the Romans borrowed the skill of rhetoric from the Greeks and famous rhetoricians such as Cicero and Quintilian were created. The works of Cicero and Quintilian were an extension of Aristotle’s work. Quintilian identified five elements of rhetoric found in modern rhetoric as follows:

Inventio (invention) is the process that leads to the development and refinement of an argument. Once an argument is developed, it is up to dispositio (disposition, or argument) to determine how it should be organized for greatest effects. Once the speech content is known and the structure is determined, the next steps involve pronuntiatio (language) and elocutio (delivery). Finally, memoria (memory choice) comes to play as the speaker recalls each of the elements during the speech (www.preacahersfiles.com).

The Romans are recognised for the propagation of Greek philosophical and rhetorical works which might have remained unfamiliar to the external world.

3.1 Major Arguments of Rhetorical Framework

Modern day Rhetorical theory has been manipulated by the two distinct social rhetorics developed by Kenneth Burke (1969) and Chaim Perelman (1980). The rhetorical by Perelman (1980) centers on argumentation. Perelman contends that all argumentation is focused on gaining the adherence of minds, and by the very fact, presupposes the existence of an intellectual contact and that this contact of minds forms a community of minds (Hansons, 1997). Intrinsic to this explanation of rhetorical theory is the skill of the rhetor to make use of language as an essential instrument to achieving the audience’s observance to his or her standpoint. Perelman’s rhetoric promotes discourse which offers logical concessions on divergent ideas and thereby producing an atmosphere for pluralism. The framework denies any

one group ultimate authority. Furthermore, Perelman's emphasis on the audience suggests that there must be intimate communication between the rhetor and her or his addressees. The linguistic system expended in efficient argumentation destroys the barrier between the rhetor and his or her audience in such a way that the two begin to interact.

Burke (1969) explains rhetorical theory as the expedience of language as a symbolic instrument of prompting support in beings that naturally react to symbols. This elucidation points to the one of the depictions of language as an arbitrary system of symbols. According to Burke, rhetorical framework's main interest is "the Babel after the Fall". His handling of rhetorical theory stretches further than the intellectual relationship referred to by Perelman (1980). Burke's rhetoric takes into consideration outside influences, thereby handling the human being in totality. For Burke, the rhetorical procedure focuses on identification and partition. He argues that the division of people leads to identification and this in turn links people as they endeavour to bring together that, which was detached, and in the course of action, new separation develops and the process goes on like that. Burke (1969) posits that rhetorical theory is founded on the fact that human beings seem to have a yearning to overcome division as well as to build it at the same time. While Burke's and Perelman's rhetorical theories appear to be incompatible, they both promote unity among people. Based on this argument and going by Hansons (1997), the present study considers Burke's and Perelman's standpoints on rhetoric as complementing each other.

The Rhetorical framework is concerned with the author, subject, and audience triangle. Every communication begins with a sender or rhetor who sends a message. Then this message is received by the listener or 'audience'. The relationship of these three elements forms one part of the 'author-subject-audience', rhetorical triangle. This triangle differs from the linear model in that for the rhetorical triangle, the audience interacts with the speaker or rhetor either verbally or non-verbally in response to the message. This response may be negative or positive. The audience can choose to either agree with the content of the message or to reject it for one reason or the other and provide this feedback to the sender of the message, in this case the speaker (<https://www.cusd80.com/cms/lib/AZ01001175/Centricity/Domain/8219/jolliffes-rhetorical-framework1.pdf>).

For effective communication to be achieved, it is important to be aware of how the subject of a communication is being transmitted to the audience. The rhetor must be aware of the complexity of the subject, the knowledge level of the audience, the actions they desire to take

as well as their likely response, and lastly the appeals to use with that audience which would be effective. The Greek philosopher and rhetorician Aristotle came up with four important appeals which are useful to consider when trying to convey information to an audience. These appeals are ethos which appeals to the character and credibility of the speaker, pathos which is appeal to the emotions of the audience, logos which appeals to the logic of the subject or message and kairos which appeals to the timeliness or relevance of the subject. Ethos, pathos, logos, and kairos can all help a speaker convey her or his message effectively. If a speaker does not consider her or his audience's knowledge level, then her or his appeal to logic will be ineffective (Aristotle, 1358).

Regarding purpose and appeals, it is important for the speaker to consider the information that they want to put across. The way the speaker goes about conveying this information will depend on the purpose of their discourse. The purpose of communication of the information could be to persuade or inform. Once the speaker is set on what their goal is for a communication, they need to consider their different options for appeals. In this case, an appeal to logos is most appropriate. If the speaker is trying to persuade, an appeal to pathos might be more effective. The speaker also has to know what the audience is expecting from them. The speaker should also know their audience's knowledge base, their expectations, and how best communication could be done to them using different types of appeal.

Considering audience feedback, it is much easier to feel out feedback while giving a speech. The speaker sees the reaction from the audience as he or she is talking. This helps the speaker to know how the audience feels about his or her message and gives the speaker an opportunity to change the discourse to reflect on the audience feedback in the process (<https://www.thoughtco.com/rhetorical-situation-1692061>).

Figure 1 below illustrates the rhetorical framework as given by Jolliffe.

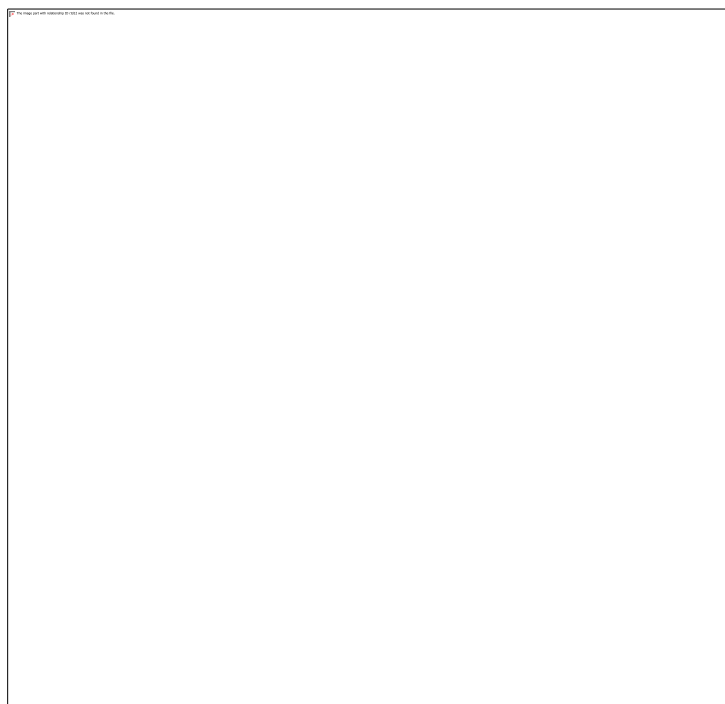


Figure 1: Jolliffe's Rhetorical Framework Diagram

The Analysis Filters

- (i) Logos (embodied thought)
- (ii) exigence, audience, and purpose (constitute the rhetorical situation)
- (iii) Ethos, Pathos and Logos
- (iv) Structure and Arrangement – Examine this in terms of how form(s) serve(s) function(s)
- (v) Surface features (diction, syntax, imagery, and figurative language) and their purpose

Other filters

- a. Modes of discourse: division/classification, definition, comparison/contrast, cause & effect, process analysis
- b. Transitions and discourse markers
- c. Paragraph elaboration and the moves between paragraphs as functioning parts of the language landscape

(<https://www.cusd80.com/cms/lib/AZ01001175/Centricity/Domain/8219/jolliffes-rhetorical-framework1.pdf>).

The present study made use of the Rhetorical framework by analysing how the candidate under investigation presented his arguments in his campaign messages to achieve his intended meaning and win support of the electorate. The political campaign speeches of the candidate under study were analysed by examining the rhetorical devices that the candidate employed in

order to achieve persuasion in his campaign speeches. This analysis was done by considering how the candidate managed to advance his goals over those of the electorate thereby bridging the gap between the dreams of the voter and the actions of the political candidate. The study endeavoured to establish the authority of the candidate's standpoint of political reality on the electorate. This view was examined in order to establish how the candidate managed to convince the electorate in this manner through his rhetoric thereby making the electorate begin to view the political world through his eyes. When this perspective was attained, then the candidate achieved persuasion. The analysis is done by considering the four important appeals in rhetorical framework which are: ethos, pathos, logos and Kairos.

3.3 New Developments in Rhetorical Framework

In traditional grammar, rhetoric was the study of style through grammatical and logical analysis. However, new rhetoric, common in North America, is the study of how effective writing attains its intentions. However, for the purpose of this study, the focus is on spoken discourse and not the written one. The term rhetoric in this sense, the focus of this study, gives an analytical lens to explore and deliberate on how to carry oneself accurately and effectively in connection with the question of speech, and the audience, and to engage means to identify the associations between texts and contexts (Jost & Olmsted, 2004).

According to the *Howe Center for Writing Excellence* (2019), a rhetorical analysis takes into account all elements of the rhetorical situation, that is, the audience, purpose, medium, and context within which a communication is generated and delivered in order to make an argument concerning that communication. An effective rhetorical analysis will not only describe and analyse the text, but will also evaluate it and that evaluation represents the speaker's argument. These three elements are crucial to rhetorical analysis. At the level of description such questions are considered: What does this text look like? Where was the text found? Who sponsored it? What are the rhetorical appeals? and When was it written? When considering the analysis, questions asked are: Why does the author incorporate these rhetorical appeals? What is the point of the pathos? How would the reception of this text change if it were spoken today, as opposed to twenty years ago? What is left out of this text and why? Should there be more logos in the argument and Why? And finally, regarding evaluation, the questions are: Is the text effective? Is the text ethical? What might the rhetor change about this text to make it more persuasive? (<https://miamioh.edu/hcwe/handouts/rhetorical-analyses/index.html>)

Rhetorical analysis confines its focal point to political interaction and surveys to discover patterns of objectives, interests and joint suppositions underlying persuasive actions (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002).

Rhetorical study is concerned with the modes of persuasion and persuasion is clearly a sort of demonstration. Rhetorical analysis examines persuasive, emphatic, effective, contrasting strategies and others in the realm of political rhetoric and other discourses. Besides, as Van Haaften, Jansen, De Jong and Koetsenruijter (2011) contend, rhetorical devices are employed to improve the efficiency, clarity, emphasis, association, and focus of a given message. Sometimes a certain strategy belongs primarily to a single category, as for instance an expletive, used mainly for emphasis; but parallelism, assists to order, illuminate, highlight and adds beauty to the thought and clauses (Van Haaften, Jansen, De Jong & Koetsenruijter, 2011).

The study further reveals implicit meanings in the discourse of political campaigns in terms of rhetorical devices and to disclose what the political candidate really wanted the audience to know and believe and what the candidate really wanted to achieve during the 2016 election campaigns. This perspective was achieved by analysing the utilisation of these strategies, with an intent to pinpoint the frequency and purposes of employing the devices in the presidential political campaign speeches. On the other hand, the study also seeks to perceive how political rhetoric is employed to influence people to acknowledge, sustain and advocate its policies. The employment of these tools in the campaign speeches is to enquire into political rhetoric from different dimensions.

3.4 Facets of Rhetorical Theory

According to Stiff and Mongeau (2003), there are rhetorical strategies that one can use more effectively to influence the audience's beliefs, attitudes, and values. These include ethos, logos, pathos and Kairos.

As indicated above, ethos, logos, pathos and kairos were Aristotle's four forms of rhetorical proof, and were therefore primary to his theories of rhetoric.

Since a rhetoric device is a technique that an author or speaker uses to convey to the listener or reader a meaning with the goal of persuading him or her towards considering a topic from a different perspective, it is imperative to explain how persuasion is achieved. Persuasion is achieved by using sentences designed to encourage or provoke a rational argument from an emotional display of a given perspective or action. Rhetorical devices have the following

categories. Logos, which is the use of logical ideas to appeal to the audience. The other one is pathos which is an appeal to the audience's emotions. There is also ethos which describes the guiding tenets that characterise a community, nation, or ideology. Lastly, kairos is an appeal to the timeliness of the argument (Conley, 1991).

3.4.1 Ethos

Ethos refers to the credibility of a speaker and includes the dimensions of competence, trustworthiness, and dynamism. The dimensions of competence and trustworthiness being the most researched dimensions (Stiff & Mongeau, 2003).

Competence refers to the perception of a speaker's expertise in relation to the topic being discussed. Competent speakers must know the content of their speech and be able to effectively deliver the content. While trustworthiness refers to the degree that the audience perceive a speaker to be presenting accurate, credible information in a non manipulative way. In terms of content, trustworthy speakers take into account the audience throughout the speech making process, present information in a balanced way, do not coerce the audience, cite credible sources and follow the general principles of communication ethics. In terms of personality, trustworthy speakers are also friendly and warm (Stiff & Mongeau, 2003).

Stiff and Mongeau further explain dynamism as referring to the degree to which the audience perceive a speaker to be outgoing and animated. Dynamism has two components, charisma and energy. Charisma refers to a mixture of abstract and concrete qualities that make a speaker attractive to an audience.

Ethos is regarded as "the most effective means of persuasion" (Aristotle, 1358: 10). Yet, the notions of rhetorical ethos are significantly varied.

There are three postulated patterns: mimetic, poetic and argumentative, which are treated as romanticisms that make comprehensible various ways in which the politician carries his or her self-characterisation within discourse (Hansons, 1997). Within the mimetic pattern, the politician communicates from his/her standpoint, and the main persuasive resource is his/her authenticity. The speech mirrors one's personality, not facilitated by any calculative approach. In the poetic pattern, the politician espouses largely the audience's viewpoint. Striving to conform to its anticipations, the politician may dissociate her/himself from his/her real self in order to seem a preferred type of individual for a role she or he wants to play in politics. With the argumentative pattern, the politician assumes mostly the perspective of the problem. The

quality of arguments a politician articulates makes known, as a by-product, his/her worth as a contender, but not as a person.

Among available ways of persuasion helpful while building the politician's ethos there is the strategic management of the interpersonal relations with the addressee.

Krystyna Wróblewska-Pawlak and Monika Kostro (2004) argue that the forms of address could be regarded as a rhetorical means that facilitates each speaker to build his/her ethos in the course of the interaction with the addressee. The forms of address, by citing the speaker in peculiar ways, bring about a precise type of social relation between the participants.

By choosing a specific form of address, a politician creates not only a speech act of addressing his/her interlocutor, but also a performance of social and/or political classification. Realised in this way, image managing depends on a politician selecting such speech strategies which emphasise positive elements of his/her own identity, and which, at the same time, stress unfavourable parts of the identity of his/her political opponent.

3.4.2 Pathos

Pathos refers to the emotional appeals. Too much emotional appeal appears to have become more acceptable in public speaking. Stirring emotions in an audience is a way to get them involved in the speech, and involvement can create more opportunities for persuasion and action. Speakers take advantage of people's emotions to get them to support causes, buy products, or engage in behaviours that they might not otherwise, if given the chance to see the faulty logic of a message.

Effective speakers should use emotional appeals that are also logically convincing, since audiences may be suspicious of a speech that is solely based on emotion. Emotional appeals are effective when you are trying to influence a behaviour or you want your audience to take immediate action such as voting for a candidate (Stiff & Mongeau, 2003). Emotions lose their persuasive effect more quickly than other types of persuasive appeals. Since emotions are often reactionary, they fade relatively quickly when a person is removed from the provoking situation (Fletcher, 2001).

3.4.3 Logos

Logos refers to the reasoning or logic of an argument. Speakers can employ logos by presenting credible information as supporting material and verbally citing their sources during their

speech. Research shows that messages are more persuasive when arguments and their warrants are explicit (Stiff & Mongeau, 2003). By choosing supporting material that is verifiable, specific and unbiased carefully, a speaker can be helped to appeal to logos. Speakers can also appeal to logos by citing personal experience and providing the credentials and qualifications of sources of information (Cooper & Nothstine, 1996). Presenting a rational and logical argument is important, but speakers can be more effective persuaders if they bring in counter arguments and refute them.

3.4.4 Kairos

Kairos refers to the timeliness of the message, that is, the right time to speak. When loosely translated, it means ‘setting’ and deals with the time and place in which a speech takes place and how that setting influences the outcome of that speech. This is the time that is advantageous, exact, or critical for a particular message. It is a window of time during which action is most effective. For instance, Martin Luther King Jr.’s “I Have a dream speech”, was delivered at the right moment in history - in the heat of civil rights debates (<https://www.thoughtco.com/rhetorical-situation-1692061>).

Speakers should strive to appeal to ethos, logos, pathos and kairos within a speech. A speech built primarily on ethos might lead an audience to think that a speaker is full of himself or herself. A speech full of facts and statistics appealing to logos would result in information overload. Speakers who rely primarily on appeals to pathos may be seen as overly passionate, biased, or unable to see other viewpoints.

The present study analyses the campaign speeches of the presidential candidate under examination, bringing out how he employs the rhetorical proofs of ethos, logos, pathos and Kairos during his campaigns and to what extent each of these persuades the audience. The focus is on the rhetorical strategies employed by the candidate in order to achieve persuasion.

3.5 Rhetorical Strategies

Rhetoric is the flair of persuasive communication in a given context. Since the focus of rhetoric is persuasion, we will begin by considering what persuasion is and how crucial it is to rhetorical strategies. Persuasion is an umbrella term of influence and can endeavour to influence a person’s beliefs, attitudes, intentions, motivations, or behaviours. It is a process aimed at changing a person’s or a group’s attitude or behaviour toward some event, idea, object, or other

person, by using written or spoken words to deliver information, feelings, or reasoning, or a combination thereof (Seiter & Gass, 2010). Persuasion is also an often used tool in the quest of personal gain, such as election campaigning, giving a sales pitch, or a trial advocacy (Faustch, 2007).

Schacter, et al. (2011) postulates that ethos, logos, pathos, and kairos were Aristotle's four forms of rhetorical proof, which means that they were primary to his theories of persuasion. Stiff and Mongeau (2003) further posit that persuasion can also be understood as using one's personal or positional resources to change people's behaviour or attitudes. Systematic persuasion is the process through which attitudes or beliefs are leveraged by appeals to logic and reason. Heuristic persuasion is on the other hand the process through which attitudes or beliefs are leveraged by appeals to habit or emotion.

Politicians use persuasion as a tool in their activities. The product they sell is themselves. A gifted politician is able to convince people to accept their opinions, beliefs and views. Politicians realise that the power of persuasion is enormous. Almost all of them use some types of persuasion techniques, with greater or smaller success (Kuzio, 2013). This is the focus of the present study - to analyse how persuasion is achieved in political rhetoric.

3.5.1 Structural Parallelism

Parallelism means giving two or more parts of one or more sentences a similar form to create a definite pattern, a concept and method closely related to the grammatical idea of parallel structure, which can also be called parallelism. As a rhetorical device, parallelism is used in many different languages and cultures across the globe in poetry, epics, songs, written prose and speech, from the folk level to the professional level (Cuddon, 2012).

In grammar, parallelism, also known as parallel structure or parallel construction, is a balance within one or more sentences of similar phrases or clauses that have the same grammatical structure. Cuddon (2012) further posits that parallelism is mostly achieved using antithesis, anaphora, asyndeton, climax, epistrophe, and symplecton.

Parallelism is re-occurrence of syntactical and lexical resemblance and is employed across or inside sentences or even inside clauses and phrases (Cuddon, 2012). Both syntactic and lexical parallels can be found in those speeches, in which they are the influence of reiteration of the same words or clauses or even certain connections between words, mostly associated to the same parts of speech, such as verbs or nouns. It is also important to note that there is a large

number of parallel structures in those texts in which not only do they call the audience attention and underscore the topic but also add balance and rhythm as well as clarifying and beautifying the sentences. Meanwhile, categorising items, together in parallel constructions, results in unification, either they express the impression and efficiency that are in some way related, or, to intentionally invite comparative investigation of them. Parallel subjects or parallel verbs and adverbs or verbs and direct objects, and others are utilised to indicate parallelism as in the following instances:

1. a. we've built the best-trained, best-led, best-equipped military in history.
- b. No bailouts, no handouts, and no copouts.
- c. It would threaten the elimination of Israel, the security of Gulf nations, and the stability of the global....

(Wilson, 1990)

The present study analyses how the political candidate under study employed structural parallelism as a rhetorical device in order to achieve persuasion in his campaign speeches (section 6.2).

3.5.2 Use of Pronouns

In linguistics and grammar, a pronoun is a word that substitutes for a noun or noun phrase. It is a particular pro-form. Pronouns have traditionally been regarded as one of the parts of speech, but some modern theorists would not consider them to form a single class, due to the variety of functions they perform. Pronouns can be categorised into personal pronouns, reflexive and reciprocal pronouns, possessive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, relative pronouns, interrogative pronouns, and indefinite pronouns (Bhat, 2007; Börjars & Burridge, 2010).

The use of pronoun mostly involves anaphora, where the meaning of the pronoun is dependent on an antecedent. This applies particularly to third person personal pronouns, and to relative pronouns. For instance, consider the sentence below:

2. That old lady looks as though she needs a new dress.

The antecedent of the pronoun *she* is the noun phrase *that old lady*.

The adjective associated with a pronoun is pronominal. A pronominal is also a word or phrase that acts as a pronoun. For instance, in

3. That's not the one I wanted

The phrase, *the one* is a pronominal.

3.5.2.1 Personal Pronouns in Political Discourse

According to Wilson (1990:46) the employment of pronouns in political rhetoric “may serve communicatively to present different facets of the speaker’s attitude, social status, gender, inspiration and so forth.” The classic work of Brown and Gilman (1960) indicated that in Indo-European languages such as German, French, Italian and Spanish, pronominal selection is influenced by the perceived function relationship between the speaker and the addressee. In the political discourse of the candidate under investigation, instances of how the candidate made use of pronouns in his discourse to give the message authenticity which in turn gave him solidarity and power over the audience. Applying power and solidarity semantics to investigate the pronominal usage in Indo-European languages, Brown and Gilman (1960) argued that the exchange of pronouns can shape or confirm the power changing aspects and solidarity of a relationship. A mutual use of address forms infers relative equality and solidarity, while a non-reciprocal use denotes social distance and an asymmetrical power relationship, with the ascendant speaker using the informal pronoun. Realised in this light, personal pronouns play a significant role in negotiating social status in communication. In other words, personal pronouns may carry out not only a person deictic function, but also a social deictic role in discourse.

In the deictic role of personal pronouns, Helmbrecht (2002) explains one of the classic uses of personal pronouns with regard to the case of the first person plural pronouns (e.g., English *we*):

One almost universal means to refer to speaker-groups are first person non-singular pronouns such as English *we*, German *wir*, and French *nous*. The usage of the first person plural pronouns consists of at least three important operations. Firstly, the speaker refers to a set of human individuals which were introduced in some way or other in the previous discourse. Secondly, he determines this set of people as a group, and thirdly, he explicitly states that he is a member of this group excluding others from membership of this group at the same time (Helmbrecht 2002: 31).

Helmbrecht (2002: 42) further submits that the employment of the first person plural pronoun *we*, is closely related to the linguistic formation of social groups. Speakers publicly isolate social groups with respect to their listeners by using this pronoun. At the same time, they disclose their membership of these groups. This archetypal usage of *we* pronouns gives a strong approach to creating and strengthening social identities.

In the same way, as proposed by Pyykkö (2002: 246), “the pronouns do not carry their own concept meaning, they get their meaning from the nouns, in whose stead they are used. This makes it easy to hide behind the pronouns and to use *we* as a central political force of influence.” Given the essentially ambiguous nature of personal pronouns acting in the reconstruction and negotiation of identities and social functions, it is not surprising that politicians tend to use personal pronouns to equivocate in reply to awkward questions. Wilson (1990: 48), for instance, indicated that the use of pronouns *it*, *I* and *we* in similar sentences will express the various distribution of responsibilities as indicated below:

4. Due to the rising balance of payment deficit...

(a) *it* has been found necessary to increase interest rates.

(b) *I* have found it necessary to increase interest rates.

(c) *we* have found it necessary to increase interest rates. (Wilson, 1990)

Wilson stated that when a government official is explaining an increase in interest rates to the public, the speaker can choose (a), (b), and (c) to speak to people, whereas each of them varies in the distribution of responsibilities in terms of the speaker’s choice of personal pronouns. In (a) it has an agentless passive such that the actor is unidentified; in (b) it has a clear case of personal pronoun *I*; nevertheless, in (c) the case is ambiguous: the *we* may contain the speaker along with other members of the government, or the *we*, represents the nation or the state since the speaker is a government official.

In the present study, the different personal pronouns employed by the candidate under examination are analysed bringing out the intent and responsibility expressed by the speaker in each case in political rhetoric. This analysis is with a view to establishing how these personal pronouns are used as rhetorical strategies to achieving persuasion.

3.5.3 Presupposition

In pragmatics, which is a branch of linguistics, a presupposition is an implicit assumption about the world or background belief with regard to an utterance whose truth is taken for granted in discourse (Kadmon, 2001). Examples of presuppositions include:

5. Miyoba no longer writes fiction.

Presupposition: Miyoba once wrote fiction.

7. Have you talked to Evans?

Presupposition: Evans exists.

A presupposition must be mutually known or assumed by the speaker and addressee for the utterance to be deemed appropriate in context. It will generally remain a necessary assumption whether the utterance is placed in the form of an assertion, denial, or question, and can be related to a specific lexical item or linguistic feature (presupposition trigger) in the utterance (Kadmon, 2001).

In speech act theory and in Paul Grice's (1975) approach to meaning, presupposition is one type of implied meaning, the others being conversational implicature, inference and entailment. "A presupposition is something the speaker assumes to be the case prior to making an utterance. Speakers, not sentences, have presuppositions. One major empirical test of presupposition is constancy under negation, that is, if an affirmative sentence conveys a presupposition, it will convey the same presupposition if it is negated (Yule, 1996: 29). For instance, both "My mobile is expensive" and "My mobile is not expensive," presuppose "I have a mobile."

Presupposition can also be defined by means of the distinction between what is treated as 'given' and 'new' in a linguistic exchange. The Given information is the information that is known to both the speaker and the hearer. It is normally taken for granted that the listener(s) or reader(s) know the information. So the speaker takes off from that point to supply the new information. The new information is that which the speaker wants to communicate to the hearer. The Given element is put before the New information because there is an area of mutual knowledge the writer wants to share with the readers (Bloor & Bloor, 2004; Taiwo, 2008). According to Chapman and Routledge (1999), what is presupposed seems synonymous with what is given or agreed upon. Grice gives the example "My aunt's cousin went to that concert" to demonstrate that it is not the case that a proposition, in this case that "I have an aunt," and

that “my aunt has a cousin,” needs to be ‘given’ in the sense that it is established between speaker and hearer, in order for it to be successfully presupposed, here by the use of the definite description. He suggests, instead, that a proposition need only be “non-controversial,” or “something we would expect the hearer to take from us (if s/he does not already know)” (Grice, 1991: 274).

Two relevant examples of political presuppositions are given by Engel (2004: 36-37): “There will be no flinching in this war on terror” (George W. Bush, 23 August, 2003), presupposes, through the definite description “this war,” that there is a war on terror, and more basically that there is terror, whether the threat “there will be no flinching” is accepted or rejected, the presupposition ‘remains unchanged.’ In the loaded question, “Why do they hate us?” no matter what answer is given, the proposition “They hate us” is presupposed, through the *wh*-structure, and is likely to be unchallenged.

Another approach, deriving from Stalnaker (1974, 1978) and known as the common-ground approach, explains presupposition as a pragmatic phenomenon. “Presuppositions are what is taken by the speaker to be the common ground’ of the participants in the convention, what is treated as their ‘common knowledge or mutual knowledge’ (1978: 321).

Presuppositions arise from what Stalnaker calls presuppositional requirements. These are requirements a sentence places upon a context for the use of the sentence to be felicitous in the context. According to this view, presupposition is pragmatic in that it is a matter of the behaviour of sentences in contexts. Lewis (1979: 172) argues that presupposition is governed by the Rule of Accommodation for Presupposition: “If at *t* something is said that it requires presupposition *p* to be acceptable, and if *p* is not presupposed just before *t*, then presupposition *p* comes into existence at *t*.” The pragmatic approach still informs a lot of work on presupposition. For example, Simons (2007: 1052) concludes that “presuppositions, whatever exactly they may be, are the result of conversational factors.”

Wodak (2007: 214) submits that “presupposed content is, under ordinary circumstances, and unless there is a cautious interpretative attitude on the part of the hearer, accepted without critical attention whereas the asserted content and evident implicatures are normally subject to some level of evaluation.” The analysis of presupposition is, therefore, a formidable tool for detecting what speakers think or know that recipients believe, and for locating strategic moves by which speakers propose that specific presupposed beliefs are real, although that may not be so (van Dijk, 1998). A reductionist view strips presupposition of its very essence and a natural

limit view strips it from its important ideological functions. A hybrid view where semantics and pragmatics are taken into account is an ideal way of handling presupposition. On the other hand, whether a presupposition is the outcome of a natural limit on the amount of new information or of an ideological stance remains context-dependent.

There are several classificatory models of presupposition. Maingueneau (1996:69-69) identifies two main forms of presupposition, “le préconstruit”: the first is triggered by linguistic structures; the second derives from the relationship between the énoncé, utterance or sentence, and its context and has pragmatic significance. Short (1989) classifies presuppositions into existential, linguistic and pragmatic, whereas Yule (1996) classifies them into existential, factive, lexical, structural, and non-factive. Levinson’s (1983) classification is based on the kind of presupposition triggers, or inducers (words, phrases, or structures that express or signal the presupposition). A presupposition trigger is simply the hint at the presupposition.

Following Fairclough (2003: 55), presuppositions, assumptions in his terminology, may be existential, prepositional or value-laden (evaluative). He asserts that, “existential assumptions are assumptions about what exists; propositional assumptions are assumptions about what is or can or will be the case; value assumptions are assumptions about what is good or desirable.”

The ultimate goal of most presuppositions is to make a piece of information that the speaker believes seem to be what the listener should believe (Yule, 1996:29). Presuppositions are not only about knowledge, but also about “expectations, desires, interests, claims, attitudes towards the world” (Caffi, 1993, in Mey, 1993: 203), about what the discourse producer wants, or forces, the audience to take for granted.

The present study applies presupposition because it is a ‘very useful concept’ in Rhetorical theory. “It allows people to make implicit assumptions about things being true that may not be true at all. By presupposing *q*, instead of actually asserting *q* explicitly, speakers may want to hide or downplay the fact that *q* may be false or at least questionable” (van Dijk, 1998). This is part of the “ideological square” where devices such as presupposition can be used “to indirectly emphasise our good properties and their bad ones: these properties are simply assumed to be known, as if they were common sense, and hence need not be specifically asserted” (van Dijk, 1995: 157). Presupposition is also useful in Rhetorical framework because it enables politicians to present their arguments in a convincing manner in order to win support of the electorate.

Greco (2003) examines how accommodation, the course by which new presuppositions are introduced into the speakers' common ground may be explained in manipulative discourses. For example, a political candidate who is asked by a journalist during a television debate: "Do you regret having been unfair to your political opponents? If the politician answered the question directly, she or he would accept her or his 'unfairness,' that is, she would admit it. Otherwise, she or he should challenge the question itself, for instance, by saying: "But I have never been unfair to my opponents!" (Greco, 2003: 227).

Another is Frege's classic "the will of the people," presupposing that there is 'a people' and that it has a 'will' (218). Presuppositions, Greco argues, can be challenged in every day conversations; the danger is when they cannot.

The present study endeavoured to bring out how presuppositions are exploited in manipulative discourses on the Zambian political arena, as a rhetorical device and ultimately, persuasive strategy, especially during presidential campaigns by presidential candidates, in an attempt to win support of the electorate. The study also applies van Dijk's 'ideological square', that is, 'de/emphasising good/bad things of *us* / *them*, by demonstrating how political opponents use presupposition to glorify their deeds using positive *us* presentation and negatively presenting other political parties or their opponents using negative *them* presentation. The study further attempted to demonstrate how presuppositions are employed as formidable tools for detecting what speakers think or know what recipients believe in, and for locating strategic moves to the advantage of political candidates.

3.5.4 Implicature

Implicature, as posited by Blackburn (1996), is a technical term in the pragmatics sub-field of linguistics, coined by H. P. Grice, which refers to what is suggested in an utterance, even though neither expressed nor precisely implied (that is, entailed) by the utterance. For instance, the sentence "Mary had a baby and got married" strongly suggests that Mary had the baby before the wedding, but the sentence would still be strictly true if Mary had her baby after she got married. Blackburn (1996) further argues that if we append the qualification "not necessarily in that order" to the original sentence, then the implicature is now cancelled even though the meaning of the original sentence is not altered.

The concept 'implicature' is an alternative to 'implication,' which has additional meanings of illogic and informal language (Wayne, 2014).

3.5.4.1 Types of Implicature

3.5.4.1.1 Conversational Implicature

Paul Grice (1975) identified three types of general conversational implicatures as follows.

The first one is that the speaker deliberately flouts a conversational maxim to convey an additional meaning not expressed literally. For instance, a speaker responds to the question below.

8. How did you like the guest preacher?

With the following utterance:

9. Well, I'm sure he was speaking Spanish.

Firstly, if the speaker is assumed to be following the cooperative principle, as Kordić, (1991) avows, in spite of flouting the Maxim of Relevance, then the utterance must have an additional nonliteral meaning, such as: "The content of the preacher's sermon was confusing."

Secondly, the speaker's desire to fulfil two conflicting maxims results in his or her flouting one maxim to invoke the other. For instance, a speaker responds to the following question:

10. Where is Mr Lutangu?

With the following utterance:

11. He's either in the cafeteria or in his office.

In this case, the Maxim of Quantity and the Maxim of Quality are in conflict. A cooperative speaker does not want to be ambiguous but also does not want to give false information by giving a specific answer in spite of his uncertainty. By flouting the Maxim of Quantity, the speaker invokes the Maxim of Quality, leading to the implicature that the speaker does not have the evidence to give a specific location where he believes Mr Lutangu is.

Thirdly, the speaker invokes a maxim as a basis for interpreting the utterance in the following exchange:

12. Do you know where I can get some gas?

13. There's a gas station around the corner.

The second speaker invokes the Maxim of Relevance, resulting in the implicature that “the gas station is open and one can probably get gas there”.

3.5.4.1.2 Scalar Implicature

According to Grice (1975), another form of conversational implicature is referred to as a scalar implicature. This regards the conventional uses of words like ‘all’ or ‘some’ in conversation.

14. I ate some of the pie.

This sentence implies “I did not eat all of the pie.” While the statement “I ate some pie” is still true if the entire pie was eaten, the conventional meaning of the word ‘some’ and the implicature generated by the statement is ‘not all.’

3.5.4.1.3 Conventional Implicature

Conventional implicature is independent of the cooperative principle and its four maxims. A statement always carries its conventional implicature.

15. Mwaba is poor but happy.

This sentence implies poverty and happiness are not compatible but in spite of this Mwaba is still happy. The conventional interpretation of the word ‘but’ will always create the implicature of a sense of contrast. So Mwaba is poor but happy will always necessarily imply “Surprisingly Mwaba is happy in spite of being poor.”

3.5.4.2 Implicature versus Entailment

Implicature can be contrasted with cases of entailment. The statement “the President was assassinated,” for example, not only suggests that “the President is dead” is true, but needs this to be so. The first sentence could not be true if the second were not true; if the President were not dead, then whatever it is that happened to him would not have been deemed as a successful assassination. Similarly, unlike implicatures, entailments cannot be cancelled; there is no prerequisite that one could add to “the president was assassinated” which would cause it to cease entailing “the president is dead” while also maintaining the meaning of the first sentence.

The present study examined the campaign discourse of one opposition presidential candidate and analysed instances of implicature and how this candidate used it as a rhetorical device to winning support of the electorate.

3.5.5 Code Switching

Code switching is a process of shifting from one linguistic code to another, depending on the social context or conversational setting. In linguistics, code switching happens when a speaker alternates between two or more languages, or language varieties, in the context of a single conversation. Multilinguals, speakers of more than one language, at times use elements of several languages when communicating with each other (Washington-Harmon, 2020). On the other hand, code switching is practiced when each of the speakers is fluent in both languages. Code switching may operate between two distinct languages as well as between two dialects of the same language. Thus, code switching is the use of more than one linguistic variety in a way consistent with the syntax and phonology of each variety (Washington-Harmon, 2020).

Sociolinguists, social psychologists, and identity researchers are concerned with the ways in which code switching, particularly by members of minority ethnic groups, is used to shape and uphold a sense of identity and a sense of belonging to a larger community (Washington-Harmon, 2020).

Code switching is different from other language contact phenomena, such as borrowing, pidgins and creoles, loan translation, and language transfer. Borrowing, affects the lexicon, the words that make up a language, while code switching takes place in individual utterances (Gumperz 1982; Poplack & Sankoff 1984; Milroy & Muysken 1995). A pidgin is formed when two or more speakers who do not speak a common language form transitional, third language.

In the 1940s and the 1950s, code switching was considered to be a substandard use of language by many scholars (Weinreich, 1953). Since the 1980s, however, most scholars have come to regard code switching a normal, natural product of bilingual and multilingual language use (Goldstein & Kohnert 2005; Brice 2009).

In essence, code-switching is about attaining effective styles to communicate with another person, says. When someone speaks to another person in a language the other person comprehends or in a way that puts that person at ease, the probability of creating a connection with that person increases (Washington-Harmon, 2020).

3.5.5.1 Types of Code Switching

Scholars use different names for various types of code switching. Types of code switching include the following.

Intersentential switching which occurs outside the sentence or the clause level, that is, at sentence or clause boundaries (Li Wei, 2000). This type of code switching is sometimes called ‘extrasentential’ switching. In Assyrian-English switching, for instance, one could say:

16. Ani wideili. What happened? ‘Those, I did them. What happened?’ (McClure, 2001).

Intra-sentential switching is the type of code switching which occurs within a sentence or a clause (Li Wei, 2000 & Myers-Scotton, 1989). In Spanish-English switching one could say:

17. La onda is to fight y jambar ‘The in-thing is to fight and steal’ (Woolford, 1983).

Tag-switching is the switching of either a tag phrase or a word, or both, from one language to another. This type of code switching is common in intra-sentential switches (Li Wei, 2000). For example, in Spanish-English switching, one could say:

18. Él es de México y así los criaron a ellos, you know ‘He’s from Mexico, and they raise them like that, you know’ (Winford, 2003).

Intra-word switching is a kind of code switching that occurs within a word itself, such as at a morpheme boundary (Myers-Scotton, 1989). In Shona-English switching one could say:

19. But ma-day-s a-no a-ya ha-ndi-si ku-mu-on-a, ‘But these days I don’t see him much.’

Here the English plural morpheme -s appears alongside the Shona prefix ma-, which also marks plurality (Winford, 2003).

Most code switching studies mainly focus on intra-sentential switching, as it creates many crossbreed grammar structures that require explanation. The other types of code switching involve utterances that simply follow the grammar of one language or the other. Intra-sentential switching can be alternational or insertional. In alternational code switching, a new grammar emerges that is a combination of the grammars of the two languages involved. Insertional code switching involves “the insertion of elements from one language into the morphosyntactic frame of the other” (Winford, 2003).

3.5.5.2 Reasons why People Code switch

Washington-Harmon (2020) outlines some of the reasons why people code switch.

The first one is that our lizard brains take over. The most common examples of code switching are completely inadvertent in that people would slip into a different language or accent without

even realising it or intending to do so. The second reason is that people want to fit in. Very often, people code-switch both consciously and unconsciously to act or talk more like those around them. Thirdly, people code switch because they want to get something. In many societies a lot of people code-switch not just to fit in, but to actively ingratiate themselves to others. It could be to get favours or to be treated in a certain way. The fourth reason is that people code switch because they want to say something in secret. People will use code switching in order to hide in plain sight, to make sure others are excluded from the conversation. The fifth one is that code switching helps us convey a thought. Certain concepts need that perfect *bon mot* to come across effectively. Many people switch languages or employ colloquialisms to express particular ideas (Washington-Harmon, 2020).

In the present study, instances of code switching in the campaign speeches by one of the presidential candidates are identified and analysed to establish their social significance. Both the reasons why the candidate under examination made use of code switching in his campaign speeches and the effects this action had on the electorate are brought out in the analysis. The candidate employed code switching to solicit for support from the electorate thus as a persuasive strategy in political rhetoric.

3.5.6 Lexicalisation

According to Lipka (1992) lexicalisation is the process of adding words, set phrases and word patterns to language, that is, adding items to a language's lexicon. For instance, borrowing a word from another language, or more involved, as in loan translation. Other mechanisms include compounding, abbreviations, and blending (Talmy, 2000). What is interesting from the standpoint of historical linguistics is the process by which informal phrases become set in the language, and in due course become new words. Lexicalisation contrasts with grammaticalisation.

In psycholinguistics, lexicalisation is the process of going from meaning to sound in speech production. The most widely accepted model, is speech production, in which a fundamental concept is transformed into a word, in at least two-stage process. Harty (2005) explains the process as first, the semantic form, which is specified for meaning, is converted into a lemma, which is an abstract form specified for semantic and syntactic information, that is, how a word is used in a sentence, but not for phonological information, that is how a word is pronounced. The next stage is the lexeme, which is phonologically specified.

The present study analyses how the political candidate under investigation expressed different meanings of certain standpoints and views by employing lexicalisation in his campaign speeches in order to woo support of the electorate thereby achieving persuasion during presidential campaigns.

3.5.7 Euphemism

Euphemism comes from the Greek word εὐφημία (euphemia), meaning ‘the use of words of good omen,’ which in turn is derived from the Greek root words εὖ (εὔ), “good, well” and φῆμῃ (φήμη) “prophetic speech; rumour, talk”. Etymologically, the eupheme is the opposite of the blaspheme “evil-speaking” (Online Etymology Dictionary).

According to the Webster’s online Dictionary, a euphemism is a generally inoffensive word or expression that is used in place of one that may be found offensive or suggest something unpleasant. Some euphemisms are intended to charm; while others use bland, innocuous terms for things the user wishes to downplay. Euphemisms are used to refer to taboo topics such as disability, sex, excretion, and death in a polite way, or to mask profanity. The use of the term ranges from a polite concern for prosperity, to attempting to escape responsibility for war crimes.

Euphemism as a rhetorical strategy was employed by the political candidate under investigation in the present study by presenting negative situations positively in order to woo support of the electorate for himself and his party.

3.6 Types of Rhetoric

Aristotle divided rhetoric into three kinds which he called deliberative rhetoric, forensic rhetoric and epideictic rhetoric. Deliberative rhetoric is for political purposes, forensic rhetoric is used in legal situations and epideictic rhetoric is for ceremonial occasions. Aristotle observed that modern rhetoric makes use of these sources of persuasion and the three kinds of rhetoric.

The three types of rhetoric were identified by Aristotle, way back in the 4th Century B.C. They are also referred to as three branches of oratory. These three types cover some of the most common ways we individuals communicate, even today (Garver 1998:307).

3.6.1 Deliberative Rhetoric

The Visual Communication Guy (2021) explains deliberative rhetoric as referring to interactions that are meant to persuade or dissuade an individual to think or do something in a certain way. Deliberative rhetoric concerns itself about the future. Its objective is to persuade people that if they act or think of something now, things would either be in their favour or against them. Deliberative rhetoric is used in political speeches, in proposals, in presentations, and in the campaigns of social justice. It can also be employed in some advertising as a form of deliberative rhetoric since the objective of advertising is either to persuade someone to purchase or act in a certain way or dissuade them from purchasing other products or brands.

Examples of deliberative rhetoric include political speeches, formal presentations, proposals, social justice campaigns and advertisements.

3.6.2 Forensic Rhetoric

Forensic rhetoric is also known as Judicial rhetoric. It refers to articulations whose purpose is to accuse or defend someone. Judicial rhetoric is about the past in that its goal is to deliberate on what someone did or said and whether or not their deeds were justifiable. It is the kind of discourse that takes place in a courtroom where lawyers, judges, defendants, plaintiffs, and juries ponder whether actions were legal or ethical. Judicial rhetoric is employed by lawmakers to determine laws and best practices. Generally, judicial rhetoric is really about justifying an individual's actions. For instance, someone trying to convince your mother that their decision to stay out late actually kept them safer. Examples of Judicial Rhetoric are courtroom proceedings, Lawyer statements, Jury deliberations, written laws and personal justifications (The Visual Communication Guy, 2021).

3.6.3 Epideictic Rhetoric

Epideictic rhetoric is the type of communication we use to praise or at times to blame a person for their actions or achievements. Epideictic rhetoric deals with the present and its objective is to highlight and pin point the qualities and characteristics of a person or thing that make them important or, sometimes, not important. Epideictic rhetoric is employed during the times of praise or lauding individuals, such as in nomination speeches or even at funerals. Examples of epideictic rhetoric include; obituaries, eulogies, letters of recommendation and nomination speeches (The Visual Communication Guy, 2021).

3.7 Allusion

Allusion is in essence a reference to something else. The verb form of “allusion” is “to allude.” So alluding to something is the same thing as making an allusion to it. Allusion is used all the time in everyday speech. For instance:

20. You are about to open up a Pandora’s box.

This is an allusion to the Greek story of Pandora, the first woman, who accidentally released evil into the world (<https://literaryterms.net/allusion/>).

An allusion is a reference, usually brief, to a person, place, thing, event, or other literary work with which the reader or listener is presumably familiar. As a literary device, allusion enables a writer or speaker to condense a great deal of meaning and importance into a word or phrase. However, the writer or speaker should ensure that the allusions are comprehended by the reader for that is the only way that they can be effective. Therefore, the speaker should ensure that the allusions are properly inferred and deciphered by the reader. Making reference to something that is well known permits the writer or speaker to make a point without explaining in detail (Johnston, un dated).

Writers or speakers usually make use of allusion as a literary device for an incidental indication of something or a passing reference to form context. Greek and/or Roman mythology are more often used as sources for allusions in literature, either directly or by implication, due to the familiarity many people have with classical myths, their stories, and characters (<https://literarydevices.net/allusion/>). The current study made use of social and historical allusion in the analysis of the campaign speeches of the candidate under investigation since these are ideal rhetorical devices for achieving persuasion in political campaigns.

The present study analyses the political discourse of one of the presidential candidates and establishes the persuasive strategies in his political rhetoric. The study identifies the persuasive moves by the political candidate under study and analyses rhetorical devices to show how persuasion was achieved in his campaign messages. In other words, the study analyses the methods or art the candidate employs in his campaign speeches in order to convince the electorate to vote for him.

3.8 Summary of Chapter

The chapter has outlined the analytical framework that informed the study. The major concepts discussed include rhetoric and rhetorical theory, rhetoric in politics, persuasion and rhetoric and rhetorical strategies. The Rhetorical analytical framework, guiding the study has been discussed in detail bringing out its importance and its application to political campaign discourse. The appeals to rhetoric; ethos, pathos, logos and Kairos have been explained in detail. To unpack the theory further, a detailed explanation of the concepts presupposition, implicature and inference, and other rhetorical strategies has been given. Lastly, the chapter considered lexicalisation, code switching, euphemism and allusion, and their implication to political campaign speeches and the electorate at large. All these concepts are important to the analysis of rhetorical strategies in political discourse. The next chapter discusses the methodology and the philosophical underpinnings employed in the study. It outlines the approaches applied to collect and analyse data in order to provide answers to the research questions presented in chapter one of the thesis.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the analytical framework that informed the study as well as the concepts regarding the rhetorical strategies employed in the study. The current chapter outlines the actual steps that were used in the process of conducting the research, which eventually led to finding answers to the objectives of the study discussed in chapters five, six, seven and eight of the thesis. Therefore, informed by the objectives of the study, this chapter presents the research design and methodology used in the thesis.

Methodology is important as it provides a sense of vision by pointing out exactly where what the researcher wants to undertake is, in the process. The means to bringing this vision into reality is provided by techniques and procedures or methods employed in the process (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). The present study adopted a qualitative method to analyse the rhetorical devices in the 2016 presidential campaign discourse by one of the leading presidential candidates in Zambia.

In addition, the chapter presents and explains the procedures used for data collection and how the presidential candidate and the campaign speeches were selected, and the procedure followed when analysing the data. Furthermore, the epistemology and the methodology of the qualitative approach is described in the chapter as well as the ethical principles which informed the research process.

4.1 Philosophical Underpinnings of the Study

Philosophical explanation is a 1981 metaphysical, epistemological, and ethical treatise by philosopher Robert Nozick. Nozick discusses problems in the philosophy of mind, ethics, epistemology, and metaphysics. The issues Nozick explores include personal identity, knowledge, free will, value, the meaning of life, and scepticism.

Nozick observes that philosophers often seek to deduce their total view from a few basic principles, showing how everything follows from their intuitively based axioms, and therefore compares such an approach to building a tower by piling one brick on top of another. If the brick at the bottom gives way or is removed, everything crumbles, and even the insights that

were independent of the starting point are lost. He suggests instead that the Parthenon should be the model for philosophy, and advocates an explanatory model of philosophical activity rather than an argumentative or coercive one (Nozick, 1981).

In the Parthenon model, separate philosophical acumens are placed one after another, like columns, and only united later under a roof comprising of general principles or themes. That way, when the philosophical ground crumbles, something Nozick considers as likely, something of interest and beauty remains standing (Nozick, 1981).

The research framework forming the foundation of a study is known as paradigm or world view (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). This framework or paradigm is very important as without it in the initial stage, as Mackenzie and Knipe (2006) posit, there can be no basis for the subsequent options concerning methodology, literature, or research design. Creswell and Plano Clark (2011: 21) explain a paradigm as “assumptions a researcher makes about reality, how knowledge is obtained and the methods of gaining knowledge.” Regarding research, there are a number of paradigms that can be identified. One other aspect that should be made clear about these paradigms is that they are not inflexible but constantly changing. The present study adopted the interpretivism paradigm. A paradigm consists of ontology, epistemology, methodology, and, methods as components.

In outlining the underlying philosophical research framework that formed the foundation of the present study, it is imperative to begin with the concepts of ontology, epistemology and methodology. Epistemology is the branch of philosophy concerned with the theory of knowledge. It is concerned with the following questions; How do we prove that we know what we claim to know? How do we verify the correct information that we know? What is knowledge and how can it be carried out successfully? Epistemological postulations are concerned with how knowledge can be constructed, obtained and conveyed. To put it differently *what it means to know*. Guba and Lincoln (1994: 108) further avow that epistemology asks the question, “what is the nature of the relationship between the would-be knower and what can be known?” Researchers are required to take a stance concerning their insights of how things actually are and how things actually work. Epistemology has to do with the makeup and forms of knowledge (Cohen et al., 2007). When dealing with epistemology, we are asking and answering questions such as: what constitutes valid knowledge and how can we obtain it?

Ontology, as Crotty (1998: 10) submits, is the *study of being*. Ontological assumptions have to do with what makes up reality, in other words *what is*. When considering ontology, we are dealing with questions such as: what constitutes reality and how can we understand existence?

Epistemology and ontology are our theories of knowledge and our view of reality which underpins our theoretical perspective and methodology.

Every paradigm is grounded upon its own ontological and epistemological suppositions. Since all assumptions are inference, the philosophical underpinnings of each paradigm can never be empirically substantiated or disproven. Different paradigms inherently contain diverging ontological and epistemological views. Therefore, they have varying stand points of reality and knowledge which underpin their specific research approach. This is reflected in their methodology and methods (Scotland, 2012).

There are two dimensions being considered here; positivism and subjectivism or interpretivism. The positivism dimension, also known as rationalist, states that reality is objective, it does not matter who is looking at it. The interpretivism dimension holds that reality is subjective. There are certain realities that can only be done subjectively and it depends on who is doing what. These two main approaches that have subjugated empirical studies in social sciences in the past have historically oriented social research since its commencement, and have categorised it into either empiricist or humanist research (Hughes, 1990; Denscombe, 2002). The positivism dimension rests upon quantitative method of research while interpretivism rests upon qualitative research (Herbert, 1990).

Subjectivism is the philosophical tenet that “our own mental activity is the only unquestionable fact of our experience” (Richardson & Bowden, 1983). In other words, subjectivism is the doctrine that knowledge is merely subjective and that there is no external or objective truth to it. The success of this position is historically attributed to Descartes and his methodical doubt. Subjectivism accords priority to subjective know-how as fundamental of all measure and law.

Metaphysical subjectivism is the theory that holds that reality is what we make out to be real, and that there is no fundamental true reality that exists free of perception. One can also hold that it is consciousness rather than perception that is reality (subjective idealism). This is in contrast to metaphysical objectivism and philosophical realism, which assert that there is an underlying ‘objective’ reality which is conceived in different ways. Interpretivism holds the researcher as detective and the view arises from a critique of using the natural sciences as a model for social research. It is a quest for subjective knowledge and makes use of an inductive

or theory-building approach. It is underpinned by a subjectivist ontology by understanding how and why things happen thereby elucidating meaning. Typical approaches in interpretivism are ethnography study, In-depth interviews and analytical approaches (Ruddon, 2016).

This standpoint should not be confused with the stance that ‘all is illusion’ or that “there is no such thing as reality.” Metaphysical subjectivists hold that reality is real enough. They conceive, however, that the nature of reality as related to a given consciousness, is dependent on that consciousness. The interpretivism approach to research aims at understanding the ‘complex world’ from research accomplices’ own perceptions. This life world is referred to as ‘hypothesis generating’ because theories arise from the data. These hypotheses that emerge from data analysis notify extra data collection. Theories can be formulated before the research and effectively be expounded as the research activity progresses. The cycle is then repeated several times before the research is finally completed or concluded (Cohen et al., 2000) (figure 2).

Positivism is a philosophical theory avowing that positive knowledge is based on natural phenomena and their properties and relations. Thus, information derived from sensory experience, interpreted through reason and logic, forms the exclusive source of all authoritative knowledge. Positivism holds that valid knowledge (certitude or truth) is found only in this derived knowledge (Jorge, 1979).

Positivism holds the view that the researcher is a scientist and the natural sciences as a model. It is the quest for objective knowledge employing a deductive or theory-testing approach. It is underpinned by an objectivist or realist ontology. It explains how and why things happen and makes use of measurement, correlation, statistical logic, and verification. Typical methods employed are surveys, questionnaires, and random sampling.

Verified data or positive facts received from the senses “are known as empirical evidence; thus positivism is based on empiricism” (Cohen & Maldonado, 2007:9).

Positivism also holds that society, like the physical world, operates according to general laws. Introspective and intuitive knowledge is rejected, as is metaphysics and theology. Positivism asserts that all authentic knowledge allows verification and that all authentic knowledge assumes that the only valid knowledge is scientific.

Jorge (1979: 197) further posits that “one of the features of positivism is precisely its postulate that scientific knowledge is the paradigm of valid knowledge, a postulate that indeed is never proved nor intended to be proved.”

Table 1 below gives a summary of the positivism and the interpretivism dimensions.

Table 1: Positivism and Interpretivism: Explaining and Understanding

Positivism	Explaining	Interpretivism	Understanding
Natural Sciences		Social sciences	
Objective	Observable facts	Subjective	Individual meanings
Realism	Facts are facts: Truth can be captured if we use the right methods	Subjectivism	People are people: The truth is out there, but its complex
Value-free	Universal Principles and facts	Culturally and historically situated interpretations	Interpretations, meanings, motivations and values of social actors, structures and patterns

Adapted from: Ruddon, *Early Stage Research Training: Epistemology & Ontology in Social Science Research*.

These two paradigms (positivism and interpretivism) have determined the insights of the peculiarities between quantitative and qualitative research visions (Denscombe, 2002). The present study fits into the interpretivism paradigm and therefore adopted the qualitative research approach.

Figure 2 below illustrates the interpretivist view of the research process.

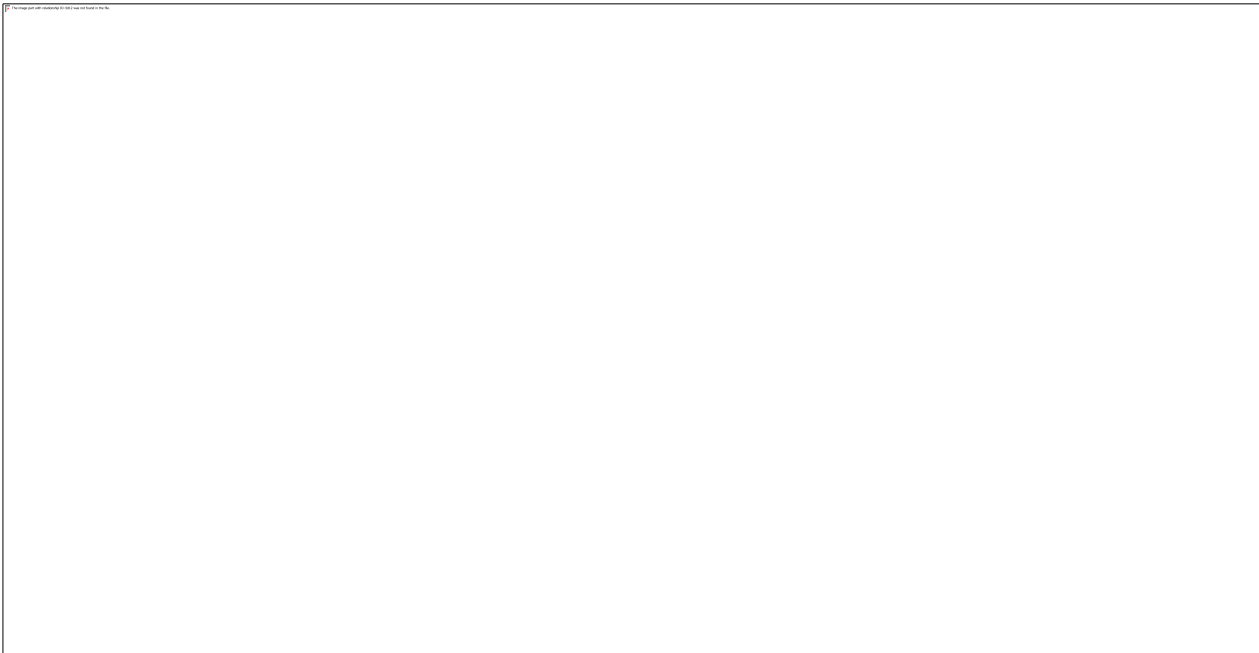


Figure 2: Interpretivist View of the Research Process

Ruddon (2018). *Early Stage Research Training: Epistemology & Ontology in Social Science Research*.

Methodology is the plan of action which rests behind the adoption and use of particular methods (Crotty, 1998). Methodology therefore has to do with why, what, from where, when and how data is collected and analysed. Guba and Lincon (1994:108) explain that methodology “asks the question: how can the inquirer go about finding out whatever they believe can be known?” Crotty (1998) submits that methods are the specific techniques and procedures used to collect and analyse data. The data collected will either be qualitative or quantitative, and all paradigms can use both quantitative and qualitative data. Research methods can be trailed back, through methodology and epistemology, to an ontological position. It is not possible to conduct any form of research minus obliging (often implicitly) to ontological and epistemological positions. Grix (2004) further posits that researchers’ diverging ontological and epistemological standpoints often lead to various research approaches towards the same phenomenon.

As indicated above, the present study falls into the interpretivism research paradigm and therefore adopted the qualitative research approach.

4.2 Rationale for Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is a method of investigation employed in various academic disciplines, including the social sciences and natural sciences, as well as in non-academic contexts (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

Qualitative research is therefore a broad methodological approach that comprises many research methods. The aim of this research may vary depending on the disciplinary background, such as a psychologist in search of an in-depth understanding of human behaviour and the reasons that govern such behaviour. Qualitative methods investigate the why and how of decision making, not just what, where, when, or 'who', and have a strong basis in the field of sociology. A qualitative researcher deems that understanding of a phenomenon or situation or event comes from investigating the totality of the situation (for instance, phenomenology, symbolic interactionism), often with access to huge amounts of "hard data" (Bogdan & Taylor, 1990).

Qualitative research, therefore, is concerned with what happens in social settings. McMillan and Schumacher (1993:373) postulate that the goal of qualitative study is "to understand the social phenomenon". Qualitative research tends to be incredulous about the use of 'scientific' methods as statistical analysis for the study of human beings, contending that data about individuals' feelings, attitudes or judgement are too intricate to be quantified (NECO, 1997; Verma & Mallick, 1999). Kirk and Miller (1986) further affirm that qualitative research is a specific custom in social science that hinges on watching people in their own territory. We can therefore infer that the evidence that is attained in qualitative research is more localised and relative. Unlike quantitative study, qualitative observation ascertains either the presence or the absence of something, while quantitative observation is concerned with measuring the extent to which some feature is present.

Qualitative researchers show a commitment to observing events and the social world through the eyes of the people or phenomena that they study. As Bryman (2001) posits, the social world must be construed from the standpoint of the people being investigated, rather than those subjects being studied as though they were incapable of their own reflections on the social world. That is why qualitative research is identified with Sociology and Anthropology and is seen as naturalistic and participatory (Freebody, 2003; Bryman, 2001). The nature of the present study tended to suit the qualitative research approach as it seemed to offer the researcher the precise options to the attainment of the objectives and to answering the research

questions of the study. In order for the researcher to thoroughly investigate the problem that the study was exploring, the research made use of qualitative method and data.

Qualitative research is further understood as a form of social inquiry that focuses on the way people interpret and make sense of their experiences and the world in which they live (Holloway, 1997). However, when one considers content analysis, as is the case in the present study, a researcher's interest is details and illustrations that are drawn from the data and the manifest and latent content of a body of communicated material through classification, tabulation, and evaluation of its key symbols and themes in order to ascertain its meaning and probable effect.

In qualitative research, the emphasis is on investigating and understanding phenomena in real-world settings. In such an approach, generally, the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomena of interest. In other words, research is undertaken in real-life situations, contrary to an experimental (test-retest) scenario (Maree 2007; Newman 2011).

4.2 Research Design

Study design or research design is a systematic plan to studying a scientific problem and provides the basis for the selection of appropriate research methods to be used in the investigation of a given phenomenon. It is the framework within which a given research exercise is undertaken (Leedy & Ormrod, 2001). Study design is a structure or skeleton which elaborately outlines the steps to be followed right from the commencement to the end in the course of executing the research work. This structure is sketched in a way that strives to provide answers to the research questions in the study. Kothari (2004:30) posits that a research design "... is the conceptual structure within which research is conducted and it constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data". A research design therefore includes an outline of what would be done by the researcher from the time they formulate the research problem to the ultimate conclusion of the data. In this respect, a research design in general stipulates the steps and stages followed in the course of data collection and analysis. A research design further specifies bases and kinds of information applicable to the research problem. In addition, it makes known the approach to be used for collecting and analysing the data. A research design also incorporates the scope of the study and its limitations (Kothari 2004).

In this regard, the research design employed in the present study is a non-experimental descriptive analytical approach and is informed by the qualitative research method. Descriptive research describes characteristics of a phenomenon being studied. It tackles the “what” question, for example:

21. What are the characteristics of the population or situation being studied?

The features used to describe the circumstances or population are kind of a definite scheme also known as descriptive categories (Shields & Rangarajan, 2013).

Descriptive design was applied to the study since the study did not seek to manipulate the data that was analysed in any way. The campaign speeches were collected from media houses and were transcribed verbatim and analysed just the way they were presented during the campaign rallies. The researcher identified and evaluated the rhetorical devices in the campaign speeches showing how they were used to achieve persuasion with the electorate.

Van Maanen cited in Welman, Kruger and Mitchell (2005:188) avows that the term qualitative approach is used as an “umbrella” phrase “covering an array of interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate, and otherwise come to terms with the meaning of naturally occurring phenomena in the social world.” Thus qualitative approach is also characteristically a descriptive form of research and therefore suitable for the current study. The method of data collection applied in the study is content analysis.

4.3 Population and Sample Size

Welman et al. (2005:52) explain population as “the study object and consists of individuals, groups, organizations, human products and events or the conditions to which they are exposed.” In this respect, a population turns out to be a critical facet of any research study. Thus any research problem of a study, as Welman et. al. (2005) contend, needs to connect to a specific population and the population encompasses the total collection of all elements of analysis from which the researcher draws precise conclusions (cf Cresswell 1998). A population therefore is the full set of instances from which a sample is gotten. When dealing with sampling, the term ‘population’ is not considered in the traditional sense that refers to people only, but assumes a new meaning as the term in research need not necessarily be people (Welman et al. 2005). From this standpoint, the population from which the sample in the present study was drawn are all the nine presidential candidates that contested the August 11, 2016 elections in Zambia. The

other population are all the campaign rallies and messages of these nine presidential candidates that were conducted between 11th May and 10th August 2016, across the country.

The source of data in this research were the campaign speeches of the candidate under study in the run up to the August 11, 2016 elections. The data were collected from the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) and Muvi TV. These campaign discourses were the source of the data because the 2016 general elections were very crucial as they were the first ones to be held under the new constitution. The data that were considered are the campaign messages that were presented to the electorate during campaign rallies. In line with these data, as Heigham and Croker (2004:320) explain, this research is categorised into qualitative because the data are not in form of numbers.

Sampling in qualitative research has a broad range of meanings: to select people, groups, sites and situations for collecting data or to build a corpus of data for analysis. In each of these instances, sampling cases or materials is just the first step (Flick, 2007). This view implies that the sampling process continues as the researcher would sample statements from the host of data or from utterances which directly address the aspect of the study (cf. Heigham & Croker, 2009).

Rubin and Rubin cited in Flick (2007) submit that sampling in qualitative research should be iterative and flexible. This suggests that a researcher should be prepared to get used to the conditions in the field and new acumens resulting from data collection which may require reshuffling the original sampling plan as illustrated in figure 2 above. This trend was experienced in the present study. The researcher had to reshuffle the process of selecting the data or campaign messages in order to get the data that would be suitable to addressing the research objectives.

The concept of sampling is usually connected with choosing the ‘right’ cases from a known ‘pool’ of cases and that this can be done at once. However, in qualitative research the practice of sampling is often an iterative process which means that it is a continuous and repetitive course of action (Flick, 2007). This practice is illustrated in figure 2 above.

In qualitative research, sampling can be identified from a more formalised sampling to a more purposive and flexible ways of doing it. Qualitative sampling is flexible and may be determined by what a researcher is considering. It can make use of the formal sampling or the purposive sampling (Flick, 2007).

Samples can be chosen from either a probability or a non-probability basis. A probability sample is selected according to mathematics guidelines whereby the chance for selection of each unit is known. Whereas, a non-probability sample often relies on the fact that the respondents are available, convenient and prepared to participate. Non-probability sampling involves two systematic forms, which include purposive sampling and quota sampling. Non-probability sampling is a type of sampling which does not stipulate the inclusion of any respondent. Thus in some instances, some members or objects may not have a chance at all of being involved in such a sample. The advantage of non-probability samples is that they are simple and more economical with regard to time and financial expenses (Welman et. al. 2005).

4.3.1 Sampling Procedure

The present study employed purposive sampling and random types of sampling. Purposive sampling is used to deliberately get hold of study participants or objects in such a manner that the sample chosen is regarded to be representative. Purposive sampling was used to select one of the leading presidential candidates of the 2016 election campaigns. Purposive sampling falls under the wider category of non-probability sampling as indicated above. Random sampling was used to select the campaign messages from several campaign rallies and meetings by the presidential candidate under examination, conducted across the nation. In this respect, in the first place the researcher sampled one of the leading presidential contestants as it was conducive to examine this candidate since he was one of the popular opposition presidential contestants at the time. Being an opposition candidate, he needed to employ more competitive persuasive campaign strategies in order to convince the electorate of his stand point during his campaign speeches. Besides, the August 2016 general elections were very crucial because they were the first ones to be held under the new constitution which was signed in January 2016 by the incumbent president. In addition, the constitution contains unique clauses such as the 50 + 1 requirements for winning the elections as president and the requirement of a running mate to a presidential candidate (Appendices I and II). These and other clauses in the new constitution made the 2016 elections to be very competitive, and the campaigns very stiff. The opposition candidate under examination, Mr Hakainde Hichilema, was purposively sampled because as an opposition candidate he needed to employ more persuasive strategies in order to challenge the ruling party and win the election. In this perspective, purposive sampling was found to be suitable for the present study.

Secondly, the study employed a non-probability with a random sampling procedure, to select some campaign messages from one of the leading presidential candidates that were conducted across the country. Therefore, the campaign speeches of one of the leading presidential candidates to the run up to the August 2016 general elections constituted the sample for the study. The selection of the campaign messages was done randomly by selecting a total of sixteen (16) excerpts from the speeches of the different campaign rallies that were held by the candidate under examination between 11th May and 10th August 2016, across the country. This corpus of the data gave adequate information which helped to analyse the rhetorical strategies in the presidential campaign messages by the candidate under study.

4.4 Data Collection

Data collection is the process of assembling and measuring information on targeted variables in an established systematic style, which then makes it possible for one to answer pertinent questions and assess outcomes. The data collection constituent of research is common to all disciplines of study including physical and social sciences, humanities and business. It helps us to collect the major points as gathered information. While methods vary by field, the stress on guaranteeing precise and trustworthy collection remains the same. The aim for all data collection is to capture quality evidence that makes the data analysis rich and permits the construction of persuasive and convincing answers to research questions that have been posed (Weimer, 1995).

As pointed out above, the present study employed a qualitative method of research. Strauss and Corbin (1998) posit that qualitative research is one that produces findings by non-statistical procedures.

4.4.1 Data Collection Techniques

The researcher obtained the campaign messages of one of the 2016 leading presidential candidates under investigation, by first approaching the different media houses to check on the availability of the recordings of the different campaign rallies. The media houses that proved to have authentic data are the ZNBC and Muvi TV. These were the two official media houses at the time of the campaigns running up to the August 11, 2016 elections. The researcher then copied the recordings from the different campaign rallies that were conducted across the country between 11th May and 10th August 2016, in video form. The recordings of the campaign speeches were then transcribed verbatim and analysed.

4.4.2 Data Collection Instrument

The data collection instrument of the present study was the researcher herself. In qualitative research, the researcher is the primary research instrument. As the instrument, the researcher collects the data and interprets them (Heigham & Croker, 2004:11). The researcher recorded and copied the campaign speeches from various campaign rallies and transcribed them verbatim.

4.4.3 Content Analysis

The present study is essentially a qualitative content analysis. As an analytical description, the study was not supported by rigorous statistics but by details and illustrations that were drawn from the data. Content analysis is an analysis of the manifest and latent content of a body of communicated material (as a book or film) through classification, tabulation, and evaluation of its key symbols and themes in order to ascertain its meaning and probable effect (Krippnerorff, 2004: xvii). It is a key methodological apparatus that enables researchers to understand the process and character of social life and to arrive at a meaning. It also facilitates the understanding of the types, characteristics and organisational aspects of documents as social products in their own right as well as what they claim. However, this content analysis presented in the present study is different from the traditional document analysis, since the study dealt with video recordings of the campaign messages which were transcribed verbatim.

In addition, Leedy and Ormrod (2001) postulate that content analysis analysis is a comprehensive and systematic investigation of contents of a particular body of material for the purpose of identifying patterns, themes, or biases. They go on to indicating that content analyses are typically performed on forms of human communication, including books, newspapers, films, television, art, music, video tapes of human interactions, and transcriptions of conversations. Furthermore, as Nherera (1999) asserts, analyses which employ qualitative method assist in probing underlying questions involving why and how certain phenomena occur the way they do. While Patton (1990) submits that the significance of document analyses in qualitative inquiry is that they yield excerpts, quotations, or entire passages from organisational, clinical, or programme records, official publications and reports.

In the present study, the researcher generated significant information about the presidential campaign discourse from the 2016 presidential campaign rallies in Zambia. From the campaign

speeches, the researcher selected excerpts and analysed the rhetorical devices in the campaign speeches in order to establish the rhetorical strategies in this discourse.

4.5 Data Analysis

As pointed out above, data analysis in qualitative research is an on-going activity. Nieuwenhuis (2007:99) affirms that “qualitative data analysis tends to be an on-going and iterative (non-linear) process”. This suggests that in qualitative research, data collection, processing and analysis are interlaced. In a qualitative study, a researcher is encouraged and should find it very crucial and important to go back to the field notes and confirm conclusions as illustrated in figure 2 above. In this regard, the analysis of data in a qualitative research cannot be considered as a standalone period in the research process.

As indicated in section 4.4.3 the present study employed content analysis. In applying the content analysis, the researcher followed the steps of analysis as shown by Creswell (2009: 184), outlining the steps of analysing qualitative data using the inductive model. The researcher employed a deep involvement in the process of data processing until the end of the process which is the conclusion. In analysing the data, the researcher was the main measurement device (Perry, Jr., 2005: 149). The researcher was involved in conducting the analysis from the beginning until the end of the analysis. As Perry, Jr. (2005: 149) further submits that the analysis of verbal data is not quite straight forward because it is initiated at the beginning of the data collection process and continues throughout the study. This process therefore involves the researcher interacting with the data in a symbiotic fashion as shown in figure 2 above. The researcher in the present study interacted with the data in an iterative way.

The researcher organised and prepared the data for analysis by recording videos of the campaign speeches from the meetings and political rallies by the presidential candidate under study, conducted across the country between 11th May and 10th August 2016. The campaign speeches were copied or recorded onto CD-Roms and were then transcribed verbatim. The researcher then read through the data, and conducted a detailed analysis. After that, she generated a description of the themes making interpretations or meaning of the data.

As elucidated in figure 3 below, inductive reasoning is often referred to as a ‘bottom-up’ approach to knowledge, in which the researcher uses observations to build a concept or to describe a picture of the phenomenon that is being studied.



Figure 3: Application of the Inductive Model

<http://research-methodology.net/research-methodology/research-approach/inductive-approach-2/> Accessed: 05 Feb 2017.

The analysis was guided by the research questions. As Nherera (1999) submits, apart from providing valuable information to the researcher by directly reading them, available documents on an issue provide stimulus for generating questions that can be pursued through direct observation and interviewing.

In addition to the above, the analysis employed the Rhetorical analytical framework at the level of diction or word choice and grammatical expressions in analysing the presidential campaign discourse. The Rhetorical analytical framework was considered to be appropriate for the analysis of the data because it is used to analyse how people use language when communicating their views in an endeavour to gain support of the audience. The framework was therefore very useful in analysing the rhetorical devices in the campaign speeches thereby establishing how the candidate achieved persuasion in his discourse.

4.6 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are a serious element of research activity. These considerations are meant to protect the privacy and lives of the individuals participating in research. According to the university regulation, every planned research study must undergo ethical clearance. It is in accordance with this regulation of the University that this research was embarked on. The ethical clearance was sought from the University of Zambia Research Ethics Committee. However, the study did not have any risks to lives of people as it was to do with content analysis, without involving any human beings directly. The data was collected by recording

the videos of the campaign speeches of one of the presidential candidates. The videos were then transcribed verbatim and analysed as indicated above. Nevertheless, before collecting the data, an assurance was given to the media houses that the data were purely for academic purposes.

4.7 Summary of Chapter

This chapter has presented the philosophical underpinnings of the study by presenting the research paradigm and its elements which are ontology, epistemology and methods. It has also outlined the research design used in the study which indicated the specific stages that were expended in the course of executing the research work. The chapter has further spelt out the methodology used in the thesis that comprised of the process of data collection and analysis. In this respect, the chapter has presented precise methods and techniques employed in data collection and analysis as well as the sampling techniques used in the study. It closed by outlining ethical considerations undertaken in the data collection process.

The conclusions and recommendations in this study, though based on the data from the researcher, are also juxtaposed to, and supported by the Rhetorical analytical framework presented in chapter three of this thesis. The findings are further compared with the submissions from the studies highlighted in the literature review in chapter two and are further echoed in chapters five, six, seven and eight of this thesis. The next chapters (five, six, seven and eight), present the findings and discussions of the data assembled in the research.

CHAPTER FIVE

RHETORICAL FUNCTION OF AESTHETIC EXPRESSIONS IN POLITICAL CAMPAIGN DISCOURSE

5.0 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the philosophical underpinnings of the study and outlined the research design used in executing the research work of the study. This chapter analyses the aesthetic expressions as presented in the 2016 election campaign discourse by the candidate under investigation. The chapter also scrutinises meanings as negotiated through interaction, of the context-bound nature of discourse in political campaigns of the presidential candidate under study. The analysis answers research question and objective number one which focused on examining the aesthetic expressions used in the political campaign discourse by the political candidate under examination.

The aesthetic expressions that were analysed include allusion, propagandistic language, and requesting employed in the 2016 presidential campaign discourse.

5.1 Allusion as an Aesthetic Expression in Political Discourse

Allusion is an important aesthetic expression employed by politicians in their campaigns to appeal to their sentiments and solicit for support. There are two forms of allusion that were identified in the 2016 presidential campaign discourse by the candidate under investigation. The two forms of allusion, social and historical, employed by the political candidate under study are examined below and their rhetorical functions established.

5.1.1 Social Allusion

Social allusion essentially concerns reference to certain issues and truths in society. Such issues may have some significance of the past, the present or the future. Political campaign discourse comprises of a considerable number of social allusions because politicians try to provide factual information to the electorate in an effort to persuade and convince them and win support of them. The discourse of the 2016 presidential campaigns in Zambia drew largely on social allusion. These allusions were expressed aesthetically in an effort to attract the attention of the audience during campaigns by the candidate under examination thereby winning support

of the electorate. In excerpt 1 below, the UPND candidate employs social allusion and expresses it aesthetically and strategically with the purpose of gaining support of the electorate by exposing the opponent's negative activities through elaborate discourse.

Excerpt 1

In January 2015 the kwacha was trading at K6 to the dollar, it is now at K10. Inflation was 7% and today it is 22%, with bags of mealie meal selling at over K100 and the pump price of fuel up to K10 per litre. Here on the Copperbelt, instead of the thousands of jobs they promised to create we have seen thousands of job losses.

We have seen the danger of leadership that has no vision and the damage that can be done even in a short space of time.

The PF have borrowed and borrowed, growing our debt from US\$1.1bn in 2011 to US\$6.6bn. They have spent so much but delivered so little, putting it into their pockets. While the people cannot afford three or even two meals a day, the President and his ministers have been increasing their own salaries as recently as March this year.

Our dear Zambia is now in the intensive care unit and requires urgent surgery. So what will the UPND Government do to fix our great nation?

Mr Hakainde Hichilema was speaking while launching the UPND campaigns in Kitwe at Freedom Park. He made use of a number of strategies in his speech to solicit for support from the electorate. The text makes reference to one major issue in the Zambian society, that of unemployment or job losses. The problem of unemployment, as a social issue, especially concerning the youths, had been discussed in Zambia several times. The speaker spent time explaining how the economy of the country had been negatively affected under the reign of the PF candidate Mr Edgar Lungu, since 2015 when he took over as Republican president. The aim of the speaker, through this expression, is to downgrade his opponent as incapable of continuing with the next term of office as he had allegedly not done well in the last year that he had been president. The speaker elaborates, *In January 2015 the kwacha was trading at K6*

to the dollar, it is now at K10. Inflation was 7% and today it is 22%, with bags of mealie meal selling at over K100 and the pump price of fuel up to K10 per litre. These are the social issues that were of great concern to the citizens and were discussed from time to time, since they affected the lives of Zambians negatively. This plea by the UPND was to remind the electorate how the poor management of the economy by the PF government had brought suffering to the citizens in the country and that they should vote for him as he would ‘fix’ the economy.

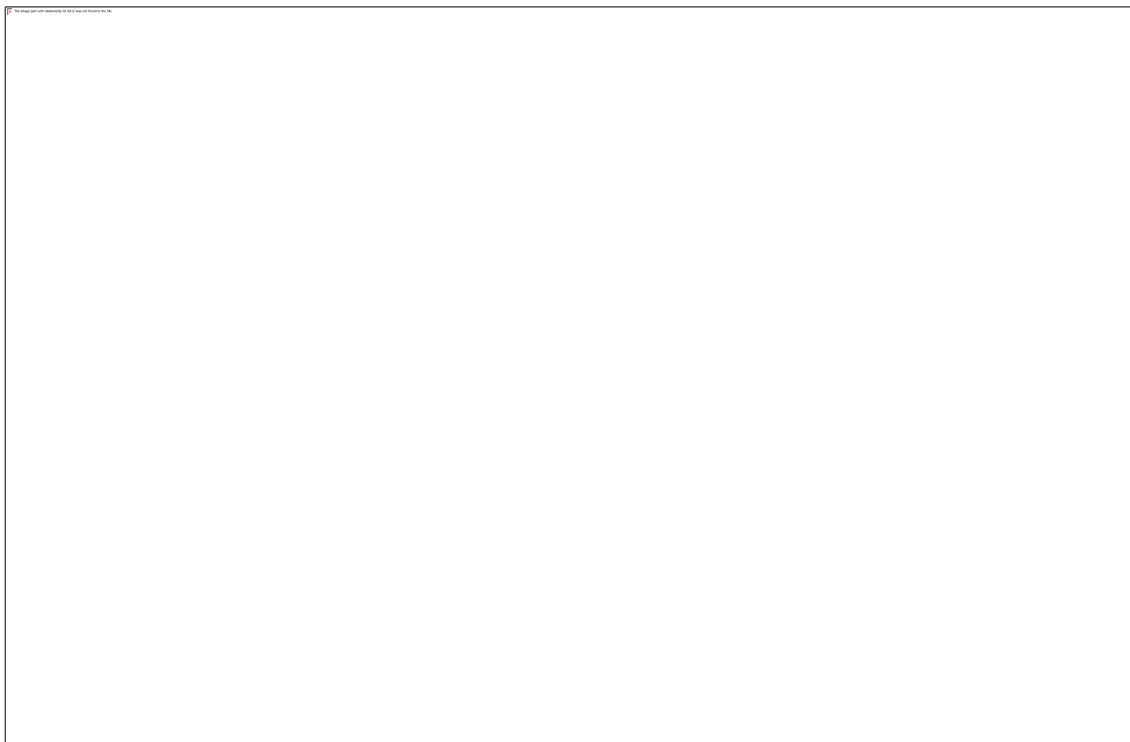
This explanation is done aesthetically. There are particular words and phrases that are significant in the text. The speaker mentions ‘danger of leadership’, ‘damage’, ‘borrowed’, ‘delivered so little’, ‘putting it into their pockets’ and ‘while the people cannot afford three or even two meals a day.’ These words and expressions are crucial to the social allusion made in the text. These words give specific examples of how the country was allegedly mismanaged by the government at that time. The phrase ‘danger of leadership that has no vision’ and ‘damage,’ indicate that the resources of the nation were not well managed resulting into unemployment, which is a social fact. While ‘borrowed,’ ‘delivered so little’ and putting it into their pockets,’ elaborate how bad the style of leadership had been, which gives evidence of the bad vices that were being done by the then government, that affected the economy of the nation negatively. The point the speaker is bringing out is that the PF borrowed money from other countries, but had done very little to improve the lives of people with it since the money was allegedly put into the pockets of those who were in authority at the expense of the citizens. And ‘while the people cannot afford three or even two meals a day,’ reveals the consequences of bad leadership upon the citizens, and the problem alluded to in the text. These problems were well known social facts which were being highlighted time and again in the political domain in Zambia. The intention of the speaker for making these allusions was basically to provoke the electorate to reflect upon the state of affairs in the nation and vote in favour of the speaker’s party, which he presented as one which would not condone such bad vices. That is, it would work for the good of all the citizens. These arguments are presented in an aesthetic manner and are very persuasive in order for the candidate under study to woo support of the electorate.

The speaker in the text is critical of the leadership that was in power and how the ruling PF was managing the resources of the nation. This was the case because the PF candidate, Mr Edgar Lungu, who was the incumbent president, was the main opponent to the speaker. The candidate under study, Mr Hakainde Hichilema, therefore employed these strategies in his campaign messages in order to win support of the electorate.

In addition, social allusion functions as a rhetorical device in this text in that these words that present social allusion in the text are presented in a political rhetoric style. The speaker employed nominalization by turning *losing jobs*, *leading* and *damaging* into entities making use of noun phrases together with passivization. He reminds the electorate that the PF in 2011 had promised them job creation but never fulfilled their promises, instead the opposite was the case - job losses. The elaborate discourse here done aesthetically appeals to the minds of the electorate and gives the speaker an advantage over his opponent.

Figure 4 below shows the UPND candidate launching the campaigns at Freedom Park in Kitwe.

Figure 4: UPND Rally Freedom Park Kitwe 21st May 2016



The speaker also employs parallel structure in the utterance, *...instead of the thousands of jobs they promised to create, we have seen thousands of job losses. Also ... have borrowed and borrowed.... and ... They have spent so much but delivered so little.* As a rhetoric device, parallelism, in addition to calling attention of the audience, adds balance and rhythm and helps in clarifying and adding beauty to the sentences, thus aesthetically presented.

The aim of all these rhetoric pronunciations and aesthetic expressions is at persuading the electorate to voting for the candidate who was speaking.

In the next line of the text, the speaker employs passivization with the utterance, ... *We have seen the danger of leadership ... and the damage that can be done even in a short space of time*. This expression is presented strategically referring to the period January 2015 to the time of the campaign around May 2016. This was just about a year that Mr Edgar Lungu had been in power, but the damage was allegedly greater. In this utterance, the individuals responsible for leadership that has no vision are removed from the surface of the realisation of the process, and hidden from the audience. By so doing the speaker presents the result (damage) to appear more serious indicating that the situation needed an immediate intervention. The lexicalisation used in the statement brings out the extent to which the problem of bad leadership and the adverse consequences had affected the citizens even in a short period of time. Therefore, the nominalization and passivisation the speaker employs by making use of social allusion presented aesthetically, are highly persuasive.

Furthermore, the speaker condemns the philosophy of the PF party in the line that follows in the text, by indicating that the government had over borrowed thereby affecting the economy of the country negatively. The speaker uses this statement to negatively present his opponents by making use of parallelism, *The PF have borrowed and borrowed, growing our debt from US\$1.1bn in 2011 to US\$6.6bn*. The speaker crowns the allegedly bad PF leadership style as lacking love, respect and not being concerned with the plight of the citizens with the statement,*They have spent so much but delivered so little, putting it into their pockets*. Thereafter, the speaker continues with parallelism giving more details about how the PF were allegedly not concerned with the plight of the citizens, but only concerned with their selfish ends. He elaborates how the PF ministers and the president had been increasing salaries for themselves while some citizens were unable to afford three or even two meals a day. The speaker made use of this social allusion strategically employing aesthetic expressions to achieve persuasion.

Towards the end of the text, the speaker uses figurative expression stating that there was an urgent need to save the economic situation in the country. With this figurative expression the speaker employs Ideational Grammatical Metaphor (IGM), giving the picture of the need for something to be done urgently to save the situation. He explains, *Our dear Zambia is now in the intensive care unit and requires urgent surgery*. The noun phrases ‘our dear Zambia intensive care unit’ and ‘urgent surgery,’ enable the speaker to use very few words but with meaning concentrated in them and the use of metaphorical expression creates certain social impressions in the minds of the audience. Therefore, nominalization is spatially effective. The

noun phrases presented here help the speaker to say a lot in a small space and manages to condense the information successfully. Halliday and Webster (2009) draw our attention to the fact that IGMs typically take place in syndromes, where every element has undergone a metaphoric shift. Nominalization employs incongruent clauses to achieve certain effects in discourse. Halliday and Webster (2009) further avow that moreover, in several circumstances, nominalizations are essential since congruent clauses would impede the smooth flow of information. This clustering of symbiotic properties is what creates the typical style of a contemporary political texts presented aesthetically. The speaker could not conceivably express his intended meaning by making use of the congruent domain and get hold of the attention of the audience. The above utterance is a compound IGMs where lexical density, objectification, impersonality and ambiguity is apparent.

The speaker arrives at the expressions *intensive care unit* and *urgent surgery* after an elaborate explanation from the falling of the dollar exchange rate, to job losses, to over-borrowing and to the allegedly greed by the individuals that were in power. These are social issues which were known in the nation at the time, and are here discussed in a really discursive discourse. These metaphorical expressions were employed as rhetorical strategies in that ‘intensive care unit’ is a scary condition where the country was allegedly in at the time. While ‘requires urgent surgery’ appeals to the psychology of the audience to save the country by exercising their power through the ballot box on the polling day, to change the situation by voting for the speaker. In other words, it was persuasion that change of government was inevitable.

The speaker analyses the issues bordering on the economic situation in the country at the time. He explains the depreciation of the kwacha, the falling inflation rate, the high mealie meal prices and the rise in the pump price of fuel. The speaker thus exploits the ethos aspect of rhetoric as he demonstrates his competence by showing his expertise in economic issues that surrounded the nation at the time. He is able to analyse that the ministers and the president were not supposed to be increasing their salaries at the expense of the citizens. The logos aspect comes out in that the speaker gives illustrations of the consequences of the leadership with no vision which include job losses, inflation, hunger and other bad experiences. At the same time these expressions bring out the pathos aspect in that the audience feel neglected by the government which seemingly did not care much about them. The expression that the country is in intensive care unit and requires urgent surgery emotionally affects the audience. In line with the views of Sharndama and Mohammed (2013), this perspective is achieved by the

speaker employing vocabulary that is descriptive, emotive and persuasive with the aim of enticing the electorate to change and accept the political candidate (section 2.3.1).

After the elaborate explanation, the speaker went on to indicating what his party would do to solve the problems created by the PF. He poses a question through self-glorification and positive *us* presentation as well as metaphorical expression before continuing with the explanation of what himself and his party would do, *So what will the UPND Government do to fix our great nation?* This is a rhetorical question.

The rhetorical function of this social allusion is to give a clear picture to the electorate with regard to how the other party had gone astray and to give an understanding of what the speaker and his party had to offer. The purpose was to gain control of the electorate thereby earning political mileage for themselves. The speaker employs persuasive language to ensure that they win votes and take over the reins of power after the elections. This aspect connects well with the Rhetorical theory guiding this study. In this speech, language has been used convincingly or aesthetically to win over the electorate to supporting the candidate. The text shows how the rhetor or the speaker's skill to making use of language as an essential instrument to achieving the audience's observance to his standpoint or argument. It is this skill of argumentation that is used as an art to achieving persuasion. In this case the candidate employs social allusion by referring to a number of social problems that were being experienced in the country and combines them with what he intended to do to improve the lives of the citizens. In this aesthetic manner, the speaker puts up a strong argument to soliciting for support of the audience thereby 'gaining the adherence of minds' of the electorate (Hansons, 1997) (section 3.1).

The expressions by the UPND candidate indicate that discourses form individual and shared consciousness, and conscious impacts peoples' actions. That is, through the recurrence of ideas and assertions, discourse solidifies knowledge, and reflects, shapes and enables social reality. This view is demonstrated by the UPND candidate by illustrating the social issues that the citizens were experiencing in the nation by elaborating on how they affected the citizens and the nation at large. All these arguments were presented skilfully and aesthetically aiming at winning the audience to supporting the candidate.

The speaker in the excerpt outlines a number of problems the nation was facing since the beginning of the reign of the PF government; from the falling of the dollar, the high mealie meal and fuel prices and lack of employment, by employing social allusion aesthetically.

As Van Haaften, Jansen, De Jong and Koetsenruijter (2011) submit, parallelism assists to order, illuminate, highlight and add beauty to the thought and clauses. In this way rhetorical study is concerned with the modes of persuasion and persuasion is clearly a sort of demonstration. Rhetorical analysis examines persuasive, emphatic, effective, contrasting strategies and others in the realm of political rhetoric and other discourses. The speaker here employs social allusion as a rhetorical device to improve the efficiency, clarity, emphasis, association, and focus of his message in order to achieve persuasion (section 3.3).

In line with Kazemiam and Hashemi (2014), the UPND candidate makes use of social allusion as a rhetorical device and as persuasiveness property to improving the effectiveness, clarity, and beauty of the speeches. The aim is to persuade, to inform, to convey personal ambitions, to emphasise inter-relatedness of delivered messages, to signify differentiation, and to demonstrate the orator's solidarity with the audience (section 2.3.3). The candidate under study presents social allusion, by outlining social facts about the lives of Zambians in a very clear manner to draw their attention to the problems that required urgent change through voting. Besides, he presents these social facts aesthetically attracting the attention of the electorate.

Cuddon (2012) further submits that the beauty of expression of words by making use of parallel structure is a powerful rhetorical device as the speaker combines the verbs, nouns and pronouns aesthetically and the message turns out to be persuasive. This combination is done so well in the text above as the speaker is elaborating on the problem of unemployment as a social issue. This beauty of expression of words in turn functions as a rhetorical device to achieving persuasion.

Moreover, as McClay (2017) reveals, politicians construct realities for their audience through representations of social actors. The analysis shows that Mr Hichilema's speeches reveal an ideology consistent with strategic patterns of *us* versus *them*. Mr Hichilema makes use of social actors which include the problem of unemployment and high food prices to justify that things were not going on well in the country as a result of the PF's poor policies. At the same time, he presents himself positively by implying that he would redeem the nation from all these social problems. By identifying these explicit patterns, the study highlights the importance of

understanding the underlying ideology of political messages in the interpretation of the discourse he uses to frame it.

5.1.2 Historical Allusion

The knowledge of history is important in politics, and as such historical allusion turns out to be an essential feature in political discourse. Historical allusion is demonstrated when speakers make allusions to historical facts in their speeches to emphasise on the points they make. Historical allusions are in essence influential proclamations that are used to build flashbacks in discourses. For the audience to comprehend the arguments being made through such allusions, they require some acquaintance of the contexts of the historical facts being delivered.

The candidate under investigation employed historical allusion by considering the high cost of living that the citizens were facing in the country at that time. He did so by reflecting on his experience as a child and connecting his childhood experience to the suffering that was being experienced by the people at the time. He specifically focused on the high food prices and the diminishing agriculture produce. The speaker aesthetically alluded to historical facts by employing the skill of public speaking as elaborated in excerpt 2 below.

Excerpt 2

When I am here in Southern Province I often think of my early days, I think of the journey I took to school each day and how fortunate I was to be able to go even though I was just coming barefoot from the village.

With food prices increasing, profits for farmers squeezed by expensive fertiliser and seed and job losses resulting from load shedding and difficult business environment, there are many families not able to fully support their children through school today. This should be considered a national tragedy. Each one of those children has something to contribute to the future of our nation. It is government's responsibility to make sure they are empowered to realise their potential.

Under the PF it has been difficult for our farmers to plan ahead of time and produce for both home and market because of the late delivery of inputs and

the increased cost of fertiliser and seed. UPND can end these uncertainties because we have a plan for when we take office and we have already been having conversations on how we can lower the price of inputs such as fertiliser. We are ready to negotiate contracts free from corruption and for the benefit of our farmers, because without our farmers there would be no food.

The UPND candidate was speaking at a campaign rally in Choma. In his address to the electorate, he began with a reflection of his early days in school in that area when life was not as difficult as was the case at the time when he was speaking. The speaker expressed himself by referring to history as a discursive feature and combining it with its rhetorical function. He made use of effective rhetorical devices aesthetically in his campaign speech. He started by employing parallel structure talking about himself having been able to attend school barefooted which was not possible in this age and era. The speaker alluded to the historical fact that life was easy during his early life in that particular area where he was addressing the electorate in Choma in the southern province of Zambia. *When I am here I often think of my early days, I think of the journey I took to school each day The speaker employed a series of parallel pronouns (I), verbs (think, took) and phrases (of my early days, of the journey, to school) in the sentences, aesthetically done, which is highly persuasive. He ended this point by applying nominalization ... even though I was just coming barefoot from the village*, in which he turns the verb barefooted to barefoot. Nominalization helps to cover many aspects in few words and creating certain impressions to the audience. In this case the speaker intentionally invited comparative investigation of the life when he was young and the life now (at the time of campaigning) by making use of historical allusion and as a rhetorical device.

The speaker also pointed out that life had become difficult for the citizens as a result of poor agriculture policies by the government and high food prices at the time. The main message which the speaker wanted to convey to the electorate was that the PF government had allegedly failed to provide a conducive environment for the citizens to thrive economically. He brought out this aspect through negative *other* presentation, pointing out that the PF had failed to deliver. The UPND candidate used historical allusion to emphasise and authenticate his opinion since in the past (Kaunda's era for instance), the southern region of the country was doing well in terms of agriculture in that the people in that area used to produce enough to eat and surplus for sale due to good agricultural policies that were prevailing. The speaker

achieved this effect by making use of parallel structure as well as nominalization in ... *With food prices increasing, profits for farmers squeezed ...by expensive fertiliser and seed and job losses resulting from load shedding and difficult business environment,.....* The speaker uses parallel nouns, verbs and clauses which he employs as rhetorical devices thereby achieving persuasion to winning the hearts of the electorate. Besides, he makes use of nominalization by presenting the information in noun phrases (job losses and difficult business environment). The lexical items he makes use of such as ‘food prices increasing’, ‘profits for farmers squeezed’ and ‘expensive fertilizer and seed’ are employed rhetorically to convey the message that life was more difficult in that present situation than it was in the historical situation. The candidate employs the skill of public speaking by making use of aesthetic expressions.

The speaker developed the negative *them* presentation of his opponents by giving an exaggerated situation, ...*This should be considered a national tragedy*. This figurative expression is ideational grammatical metaphor which is aimed at exposing the damage done to the nation by the PF. As Simon-Vandenberg et al. (2003) submit, the process has been symbolised as things rather than actual happenings. This perspective is accomplished by employing nominalization technique, IGM and negative *other* presentation, which are strategies to convincing the electorate that there was no hope for the PF as they had put the nation in a difficult situation. The elaboration of these techniques aesthetically, combined with the skill of public speaking and the exploitation of negative *other* presentation of the opponents, holds the attention of the electorate during the discourse. These techniques also appeal to the psychology of the electorate and could have helped them decide to vote for the candidate.

The speaker further justifies his assertion as to why the situation should be considered a national tragedy through a detailed explanation in that the PF government was not able to provide an enabling environment for the future generations to thrive, so that in turn they would contribute positively to the nation. He affirms this view through lexicalisation, passivization and nominalization by using the phrase ‘government’s responsibility’ in his campaign message. In this way the speaker adds to negatively *othering* his opponent by indicating that ...*it is government’s responsibility* to make sure children are empowered to realise their potential presenting his opponent as not being a responsible person. Here the speaker inferred that if left unchecked, the situation would lead the country into serious problems since the youths who would be the leaders of tomorrow would not realise their potential. This kind of a situation

would plunge the nation into jeopardy. That is why the speaker referred to the situation as a national tragedy and this view was used as a rhetorical strategy to winning support of the electorate.

These views confirm those of Wirth-Koliba (2016) who avows that the deictic centre of a political speech that may be built depends on many factors, such as the goal of that particular part of the speech, that is, whether to warn, to persuade, to accuse, and so on. In this case the speaker constructs this speech to warn as well as to persuade the audience. The deictic centre also depends on what resources the speaker has in hand, such as mental context models, joint experiences and beliefs, position or power, and others. In this particular occasion, the UPND candidate commands more power and control over the electorate, which he draws from his experience and belief based on historical facts. Finally, the deictic centre depends on the development of the communicative event, that is, prior sentences or fragments have influence on the ground for the ones that follow. The deictic centre in this text adds to the rhetorical significance of the message of the speaker. The deictic centre being Choma in Southern province adds to the meaning of the significance of agriculture on which people of this area depended on and that it needed to thrive for people's lives to improve. The speaker alludes to history in his campaigns in that this area (Choma and the whole southern province), once thrived in agriculture.

The speaker further exploits the *us /them* presentation because he first talked about how 'easy' life was sometime back due to good agriculture policies and later attributes the whole suffering of the citizens to poor agricultural policies by the PF government. Basing his argument on these factors, the speaker employs devices that are more appropriate and effective in establishing and maintaining the 'us' and 'them' presentation in these circumstances.

The candidate further spoke of his love for farming and his desire to see the agriculture sector take centre stage under a UPND programme of economic diversification. He elaborately expresses himself through negatively *othering* the PF government for making it difficult for farmers to have the farming implements on time and that others could not afford the inputs due to high prices. He elaborates, *Under the PF it has been difficult for our farmers to plan ahead of time and produce for both home and market because of the late delivery of inputs and the increased cost of fertiliser and seed*. He made use of the technique of nominalization and passivization to create a positive impression in his discourse by using the noun phrases *late*

delivery of inputs and the *increased cost of fertiliser and seed*. These phrases are presented in the passive voice as there is no specification of who delivers the inputs late and who increased the cost of fertiliser. The main purpose of making use of the passive voice was to concentrate the information using few words and to capture the attention of the audience to the problems of 'late delivery' and 'high cost of farming inputs' as well as 'high food prices'.

The speaker picked on agriculture because people in this area depended on agriculture for food and income generation especially in the past years and hence the allusion to history. At the time of the campaigns, the people in this area were not doing well since the government had not provided a conducive environment for farming by not delivering farming inputs on time. In addition, these inputs were very expensive such that many peasant farmers could not afford them. At the same time, the food prices were very high making it difficult for the people to buy what they needed to eat. So agriculture would have been the alternative in this case and hence the focus on it by the speaker. With conducive agriculture conditions people would grow enough to eat without having to spend money on buying food. Hence the agricultural aspect is an allusion to history since it once thrived in this region, Southern province, in Zambia's history. Passivization employed here stresses the point of the inputs being expensive as well as being delivered late. The function of this discursive expression was to give hope to a hopeless situation, especially that the speaker was in Southern province of Zambia where agriculture was the main source of livelihood and food security in the past years, which is a historical fact. These expressions are aesthetically presented.

The speaker then continues with positive self-presentation that himself and his party would end people's suffering by providing a conducive agriculture environment. He made use of positive *us* presentation, *UPND can end these uncertainties because we have a plan for when we take office and we have already been having conversations on how we can lower the price of inputs such as fertiliser*. The speaker is confident of improving the agricultural sector basing on the historical aspects of the province having been doing well in this sector in the past. The function of this utterance was to make people realise their potential and that of the area where they live. The utterance was further to remind the people that it mattered as to who was in power to give political will to the citizens. This view was achieved through modality. The speaker expressed himself using the modal verb of median standard *would* and low standard *can* in articulating

his party's capability to ending the problems that citizens were facing in agriculture. In addition to modality, the candidate made use of the unification and cohesivation device by employing the first person plural pronoun *we* and the possessive plural pronoun *our* which is a strategy to signifying a sense of solidarity and cohesivation with the audience as follows:

we have a plan when we take office and we have how we can lower the price of inputs... benefit of our farmers, because without our farmers there would be no food.

This perspective was given as a way of promising a secure future to the citizens by referring back to history and therefore acted as a rhetorical strategy to winning support of the electorate. The speaker concluded with an even more self-glorification view of himself and his party, by aesthetically expressing what they were planning to do to improve the situation, ending with lexicalisation ... *benefit of our farmers*. With this expression, the speaker offers complete hope and security for the farmer in particular and the citizens in general. This perspective offers a very strategic way of selling off oneself and the party, thus demonstrating the power of a public speaker. The ultimate purpose was to convince the people and win votes for himself and his party.

The speaker uses the historical allusion in the text to emphasize the deterioration of the agriculture sector which had been the springboard of development in the nation in the past. The text is meant to remind the audience of the glorious times in the past when committed leaders were managing the economy of the country in a better way (for instance, in Kaunda's era). The text is constructed aesthetically to instigate the electorate to reflect on those good old days and question the current deplorable situation of the area in terms of agriculture. The intention of the speaker ultimately was to present his party and himself as committed to restoring that lost glory of the region (Southern province) and hence the party to vote for. That is why one of the slogans during their campaigns was *tukalungisha, HH akantolola* 'we shall fix, HH shall control' (Appendix IV).

The fact that the speaker alludes that the situation in the country should be considered a national tragedy, exploits the ethos aspect of rhetoric. The speaker shows his competence in envisaging that with food prices increasing, profits for farmers squeezed by expensive fertiliser and seed and job losses resulting from load shedding and difficult business environment, many people were not able to support their children through school. This kind of situation could lead to

problems since the children are the leaders of tomorrow. The speaker further demonstrates his credibility as a formidable leader by promising that the UPND would end these uncertainties for they had a plan where they had already been having conversations on how they could lower the price of inputs such as fertiliser. In addition, the speaker uses his personal experience, since he hails from this particular area and as a formidable farmer himself in this same region of Southern province. The views he was presenting were therefore feasible.

These views confirm those of Jarraya (2013) in that the speaker expresses this view by strategically making use of deictic pronouns and agency with certain illocutionary forces thereby constructing the *self*. In the process of the speech the speaker expressed the construction of *self* enforcing the marked use of ethos, which is a crucial strategy of persuasion in political discourse (section 2.3.1).

At the same time, the *logos* aspect is employed in that the speaker elaborates clearly how he would solve the problems created by the government that was ruling and that he was already making those arrangements. The *pathos* aspect is presented by the speaker assuring the audience that these uncertainties would end with the UPND forming government and that the children's future would be secured. The speaker exploited the *Kairos* aspect in that he was working ahead of time having conversations on how to lower the price of inputs such as fertiliser and negotiating contracts free from corruption and for the benefit of the farmers.

These arguments are in line with those of Ekhareafo and Akoseogasimhe (2015) who submitted that the appeal to history for the education of the electorate about the previous deeds of certain political contestants is crucial. This view makes the campaigns evidence-based, the foregrounding of credibility matters and the emphasis on change serve as useful rhetorical appeals in the discourse. The speaker's appeal to history here serves as a useful rhetorical device to achieving persuasion by considering how the agriculture sector thrived way back in history and how good life was in the past (section 2.3.1).

These findings also tend to concur with those of Hovárth (2008) who demonstrates that the overall, underlying theme of political speeches is inspired and empowered by the 'strength from the heroic past', which should be used as a resort for rebuilding the nation in the time of the global financial crisis and the threat of global terrorism. The text by the UPND candidate focuses on the heroic past when the agriculture sector thrived and that can be a resort for

improving the poor state of the agriculture sector and the economy in the country. In this case the discourse used by the UPND candidate gave him authority in the field of politics.

The speaker also exploited the skill of public speaking, which is the language form supporters of regimes or organisations rely on to demonstrate to others and to themselves that they deserve support. Mr Hichilema in this speech exploited the philosophy of love for agriculture and the nation at large showing that he deserved support from the electorate. He achieved this view by employing certain rhetorical devices which include nominalization, passivisation and parallel structure while referring to history to appeal to the electorate as he touched on the needs and experiences of the people and promises to provide for their needs and to end their suffering. The speaker made use of nominalization by changing verbs to nouns or noun phrases in his speeches and this helped the candidate to present a lot of important information using fewer words. He employed passivization by using the passive voice in his campaign messages and used parallelism by constructing sentences with a series of parallel verbs, nouns and noun phrases thereby making the language beautiful to the ears of the electorate. He realised that people in this area depended on agriculture and that their experiences had not been good in this line, so he gives hope to them in order to woo support of them by referring back to history. Furthermore, the text reveals that politicians also use public speaking to evoke feelings in support of the polity, and to engender suspicion of alternatives and of people identified as hostile. In this case the UPND candidate made use of aesthetic expressions to evoke feelings of support by that particular community of people he was addressing thereby evoking feelings in citizens to consider an alternative to the present situation (section 2.3.3).

The findings reveal that politicians employ some strategies to influence people's political and ideological views for their own advantage. The UPND candidate uses language discursively as a strategy to winning support of the electorate by employing rhetorical devices as shown above. In addition, the speech brings out hegemonic connotations in that the UPND candidate speaks highly of the area where he was, with authority and power, talking about how difficult it had become to engage in agricultural activities due to expensive inputs. He also confidently talks of what his party would do to improve the agriculture sector when elected to power. While articulating these sentiments, the speaker on the other hand, implies that his opponents were responsible for all the suffering in the country since life in the past was relatively easy thus alluding to history. All these are hegemonic connotations which the speaker accomplished through the use of rhetoric devices expressed aesthetically.

Furthermore, these views confirm Rozina and Karapetjana's (2009) submissions that the linguistic manipulation can be considered as an influential instrument of political rhetoric. In the text, the UPND candidate manipulated language by employing various linguistic units aesthetically, as rhetorical devices through historical allusion to appeal to the audience as a strategy to soliciting for support of the electorate (see section 2.7)

5.2 Propagandistic Language as an Aesthetic Feature in Political Discourse

Propaganda is a crucial attribute in political discourse. It is a feature of the language of politics which exposes the manipulative power of language. Propagandistic language may be positive or negative. Since politics usually concerns itself with struggle for power, political candidates and political parties deliberately use language either to castigate their opponents in order to advance their ambitions or to air certain facts or ideas about their own activities. These forms of propaganda were manifest in the campaign messages by the candidate under investigation, in the present study.

In excerpt 3 below, the UPND candidate makes use of propagandistic language by presenting his opponents, the PF negatively, and demonstrating that the PF were doing the things he had been advocating for, implying that he was as good as having been a leader himself at that time.

Excerpt 3

I am happy that the PF government has started reversing and implementing the same things I keep talking about, although most of them are being done in a wrong way.

I have told the nation that I will unconditionally reinstate all the fired nurses, and today the PF government have recalled the nurses. I told them that I will recognise Chitimukulu, the PF now are also saying they have started the process. I have said that I will reverse the retirement age from 65 to 55, and now the PF are also saying they will reconsider the decision.

I have said that I will reduce food prices, the PF are also saying they will do the same. I have said that I will drastically reduce the cost of fuel because the cost on the international market has drastically reduced, they have started making minimal fuel reductions. I have said that farmers need to be paid for

their produce and not be arrested, at least some have started receiving payments.

They are doing some of the things I have been preaching about, although they are going about it in the wrong way. So who is ruling the country at the moment?

.....

There was no need in the first place to dismiss the health workers, to remove fuel and mealie meal subsidies, to increase the retirement age, to effect the wage and employment freeze, not to recognise the Chitimukulu, not to pay farmers on time but instead arresting them, to drag the constitutional making process and many other decisions they are now reversing.

Mr Hichilema was speaking in Chilanga where he addressed a mammoth rally. He began with self-glorification, praising himself that his opponents had started doing what he was advocating for. He went on to elaborating the activities he had been talking about concerning the nation through positive *us* presentation and self-glorification. He explained that he had been telling the nation that once elected president, he would reinstate the nurses, recognise Chitimukulu, and reverse the retirement age from 65 to 55. He added that he would reduce the food prices and the cost of fuel, and would pay farmers on time for their produce. For each point that the speaker brought out, he added propaganda to it, in that he explained that he was happy that the PF were beginning to do the same things. The speaker achieved this propaganda by employing parallel structure and modality in the construction of these sentences to capture the attention of the audience in which he was expressing polarization. He further made use of the first person singular pronoun *I* with the modal *will* as follows: *I told the nation.....I will; I told the PF... I will; I have said that I will ...they also said they will...*

The expressions above are a typical example of negative propaganda in political discourse but expressed aesthetically. In the text, the speaker presents his opponents in a bad light with a view to gaining support for himself and his party.

In addition to parallel structure and modality, the speaker made use of passivization, nominalization and IGM as follows: *all the fired nurses, the retirement age...and.... I have been preaching about...* By employing these rhetoric devices, the speaker manages to

condense the information but achieving the impression that he wanted to create with the audience.

The speaker expresses negative *other* presentation of his opponents by discrediting them that they were just following his plans and that even though they had started doing the right things which he had been talking about, they were doing them wrongly. At the same time the speaker applies positive propaganda on himself. He praises himself and condemns his opponents, the PF, ...*They are doing some of the things, although they are going about it in the wrong way. So who is ruling the country at the moment?* This view presents the UPND candidate as being better than his opponents in PF.

The positive propaganda of himself and of his party presented by the speaker is an exaggeration. He promises that he is concerned with the plight of the citizens but this could have been mere rhetoric. These utterances could be said to be a cliché in the discourse of Zambian politicians. Politicians in Zambia have time and again stated with renewed passion and style that they would work hard to improve the lives of the electorate. They have the predisposition of identifying certain aspects of the electorate's lives in society as being of urgent need, and that they would pursue such aspects once elected into political offices. However, an average Zambian may consider such pronouncements as mere propaganda given that politicians do not normally fulfill most of the promises they make when they assume political offices. The utterances therefore, almost always, are made to serve the immediate purpose - that of persuading the electorate to vote for a politician or political party without serious commitment to the locution made (Ademilokun, 2015).

The function of the strategic elaboration in the text is revealed when the UPND leader uses self-glorification about himself regarding the political acceptance country-wide. Mr. Hichilema wondered why he could not be given a vote since he was already, in a way, giving leadership in the country and was allegedly already widely accepted everywhere he had been in the country. This view is a serious propaganda device. He further used negative *them* presentation on the PF by implying that they were campaigning like they were in the opposition and not in government. According to Mr. Hichilema, he deserved to be voted for as he was seemingly the best candidate given the activities he had done that far. To this effect, he used the interrogative "so who is ruling at the moment?" implying that if the ruling party had adopted and were using his ideas in their leadership, then he was part of it or at least providing leadership already.

The last paragraph offers more specific functions about the discursive expressions used by the UPND candidate, presenting the PF as disorganised and suffering from indecision by reversing their earlier decisions. Instead, they were grabbing the Opposition's vision and implementing it, abandoning their own. The speaker achieves the *othering* of his opponents by making use of a combination of nominalization, passive voice and parallelism when he indicates that the PF should not have done the things they were reversing. He makes use of the noun phrases ...*mealie meal subsidies, retirement age and constitutional making process*... expressed through parallelism and the passive voice, to create certain impressions on the part of the audience. This perspective, done through negative *other* presentation of the PF, and the employment of the rhetorical devices done aesthetically, is a very effective way of convincing the electorate to building confidence of the speaker.

Furthermore, the speaker employs more propaganda by focusing on the crucial areas and issues that were affecting the citizens in the nation. He talked of reinstating the nurses, showing concern with the health of people, and reversing the retirement age thereby, being concerned with the welfare of the citizens and their future. The reduction in food prices and fuel cost is the backbone of a nation's economy. Since the livelihood of people depend on these, the UPND candidate preaches on them by first employing positive *us* presentation of himself and his party and then employing negative *them* presentation of his opponents. These polarized views combined with aesthetic expressions are powerful rhetorical strategies to winning support of the electorate.

The speaker crowns it all through negative *other* presentation of the PF by ridiculing them that in the first place there was no need of having made those decisions on those crucial national issues which they were then reversing.

With the ethos aspect of rhetoric the speaker analyses that the ruling party were implementing the things that he had been preaching about. He therefore demonstrates his competence. He further reasons that there was no need for the government in the first place to have done those things that they were now reversing. With the experience the speaker had, he knew the impact these aspects had on the economy of the nation. Then he exploits the logos aspect by illustrating the things he was referring to. That is, to reinstate the health workers, reducing the cost of fuel and mealie meal, to reverse the retirement age, not to effect the wage and employment freeze, to recognise the Chitimukulu, to pay farmers on time, not to drag the constitutional making process and many other decisions. The pathos aspect is employed in that the audience is

affected emotionally by these decisions especially that the speaker indicates that they were being done in a wrong way. The electorates could have been persuaded to vote for the candidate for his excellent vision which he demonstrates. The speaker makes use of the Kairos aspect since these decisions were being reversed at that particular time, and it was time for the electorate to make a change for better management of the country.

The analysis of this text affirms Hovárth (2008)'s views that in time of crisis, politicians tend to resort to rebuilding the nation basing their strength on the heroic past (section 2.3.3). The UPND observed how the country's heritage was slowly diminishing. The speaker therefore recounts back at some past good practices of the nation including respect towards traditional leaders, good conditions of service of employees, and the reduction in food prices and other amenities for good livelihood. These aspects were once upon a time done in a better way compared to how they were at that time. The idea is that if things were good some time back, they could still be revamped for the benefit of the citizens. All this was done through propaganda devices by making use of positive *us* presentation and negative *them* presentation of the UPND and PF respectively.

The analysis also concurs with what Wirth-Koliba (2016) revealed; that the means by which the relations of *us* / *them* are structured depend on the speaker's intentions in the discourse, which in turn determines the way the 'us' and 'them' are presented. Moreover, relationships of inclusion and exclusion within a single discursive event are dynamic and prone to alternations, since motives behind and implications of particular fragments which constitute the discursive event as a whole, may vary. In this case, the UPND candidate employed the *us* / *them* aspect as a rhetorical device to achieving persuasion by speaking good of himself and his party while speaking ill of his opponents, the PF (section 2.7).

Mr Hichilema exploited the philosophy of love for the people and the nation by elaborately recounting the past achievements of the nation and his capability to restore the nation back to the good old days. He does this elaboration through self-glorification using aesthetic expressions. While elaborating on the belief of the nation, he negatively presents the PF candidate and the PF party as having misruled the nation. The UPND candidate gains power over the opponent through the choice of his discourse and making use of propagandistic rhetorical devices as indicated above. By posing the question, 'who is ruling at the moment?' the speaker confirms the idea that discourse may not always be clear, and discourse analysis does not always permit us to comprehend what people's philosophical standpoints are. This is

always subject to the definition of the communicative condition by the members, that is, on context.

These views are further supported by Basic Education Researchers (2010) who indicated that indirection is an essential property of any political discourse. The UPND candidate used word play carefully and aesthetically that the PF were doing what he was advocating for in his campaigns. The implication is that the other party had no vision and depended on what others were saying and implemented those ideas. He expresses this view without directly stating it. The speaker therefore presents himself as a better leader who was already providing leadership with a good philosophy but he presents this perspective in an indirect way. The speaker expresses verbal indirectness in the way he presents the issues at hand by leaving it to the electorate to make certain conclusions. He makes use of euphemism by presenting the information in a better way which would have sounded negatively if it were presented directly. By so doing, he gains support of the electorate through propaganda devices (section 2.3.2).

Furthermore, the findings are line with Ademilokun (2015) who reveals that while political discourse is an effective platform for political struggles and power play, it also highlights the cultural, linguistic, and social factors which has a bearing on the language use of political actors. Ademilokun further affirms that political candidates employ discourse strategies such as allusion and propaganda devices among others to achieve persuasion. The UPND candidate in this text, made use of propaganda to achieve persuasion in his discourse in an effort to win support of the electorate (section 2.4).

The emphasis that the speaker gives on the audience confirms Perelman's (1980) submission in line with the Rhetorical framework, which suggests that there must be intimate communication between the rhetor and her or his addressees in order to achieve persuasion (Kangira, 2005). Mr Hichilema by articulating these crucial issues that were affecting the nation, draws the audience closer to himself as his campaign message directly affects them. Thus the linguistic system expended by the rhetor, in this case Mr Hichilema, in an efficient argumentation, destroys the barrier between the rhetor and his audience in such a way that the two begin to interact (Hansons, 1997) (section 3.1).

5.3 Requesting as an Aesthetic Feature in Political Discourse

Requesting is one of the features that were observed in the presidential campaign discourse of 2016 elections. The candidate under examination employed different lexical items in his

discourse as he was soliciting for support from the electorate. An example of how the UPND endeavoured to gain control over the electorate by employing the discursive feature of requesting is presented below. This view is achieved by drawing the attention of the audience to improving their plight. The UPND candidate makes use of the feature of requesting as a campaign strategy by promising to deliver electricity to rural areas to enhance productivity and does so aesthetically in the excerpt below.

Excerpt 4

One area where government must work harder for the benefit of our people is in delivering electricity to areas such as Mwinilunga. They must be connected to the national grid to enhance productivity in the area and improve the business environment. This is essential so that jobs can be created and our people can produce goods locally, without the need to rely on expensive imports. The PF has been asleep at the wheel, only waking up for election time but we in the UPND are serious about delivering development for our people here. So people of North Western we are asking you today on 11th August you have a choice - vote for a UPND government that will work tirelessly to eradicate poverty or vote PF to continue in reverse gear under a president with no vision.

The UPND candidate was campaigning in Mwinilunga, one of the districts of Northwestern province. The speaker gives hope to the people of North Western province by promising them rural electrification, and connects the provision of electricity to enhancing productivity and business environment. He promises, *One area where government must work harder for the benefit of our people is in delivering electricity to areas such as Mwinilunga*. The aim of giving this promise was to solicit for support in the August 11, 2016 elections. By so doing, he offers hope to Mwinilunga residents. He further stressed the point he wanted to deliver home by emphasising on the fact that the provision of electricity would help improve the welfare of the people since they would produce goods locally without importing where they would be required to spend a lot of money. This provision of electricity would therefore enable Zambia to prosper and the speaker wanted to deliver this message to all Zambians. The speaker combines negative *other* presentation of the PF, the party that was ruling, that they had failed the nation and positive *us* presentation of his party that they would alleviate the suffering the

citizens were going through. The speaker presents himself positively in that he is committed to doing good for the people and the nation at large, once elected, by stressing that *so that jobs can be created and our people can produce goods locally.*

The speaker continues to *other* the PF by making use of IGM with the phrase ... *The PF has been asleep at the wheel, only waking up for election time.* The metaphorical expression used here is a rhetorical device with serious negative implication of the ruling PF, in that if one is driving (at the wheel) and falls asleep, what is being driven can lose direction or crash altogether. The speaker therefore, alleges that the PF did not have much to offer to the people of Mwinilunga. This view implies that the PF, instead of driving the economy in the right direction, and developing the nation positively, had been doing contrary things, concentrating on their selfish ends, only to realise that it was time of election again. In other words, they were driving the nation backwards. So they (PF) had to find a way of convincing the electorate to vote for the PF since they still wanted to remain in power, since they *had been asleep for sometime at the wheel.* In a way, the UPND candidate was warning the citizens against being manipulated by a party that was not concerned with their plight but still wanted to continue ruling and amassing wealth for themselves.

The speaker then skilfully and aesthetically turns to positive *us* presentation of himself and his party, ... *but we in the UPND are serious about delivering development for our people here,* which he exploits by use of the first person plural pronoun *we* and the genitive adjective *our*, showing commitment to the people. The speaker employs good diction as he is able to combine lexical items carefully and articulate issues and most likely to the conviction of the people thereby achieving persuasion. The speaker then goes on to hitting the nail on the head by directly requesting the electorate to vote for him *So people of North Western we are asking you today, on 11th August you have a choice...* . Although seemingly a choice, the speaker actually requests the electorate to vote for his party, given the strategic elaboration he gives the audience before presenting the ‘choice’. This elaboration is done through the feature of requesting aesthetically and with a view to convincing the electorate that as UPND they meant well to the citizens and that they would do everything possible to make the electorate happy.

The speaker requests the audience to vote for him assuring them that by doing so they would help the nation and themselves, in that the nation would be a strong nation again and that all the citizens would live a better life and prosper. By making use of nominalization, such as *enhance productivity*, the speaker manages to use fewer words but still giving the same

meaning and creating the desired impression. The verb *produce* has been nominalized in a passive voice so that the stress is on the process and not the agent. For instance, the one to do the production is not specified. By stressing the process, the speaker draws the attention of the audience to focus on what was to be done and not who was to do it. The process has been symbolised as things rather than actual happenings (Simon-Vandenberghe et al. 2003). These noun phrases are carefully chosen as rhetorical strategies to capture the minds and hearts of the electorate to supporting the speaker. This is a powerful strategy in political rhetoric since this assurance would in turn help the UPND to gain political mileage and win votes for themselves and rule the country.

At the end of the text, the speaker elaborates the ‘choice’ though indirectly, to the people of North Western province to choose between the promising UPND, his party thus; ... *vote for a UPND government that will work tirelessly to eradicate poverty* and the failed PF; ... *vote PF to continue in reverse gear under a president with no vision*. Given this discourse the speaker is simply telling the electorate to vote for the UPND for the good promises, *working tirelessly...* and to reject the PF for failed leadership, *reverse gear*. The two figurative expressions used in this sentence succeed in positively favouring the UPND through *us* presentation and *othering* the PF through negative *them* presentation. The positive *self* presentation is strengthened by the use of the modal verb *will* showing the will or commitment on the part of the speaker. Whereas for the PF, the negative *them* presentation is worsened by the phrase *in reverse gear under a president with no vision*, with *reverse gear* used metaphorically to render a vote of no confidence to the ruling PF. This polarization signifies that the economy of the nation was going down. These are very powerful rhetorical devices which the speaker makes use of strategically and aesthetically to achieving persuasion.

The speaker exploits the feature of requesting skilfully by employing a combination of IGM, nominalization and modality together with polarization. This perspective in turn reveals the philosophy of the party by indicating that the UPND believes in serious business by doing good to its citizens and contributing positively to the development of the nation. The speaker articulates the issues of national concern and most likely, convinced the electorate to voting for him and his party.

The ethos aspect of rhetoric is applied by the speaker through his explanation that the provision of electricity to Mwinilunga would enhance productivity in the area to improve the business environment. He further demonstrates his expertise in economics by explaining that the

provision of electricity is essential for the job creation and in order to produce goods locally. He further shows that he is a credible candidate by explaining that the UPND were serious about delivering development to that area and that they would work tirelessly to eradicate poverty. At the same time, the speaker employs the *logos* aspect of rhetoric as he gives authentic illustrations of how productivity would be enhanced through the provision of electricity. These illustrations include job creation and bringing down the price of commodities since they would be produced locally. The *pathos* aspect is demonstrated when the speaker in his speech gives the people of Mwinilunga a choice to either vote for a UPND government that ‘would work tirelessly to eradicate poverty’ or vote for PF to continue ‘in reverse gear under a president with no vision’. This expression was employed to appeal to the psychology of the electorate to make an informed decision during the polls. At the same time, the *Kairos* aspect is applied in that the message was timely to the electorate to make a choice either to continue in reverse gear or to vote for progressive leadership.

These views re-echo those of Muzid (2007) who established that there is a distinction between a supposedly free, just and developed (utopic) *us* and a dictatorial, illegitimate, terrorist and uncivilised (dystopic) *them* in political discourse. The good promises the UPND makes are regarded as free and just or utopic whereas the ‘sleeping on the wheel’ and ‘in reverse gear’ by the PF but wanting to be voted for at election time, is regarded as dictatorial or dystopic. Given his knowledge as an economist, Mr Hichilema promises the citizens the provision of power to Mwinilunga for better productivity and for job creation, for the benefit of the citizens. He further advises that the provision of electricity to Mwinilunga would enable the citizens produce goods locally and reduce on expensive imports as was the case at that time. Whereas, the PF allegedly just wanted to be voted for by the citizens in order that they continue enjoying in power.

This articulation presents the UPND candidate as more powerful than PF who had allegedly failed the people. This argument further brings out the philosophy of the party of being concerned with the plight of the people and love for the nation as pointed out above.

The philosophy expressed here is in line with the context of campaign rally with the aim of soliciting for votes by employing rhetorical devices. The context Mwinilunga, which was not electrified, is presented as being considered to be given electricity and that this provision would improve the lives of the people in that area and the nation at large.

The findings are also in line with those of Rashid and Souzandehfar (2010) who reveal the macro strategies of ‘positive self-presentation’ and ‘negative other-presentation’, which are intimately tied up with ‘polarization’ of in-group versus out-group ideologies or *Us-Them*. This is an important perspective which the speaker exploits through the use of figurative expression that the PF had been ‘asleep at the wheel,’ implying that they were not a caring government, had no vision or plan, were not concerned with their citizens’ plight but just ‘woke up’ at election time to solicit for votes.

Mr Hichilema achieves this view through negative *other* presentation of the PF and positive *us* presentation of himself and his party (cf Andreassen, 2007). He thus ends by employing powerful rhetorical devices, skilfully giving the electorate a choice to choose between a UPND that would ‘work tirelessly to eradicate poverty’ or continue in ‘reverse gear’ with the PF, which is a rhetorical strategy to soliciting the electorate to voting for UPND (section 2.5). Therefore, politicians lean on the extremely polarized view of the *us* versus *them* expressions, where they themselves belong to the positively represented in-group and the opposing group is firmly placed in the out-group, negatively whenever possible (Andreassen, 2007).

The views expressed here bring out Chilton’s (2004) strategic functions - representation and misrepresentation. These are discursive functions that correspond to van Dijk’s ideological square of ‘de/emphasise good/bad things of *us* / *them*. The text also brings out arguments that issues of politics and society are not merely abstract systems of social inequality and dominance, but actually ‘come’ down in the form of everyday life, through beliefs, actions and discourses of group members. Thus the discourse by Mr Hakainde Hichilema is presented strategically considering the social inequalities faced by the people of Mwinilunga in lacking development, such as the area not being electrified. Therefore, the speaker made use of figurative expressions that are used in every interaction such as ‘asleep at the wheel’ and ‘reverse gear’ and ‘with no vision’ which fits into the context being referred to, in this case Mwinilunga. These are powerful aesthetic expressions.

Besides, as Korhonen (2017) submits, politicians use language to advance their political goals by employing the rhetoric of blame and bluster. This means that politicians thrive when they have someone to blame: an adversary or opponent of some kind whom they could use to contrast their philosophy to, as well as accuse of foul play and divert attention to whenever possible. The UPND candidate blames the ruling PF, for what was wrong in North-Western province and the nation at large, when he was addressing the electorate on this day. The PF

were his main contenders in the 2016 election campaigns. He contended that instead of the PF delivering development to the area (Mwinilunga), they were just *sleeping at the wheel*, leaving the citizens of Mwinilunga to suffer without electricity. While he presents himself and his party positively that he would connect electricity to the area to enable the citizens to produce goods locally without spending a lot on importing thereby improving their livelihoods.

In addition, as Ademilokun (2015) further affirms, political candidates employ discourse strategies such as propaganda devices and requesting language among others. The UPND candidate in this text, made use of requesting as a rhetorical device to achieving persuasion in his discourse (section 2.4). This perspective is achieved after giving a discursive elaboration of how the area would be improved by electrifying it. He also outlines the benefits that would come along with this electrification and that the ruling PF had done nothing to the area because of ‘sleeping at the wheel’. The speaker then affirms that the UPND were serious about delivering development to the people of Mwinilunga and requests the electorate in Mwinilunga to vote for him and his party.

Moreover, as Heatherington (1980) posits, the sorts of language exploitation indulged by politicians include good feelings - evocating feelings of patriotism. There is also direct flattering of audience, for instance, ‘the sensible voter; and reference to “the record”, for instance, his / her voting record, wisdom, skill and their benefits for his / her audience (cf. van Dijk, 2004). Mr Hichilema exploits these skills as rhetorical strategies aesthetically to winning support of the electorate.

In line with the Rhetorical framework, Mr Hichilema exploits his skill of persuasion in that he presents his argument in such a way that it appeals to the psychology of the audience by presenting the issues that directly affected them. Through this skill in his argument, Mr Hichilema tries hard to present his stand point aesthetically and convincingly to the electorate. The audience followed his argument and most likely were convinced and decided to support him during elections. The provision of electricity to Mwinilunga to improve productivity in order to ease the lives of the people of Mwinilunga is a powerful argument to convincing the electorate to supporting him. The argument which helps the speaker achieve his objective is making sure that the audience realise that the government that was in power was not concerned with their plight, which he presents through the metaphorical expressions ‘asleep at wheel’, ‘reverse gear’ and ‘no vision.’ In this way Mr Hichilema seems to have won the argument as presented by the Rhetorical analytical framework (Hansons, 1997) (section 3.1).

We can conclude that aesthetic expressions in campaign discourse, are used as constructed practices and in particular political context, to explain the complex relationships between the structure of texts and their implications. Therefore, politicians employ certain strategies such as using language strategically by employing certain features of language as rhetorical devices to influence people's political and philosophical views for their own advantage. Besides, politicians exploit polarized expressions of positive *us* presentation of themselves and negative *them* presentation of their opponents to win support of the electorate.

5.4 Summary of Chapter

The chapter has discussed the rhetorical function of aesthetic expressions in the political discourse of the political candidate under examination. These functions are deliberated through the rhetorical analysis theory and the employment of certain rhetorical devices as well as the four aspects of rhetoric, discursively. The chapter has also revealed that discursive practices are expressed through features such as allusion, propaganda devices and requesting and yet others are articulated through polarization of positive in-group presentation and negative out-group presentation.

CHAPTER SIX

SYNTACTIC ELEMENTS IN POLITICAL CAMPAIGN DISCOURSE

6.0 Introduction

This chapter analyses the syntactic elements that were employed by the presidential candidate under investigation in his election campaign speeches. The syntactic elements were analysed by examining the diction employed by the political candidate in his campaign speeches thereby elucidating the consequences of grounding language use in view of social realities as strategically constructed. The analysis answers research question and objective number two which sought to examine the syntactic elements used in the political campaign discourse by the political candidate under examination. The syntactic elements that were analysed are nominalization, parallelism, unification and cohesivation, and modality and passivization in the 2016 presidential campaign discourse. The above-listed features have been focused on because they represent the most prominent and significant features of the discourse being studied based on the researcher's interaction with the data gathered.

6.1 Nominalization in Political Discourse

Simon-Vandenberg et al. (2003) avow that processes can be symbolised as things rather than actual happenings. A specific technique, known as nominalization, has to be employed to accomplish this task. Nominalization is a key lexico-grammatical characteristic of most languages. Through nominalization, a fundamental proposition consisting of a subject, verb and an object can be turned into a much simpler entity or a noun phrase.

The section below presents one of the syntactic elements, nominalization, by showing how it was employed as a rhetorical device in the 2016 presidential campaign discourse by the candidate under study, the UPND's Mr Hakainde Hichilema.

Excerpt 5

Point Seven will develop our agriculture sector. Our job once you put us in power is to reduce the price of mealie meal. How will we do this? We will increase farmer support in both input provision and reduce the unit cost of production. In this country a farmer produces about 40 bags of maize per

hectare when it is possible to produce 100 bags with the same inputs. What farmers need is a robust extension service system so that they can produce more by improving their management of fields. Once this happens then the price of a 50kg bag of maize will come down and with it mealie meal. We will also help farmers diversify their crop to produce other foods and grow produce for neighbouring countries.

Mr Hakainde Hichilema was talking about the pertinent issues in the country and what his party would do once elected. On this particular day, he was outlining the ten-point plan which the party had for the country which was to be implemented once they formed government.

The speaker began by talking about the agriculture sector and what they were going to do for the nation regarding agriculture. Then he went on to elaborating how the agriculture sector would be improved. The speaker employed Ideational Grammatical Metaphor (IGM). The speaker, in giving a promise to reducing the price of mealie meal, employs nominalization as follows: The processes to *support*, to *provide* and to *produce* are rendered in entities. The speaker makes use of long sentences with noun phrases to compact more information in a clause. Another consequence of this IGM is the fact that some fundamental aspects of the process and some information is left unspecified through the use of the passive voice. In the excerpt, the speaker uses the first person plural pronoun *we*, which could be understood as him and his administration and therefore, we do not know who will increase support to farmers, how the provision will be done or to what extent the cost of production would reduce. Nevertheless, the expression acts as a rhetorical strategy because in the process the audience's attention is drawn towards the importance of improving the agriculture sector and is therefore easily persuaded. The focus is not on the processes but on entities by appealing to the audience of the need of these entities rather than the processes. Halliday and Webster (2009) draw our attention to the fact that IGMs habitually take place in circumstances, where every constituent has undergone a metaphoric shift.

The speaker goes on to elaborating how farm produce could improve per hectare using the same inputs by explaining that farmers need a *robust extension service..... management of their fields*. The speaker does not specify details about the robust extension service or even how the management of the fields would improve. The speaker ends by making use of the first person plural pronoun *we* that farmers will be helped to diversify crops and *grow produce* for neighbouring countries. The first person plural pronoun *we*, does not include the electorate but

rather refers to Mr Hakainde Hichilema and the UPND or his administration. This is a rhetorical strategy employed in that by employing IGM, the attention of the audience is diverted from asking questions like: *who will give the help? How will the farmers be helped or diversify? To what extent will the produce be grown?* And many other questions. The attention of the audience is fixed on having these services available.

As Woods (2006) explicates, nominalization helps to avoid expressing definite people in the incident described and it can also bring about an impersonalising and remoteness effect through the removal of participants. Nominalization is a syntactic translation which converts whole clauses into a noun or nominal phrase; this conversion enables it to obtain agency by capturing the doer position and presenting an abstract feature to an action or event. In the excerpt, *robust extension service..... management of their fields* expresses nominalization and has helped the candidate to express a lot of information in few words. In addition, the expression has put emphasis on the entities rather than the processes thereby acting as a rhetorical strategy.

In the above instances lexical density, objectification, impersonality and ambiguity are manifest. Fairclough (2003) observes that the reasons for utilising such procedure could be stylistically or ideologically stimulated, that is, nominalization is spatially efficacious. At times, a number of lengthy sentences can also be conveyed by a nominal. Due to this productivity and capacity of being able to contract large amounts of information into a single word, nominalization is a widely employed linguistic technique in political and many other discourses.

Nominalization, as a syntactic element, is employed as a rhetorical strategy by the UPND candidate by making use of a combination of the first person plural pronoun *we* and the modal auxiliary verb *will* to explain what he and his party would do for the people once they formed government. The message that the speaker is conveying is embodied in the pronoun *we* and the modal verb *will* and these two syntactic elements make the message to come out clearly giving certainty to the audience that the speaker would honour the promises made. The meaning and seriousness of the statement, *...We will increase farmer support in both input provision and reduce the unit cost of production...*, which is highly nominalized, is realised through the pronoun *we* and the modal auxiliary verb *will*. The processes *supporting*, *providing* and *producing* are turned into entities through nominalization to draw the attention of the audience to the seriousness of the message. This perspective helps the electorate to comprehend the campaign message and make a decision whether to vote for the candidate or not. The other

sentences and phrases that follow are all connected to the pronoun and modal verb giving those linguistic units strength and validity. The use of these linguistic units; the pronoun *we* and modal verb *will*, use of passive voice, the employment of nominalization, coupled with the message on agriculture and political will, is given in terms of increasing farmer support. These linguistic units bring out the philosophy of the party: that of hard work, love and respect and support for the citizens. This is the skill aimed at winning the argument with a view to convincing the audience.

The speaker in the text employs the *logos* aspect of rhetoric by referring to the fact that farmers need a 'robust extension service' to be able to produce more by 'improving the management of their fields.' The appeal to logic combined with nominalization with the verb 'to manage' being turned into a noun 'management' presents a strong argument. The audience is able to follow the reasoning of the speaker since he uses concrete examples to cement his argument. The speaker explains that once the farmers are taught how to manage their fields well, they will be able to produce 100 bags of maize per hectare as opposed to that time when they were producing 40 bags per hectare using the same inputs. This argument is presented logically by the speaker and most likely convinced the audience since agriculture is one of the backbones of the nation's economy. For instance, many people depended on tilling the land in order to have enough food to eat and to produce surplus for sale in order for them to buy other essential commodities.

The message, which contains the standpoint of the candidate and that of the party addressed the needs of the people, in this case farmers. The linguistic units *we* and *will* further bring out the political will that the party had for the citizens as they are connected to the further elaboration in the speech. As the speaker continued to elaborate on how farmers would be helped to realise more from the same amount of inputs, the message stems from the pronoun *we* and modal *will*. These syntactic elements continue to give the message authenticity in the subsequent lines where the candidate talked of providing a robust extension service to the farmers to enable them manage their fields skilfully so that they produce more than they were realising at the time. This will from the candidate and the authenticity of the message which reveals the principles of the party, can persuasively woo the electorate to support the candidate.

The speaker ends with a further promise to the farmers to enable them produce surplus foodstuffs using the same combination of the first person plural pronoun *we* and the modal

auxiliary verb *will*. The utterance, ...*We will also help farmers diversify their crop to produce other foods and grow produce for neighbouring countries*, gives the position and commitment of the speaker and his party to bringing to pass his promises to the people in the sentence. Ultimately, the two syntactic elements; nominalization and modality, are employed in such a way that they give hope to the audience since agriculture is one of the backbones of the nation's economy.

The speaker employs the ethos aspect of rhetoric as he presents himself as a credible person who is conversant with the subject matter that he is talking about. He shows his competence in agriculture in that he is able to help farmers diversify their crops so that they grow a variety of crops to even supply to neighbouring countries. The speaker proved that he knew what he was talking about for he gave credible information indicating that it was feasible to produce a variety of foods. He presents the information in his argument competently to the conviction of the audience. The speaker most likely won the hearts of the electorate and gained popularity.

These arguments are supported by Shayegh (2012), Shayegh and Nabifar (2012) and Wang (2010) who demonstrate the importance of the relationship between modal verbs and power in political discourse. The speaker uses the modal *will* as a way of insisting on the legitimacy of information in terms of likelihood and usuality. The UPND candidate uses modality, amid other syntactic elements and rhetorical devices, to generate positive power in his campaign messages. This perspective shows the potentiality of modal verbs to reflect power relations underscored in Wang's (2010) study (section 2.6).

This perspective is also supported by Klingeman et al. (1994) who elaborate that given their influential objective, political campaign discourses are full of modal auxiliary verbs, syntactic features and pronouns that seek to espouse various ideologies and emphasise particular interest of a political party. By using the first person plural pronoun *we* combined with the modal auxiliary verb *will*, as well as nominalization, Mr Hichilema brought out the values of his party aesthetically and his commitment and that of his party in doing good for the citizens, came out authentically. As Quirk et al, (1973) demonstrate, a modal auxiliary verb can be used together with a main verb and pronouns to express differing attitudes towards a proposition; possibility, certainty, permission, intention, among others. This view was exploited in the above text by the UPND candidate. It can therefore be posited that when campaigning, politicians do find

modal auxiliary verbs and pronouns very useful persuasive strategies to employ in an attempt to passionately and persuasively conduct the campaign message of their party to the electorate.

As indicated above, the candidate in this speech is able to articulate his plans and intentions to the people once elected as president. He is able to bring out what he wants to say to the audience by means of the personal pronouns and the modal verbs. The speaker therefore manages to deliver his message and the electorate are able to understand and come to the realisation of the political will by the candidate and then make up their mind about him and his party. In this way the candidate's ambitions are realised through the pronoun *we* and the modal verb *will*, and other syntactic elements. Further, the speaker exploits the ethos and logos aspects of rhetoric by presenting himself as a credible person and giving credible and convincing arguments in his campaign messages respectively.

These findings further bring out what Woods (2006), Jost and Olmsted (2004) revealed; that rhetorical language is clearly not always honest; it may equally well be used to obscure or twist the truth. Therefore, political rhetoric is designed to lead its audience in the direction of specific thoughts, opinions and ultimately, actions. The goal for politicians is not primarily to present facts, but to be persuasive. As shown above, through the expressions of nominalization, where processes are turned into entities, the speaker employs these rhetoric expressions to lead his audience in a specific direction of thinking - thus the role of rhetoric language. This view affirms the Rhetorical theory, the framework guiding the study, that rhetoric is the skill of the rhetor to make use of language as an essential instrument to achieving the audience's observance to his or her standpoint (Hansons, 1997).

On the other hand, these conceptions concur with van Dijk's (2008) study, who posited that more than any other kind of discourse, political discourse is extremely ideological. This is revealed through a multi-disciplinary approach by dealing with political cognition, discourse structures and the social political context in which such insights and discourses have their meanings and purposes. The UPND candidate reveals the philosophy of his party through a multi-disciplinary approach discursively by bringing to the fore the important aspects of people's lives. The revelation was done by exploiting the political context discursively outlining how he would go about these aspects once he formed government. He achieved this perspective by making use of the syntactic elements, nominalization and modality.

Furthermore, the results re-echo van Dijk (2006) submissions that the pronoun *we* is one of the structures, typically used to deictically refer to the in-group of the current speaker. The UPND

makes use the pronoun *we*, an in-group expression, to positively present themselves as better placed to rule the nation. All the positive things regarding the speaker and his party are realised through the pronoun *we* which deictically refers to Mr Hichilema and his party, the UPND or party officials. For instance, the speaker uses the pronoun *we* to talking about the good agricultural policies that they were planning for the country. The ideas of reducing the price of mealie meal, improving farmer extension services and helping farmers diversify their crop to produce other foods are realised through the first person plural pronoun *we* which expresses the positive in-group of the speaker. As the speaker was doing so, he was negatively *othering* the PF for having not done good to the citizens (section 2.1).

These views are further supported by the Rhetorical framework in that the speaker uses syntactic elements carefully in his speech to win over the electorate to vote for him on the polling day. In the excerpt, the speaker chooses how to present his message by making use of nominalization and modality. He achieves this view by changing processes into entities by employing nominalization in which processes such as *to produce* and *to manage* are changed into entities *production* and *field management* respectively. The choice made by the speaker in the discourse helps to create mental images in the minds of the audience giving the real meaning of what the speaker wanted to convey to the audience. By so doing the meaning of what the candidate intended to convey comes out clearly from the way the clause is presented through nominalization to the conviction of the audience.

The speaker also applies the pathos and Kairos aspects of rhetoric in that he appeals to the emotions of the audience and timeliness of the issues that he was presenting. Emotionally, the electorate were convinced that improvement of their agricultural activities was inevitable at the time and that it was time to change to an alternative government for better livelihood.

In addition, this view tends to agree with Muqit (2012) that the context of the power inside the pronoun is understood by analysing how the discourse is embodied in the appropriate pronouns to clarify the intended message, such as the stylistic features, in this case syntactic elements chosen to clear the meaning and purpose. Mr Hichilema uses the first person plural pronoun *we* and the second person pronoun *you* to make his message clear, meaningful and above all persuasive.

Moreover, the use of more nominalization in the speech makes Mr Hichilema's language powerful, impressive and persuasive. The use of nominalization assisted him in expanding his

discussion cohesively by employing compound passages compressed in nominal forms as themes (Kazemiam and Hashemi, 2014).

On the other hand, these views demonstrate the application of the Rhetorical framework. As Kangira (2005) elaborates, the rhetorical skill of focusing on persuasion when delivering a message is the main focus of the candidate. The nominalization of the processes into entities such as *cost of production* and the pronoun with modal verb *we will* among others bring out the meaning and authenticity of the campaign message and to some extent the values of the party (section 3.1).

6.2 Parallelism in Political Discourse

This section analyses how the presidential candidate under investigation exploited parallel structure in his discourse during political campaigns.

The UPND candidate exploited parallelism as a rhetorical device by making use of the first person pronoun *I* and the modal verb *will* together with parallel nouns, verbs among others, to achieve persuasion. The aim as always was to solicit for votes by making persuasive moves through making promises to the electorate. The use of parallel nouns, verbs, pronouns and the modal verbs expresses power relations in political discourse as shown in excerpt 6 below.

Excerpt 6

.....I lived in a grass thatched house. I went to school first three years without shoes, I understand what your children are going through, I understand what you are going through. I went to university on the government bursary and the government is you. When you elect me into presidency I will make sure that the children of Zambia will receive the best investment and it is no other than education. Whether a child is an orphan or vulnerable I will take them to school to their best intellectual abilities free of charge in the bursary.....

The UPND candidate, Mr Hakainde Hichilema, was speaking during one of his campaign tours. He began by putting himself in the shoes of the citizens by remembering his early days. He employs parallelism in the first four sentences, by making use of a series of pronouns, verbs and nouns as he empathises with the audience, *I lived in a grass thatched house..... I went to*

school first three years without shoes... I understand what you are going through.... The speaker's position is reflected in the pronoun *I*, which brought him to the level of the people he was addressing. In the last two sentences the speaker links the earlier expressions to the focus of the campaign message by presenting cause and effect thereby attempting to take paramount importance of issues on the audience's account. The employment of these pronouns, verbs and nouns, in addition to the above properties, is highly persuasive. In this case, these syntactic elements symbolise a sense of emotional, intellectual or sensory pressure on the part of the audience.

The ethos and logos aspects of rhetoric are applied in the text. The speaker explains his early life experience having had grown up in that part of the country and then empathises with the audience since he understood exactly what they were going through. His argument therefore of promising to improve the lives of the children by providing them with the best investment is very credible because he gives convincing examples of how himself is a result of government investment through his university education. At the same time, the ethos aspect of rhetoric is employed as the speaker presents himself as a credible leader who is able to improve the plight of the people in this area as well as securing the future of their children. This view is made clear by considering that from a humble background as a child in the village, he was able to excel in education up to university and to attaining a Master of Business Administration (MBA) in economics. This achievement proves that the speaker can make a good leader with a high potential of providing the best to the citizens. It therefore is convincing when the speaker stresses that education is a key to economic emancipation, that with it any child can attain any height in life.

Furthermore, the parallel expressions, which were contained in the first person pronoun *I* and the use of verbs, in *I lived... I went... I understand...* presented the candidate as a human being as well, with feelings, giving an assurance that he would take care of the needs of the people once elected president. The expressions also give the message authenticity. Furthermore, the pronoun *I* and the genitive adjective *your*, makes the message authentic and combines very well with the speaker's discourse, as he addresses the audience directly by *your*, showing empathy to them. In turn, these syntactic elements appeal to the electorate as persuasive devices presenting the speaker as a better candidate than his opponents.

The speaker continues with parallelism exploiting the power of the pronoun *I* but now combining it with the modal verb *will*. The message carries more power and authority due to

its assurance that the person talking commits himself to doing what he was promising. This view connected well with the meaning of the expression, *I understand what you are going through*, indicating that there was a problem in the area. The speaker is implying that there is a problem with the other party – the party that was in power, for failing to provide good education and for failing to provide a conducive economic environment to the citizens. The message is realised through the use of parallelism with the first person pronoun *I* of the speaker and the second person pronoun *you* of the audience being addressed, evoking feelings of empathy of the audience. As Cuddon (2012) submits, parallelism is re-occurrence of syntactical and lexical resemblance and is employed across or inside sentences or even inside clauses and phrases. It is a balance within one or more sentences of similar phrases or clauses that have the same grammatical structure.

The speaker then turns round to delivering his promises after empathising with the people regarding their situation expressed in parallel structure. He expressed his intentions through the pronoun *I* and the modal verb *will*, making use of parallelism. He promises, ...*When you elect me into presidency, I will make sure that the children of Zambia will receive the best investment and it is no other than education*. This self-glorification is intended to let people have confidence and trust in the speaker and elect him president. The syntactic elements used here give the message authenticity and the audience receive it with the seriousness it deserves thereby believing in what the candidate was saying. This gives the speaker more power and support from the electorate. The language used by the candidate is presented beautifully to the electorate and in this way applies to their emotions thereby acting as a rhetorical device. The power of the pronoun expressed through parallel structure, turns out to be persuasive to convincing the audience thereby achieving the objective of winning votes on the part of the candidate.

As Muqit (2012) argues, the pronouns can be used to explain the ideology and power relation and that in political discourse the pronouns are used to denote them by various usage. Mr Hichilema exploits the first person singular pronoun *I* in combination with modal verb *will* to positively present himself and his party by elaborating on the good things they would be able to do for the citizens. He particularly elucidates the standpoint of the party when he stresses on the need for good education for all as a key to economic emancipation. The pronoun *I* also belongs to the *us* positive presentation which the speaker exploits through self-glorification by presupposing that he was performing well as a leader. This perspective also affirms Cole's (2017) assertion that ideology is broadly comprehended as denoting the worldview a person

has that is a sum total of their culture, values, beliefs, assumptions, common sense, and prospect for themselves and of others.

The beauty of expression of words by making use of parallel structure is a powerful rhetorical device as the speaker combines the verbs, nouns and pronouns aesthetically and the message turns out to be persuasive. Furthermore, the speaker explicates the principle of love for his country and its citizens from the heroic past as having educated him free of charge and that he would do the same to the vulnerable children in order for them to secure a better future.

These views are also supported by Bista (2009), that in political discourse, personal pronouns together with modal verbs, supposedly, highlight the political will, nerve and confidence in addressing an allegedly disheartened citizenry. The address is an endeavour to inspire and motivate the electorate along the lines of advancement and prosperity (section 2.3.3). The UPND candidate, Mr Hakainde Hichilema, through the use of the pronoun *I* and modal verb *will*, makes use of parallelism and expresses his political will to the citizens in an effort to motivate them by offering hope to improving the situation. The use of pronouns and modal verbs expressed through parallelism, is a formidable rhetorical device to winning support of the electorate (section 2.3.4).

The findings are further supported by Nartey and Yankson (2014) who avow that modal auxiliary verbs are used extensively in campaign discourse, to give the message a sense of intention, promise, obligation and necessity in a conscious and strategic attempt to persuade the electorate. Thus political election campaign discourse of political candidates, explicitly stipulate their policies and those of their parties in a bid to win over the electorate (section 2.3.1). The speaker reveals this view in the phrase *...whether a child is an orphan or vulnerable I will take them to school...* The speaker commits himself to educating the less fortunate children to realise their potential. In turn this message reveals the policies and plans of the party that theirs was a pro poor manifesto, which is intended to persuade the electorate to supporting them during elections. Moreover, the use of deontic modals in the speech renders the message to be reassuring thereby echoing a certain level of commitment, zeal and enthusiasm as submitted by Maks and Vossen (2010). The speeches by Mr Hichilema reveal that he made use of parallelism as a rhetorical strategy to achieve persuasion. Parallelism is also employed to improve the effectiveness, clarity, and beauty of the speeches (Kazemian and Hashemi, 2014).

In line with the Rhetorical framework, the candidate makes use of the three sources of persuasion; ethos, logos and pathos (see section 3.2.1). The speaker applies ethos which refers to the character of the speaker by putting himself in the shoes of the audience and empathising with them with the words...*I know what you are going through, I know what your children are going through.* The speaker employs logos which means argumentation by giving promises that he would improve the lives of the people by investing in children by providing free education for all. He further applies pathos by appealing to the emotions of the audience with the empathy he gives and the promise he makes of improving and securing the future of the children through provision of free education. Thus the candidate employs these three sources of persuasion and makes use of the deliberative kind of rhetoric (Garver 1998:307) (section 3.1.3).

6.3 Unification and Cohesivation Strategy in Political Discourse

When reading and listening to speeches critically, and meticulously, it is realised that in every clause or sentence, there are some hidden meanings that await to be disclosed and signal to be observed by the audience and readers. In political discourse, the strategic employment of we-groups (*we*, *our* and *us*) serve to establish a unified relationship between politicians and the public.

This section analyses how the unification and cohesivation strategy was employed by the candidate under study. It endeavours to analyse the context of the power in the pronoun by showing how it is a unifying and cohesive device as presented in political discourse. In the excerpt below, the UPND candidate expresses the power of the pronoun by employing the first person plural pronoun *we* and modal verb *will* to speak on the security of the citizens thereby drawing the audience closer to himself.

Excerpt 7

Point Ten is Good Governance. Zambia under PF are living in fear. If you say something against the Government or the President, then you are threatened with arrest. Police are being misused by the PF. People have to apply for permits to have church meetings. We are taking over Government to ensure that Zambia can enjoy their rights. We will immediately repeal the Public Order Act. We are also going to embark on reforming the Anti-

Corruption Commission and the Drug Enforcement Commission (DEC) to make them independent bodies to pursue corrupt elements. There will be no sacred cows in a UPND-led Government. We need to fight corruption to the bitter end, it has made us poor and I am telling you now, anyone who is corrupt will face the law. Corruption is a cancer that needs to be aggressively tackled.

The UPND candidate was explaining the ten-point plan which they had put into place as a party, which was to be implemented once they formed government. He was talking about good governance indicating how he would make sure that he protects the citizens in order for them to enjoy freedom during his reign. He made use of the second person pronoun *you* to reveal how the citizens had suffered at the hands of the PF government in the sentence, ...*If you say something against the Government or the President, then you are threatened with arrest.* The pronoun *you*, is used to refer to the citizens. In this utterance, the second person pronoun *you*, is at the centre of the message of how citizens were treated by the PF and therefore provides the context of the campaign focus. He went on to exposing the bad practices of the PF government of using police brutality, by arresting innocent citizens just because they did not agree with them or held divergent views. This whole message is realised through the pronoun *you*. These pronouns give a unified relationship between the audience and the speaker.

The speaker then turned to positive *us* presentation by presenting himself and his party as being better than their opponents. He posits, ...*We are taking over Government to ensure that Zambians can enjoy their rights*, his commitment being expressed by the first person plural pronoun *we* and the auxiliary verb *are* to ensure citizens enjoy their freedom. The *we* in this utterance is exclusive referring to the speaker and his administration, while the adjective *their* is inclusive referring to all the audience. He continues with the use of the same first person plural pronoun *we* and the auxiliary verb *are* to promising a better Zambia which would be free of corruption and drug abuse. Similarly, in these utterances, the two syntactic elements *we* and *are* provide the context for the campaign message. That is, the promises of a better Zambia and of the citizens enjoying their freedom and rights are contained and realised through these linguistic units, thereby giving the message power and authenticity. In addition, these linguistic units act as cohesive devices to the text, holding it together to drive home meaning hence cohesivation strategy. Besides, the message of good will to the citizens reveals that the candidate is closer to the people thus acting as a unification strategy.

The speaker further made use of the modal verb *will* and the verb *be* to promise a fair treatment of all citizens regardless of gender, race, tribe or political affiliation. He assures, ...*There will be no sacred cows in a UPND-led Government*, thereby expressing positive *us* presentation. The syntactic features *will* and *be* bring about the realisation of the promises of fair treatment for all, which the audience comprehend through these linguistic units.

The speaker reiterates the fight against corruption as a do or die action by making use of the first person pronoun *I* and the modal verb *will* to reveal this determination. He assures, ... *I am telling you now, anyone who is corrupt will face the law*. These syntactic elements give power to the message to the conviction of the audience. The speaker ends by making use of the figurative expression that *Corruption is a cancer that needs to be aggressively tackled*. The metaphor *corruption is a cancer* implies that corruption is a bad vice, which if not forcefully controlled, would end up deteriorating the economy of the nation. Hence the need to *aggressively tackle* it for the good of the citizens and the nation at large. The campaign message and objective of the speaker are achieved through the first person pronoun *I* and the modal auxiliary verb *will* and through these linguistic units the electorate are persuaded into believing in the candidate.

All these promises are articulated clearly and persuasively by careful and skilful combination of the suitable linguistic units to drive home meaning. These promises are realised through the use of unification and cohesivation strategy and are so influential that they may have convinced the electorate into voting for the candidate.

The logos aspect of rhetoric is here employed in that the speaker provides evidence for his arguments in the text. For instance, he justifies the fact that Zambians were living in fear under the government that was ruling at the time. There was no freedom of speech since if one said something against the government or the president, they would be threatened with arrest. People were not allowed to gather anyhow unless with police permit, and police permits were difficult to obtain. The arguments of the speaker were therefore convincing to the electorate. The ethos aspect is presented in that the speaker is confident of ending the bad vices he outlined in his argument, by making sure that after forming government, he would ensure that everyone enjoys freedom regardless of their political affiliation, ethnicity or social status. He assured that there would be no sacred cows in his government and that corruption would be fought to the bitter end.

In line with Fairclough's (1989) submissions, the orator skilfully utilised a number of words in the speeches to denote solidarity with his party and the audience. By making use of the inclusive *we*, Mr. Hichilema, in this case, considers himself as a member of the society to which he communicates. As he talks about his future plans, the orator alleges them to represent unity and commonality, which means that he splits responsibility for all things being mentioned to the electorate. Consequently, the audience seems to be together with the speaker in the presentation of his ambitions of the campaign discourse, as they seemed to approve of it, and this is seen by the way they burst into frequent and ecstatic applause thus unification. In simpler terms, the UPND candidate is speaking on behalf of the Zambian people. Fairclough (1989) further avows that the pronouns in English do have correlative values of various sorts, that is, the choice between *we* and *you*, is bound with associations of power and solidarity.

In line with these arguments, van Dijk (2006) avows that ideologies are acquired, expressed, enacted and reproduced by discourse and that this happens through a number of discursive structures and strategies. He specifically mentions the pronoun *we* as one of these structures, which is typically used deictically referring to the in-group of the current speaker. Mr Hakainde Hichilema elaborates what good governance entails by outlining the good practices of leadership. He does so by referring to some bad practices that were going on in the country as a result of PF's allegedly poor policies, such as arresting those that held divergent views from them and discrimination on the basis of tribe or ethnic grouping. This message was realised through the pronoun *we* in *we are taking over government*

The speaker made use the pronoun *we* and the modal verb *will* to show inclusiveness and as a unification device with the audience and to bring out his plans for the nation. It also shows seriousness that the bad vices such as corruption and tribalism would be tackled once UPND formed government as there would be 'no sacred cows in a UPND-led government'. The *we* in this utterance is exclusive in that it refers to Mr Hichilema and his government. According to Fairclough (1989), there are generally two types of *we* pronouns, namely, inclusive *we*, which includes the audience as well as the speaker, and exclusive *we*, which refers to the speaker or writer plus one or more others, but does not incorporate the addressee(s).

The speaker uses negative *other* presentation of Mr Edgar Lungu and the PF as ill-treating some citizens and not having good policies that could develop the nation. Mr Hichilema capitalises on positive self-glorification that he would rule the nation with fairness making everybody enjoy regardless of tribe or ethnicity or political affiliation and that those who would

be found wanting would face the law regardless of their background or social status. Through these discursive expressions and structures, the UPND candidate expresses the values of the party to the electorate and at the same time solicits for support in the forthcoming elections through the pronouns *I* and *we* and auxiliary verbs *will* and *are*. In this way, he most likely won the hearts of the electorate thereby gaining political mileage over his opponents through unification.

The ultimate objective is political cognition which the speaker here achieves through manipulation of the context to bring out the meaning and purpose of his discourse through unification and cohesivation strategy.

In the same way, Lakoff (1990) established that in political discourse, the ambiguity of the use of the pronoun *we* may produce either a dichotomous or connective outcome in the audience by the candidate employing hearer-inclusive *we* to ascertain solidarity with the listener. At the same time, employing hearer-exclusive *we* to denote his function as president and his administration (see section 3.4). Instances of hearer-exclusive *we* are expressed in utterances such as*we are taking over government to ensure Zambians enjoy their rights* *we will repeal the public order act* While the hearer-inclusive *we* is expressed in the statement*we will fight corruption to the bitter end*.... The goal is political persuasion. Besides, in the text Mr Hichilema used a pronominal shift from *I* to *we*, (referring to the government), as a way of defending his credibility with the public. As Bull and Fetzer (2006) observed, the political candidate expressed views either for himself only or on behalf of the party, and that politicians' employment of the self-reference involved in collective *we* may be a way of showing personal modesty.

The findings are further supported by Boicu (2007) who reveals that the speaker's use of modal verbs contributes to the mitigation or aggravation of the illocutionary forces prompted by the speech acts he articulates. In this speech, the UPND candidate's message is made authentic through the modal verb *will* and giving an assurance that all citizens would be free regardless of their political affiliation, gender or tribe. The citizens receive the message with the seriousness it deserves and were most likely ready to support the candidate. Modal verbs therefore, have the inclination of exacerbating the proposition of an utterance (section 2.6).

The analysis further showed that politicians' speeches reveal an ideology consistent with strategic patterns of *us* versus *them* in that from their rhetoric, politicians thrive when they have someone to blame: An adversary or opponent of some kind that they could use to contrast their

ideology to, as well as accuse of foul play and divert attention to whenever they see it fit. The speaker presents his opponents negatively and contrasts his ideology to theirs in such a way that his ideology appears to be better than theirs. The speaker blames his opponents that they are not capable of continuing ruling and convincingly explains how he would restore the lost glory of the nation. Similarly, the analysis brings out the view that politicians use language to advance their political goals known as the rhetoric of blame and bluster. Thus politicians' rhetoric is highly effective by seeking to alter the public's insight of what happens in the world (Korhonen, 2017). By making use of the term 'cancer' the speaker tried to alter what the audience could have earlier believed in, concerning the PF government.

These arguments affirm the views by Perelman (1980) that rhetorical centers on argumentation. He contends that every argument is aimed at winning support of the minds, and therefore assumes the existence of an intellectual contact which forms a community of minds (Hansons, 1997). What is inherent in this description of rhetoric is the skill of the rhetor to exploit language as a crucial instrument to achieving his objective by making the audience to be observant to his standpoint. The speaker exploits this skill by manipulating language through the use of unification and cohesivation to convince the audience of his argument. For instance, when the speaker tells the audience that ... *We are taking over Government to ensure that Zambians can enjoy their rights*, and ...*we will immediately repeal the public order act*, the unification and cohesivation strategy comes out clearly and in turn acts as a persuasive strategy.

6.4 Modality and Passivization in Political Discourse

This section presents the analysis on how the presidential candidate under investigation employed syntactic elements modality and passivization in political discourse as rhetorical devices. In his campaign messages, the candidate expressed instances of relational and expressive modality which are demonstrated by modal auxiliary verbs like may, must, should, can, ought, and others. This perspective is presented in the excerpt below.

Excerpt 8

The UPND has a 10 Point Plan for Zambia. We will fix it. Tukulungisha. Tukakontolola..... We plan to start with job creation and employment. From the first day in office, our Government will help Zambian companies to create jobs, by ensuring we start manufacturing most of the things we import. Isn't

it an embarrassment that we are importing toothpicks? Are you telling me we can fail to make toothpicks? We will promote investment, trade and economic growth, diversifying the economy and investing in under-developed sectors with huge potential for job and wealth creation such as tourism.

Point Two will be an attack on poverty and inequality, with a strong focus on youth and women. On day one we will start addressing youth and women empowerment. The women folk present here today, can't you sew uniforms. So why can't Government give you contracts to supply uniforms in Government schools? Youths are found making furniture at Nakadoli market. Why is Government importing furniture for their offices and not buying furniture from Nakadoli market? This is what we mean by empowering women and the youth when you give us a vote.

In the excerpt, the UPND candidate Mr Hakainde Hichilema was outlining the party's ten point plan during one of the campaign rallies. He begins by referring to the ten point plan and quickly recites the slogan, *We will fix it. Tukalungisha* 'we will fix'. *Tukakontolola* 'we will control'....

The modal verb *will*, is employed several times in the discourse and *can* is applied in few instances in the above text. These modal verbs are expressing a strong conviction based on deduction or inference from evidence; they display obligation, that is, authority's attitude oblige them to do so. Obligation can be thought of as an inevitable duty or requirement, realised by the modal verb *will* and *can* have the force of a direct command. This force grows out of the fact that in definite cultural contexts, the speaker has authority over the audience, and the speaker takes the responsibility for the action being conducted.

This expression gives the speaker power, feeling more powerful than the party that was ruling because through these modal verbs, there is an indication that there was a problem which needed to be fixed. The speaker justifies the terminology 'fix' by indicating what their party would do once elected by mentioning the critical areas that would need attention beginning with job creation; *We plan to start with job creation and employment*. By mentioning job creation, the speaker in a way brings out the philosophy of the party, as being concerned with the plight of the poor, which in turn gives him power over the audience to feel that his party is better than the PF.

The speaker continues through self-glorification, *From the first day in office, our Government will help Zambian companies to create jobs, by ensuring we start manufacturing most of the things we import*, assuming more power over his opponent. In addition, the pronoun *we* and the modal verb *will* reveal the seriousness of the commitment to the party's manifesto through the promises made (Appendix III). He further ridicules his opponents through negative *other* presentation and the use of passivization, *Isn't it an embarrassment that we are importing toothpicks?* The speaker turns the process *to embarrass* into an entity embarrassment. By using the passive voice, the speaker ridicules his opponents of not having been serious in their execution of duties. The employment of passivization here is a rhetorical device to winning support of the electorate.

The speaker further reiterates his call to fighting poverty by employing the modal *can* though in a negative way, *...Are you telling me we can fail to make toothpicks?* This expression in a way implies that as Zambians we can make toothpicks rather than importing them. This expression presents the party that was in government negatively that they were not even able to provide a conducive environment to help the citizens to the point of even failing to make toothpicks. The electorate can easily lose confidence in such a candidate. The use of the modal *can* therefore, is a powerful strategy for winning the hearts of the electorate. The above utterance shows that modality is a semantic category principally related to the expression of alternative opinions and attitudes and is the means by which a speaker's stance towards what they are speaking is expressed (Renkema, 2009).

The speaker further expresses power of discourse through self-glorification employing passivization. He itemises the *promotion of investment, trade and economic growth, diversifying the economy and investing in under-developed sectors* as part of their ten point plan. He employs passivization by turning the process of promoting into an entity, promotion. Thereafter, to ensure their philosophy is understood and appreciated by the electorate, the speaker turns to presenting how they would *attack poverty and inequality, with a strong focus on youth and women* by exaggerating the situation with the words *attack* and *strong*. This is IGM in which the phrase 'attack poverty' is used metaphorically to show the intensity with which poverty needed to be eradicated. The word *strong* is used to reveal the depth of the concern that the candidate had for the women and the youths, since these were the most disadvantaged groups in society. He makes use of the modal *will* to show his commitment to uplifting the condition of women and the youths using expressive modality. *On day one we will start addressing youth and women empowerment.* The combination of modality and

passivization by use of *will* and *empowerment* shows the concern and authority the speaker has for the audience. He makes his argument explicit through the modal *can* to give an example of how youth and women empowerment could be done in the utterance, *can't you sew uniforms? ... can't you make furniture?* The utterances imply that the women and youths can make uniforms and furniture respectively, and that the government can use these items and help improve the lives of these people.

These views affirm Fairclough's (1989) submission that modality is concerned with speaker or writer authority as well. There are two aspects to modality, depending on what direction or authority being focused on. Primarily, the status of the authority of one person pertinent to others, relational modality is engaged. Secondly, a matter of the speaker or writer's authority in regard to the truth or possibility of a depiction of reality is presented through expressive modality (Fairclough, 1989; Downing & Locke, 2006).

In the subsequent lines, the UPND candidate continues with lexicalisation by expanding on how the attack on poverty would be done by improving the activities of women and youths. These expressions by use of modal verbs coupled with the power of the pronouns *we* and *us* give power to the speaker thereby gaining political mileage in their campaign. This is revealed in the excerpt, ...*This is what we mean by empowering women and the youth when you give us a vote.* The utterance*On day one we will start addressing youth and women empowerment...* has authenticity by way of the combination of the first person plural pronoun *we* and the modal auxiliary verb *will* as it gives the campaign message commitment to the audience by the speaker. This power through discourse which brings out the party's philosophy in turn wins the hearts of the electorate and the candidate could be assured of getting votes from the citizens.

In this excerpt, the speaker employs a number of modal verbs, employing both relational and expressive modality. The high percentage of the application of modal verbs is appropriate to the communication since the message is delivered in spoken form. In contrast to other verbs, modal auxiliaries are more readily identified and then acknowledged, due to the fact that, at the time of listening to the campaign message, the audience has no time to think over certain issues.

These findings reflect the analytical framework that informed the study. As pointed out in chapter two, the Rhetorical framework is made use of in that the speaker's overall objective

when employing modality and passivization, is to persuade the audience. Therefore, the employment of these rhetorical devices is to achieve persuasion thereby winning support of the electorate (section 3.1).

The speaker articulates the philosophy of the party by outlining what the party's objectives for the nation were, and since to a large extent the plans were attractive to the citizens, the speech gives power to the speaker which he enjoys from the reaction of the electorate. The linguistic units that bring out the values of the party and power relations include *tuka kontolola* 'we will control,' *tukalungisha* 'we will fix', *attack*, *strong*, *embarrassment* and others, which the speaker expresses through lexicalisation. These linguistic units are presented by making use of modality and passivization. Applying the Rhetorical framework, these linguistic units help the speaker to achieve persuasion in that he employs them as part of the skill in his communication. The aim is to win the audience in his argument thereby seemingly gaining more support than his opponents, the PF. At the same time, this aspect has been arrived at after analysing these syntactic elements and their meaning in this context.

The speaker exploits the ethos aspect of rhetoric with the expression that he would fix and control the affairs of the nation. He goes on to indicating that when he forms government, he would begin with job creation and employment. He further explains that he would attack poverty and inequality with a strong focus on women and youths. These expressions present the speaker as a credible leader who is competent in conducting the affairs of the nation who would therefore make a formidable president. The logos aspect is applied in that the speaker gives concrete examples as to how they would create employment by helping companies to be able to manufacture things which were being imported at that time. The promotion of investment is cited as one of the ways of diversifying the economy. The speaker further made use of the pathos aspect by addressing women and youths that they should be employed to sew uniforms to supply to government schools. While the youths would be making furniture for the government instead of the government importing furniture. This explanation appeals to the audience emotionally and could have convinced them to support the candidate. The Kairos aspect is exploited in that at the time of campaigns there was so much suffering and people needed to hear such a message to give them hope for a better future.

On the other hand, through the pronoun *we* and the modal auxiliary verb *will*, the speaker commits himself to carrying out the action that was being promised, in this case, *controlling* and *fixing* the economy as well as *attacking* poverty. Therefore, solidarity and power in

political discourse can be revealed through linguistic elements and particularly modal verbs. These two linguistic devices, modality and passivization help the candidate to achieve his objective. As Renkema (2009) explicates, modality is a semantic category which can be employed to express alternative opinions and therefore, the means by which a speaker's stance is expressed.

The speaker also employs passivization with the utterance ...*Point Two will be an attack on poverty and inequality....* The speaker talks of attacking poverty without indicating the agent and makes use of nominalization to attain the obsecuring of the agent and the sentence is still grammatically correct. The speaker turns *attacking* into a noun phrase *an attack* thereby employing nominalization. Simpson (1993) avows that passivization presents the speaker or writer the option to exclude the agent altogether, known as an agentless passive construction. In passive clauses, the agent in fact becomes a circumstance, and circumstances can be left out without making the sentence ungrammatical. In line with these postulations, Fairclough's studies (1989, 2003) posit that many studies conclude that political commitments and the power hierarchy in social relations are elements that specify linguistic choices such as nominalization and passivization.

These conclusions are also in line with the views of Kazemiam and Hashemi (2014) who posit that in political discourse, multiple linguistic and rhetorical strategies are exploited for the efficiency of the speeches. The tendency and priority to apply more nominalization, passivization and modal verbs by the political orator in political speeches are the vital reasons for making the political candidate's language powerful, impressive, persuasive and ambiguous as well. In this case, primarily, by metaphorising a process and passive voicing, Mr Hichilema can echo a fact, or express his intended meanings implicitly as in a compact and dense form.

Secondly, with the aid of nominalization, he is able to expand his discussion cohesively and step by step, which employs compound passages encapsulated in nominal forms as theme. Furthermore, nominalizations construct and contribute to abstraction, generalisation, impersonality, objectification, information load, language economy and cohesion, ambiguity and, beauty of the texts. Upon listening as well as reading Mr Hichilema's campaign speeches, (for instance the above excerpt) it will be noticed that, in nearly all utterances, there are some eye-catching tropes along with plenty of recurrent syntactical and lexical clauses attracting the audience or readers' attention. It is therefore apparent from this and other campaign excerpts that Mr Hakainde Hichilema relies heavily on rhetorical devices, particularly, parallelism

tropes and unification strategy. Rhetorical devices investigated in the study, in this case syntactic elements, are used as persuasiveness properties to improving the effectiveness, clarity, and beauty of the campaign message. The goal is to persuade, inform, convey personal ideologies, emphasise inter-relatedness of delivered messages, signify differentiation, and demonstrate orator's solidarity with the audience (see section 2.3.3).

Moreover, the analyses confirm Bull and Fetzer's (2006) views who presented how politicians manage language of politics in political communication by capitalising on rhetorical devices, such as three-part lists and contrasts. This presentation is done with a view to inviting audience applause to reflect their greater popularity, group identity or solidarity with the speaker and the party the speaker represents in political speeches. As demonstrated by this text by Mr Hichilema, politicians achieve this view by making use of personal pronouns strategically to designate their attitudes, social status, gender, and motivation. They also employ personal pronouns to show vagueness and imprecision as well as precision of speeches. In particular, the pronouns *you* and *we* achieve this manipulation which is a rhetorical device (section 2.7).

Besides, as Menezes (2006) explicates, linguistic expressions of deontic modality act in a sense of making the audience's participation possible in perspectives defended in political speeches. The candidate under study used modal verbs to consolidate his obligation, and to strategically distance himself from established deontic values.

We can conclude that the features of strategic practices in campaign discourse, are used as constructed practices and in particular political context to explain the complex relationships between the structure of texts and their implications. Therefore, politicians employ certain strategies such as using language strategically by employing certain features of language as rhetorical devices to influence people's political and philosophical views to their own advantage. We can also conclude that when campaigning, politicians make use of rhetorical devices as persuasiveness properties to improving the effectiveness, clarity, and beauty of the speeches. They also find syntactic elements such as modal auxiliary verbs and pronouns, passivization and paralellism very useful persuasive strategies to employ in an attempt to passionately conduct the campaign message of their party to the electorate. Besides, politicians exploit polarized expressions of positive *us* presentation of themselves and negative *them* presentation of their opponents to win support of the electorate. In addition, in political discourse, the power of the pronoun is important in bringing out the will and commitment of what is presented by a candidate when campaigning.

6.5 Summary of Chapter

The chapter has presented an analysis of the syntactic elements that were employed in the political campaign discourse of the presidential candidate under examination. The syntactic elements that were analysed include nominalization, passivization, parallelism, modality and cohesivization. These devices were expressed through use of the pronouns *I*, *we*, and *they* together with the modal verbs *will*, *can* and to some extent the form of the verb *be*. In addition, these features were expressed through polarization of positive *us* presentation and negative *them* presentation. Ultimately all these features were employed as rhetorical devices to winning support of the electorate during campaigns.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RHETORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF CODE SWITCHING IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

7.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the extent to which code switching was exploited in the discourse by the presidential candidate under study and how it was employed as a useful rhetorical strategy to achieving persuasion during his election campaign speeches. The discourse used by the candidate under investigation was analysed to show how code switching was used to bring out its rhetorical significance. The aim of the analysis was to answer research question and objective number three which sought to establish the rhetorical significance of code switching in the campaign discourse of the political candidate under examination.

7.1 The Sociolinguistic Implication of Code Switching

The data corpus for the study discloses that code switching and code-mixing were a feature of the 2016 political campaign discourse in Zambia. Opeibi (2009: 264) avows that code switching and code-mixing are “used not only as a means of reaching the majority of the voters who are barely literate, but it is also a strategy meant to show that the politicians are themselves part of the audience.” The analysis in the present study shows that code-mixing and code switching in the discourse are a conscious rhetorical strategy. The speakers at political rallies, especially political candidates, use them to identify strongly with the electorate whose support they seek.

The following excerpts present instances of code switching as employed by the presidential candidate under investigation through the campaign speeches that he presented during the 2016 election campaigns.

Excerpt 9 below shows how the UPND candidate, Mr Hakainde Hichilema, employed code switching in one of his campaign rallies in Chongwe.

Excerpt 9

Our 10 Point Plan will fix the economy and create opportunities for all our people, from early years' education right through to employment and beyond. Everyone must be able to access these opportunities, regardless of gender, tribe, political affiliation or wealth.

Muone chabe mwamene nidza sungila ziko, muone naimwe muzakamba ati tuna chedwa kucinja. Mukayangana HH na Edgar Lungu.....

'You will see how I will govern the country, you will even wish you had changed some time back. When you look at HH and Edgar Lungu.....'

Mr Hakainde Hichilema was speaking in Chongwe on 5th August 2016. He was outlining the important changes, according to the ten point plan that they had lined up as a party, and which he would bring about when given the mandate to govern the country (Appendix IV). He assures the citizens that as a party they would 'fix' the economy by creating better opportunities for all to participate and benefit from all programmes of the nation. He emphasises on equal access of these benefits to all citizens regardless of their gender, ethnicity, political affiliation or wealth. After this elaboration of the important aspects of the development of the nation and citizens, the speaker code switches from English to Nyanja. As he code switches, the speaker gives an assurance that the people would see how well he would govern the country, which was on the positive side, implying that he would rule the country in a manner that would please everyone or at least majority of the people. The UPND candidate employs extra sentential or inter-sentential type of code switching since it occurs outside the sentence (Li Wei, 2000). The aim of code switching is to emphasise that given the promises cited above, he could make a better leader than his opponent - the one who was ruling at the time.

The speaker uses Nyanja because in Chongwe, Nyanja is the lingua franca of the area and is therefore frequently used than Soli, the indigenous language of the area. A lingua franca is a language that is used as medium of communication by people who speak different first languages. Besides, code switching is practiced when each of the speakers is fluent in both languages. In this case, both the speaker and the audience were fluent in Nyanja and to some extent, English.

The speaker makes use of code switching to ensure that everyone is on his side or that everybody understands him. He does this switching on purpose, to identify with all classes of people that were present at the campaign rally, that is, both those that were conversant with the English language and those who were not, in order to gain support of all the people. Even though the speaker is competent in the English language, he switched codes in order to accommodate people who would have found it challenging to comprehend the information delivered in English.

This understanding and support in turn could lead to the speaker getting favoured better than his opponent. The UPND candidate makes use of code switching as a strategy to woo support from the electorate. The switching to the local language combining with the explanation of how they would 'fix' the economy (Appendix III) when they form government with the words ... *muone chabe mwamene nidza sungila ziko* 'you will see how I will govern the country,' is a rhetorical strategy. This statement expresses the confidence with which the UPND candidate addressed the audience. The confidence by the candidate, also adds to the rhetorical strategy since from the way the speaker expressed himself the audience are likely to be convinced that he is a suitable leader. The words used in Nyanja are very powerful in that they appeal to inner senses of the electorate that they would see for themselves how this particular candidate would govern the country. The persuasion leaves no doubt in the minds of the electorate and could most likely have convinced the electorate to support the candidate. The candidate continues in the next phrase ... *muone naimwe muzakamba ati tuna chedwa kucinja* 'you'll see even yourselves you will wish you had made the change much earlier.' This is another statement expressing confidence and persuasion with serious appeal to the audience that they would be very happy during his reign that they would even wish they had changed the leadership much earlier.

On the other hand, this statement implies that the leadership at that time was not good enough and that those who were in power were not doing the right things. It means that the citizens had been suffering for quite some time at the hands of the PF's allegedly bad leadership. At this time therefore, change was inevitable. The speaker comes out directly in the sentence ... *Mukayangana HH na Edgar Lungu...* 'when you look at HH and Edgar Lungu...' The speaker leaves it to the audience to fill in the blank spaces or to complete the sentence whose obvious conclusion is that the speaker was a better candidate than his opponent. The speaker rhetorically challenges the audience to reflect upon the state of affairs in the country and to make a decision which would help the country to develop positively.

It is important to note that before code switching to Nyanja the speaker spoke of improving or fixing the economy by creating opportunities from early in life (Appendix III). He specifically mentions education as one of the opportunities he would offer to all citizens from early in life. By this expression the speaker employs positive self-glorification with the aim of being closer to the audience. He chooses to speak on providing education for all since education was one of the achievement criteria that would raise the status of an individual from a humble one to a higher one. Education therefore was one of the backbones to the wealth of the nation, and the candidate capitalised on them. He does so especially that his opponents the PF, did not show serious political will to the sectors such as agriculture and education as these sectors were seemingly not doing well at the time. After this elaboration, the speaker code switches to Nyanja, the language of the area, to cement this explanation. The aim as always in politics was to woo support of electorate.

Another aspect expressed by the speaker is the importance of the role played by indigenous languages in Zambian politics. The excerpt was uttered by a Tonga speaking political leader, as an assurance to the people of Chongwe, that he would rule the country to the best of his ability. The fact that the speaker consciously used Nyanja even though he is Tonga indicates that he recognised the importance of the use of indigenous languages in attracting and appealing to the people who use that particular language. The practice also promotes the motto of the country: one Zambia, one nation.

The code switching in turn functions as a rhetorical strategy to woo people to believing in the speaker since they feel he is very close and more concerned with them by speaking their language.

In line with the Rhetorical analytical theory, rhetoric refers to how people use language in communicating their ideas in an endeavour to win over an audience. Rhetoric is further described as consisting of three sources of persuasion, which are, ethos, logos and pathos (section 3.1). Central to this explanation of rhetoric is the skill of the rhetor to make use of language as an essential instrument to achieving the audience's observance to his or her standpoint. That is, the main objective is to be persuasive (Kangira, 2005; Hansons, 1997). Mr Hakainde Hichilema, presents his argument skilfully by making use of convincing points such as improvement of agriculture and provision of education for all, combining it with code switching in order to win support of the electorate.

The speaker expresses the ethos aspect of rhetoric as he speaks confidently that he would rule the nation in a fair manner. He also combines with the logos aspect of rhetoric by illustrating how well he would govern the country by indicating that he would create opportunities that would work well for all from childhood up to the time that people are employed all the way up to retirement and even beyond. He makes it clear that this would be done in an effort to fix the economy which was seemingly going down at the time. Besides, he assures the citizens that the opportunities would be accessible to all regardless of gender, ethnicity, political affiliation or social standing in society. The logos aspect comes out very clear this way. The speaker employs the ethos aspect further by claiming that the electorate would see for themselves how well he would govern the nation. That is why he even asks the audience to examine or consider the two candidates; Edgar Lungu and the speaker himself, and leaves it to the electorate to judge. This elaboration justifies that the speaker is a credible leader.

The arguments presented here concur with the findings of Rozina and Karapetjana (2009) who submitted that the linguistic manipulation can be considered as an influential instrument of political rhetoric. This perspective explains the relationship between the use of language and the importance of insights and that the way we perceive language is the underpinning of our social construction and individual or group relationships. The speaker used self-glorification by claiming that as a party they would work hard to deliver the promises they were making to the people on time. He assures the audience that he would govern the country well and that they would wish they had changed much earlier. The UPND candidate made use of negative *other* presentation by telling the people that the PF had brought suffering to the country and that there was no need of continuing with this state of affairs. He achieves all this manipulation with the help of code switching by showing that he is closer to the audience. He therefore advised the people to vote for him and achieved his intentions by making use of code switching and by employing the modal verbs and pronouns as posited by Muqit (2012) and Quirk (1973) (section 2.5).

These findings are also in line with those of Ademilokun (2015) who submits that while discourse continues to be an effective platform for political struggles and power play, it also highlights the cultural, linguistic, and social factors which has a bearing on the language use of political actors and that code switching is one of the strategies that political candidates employ to win support of the electorate (see section 2.4). The speaker engages in code switching to show the people that he is one of them and that he empathises with them and therefore needed their support. This expression shows that the speaker appreciates the importance of indigenous

languages in political communication. He strategically uses the two languages to show that he is natural, simple and that he is like every other member of the electorate. This is a strategy for soliciting support of the electorate as Ademilokun (2015) posits, political candidates employ code switching in their discourse in order to identify with the electorate. This perspective also affirms the view that certain messages are better expressed in a local dialect than in English (section 2.4).

Code switching therefore, in this excerpt is used by the UPND candidate to show that he is close to the people of Chongwe and that he is concerned with their plight. The other reason is to give emphasis to his campaign message of good will of what he would do should he be given the mandate to govern the country.

The findings further concur with Jarraya (2013)'s submissions, who spells out how the strategic use of deictic pronouns and agency with certain illocutionary forces helps to construct *otherness* as well as the *self*. The process is enforced by the marked use of ethos as a crucial strategy of persuasion in political discourse. Jarraya also demonstrates that certain messages in political campaigns are better achieved when expressed in a particular dialect and not any other language and hence the usefulness of code switching. In this way code switching is employed as a rhetorical device (section 2.3.1). The speaker manages to convey emotions more effectively in Nyanja than he would have done if he had expressed himself in English. In addition, code switching enables him to capture more people and therefore gains more support of the electorate. The speaker's objective was to make sure the audience lose confidence in his opponents. These expressions present the speaker as a sober leader, loving and caring thereby wooing support for himself and the party.

7.2 Code Switching and Literary Expressions

This section demonstrates how the political candidate under investigation revealed his individual philosophy as well as that of his party through code switching and literary expressions. In the excerpt below, the UPND candidate continued articulating on his campaign agenda by focusing on what would help improve the livelihood of the people through specific linguistic units thereby exposing the belief of the party. He achieved this perspective in his campaign discourse by making use of literary expressions. In addition, the speaker used propaganda devices on the economic status of the people while at the same time attacking his opponents' bad practices which affected the nation negatively.

Excerpt 10

Mukwayi toonse tuufwane ati ba PF batucusha, twachula pafula, tefyo mukwayi? Ngamwatupela voti yenu tuka mubombela. Incinto ya namba wanu, tatulefwaya ukuponoka mumayanda ne nsala. Tulefwaya tubombele pamwene pabulimi.

We shall give loans to youths and women and all of you in need to do business so that you are independent economically.

‘Lets agree that the PF have made us suffer, we have suffered enough, isn’t it? If you give us your vote, we shall work for you. The first task is that, we don’t want to starve in our homes, so we shall improve on agriculture’.

Mr Hakainde Hichilema was speaking in Mansa where he was accompanied by Geoffrey Bwalya Mwamba, Nevers Mumba, Guy Scott and Telesphore Mpundu. Defections of youths from PF to UPND were announced shortly before Mr Hakainde Hichilema spoke at the rally. The speaker employed intersentential code switching promising to improve on agriculture and job creation, and economic emancipation of the citizens in the country. He began by attacking the PF that they had brought suffering to the people, *Mukwayi toonse tuufwane ati ba PF batucusha*, ‘let us agree that the PF have made us to suffer’, which is negative other presentation. This statement was aimed at drawing attention to the candidate himself and his party as the alternative government to offering solution to a troubled nation. He continued with a proverb *twachula pafula* ‘we have suffered enough’, which is a statement aimed at bringing out the power of discourse revealing the extent to which citizens of the country had suffered and that there was no need of continuing in the same way. The statement is used literary to suggest that this kind of suffering was not supposed to continue and acts as a wake-up call to the electorate that they should exercise their power by voting wisely. In other words, change was inevitable.

Mr Hichilema, although he is a Tonga by tribe, spoke in Bemba the language of the area, Mansa. The speaker is conversant with English as a qualified Economist with a Master of Business Administration (MBA), but he spoke in Bemba to express a certain message to the electorate clearly. The expressions are pragmatically used to convey peculiar cultural meanings which the English language may not have communicated fully. *Mukwayi* which as a form of

address in Bemba, is used as a salutation in the opening of a text to show full respect to the electorate. The speaker could have used the word comrades or fellow country men, but he realises that *mukwayi* conveys the reference he wished to show, better than its English equivalent. The proverb *twachula pafula* in the same sentence is chosen due to its semantic richness in the Bemba culture. The speaker could have simply used the phrase ‘we have suffered enough’ or ‘we are really suffering’, but he understood that the English phrase could not produce the same effect as the Bemba expression. The expression is a deep IGM which appeals to the psychology of the electorate and invokes deep emotions and acts as a conscientization aspect and therefore a useful rhetorical device to achieving persuasion.

The speaker then applies the strategy of giving hope to a troubled people by first *othering* his opponents, the PF negatively by condemning them for not paying attention to the agriculture sector, and that as a result people were suffering. So he assures the electorate that if they gave him a vote, the first thing he would do would be improving on agriculture so that people do not experience hunger in their homes, which he does through self-glorification. He assures, *Incinto ya namba wanu, tatulefwaya ukuponoka mumayanda ne nsala. Tulefwaya tubombele pamwene pabulimi* ‘The first task is that, we don’t want to starve in our homes, so we shall improve on agriculture’. This assurance is very powerful because many Zambians depended on Agriculture as a source of food as well as income to take their children to school and to buy other essential commodities. This assurance is important in that if the people did not perform well in agriculture, they would experience suffering that is two fold. They would not have enough to eat which would impact negatively on the country’s plight, and they would not have money to buy other commodities that they would need for survival. These factors would impact negatively on the development of the nation.

After assuring the audience of improving on agriculture, the speaker employs code switching now from Bemba to English. Bemba is the indigenous language in this part of the country, Mansa. The employment of intersentential code switching is completely inadvertent in that the speaker switches from Bemba to English without seemingly intending to do so. The other reason could be because he was addressing and assuring youths, the women and Zambians in general, of job creation and economic emancipation, and therefore was showing emphasis in this aspect. He made this assurance of improving the citizens’ lives for the better once elected as president of Zambia. The speaker makes use of this expression through lexicalisation. The assurance on economic independence complements the one on agriculture above, and therefore gives the candidate more confidence as having won the hearts of his audience in his campaign.

In addition, the assurance on job creation was a very persuasive strategy to wooing support of the electorate, since many youths at the time were jobless and there were very few amenities to keep them busy, as a result they were just roaming the streets. Besides, the cost of living was very high for the citizens and the promise on economic emancipation was a very good campaign strategy to convincing the electorate to supporting the candidate. The promises are made authentic through the use of code switching.

The speaker applies the logos aspect of rhetoric for he stresses on the point of improving on agriculture in order to improve the lives of people. When the agriculture sector thrives, it would then enable the citizens to lead healthy lives since they would have enough to eat and would be able to afford other commodities that they require in their lives. The use of metaphorical expressions also applies the pathos aspect in that upon hearing this message the audience is excited considering that they were going through hardships due to the bad economic conditions that were prevailing at the time. The Bemba phrase *twachula pafula* appeals to the psychology of the audience exploiting the pathos aspect of rhetoric. This expression combined with *mwakwayi*, used metaphorically, raise the emotions of the audience to consider supporting the candidate in the elections. The ethos aspect is expressed through the candidate showing his competence that the first task would be improving on agriculture working together with the people. The Kairos aspect comes out in that given the suffering, it was time to act to bring about formidable leadership in the country.

These expressions re-echoe Halliday's (1985) and Oktar's (2001) views, who demonstrate the symbiotic relation between language and ideology. This relationship is achieved by showing how social groups (*us* versus *them* or *we* versus *they*) and the representational processes as presented in political discourse, and how ideological discourse is constructed to juxtapose different political players or participants in a political process. The speech shows that linguistic choices play a fundamental role in the propagation and perpetuation of implicit and dominant ideologies. In this excerpt, the UPND candidate carefully chooses words building upon the agriculture sector and employs impressive word diction such as 'if you give us a vote, we shall work for you', '*twachula pafula*' and 'we want to work together in agriculture' so that there is no more hunger and to have surplus for sale. To create an effective impression, the speaker opts to express certain information in Bemba as elucidated above.

The findings are also in line with those of Horvath (2008) that in political campaign discourse, ideologies reside in texts, that it is not possible to 'read off' ideologies from texts and that texts

are open to diverse interpretations. The UPND candidate exploits the philosophy of hard work and team work through agriculture in order that people produce enough to eat and surplus for sale to generate income for survival and that all citizens would be happy as everyone would be treated fairly (section 2.3.4). These philosophies of hard work and team work are contained in the campaign message which is the text in this case. As the candidate campaigned, he was expressing his values as well as those of the party and these were strengthened by the use of code switching and expressed through metaphorical expressions. In this case expressing crucial information in the indigenous language acts as a rhetorical significance of code switching.

The speaker manipulates this philosophy through self-glorification focusing on his experience as he is successful in agriculture and farming himself. He also expresses this belief by alluding to history, on past achievement of the nation having had depended on agriculture in the past and the economy of the nation was doing well then.

As Benoit (2006) contends, political campaign discourse seeks to acclaim, that is, to inform the public about the good points of the politician, attack, or criticise the opponent and defend the politician against negative criticisms. The speaker exploits the idea of improving on agriculture showing the serious commitment by himself and the party, and the concern they have for the citizens of the country. In this way, he informed the public about his good points. He criticised his opponents through the use of the metaphorical expression ‘twachula pafula’. He defended himself against negative criticism by employing the skill of self-glorification. These views, with the help of code switching, in turn reveal the party’s policies and its values confirming its seriousness and formidability.

As the speaker is articulating these pertinent issues by making use of code switching and metaphorical expressions, the audience is able to comprehend the speaker’s message by taking into account the context and the IGMs employed. In line with the Rhetorical framework, the speaker employs deliberative kind of rhetoric as given by Aristotle, by putting up a convincing argument about the real issues which were happening regarding agriculture in the country (Garver 1998:307). The argument came out clearly with the help of code switching in convincing the electorate. The audience understands the philosophical implications of the words of the speaker through the context, and are in turn persuaded to supporting the candidate.

7.3 Code switching and Rhetorical Devices

In this section, the aspects of code switching with the exploitation of certain rhetorical devices in the discourse are presented. The UPND candidate Mr Hakainde Hichilema, employed code switching and rhetorical devices, to demonstrate his commitment to improving the country once elected, by using his power of discourse thereby persuading the audience. He achieved this perspective by promising to improving the agriculture sector by reducing the prices of farming inputs, in excerpt 11 below.

Excerpt 11

... Bulimi bwafwa, bulimi wabujaya Lungu. Fertiliser mwaubona mbwadula, bali bongaye bantu bakonzya kuula fertiliser? That's why twafwa nzala mu maanda. Ono amuteelele nobana bakwesu. Amubone bantu Zambia yoonse yacinca....

When the PF guys come trying to buy your voter's cards, catch them, take them to the police. Zyimwi ndamwambila kale...

'...Agriculture has been destroyed, agriculture has been destroyed by Lungu. Have you seen how expensive fertiliser is? That's why we are starving in our homes. Now listen my sisters and brothers. See the people, Zambia as a whole has changed...

When the PF guys come trying to buy your voter's cards, catch them, take them to the police. Other things I have already told you about...'

Figure 5 below shows HH during one of his campaign tours in Choma.

Figure 5: HH commences Southern Province Campaign Tour – July 18, 2016



Mr Hakainde Hichilema was speaking in Choma, the provincial capital of Southern province. He employed code switching between English and Tonga. Tonga is the indigenous language as well as lingua franca of the area and in his address, the speaker used plateau Tonga which is the standard variety of Tonga and is therefore the main language spoken in Choma. In his address to the audience, the speaker outlined his vision for the country once elected as Republican president. At this particular rally, he also warned against vote buying that, if it is not checked, it might derail Zambia's chance to other progressive leadership.

The UPND candidate began by expressing himself concerning the agricultural sector that it had allegedly been killed by Mr Lungu who was the Republican president at the time, for having employed bad practices or policies on agriculture. The speaker made use of negative *them* presentation of his opponents, the PF. In *othering* the PF, Mr Hichilema used lexicalisation (Lipka 1992; Harty 2005). At the same time, the speaker employs intra sentential type of code switching as he code switches within the same sentence.

The speaker gave an example of the high prices of farming inputs, fertiliser in particular, which was making peasant farmers find it difficult to progress in agriculture as they could not afford

them. He then code switched to English and back to Tonga in the same sentence thus employing intra sentential type of code switching ...*That's why twafwa nzala mu maanda...*, which is switching within the sentence (Li Wei, 2000 & Myers-Scotton, 1989). The switching is emphasising the point that the high prices of fertiliser was the reason why people were starving in homes. Mr Hichilema pragmatically makes use of this phrase; ...*twafwa nzala mumaanda...*, to convey peculiar meanings according to the context which could not be achieved through the English language.

It should be noted that the Tonga are self-reliant people who depend very much on agriculture by producing enough to eat for their families and surplus for sale in order for them to buy other necessities and to paying for their children's education. They would therefore have been happier if the government put in place good policies in the agricultural sector for their benefit. The UPND candidate therefore took advantage of this point to promising the people of Choma that when elected as president, he would improve the agriculture sector for their good. The code switching emphasising the reason why people were starving, and how the candidate would improve the situation, is employed as a rhetorical strategy to winning support of the electorate.

The speaker also made use of another important phrase in his speech *Ono amuteelele nobana bakwesu...* 'now listen my brothers and sisters', whose function is two fold. Firstly, by making use of this phrase, the speaker conveys a certain cultural meaning which presents the candidate as being deeply concerned with the audience and very much attached to them in a special way and that he would improve their plight as a fellow citizen. This expression could only be better achieved when using a local dialect, in this case Tonga, than it would when the English language is used. Secondly, the expression in the local dialect conveys that the speaker is closer to the people and that he was one of them as their brother, which makes the electorate to be secure in his presence. These phrases are therefore employed as rhetorical devices to winning support of the electorate.

After emphasising the improvement on agriculture, the speaker employs inter sentential code switching from Tonga to English advising the people not to allow the PF to buy voter's cards from them. Inter sentential code switching is code switching done between sentences (Lipka 1992; Harty 2005) (section 3.3). The speaker emphasises that the practice of vote buying might end up ushering wrong leaders into office at the expense of progressive ones. This advice was timely and hence the emphasis. After this progressive advice, the speaker code switches back to Tonga with the emphasis that they should take heed of the other pieces of advice given to

them at the beginning of the speech. The reason for this switching was to feel closer to the people and to emphasise those very important points of his speech and to express certain information clearly and freely in Tonga which is employed as a rhetorical strategy. The other reason was to exclude other people such as his opponents from the conversation.

As the Rhetorical framework postulates, the expressions in this excerpt are rhetorical devices combined with code switching to create certain impressions in the discourse. First, the speaker applies logos, which is the use of logical ideas to appeal to the audience. The speaker here employs the logos aspect of rhetoric by referring to the 'expensive inputs and that the whole Zambia had changed' which appeals to the logic of the audience (section 2.1.1). The speaker applied the pathos type of rhetoric which is an appeal to the audience's emotions when he explains that agriculture had been destroyed and that is why people were starving in homes (section 2.1.1). In addition, the Tonga expression, ...*ono amuteelele nobana bakwesu*... 'now listen my brothers and sisters', vividly expresses the pathos aspect, as it shows the concern the speaker had towards the audience. This view affirms Krystyna Wróblewska-Pawlak and Monika Kostro (2004)'s argument that the forms of address could be regarded as a rhetorical means that facilitates each speaker to build his/her ethos in the course of the interaction with the addressee. The form of address ...*ono amuteelele nobana bakwesu*..., bring about a precise type of social relation between the the speaker Mr Hichilema and the audience. The ethos type of rhetoric is further expressed when the speaker advises the audience to guard against vote buying thereby describing the guiding tenets that characterise a community, nation, or ideology (Conley, 1991) (section 3.1.1).

These findings are in line with those of Michira (2014) who demonstrates that language is a formidable tool that politicians employ during political campaigns to communicate their policies and philosophical positions. He further avows that politicians make use of rhetorical devices as well as certain insights in order to influence and manipulate the electorate with a view to gaining an advantage over their opponents (section 3.3.1). In the above excerpt, Mr Hichilema makes use of code switching to convey certain meanings in his discourse to achieve certain effects in the mind of the electorate and influence them to believing in his message. For instance, instead of using English regarding the destruction of the agriculture sector, Mr Hichilema chooses to express himself in the indigenous language: *Bulimi bwafwa, bulimi wabujaya Lungu* 'agriculture is dead, Lungu has destroyed agriculture'. The extent of the damage done on agriculture is described vividly in the indigenous language than it would if expressed in English. This shows the rhetorical significance of code switching.

The arguments presented here also concur with the findings of Rozina and Karapetjana (2009) who submitted that the linguistic manipulation can be considered as an influential instrument of political rhetoric. The speaker uses code switching by combining the rhetorical devices in selecting words that appeal to the psychology of the electorate. The aim as always in politics, is soliciting for support from the electorate (see section 2.7).

Besides, these views re-echo Jarraya's (2013) findings that certain emotions can better be conveyed more effectively in a local dialect than in a standard language. In the case of Zambia and politics, the official language used in politics is English, but the speaker chooses to code switch onto Tonga, the indigenous language of the area, to convey certain messages and emotions that can be better comprehended in Tonga. Besides, other than through linguistic tools, as Jarraya further posits, persuasion can also be achieved through the understanding of the context, which Mr Hichilema exploits very well in this text (section 2.3.1). Mr Hichilema therefore manages to parallel persuasion with a good awareness of the context, through promising to improve on agriculture the main activity of the area, and making use of certain effective linguistic devices in Tonga, thereby winning the hearts of the electorate. Address forms such as *nobana bakwesu* 'my brothers and sisters', convey certain cultural meanings that contribute to the message being persuasive.

Furthermore, these suggestions tend to agree with Van Dijk (2006) who affirms that political discourse can be narrowed down to the set of activities politicians involve themselves in. Constructions of political discourse topics, coherence, lexical style, disclaimers, and rhetorical features may expose much about the distinctive character of this discourse. The rhetorical devices employed by Mr Hichilema, such as *bulimi bwafwa* 'agriculture has been destroyed' and *...bulimi... wabujaya Lungu* 'agriculture has destroyed by Mr Lungu' as well as *...fertilizer mwaubona mbwadula...?* 'have you seen how expensive fertiliser is?' are typical of political discourse. The effect of these rhetorical devices is made stronger through the employment of code switching, *...that's why twafwa nzala mumaanda...* 'that is why we are starving in homes'. In addition, the polarized views of *us - them* presentation are expressed to discourage the electorate from voting for the other party, the PF and encouraging them to vote for the speaker and his party, the UPND. This perspective is achieved through the use of code switching.

Moreover, as Opeibi (2009) avows, code switching is used as a strategy meant to show that the politicians are themselves part of the audience, not only as a means of reaching the majority of the voters who are barely literate. Mr Hichilema shows that he is part of the audience.

7.4 Code switching and Polarization

This section presents how the UPND candidate employed polarized views of in-group positive *us* presentation of themselves and out-group *them* negative presentation of their opponents through code switching. The UPND candidate, Mr Hakainde Hichilema, achieved this view by assuring the people of Chingola and Kankoyo that he understood their challenges and that the UPND when in government, would work hard to improve the welfare of the citizens. He persuaded the electorate to vote for him in the excerpt below by making use of both inter sentential and intra sentential type of code switching in his discourse.

Excerpt 12

Abena Chingola mulishani... mulishani... mulishani... mukwayi....?

I feel pit for the PF government and it's bad. Prosperity... kulefwaikwa ubunoshi, teeti mwakane ubupina (crowd aweee...) kuti mwakana ubupina? (crowd aweee...) kuti bantu bayakana ubupina...? (crowd aweee...).

But ubunonshi kuti mwaakana tefyo? Eyeee...

So united Prosperous.....

... not bambi balelya natufumo twakula ehee... bambi balechula ... bambi balelala nensala ... bambi balelya baleikuta everyday.... tee fairness iyo...

'Chingola residents how are you, how are you ...?'

I feel pit for the PF government and it's bad. Property needs riches that's why we cannot share poverty; can you share poverty? Can people live in poverty? But we can only share riches.

We don't need people who are full of themselves eating and enjoying with pot bellies developing, while others languish in poverty. Some people are sleeping on empty bellies while others are eating everyday.... that is not being fair...'

The UPND candidate was soliciting for votes and did so directly from the electorate while campaigning in Chingola. He gave a promise of improving the plight of the people by bringing prosperity to them, to ensure they vote for him. The speaker began by saluting the electorate in Bemba, *abena Chingola mulishani mukwayi...*, a greeting which denotes some respect to the audience. The desired effect would not have been achieved if the speaker simply saluted ‘how are you people of Chingola?’ therefore, the way the speaker used the local language to address the electorate is a rhetorical device. ‘Mukwayi’ is an address form culturally used to denote deep respect in Bemba and its employment in this situation achieves a lot in terms of persuading the audience.

The speaker then code switches to English and employed negative *other* presentation when he says that he feels pity for PF government for having mismanaged the affairs of the country. He continued with self-glorification, using lexicalisation by showing commitment to improving the welfare of the citizens by promising that he would make them prosper. This promise is made by making use of intra sentential code switching, where the speaker switches within the same sentence whose aim is to show that he was closer to the electorate. He crowns his promise on prosperity by the phrase ‘... so united ...prosperous’, by code switching back to English. The speaker was emphasising on the importance of unity that people can prosper when they are united, which was timely advice. This expression was better expressed and comprehended in English than it would if done in Bemba. That was the purpose of this code switching. When the UPND candidate said these words, he presented himself as a better leader than his opponents thereby winning support of the electorate.

The speaker then code switches from English to Bemba in the next paragraph using inter sentential code switching emphasising that as a party they were going to make sure that everyone is treated fairly in the country. The switching to Bemba from English and then English to Bemba is to complement the point on the importance of treating everyone equally regardless of tribe, gender or political affiliation. The switching is also meant to fit in so that the people feel that they are closer to the candidate.

In the next sentence, the speaker code switches to English and then back to Bemba ... *not bambi balelya natufumo twakula ehee... bambi balechula ... bambi balelala nensala ... bambi balelya baleikuta everyday.... tee fairness iyo...*, ‘not some are eating developing pot bellies... others are suffering... some are sleeping on empty bellies... others are eating are satisfied everyday... that not fairness...’ continuing with intra sentential type of code switching. The speaker gave

an instance of fairness which is very crucial that all citizens must enjoy accessing the basic needs of their lives everyday. He spoke of food as one of the basic needs that needed to be provided to all citizens in order for all to enjoy freedom. Ensuring that they would be enough food to eat, entailed the improvement of the agriculture sector, and the emphasis by the speaker. Using code switching, the speaker tries hard to convince the electorate in his favour.

Amidst the intra sentential code switching, the speaker employs parallel structure. The use of the pronouns and verbs; ‘... some are eating, ‘... while others are suffering... some are eating getting satisfied with pot bellies developing ... others are sleeping on empty bellies...’ Parallelism here is employed to emphasise the importance of being fair as a leader and that these are bad vices that the UPND would eradicate once elected into office. Besides, the rhetorical device of parallelism has contributed to making the language beautiful to the ears of the audience thereby appealing to the psychology of the electorate. When expressed in the indigenous language, the parallelism device comes out aesthetically capturing the attention of the audience ... *not bambi balelya ... bambi balechula ... bambi balelala nensala ... bambi balelya baleikuta everyday...* This assurance through the employment of parallelism is a powerful rhetorical device to winning support of the electorate.

At the same time, the device of parallelism through intra sentential code switching, is meant to expose the PF and their allegedly bad vices such as discriminating against people on tribal lines and political affiliation through negative *other* presentation. So the UPND are assuring the electorate that all of this suffering would be completely eradicated once they formed government. The speaker positively presents himself by promising prosperity and that everyone would have enough to eat, thus treating everyone equally.

It is also important to note that Mr Hichilema was accompanied by a number of party officials who included Bob Sichinga, Guy Scott and Geoffrey Bwalya Mwamba. Geoffrey Bwalya Mwambw was the running mate to Mr Hakainde Hichilema and was presented at this rally like they did at many other rallies. As pointed out in chapter one of this thesis, the issue of running mate was one of the crucial clauses in the new constitution under which the 2016 elections were held and therefore affected the campaign discourse of these elections (section 1.2.3; Appendix II). The UPND uses the factor of a running mate as a useful tool for persuading the electorate to supporting them during the elections. This strategy could have persuaded the electorate to voting for the UPND on the polling day.

These findings are in line with those of Kuzio (2013) who investigated frames of self-presentation in constructing persuasive messages and concluded that politicians employ persuasive techniques in their discourse. In the above excerpt, the UPND candidate made use of polarization by presenting himself positively and his opponents negatively through the employment of code switching between the English language and the indigenous language. This polarization was employed in order to semantically enrich his political discourse (section 2.7). The speaker employs the *us* versus *them* presentation by *othering* the PF that they were eating or enjoying while others were starving, which was not fair. He presents himself positively that he would improve on agriculture to make sure that everybody has enough to eat and enjoys their life.

The speaker applies the pathos and logos aspects of rhetoric in the text. He expresses the pathos aspect by addressing the chingola residents using the word '*mukwayi*' combining with the repetitive of the word *mulishani*? 'how are you?'. These words convey certain emotions that contribute to the message being persuasive. The audience feel valued by these expressions and receive the message positively. The logos aspect is expressed when the speaker stresses the fact that it is not fair that a few people should be enjoying, eating everyday with pot bellies developing, while others are starving in their homes. He emphasises fairness with the point that wealth should be shared equally so that everybody enjoys as opposed to a situation where only a few individuals enjoy. These expressions negatively *other* the speaker's opponents, the ruling party.

In addition, the arguments are in line with those of Andreassen (2007), that politicians cement their legacies through the language they use, by access to influential discourses, and through power of definition. The speaker here glorifies himself that he would do good to the people improving their welfare and prosperity. He assures that as a party they did not want to see people suffering, such as not having enough to eat or being discriminated against on the basis of tribe, gender or political affiliation. As Andreassen (2007) further submits, politicians glorify their own good achievements, and heavily criticise and blame their opponents for almost everything that goes wrong in the country (section 2.3.2). Mr Hakainde Hichilema glorified his activities that he would work very hard for the citizens, improving their plight and providing an enabling environment in order to eradicate the challenges citizens were facing. These challenges included, lack of employment, inadequate food, and poor health facilities, due to the government's poor policies. The speaker blames the PF for all these problems. At the same time, the UPND candidate presented his opponents the PF negatively as a way of winning

support from the electorate, which the UPND candidate achieves by making use of code switching.

Furthermore, the results re-echo what Bista (2009) avows, that political candidates make use of modal verbs to highlight their political will, nerve and confidence in addressing an allegedly disheartened citizenry. This exploitation of modal verbs is done in an endeavour to inspire and motivate them along the viewpoints of advancement and prosperity (section 2.3.3). The point to be taken cognisance of is that the use of *can* in ‘...but we can share riches’ gives the message a serious tone given the senses of promise, possibility and ability that are likely to be elicited by the modal auxiliary verb. The modal verb here is employed as a rhetorical device to achieving persuasion in the discourse. The electorate most likely received the message positively and could have been persuaded to vote for the candidate.

Finally, these views are in line with those of Mwiinga (2015) who explicates that politicians’ discourse is characterised by unequal power relations and discursive polarization presented by a world view of ‘us’ versus ‘them’ of positive *us* presentation and negative *them* presentation (section 2.2). The unequal power relations are brought out through the expression that some people are enjoying, having three meals a day with pot bellies developing, while others are starving. The speaker attributes this kind of unequal relations to the unfairness of the party that was in government and that when elected into office, he would ensure fairness of all individuals in terms of resource allocation. He employs this polarization, through code switching, as a rhetoric device in order to win support of the electorate.

In line with the Rhetorical framework, the views here confirm the idea that rhetoric refers to how people use language in communicating their ideas in an endeavour to win over an audience. The speaker employs code switching and other linguistic devices to convince the audience of his standpoint thereby achieving persuasion (Kangira, 2005). While employing code switching, he promises the audience prosperity and good welfare, justifying that he is a fair leader and therefore deserved to be voted for as president.

In conclusion we can say that the political candidate under study, employed code switching as a powerful persuasive strategy for winning the hearts of the electorate. Besides, the politician under examination, perceived language as the underpinning of social construction and therefore took advantage of the relationship between the use of language and the importance of insights. The candidate therefore, selected linguistic elements carefully to express his values as well as those of his party to inform the electorate of his intentions. To make sure that he creates a good

impression and win the hearts of the electorate, the political candidate employed code switching from English to the indigenous language and from the indigenous language back to English depending on the context and the impression he wished to convey. The skill of code switching in these contexts was employed as a rhetoric device to achieving persuasion. To come out better than his opponents, the political candidate made use of polarized views of *us* versus *them* presentation of himself and of his opponents respectively in his campaign messages. When complemented with code switching, these aspects turned out to be powerful rhetorical strategies for the candidate to winning support of the electorate.

7.5 Summary of Chapter

The chapter has presented and analysed how the presidential candidate under study expressed his ambitions through the exploitation of code switching in his political campaigns. The analysis reveals that the candidate employed code switching in order to show his power and status by employing certain linguistic elements. Besides, the candidate engaged in code switching in order to reveal his party's ideologies. In addition, the political candidate made use of a combination of code switching and rhetorical devices to deliver his campaign message and achieve his objectives in his discourse. Furthermore, the chapter has indicated that the candidate used code switching as well as polarized views of positive *us* presentation of themselves and negative *them* presentation of his opponents as rhetorical devices to winning support of the electorate.

CHAPTER EIGHT

RHETORICAL FUNCTION OF PRESUPPOSITION IN CAMPAIGN DISCOURSE

8.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the rhetorical function of presupposition as exploited in the presidential campaign discourse by the candidate under investigation during the campaign rallies running to 11th August 2016 elections. The analysis answers the research question and objective number four which aims at analysing rhetorical function of presupposition in the presidential election campaign discourse of the candidate under examination.

8.1 Presupposition and Conversational Implicature

This section presents how the candidate under study employed presupposition and conversational implicature in his campaign discourse in order to achieve his ambitions, that is, to win the August 11, 2016 presidential elections.

During the launch of their campaigns, the UPND observed the following:

Excerpt 13

Ladies and gentlemen, in 1964, a crop of politicians, led by our first President Dr Kenneth Kaunda took decisive actions and fought long and hard battles against the colonialists, for which we remain grateful. Then in 1991 the reintroduction of multi-party politics was another landmark stage. In 2011 when the PF took office, Zambia was firmly on the path to middle income status but look at where we are now?

Colleagues and fellow citizens, wherever we go today what we see is broken promises, broken roads, broken pipes, broken souls and broken dreams. Go to Wusakile, Chamboli, Bulangililo, you will see the suffering there. We cannot continue like this. President Lungu and the PF have ravaged our economy through mismanagement and ransacked our treasury through corruption.

The speaker begins by highlighting the landmark events that had occurred in the country since independence, thus praising the heroic past achievements of the country. However, the speaker is quick to turn to the negative *other* presentation in the sentence, ...*In 2011 when the PF took office, Zambia was firmly on the path to middle income status...* The speaker presupposes that the audience is aware and knows that Zambia was relatively doing well economically by 2011 when PF took over office. He also makes use of presupposition and conversational implicature in which he flouts the conversational maxim of quantity to convey additional information which he does not literally express.

The speaker asserts that at that time things were not good in the country by the phrase, ... *but look at where we are now?* We can assume that the speaker is following the cooperative principle, and that in spite of flouting the maxim of relevance as Kordić (1991) avows, the statement has an additional nonliteral meaning, such as: ‘The country is facing a lot of problems economically’ which the audience were well aware of (section 3.5.4.1.1). The implication is that the economy of the country had been affected negatively and that the citizens were aware of that and that even during the campaign, the electorate were able to comprehend how bad the economy was. The speaker does not even continue to amplify what he meant by the phrase because the audience were able to make inferences of its meaning within the discourse. Thus presupposing that the citizens comprehended the extent to which the PF had negatively affected the economy of the country, which was doing fine at the time they were taking over government in 2011. He also presupposes that the audience was aware of the suffering that people were going through as a result of the PF’s style of leadership. This view, according to Chilton and Schaffner (1997), is making assumptions about realities that hearers are obliged to accept at least temporarily, in that this phrase is persuasive and is capable of making the citizens realise that PF did not have much to offer. In turn, the audience could have been persuaded to vote for the speaker and his party as the speaker seemed to have had the capacity to changing ‘the bad state’ in which the country was by ‘fixing’ and ‘controlling’ the economy as claimed in their manifesto (Appendix III).

Further assumption about what the audience knew is presented in the phrase ...*wherever we go today what we see is broken promises, broken roads, broken pipes, broken souls and broken dreams.* In this utterance, the speaker exploits another type of general conversational implicature. He invokes a maxim as a basis for interpreting the utterance. The speaker invokes the maxim of relevance resulting in the implicature that the electorate see and do experience these vices every day and everywhere. The phrase also presents an exaggeration that anywhere

one goes they see only negative or bad, which is a situation beyond redemption. This negative perception is intensified by the use of metaphorical expressions such as *broken souls* and other aspects which helps the electorate to come to a realisation of how bad things had been in the country. This expression is a rhetorical strategy aimed at changing the minds of the citizens to vote for the speaker and his party as a solution to the many problems the people were facing.

The speaker is even more explicit in the next sentence with lexicalisation, ...*Go to Wusakile, Chamboli, Bulangililo, you will see the suffering there*. Even though he makes mention of the places where people were suffering, he does not itemise the problems that were being faced, leaving it to the audience to fill in, thus flouting the maxim of quantity. The use of the phrase *the suffering* through nominalization is a powerful rhetorical device which is realised through presupposition. The usage of this phrase affirms the view that the utterance can generally be connected with a specific lexical element or grammatical item, which is a presupposition trigger, in the utterance. The speaker further crowns it all by offering a more heart-capturing expression to the electorate by the phrase, ...*We cannot continue like this*, in which he deliberately flouts the maxim of relevance, and the utterance has additional information not literally expressed, in this case the electorate had to do something. The speaker presupposes that the audience knew they had to do something about their lives by choosing a better leader by exercising their power through the ballot box, if they had to live happy lives. The idea being brought out here is that a presupposition is a background belief relating to an utterance that must be equally acknowledged or presumed by the presenter and addressee for the utterance to be considered applicable in the context. Also that the utterance will remain a crucial assumption whether the utterance is placed in the usage of an assertion, denial, or question (Frawley, 2003). Presupposition in this context is employed as a rhetorical device to solicit and ultimately win the support of the electorate.

The excerpt ends with negative *other* presentation of the PF that they did not mean well for the people because they were corrupt and mismanaged the economy of the country. The speaker expressed himself with the words, *President Lungu and the PF have ravaged our economy through mismanagement and ransacked our treasury through corruption*. The speaker employs presupposition and implicature by assuming that the audience is aware of how the PF candidate had mismanaged the economy of the nation and implies that they believed that the PF candidate should not be given a chance to continue reigning, respectively. This is an effective strategy of persuading the electorate to vote for the UPND for better results, and not the PF that had

allegedly caused them suffering. Further, the expression is specific by singling out the PF presidential candidate Mr Edgar Lungu as incapable of continuing to govern the country.

The logos aspect of rhetoric is exploited by the speaker from the rhetoric question that he poses; but look at where we are now? He goes on to explaining the unfulfilled promises and deeds by the PF to the citizens, which resulted in the suffering of the people. These included broken promises, roads, pipes, and dreams. In other words, the PF was unable to fulfil the promises made to the people and expectations of the electorate. The speaker then exploits the pathos aspect by indicating that the incumbent president had ravaged the economy and ransacked the treasury of the nation through mismanagement and indulging in corrupt practices. This expression appeals to the emotions of the audience and most likely persuaded them to seek alternative leadership. These rhetorical aspects are employed to persuade the electorate to supporting the candidate during the elections. With these expressions, the audience is able to realise that the economy of the country was being driven backwards. On the other hand, with the expression ‘...but look at where we are now?’, the speaker expresses the ethos aspect of rhetoric. The utterance demonstrates that the speaker is a competent individual capable of applying his knowledge regarding the affairs of the nation, especially the economy. This expression could have contributed to persuading the audience to supporting the candidate.

This view tends to agree with that of Chilton (2004), who posits that the representation and misrepresentation of strategic functions are pan-human discursive functions. These functions in turn correspond with van Dijk’s ‘ideological square’ of emphasising good things of *us* and emphasising bad things of *them* practices. The two strategic functions are connected to legitimisation and delegitimation (see section 1.10.2.1). The UPND presented themselves as better people who would rule the country better than their opponents the PF, by employing positive *us* presentation and negative *them* presentation respectively. The UPND candidate achieves this presentation by use of presupposition that the audience are aware of how much the PF had damaged the economy of the nation. This is true in that the discourse of the UPND candidate also establishes a distinction between a supposedly free, just and developed (utopic) *us* and a dictatorial, illegitimate, terrorist and uncivilised (dystopic) *them* as posited by Muzid (2007) (section 2.5).

In the same vein, in his earlier study Chilton (1998) submits that it is generally accepted that the strategy that one group of individuals takes to make the other group of people do what it

intends to be done is known as a rhetorical strategy. It involves manipulative application of the language. Therefore, 'linguistic manipulation is the conscious use of language in a devious way to control the others'. The UPND candidate seemingly controls the audience through the manipulation of language by employing presupposition as a rhetorical device.

These arguments are also supported by Jones and Peccei (2004) who posit that presupposition and implicature are tools that can lead a listener to make assumptions about the existence of information that is not made explicit in what is actually said, but that might be deduced from what was said. In this case the utterance by the speaker ... *but look at where we are now?* implies a lot of things such as the bad economy which the audience are able to fill in, even though the speaker never talked about them, and the audience tends to agree with what is implied. As Jones and Peccei (2004) further postulate, such technique is particularly useful in political discourse because it can make it more difficult for the audience to identify or reject views communicated this way, persuading people to take for granted something which is actually open to debate. Kadmon (2001) adds that a presupposition is an implicit assumption about the world or background belief with regard to an utterance whose truth is taken for granted in political discourse (section 3.5.3).

The speaker also employs a rhetorical strategy after outlining the many problems brought about by the PF to offer hope by indicating that as a nation we cannot continue with this same kind of situation. There was an urgent need to come out of that situation. This view is a very persuasive and effective rhetorical function of presupposition to convincing the electorate to voting out the PF so as not to continue with that negative state of affairs. Rhetorical function refers to the rational relationships that bind parts of a text together. In this way then the electorate would be persuaded to vote for the UPND and Mr Hichilema.

Furthermore, the views confirm those of Rozina and Karapetjana's (2009) who submitted that linguistic manipulation can be considered as an influential instrument of political rhetoric in that politicians manipulate language in their speeches to enhance their political ideologies by employing certain rhetorical devices. Mr Hichilema achieves this perspective by carefully selecting the linguistic units to accomplish his intended goals (section 2.7).

In addition, these views are in line with Andreassen (2007), that politicians always glorify their own good achievements, and heavily criticise and blame their opponents for what is wrong in the country with a view to winning the electorate (section 2.5). The UPND candidate expresses this view by exposing that the PF had destroyed the economy of the nation and that people

were suffering everywhere in the country. The speaker therefore glorifies himself by assuring the electorate that he would control (tukakontolola) and fix (tukangulisha) the economy and everything else that had gone wrong in the country (Appendix III).

The UPND candidate persuades the electorate into believing in him and his party. In this way then, as van Dijk (1998) submits, the analysis of presupposition is a formidable tool for detecting what speakers think or know that recipients believe in. It is also a useful tool for locating strategic moves by which speakers propose that specific presupposed beliefs are real.

This perspective further re-echoes Muzid's (2007) findings who affirms that these functions and ideological operations are performed, at least partly, through presuppositions and propaganda devices. Propaganda devices in this speech include presenting a hopeless situation everywhere, that wherever one goes they see broken promises, broken pipes and suffering everywhere. The speaker crowned this perspective by imploring the electorate that such a situation cannot be allowed to continue and hence the need for change (section 2.5).

In agreement with the Rhetorical theory and as Perelman (1980) posits, rhetorical centers on argumentation. According to Perelman rhetoric depends on how one puts up their argument to achieve their objective. That is, to convince the audience of one's standpoint depends on the skill that they exploit to win an argument. In the text, Mr Hicilema, presents his argument very well and tries hard to convince the audience. Hansons (1997) complements Perelman's theory that the purpose of all argumentation is to gain adherence of minds, and by so doing, assumes the presence of an intellectual contact and that this contact of minds creates a community of minds.

8.2 Presupposition and Polarization in Political Discourse

The UPND capitalised on their slogan and party symbol 'going forward' to express presupposition through polarization by stressing on driving the nation by fixing the economy, unity, and fair treatment of all citizens in the excerpt below.

Excerpt 14

Thank you Chongwe! The energy you showed us today was fantastic. We are now asking you to use that energy to turn out and vote in numbers on 11th August.

We want to move Zambia forward but we want to do this together as one nation. Unity is the cornerstone of our vision.

Our 10 Point Plan will fix the economy and create opportunities for all our people, from early years' education right through to employment and beyond. Everyone must be able to access these opportunities, regardless of gender, tribe, political affiliation or wealth.

Mr Hakainde Hichilema, was speaking at a campaign rally in Chongwe on 5th August 2016. He begins by urging the electorate to be united, ...*We want to move Zambia forward but we want to do this together as one nation. Unity is the cornerstone of our vision.* The speaker preaches about unity and its importance and makes use of a figurative expression to emphasise how he and his party value unity. This is a rhetorical strategy in that the assumption was that at the time, the nation was not united on tribal lines and there was a presupposition that the citizens were aware of the disunity. At the same time, the speaker is *othering* the PF negatively since the implication is that the ruling party was responsible for the disunity in the country by discriminating people on tribal lines and political affiliation. The presupposition through polarization employed here is a persuasive act to winning the support of the electorate in that the electorate would be persuaded to believing in the speaker since everyone would like to be recognised and respected as a citizen.

The speaker expands the idea of fixing the economy of the nation in the subsequent lines; *Our 10 Point Plan will fix the economy and create opportunities for all our people, from early years' education right through to employment and beyond.* This inclusive ten point plan (Appendix IV) of healing the country's problems which included improving the bad economy and creating job opportunities for all from early education through to employment, retirement age till death is a powerful strategy. This expression is done through positive *us* presentation of the UPND. It presupposes complete trust in the UPND in that one would have access to personal amenities at all levels throughout and be safe all through life. The idea is complete in the next sentence, ...*Everyone must be able to access these opportunities, regardless of gender, tribe, political affiliation or wealth.* This expression demonstrates the idea of unity being the cornerstone of their vision in that it offers complete assurance to women, men, people of different tribes, even those who supported different political parties, and the rich together with the poor. What is presupposed here is that the government that was in power was not inclusive;

some tribes could not have been treated as others were, or those who held divergent views could not have been treated fairly. This information is not expressed literally in the text but it is implied through polarization and the speaker knows that the audience was aware of this problem. In this way the speaker presents a *negative them* of the PF as a party in government. This idea therefore persuades those who were negatively affected in the nation by those vices mentioned above and others who were not happy about the situation, to automatically support and vote for the speaker, for offering hope to a troubled situation.

The last sentence gives more self-glorification through lexicalisation. The UPND candidate assures the people that he would look after the nation very well, implying that people would be happy the way he would govern the country so much that they would wish they had elected him earlier than that time. The implication was that the nation was not well managed and that the speaker would *control* the situation and hence the slogan *tukakontrolola* ‘we will control.’ This view presents a persuasive statement to soliciting for votes thereby gaining political mileage.

The speaker in the text applies the ethos, logos and pathos aspects of rhetoric. He exploits the ethos aspect in that he presents himself as a credible person capable of ruling a country like Zambia, by indicating that he would fix the problems that were being experienced in the country and create opportunities for all citizens. The logos aspect is employed when the speaker insists that ‘we are moving Zambia forward but we want to do this together as a nation’ and that unit was the cornerstone of their vision. The speaker made use of the pathos aspect of rhetoric when he indicated that everyone should be able to access all the opportunities that would be created regardless of their gender, political affiliation or social standing in society. This expression was meant to affect the audience emotionally especially that discrimination against tribe and political affiliation was rampant at the time. The appeal to the emotional aspect of the audience was meant to convince and ultimately to persuade them to support the candidate.

This view tends to agree with the findings of Andreassen (2007), that in political discourse, candidates are fighting two battles; that is, both for themselves as well as for their parties and by so doing create polarized views of *us* presentation versus *them* presentation (section 2.5). Besides, the assurance that when the UPND ascends to power, the country would be united, where all citizens would be free regardless of tribe, race, gender, political affiliation, wealth or ethnicity, affirms that the philosophy of the party is present in the discourse used by the

candidate. The desire to unite the nation through love and freedom shows a legacy which every citizen would expect from a would be president. This perspective further confirms the idea that politicians tend to glorify their activities and condemn those of the opposing side. In this case the UPND candidate glorified himself through the good deeds his party had done and what he was yet to do, once elected to power as established by Andreassen (2007). At the same time, the candidate condemned the activities of the PF such as discrimination of citizens on the basis of tribe or ethnicity and political affiliation. Polarization therefore is employed by making use of presupposition as a rhetorical device to winning support of the electorate.

The stance by the UPND candidate agrees with Michira's (2014) findings, that language is a formidable tool that politicians employ to communicate policies and ideological positions to the electorate. It also affirms the other conclusion of Michira (2014) that politicians tend to create certain insights in their discourse in order to influence and manipulate the votes with a view to gaining an advantage over their opponents by making use of presupposition. The skill of creation of insights through supposition is a rhetorical device whose function is to persuade the electorate. The UPND candidate uses language as a tool to gaining popularity as well as to winning votes. Thus the speaker chose the words carefully and combined them to produce discourse that was convincing to the audience. In this way then, as Michira (2014) avows, language serves as "a means to realising politicians' ambitions." (section 2.3.1).

In addition, the findings are in line with those of Jost and Olmsted (2004), who submit that rhetoric gives an analytical lens to explore and deliberate on how to carry oneself accurately and effectively in connection with the question of speech, and the audience, and to engage means to identify the associations between texts and contexts. The speaker is conveying a message that he would rule the country fairly by creating a conducive environment in which every citizen would be free and happy and this message is communicated indirectly and could only be understood through the context. In this case, the speaker's promise to providing opportunities for all to realising their potential is comprehended through the context.

Furthermore, the assertion that in the process of campaigning, language plays a crucial role in that every move, has to be "prepared, accompanied, influenced and played through language" (Fairclough, 1995) has been confirmed. The speaker's first plan is using language effectively, his plans are influenced through language, the ideas are accompanied and played by language with a view to convincing the electorate. The speaker used language persuasively by employing presupposition and implicature.

The argument presented here also exploits the positive *us* versus *them* negative presentation which are intimately tied up with ‘polarization’ of in-group versus out-group ideologies as posited by Rashidi and Souzandehfar (2010). The speaker implies that he is a better leader than the incumbent president as he presents himself as one who is capable of ‘fixing’ the problems in the country and creating better opportunities for the citizens. The expressions reveal the rhetorical function of presupposition through polarization (see section 2.5).

In line with the Rhetorical analytical framework, these views confirm those of Burke (1969), that the rhetorical procedure focuses on identification and partition. Burke contends that the division of people leads to identification and this in turn links people as they endeavour to bring together that which was detached. In terms of division, the candidate under investigation employs polarization in his campaign speech to show how different his party is from those of his opponents and at the same time seeking identification with the audience and the citizens at large (section 3.1).

8.3 Presupposition and Propaganda Devices

The UPND continued selling themselves to the electorate by promising to improving the agriculture sector starting from the lowest level. In the excerpt below, the UPND candidate was speaking to Katuba constituency members.

Excerpt 15

Zambia.....Zambia.....

Lungu waleta mapenzitwapenga (background)

Cisi canyongana. Nobana Nangoma, noba ku kasalu

Mulimo wakusanguna mbulimi – tubambe bulimi ngo milimo wakusanguna oyo.

Ino bulimi tulabubamba buti? Muulo wa fertiliser wadula. Tuyanda kuti muulo tubwezye ansi uboole fertiliser acipe. Shouts Zambia (background)..... imbuto icipe. Kwamana, mulimi, mfwumbwa mulimi utakonzyi kuula fertiliser tula mupa masaka ongaye? One ansi aatala one, eight Hena nobana Nangoma tumuti lime? Hena tamuti lime?

‘Lungu has brought problems, ... we’ve suffered (background)

The country is devastated. People of Nangoma, people of Kasalu

Our first job is agriculture – we take care of agriculture, it’s the first activity

How do take care of agriculture? The price of fertiliser is very high. We want to reduce the price of fertiliser..... seed to be cheap. After that any farmer who cannot afford to buy fertiliser, will be given how many bags? Four basal dressing and four top dressing, eight ... are you not going to cultivate people of Nangoma? Won’t you cultivate?’

This text was spoken at a campaign rally by the UPND candidate in Katuba constituency. The speech was delivered in Tonga because the people in the area speak Lenje, a dialect of Tonga.

The speaker negatively *others* the PF candidate by alleging that the PF had brought problems in the country, *‘Lungu has brought problems,... ... we’ve suffered (background). The country is devastated.* These two expressions are propaganda devices in which the speaker presents and to some extent exaggerates the affairs of the nation. The strategy here is to persuade the citizens to vote for the UPND candidate and not the PF candidate by presupposing that the citizens are able to realise that the PF was responsible for the problems the country was facing and that the country was in a bad state because of the PF. The situation is presented in such a way that there was need to do something urgently.

This expression is a rhetorical strategy to soliciting for support presented in such a way that the speaker wins the hearts of the electorate. The speaker was mindful of the needs of the people he was speaking to, and he quickly hit the nail on the head by hammering on agriculture. He assures the people of Nangoma that the first thing he would look into when elected president would be to improve on agriculture, ...*Our first job is agriculture – we take care of agriculture, it’s the first activity.* The speaker picks on agriculture, as a good strategy, since he was aware that the people of this area were peasant farmers, who relied on agriculture for their livelihood. They tilled the land in order to produce enough to eat as well as surplus for sale to earn money to buy essential commodities and to pay for their children’s education. This idea gives an assumption that the agriculture sector was not doing well due to bad policies at the time, and that the people of Nangoma were aware about it. Persuasion therefore is achieved through the understanding of the context.

The speaker continues with the rhetorical strategy in the same context explaining how he would revamp the agriculture sector by reducing the price of fertiliser and that of seed, ... *The price of fertiliser is very high. We want to reduce the price of fertiliser..... seed to be cheap.* He also gave hope that eight bags of fertiliser for those people who would not afford it, would be given. He assured, ... *Kwamana, mulimi, mfwumbwa mulimi utakonzyi kuula fertiliser tula mupa masaka ongaye? One ansi aatala one, eight* 'After that any farmer who cannot afford to buy fertiliser, will be given how many bags? Four basal dressing and four top dressing, eight.' These ideas presuppose that both the speaker and the audience are aware of the suffering brought about by the PF's poor policies on agriculture and that they needed to look for an alternative government as a solution to the problems they were facing.

Furthermore, these promises are reassuring since everybody would be helped to start from somewhere in agriculture. That is why he asks this question ... *Hena nobana Nangoma tumuti lime?* '... are you not going to cultivate people of Nangoma?' The speaker was trying to create a good name for himself and his party and was most likely assured of being given votes after this speech. All these expressions follow the earlier statement *Cisi canyongana. Nobana Nangoma, noba ku kasalu* 'The country is devastated. People of Nangoma, people of Kasalu,' where the audience started making inferences of the message that was being presented. The expression about the country being devastated is a propaganda device employed as a rhetorical strategy. These propaganda devices and presupposition are exploited so well by the speaker with a view to gaining support of the electorate. Moreover, the propaganda comes more vividly by the use of the indigenous language, Tonga, since the expression conveys certain emotions that befit the context in which it is uttered. In addition, the addressing of the audience using names of their residences *nobana Nangoma, noba ku Kasalu* ... 'people of Nangoma, people of Kasulu', adds to the meaning of the context. The audience feel valued and respected through the use of these address forms. The speaker therefore, exploits the ethos aspect of rhetoric. The emotions cultivated in the audience by these expressions would not have been attained if the address was done in English and therefore the inevitability of making use of the indigenous language.

The Rhetorical framework applies here since it is concerned with how people present language in communication in order to win over an audience. Therefore, this discourse is understood by the audience denoting its philosophical implications (Kangira, 2005). In this case, the implication is that the country is devastated and therefore something had to be done to correct the situation and that the electorate had a part to play. Besides, the promise of improving on

agriculture and empowering the residents with free inputs is a skill to soliciting and winning support of the electorate.

The speaker made use of the ethos aspect of rhetoric in that he commits himself to improving the agriculture activities in the area. It shows that he is a competent leader who is capable of reducing the price of fertiliser and providing free farming inputs for those not capable of doing so. This view builds confidence in the audience. The logos aspect is applied in that the speaker, assuring free farming inputs and reducing the price of fertiliser presents a logic argument which proves that the candidate would truly improve the lives of the citizens in the country. The pathos aspect comes out in that by addressing the audience with the names of their villages and making use of the indigenous language, emotionally motivates the audience. The expressions, *nobana Nangoma, noba ku Kasalu...* ‘people of Nangoma, people of Kasalu...’ could have motivated the electorate to believing that the speaker could be the right candidate for presidency. This in turn could have persuaded the audience to vote for the candidate. The Kairos aspect is applied in that the timeliness of doing the activities mentioned in the text and for choosing an alternative government was at hand.

These arguments by the UPND candidate, reflect Muzid (2007)’s conclusions regarding presuppositions and strategic functions. He argues that these functions and ideological operations are performed, at least partly, through presuppositions and propaganda devices. The UPND candidate applies these functions by bringing out the problems people were facing in agriculture and promising to improve the sector by helping farmers by making sure that the inputs are cheaper and in some cases, providing farmers with free farming inputs. In line with Muzid’s argument, the speech is so persuasive that it is difficult to be challenged by the hearers or the opponents (section 2.5).

In addition, the speaker manipulates the language according to the needs of the people in the area thus presenting what the audience wanted to hear. This confirms the submission that language is an unswerving way of achieving politicians’ objectives (Michira, 2014) (section 2.3.1). The speaker’s word diction suits the occasion and type of audience with the discourse confirming the idea that when campaigning, what matters is not what politicians say but rather how they say what they are saying. The argument finally confirms Fairclough (1995)’s idea that language “plays a crucial role” in political discourse since all actions by politicians are done through language.

Furthermore, these submissions concur with those of Andreassen (2007) who posited that in political discourse, and during campaign discourse in particular, political candidates tend to glorify themselves and condemn the deeds of the opposing side. Mr Hichilema speaks well of himself that he would improve the lives of citizens by improving on agriculture. While he criticised Mr Lungu, his opponent, for not providing a conducive environment, especially in agriculture, for all citizens to prosper, alleging that the PF candidate was not a good leader.

These findings are further supported by Maks and Vossen (2010) who reveal that the principles and policy measures captured in political discourse are often linguistically comprehended with deontic structures of modal verbs and adjectives. This comprehension is because the message of a political campaign is intended to be reassuring. Hence, the use of deontic modals seems appropriate since such verbs echo a certain level of commitment, zeal and enthusiasm by the political party. In the phrase ... *any farmer who cannot afford to buy fertiliser, will be given how many bags? Four basal dressing and four top dressing, eight ... are you not going to cultivate people of Nangoma? Won't you cultivate?* the candidate expressed this view. He combined the pronouns and modal verbs to reassure the audience that they would be helped to excel in agriculture. This promise together with the opening sentence that Mr Lungu had destroyed agriculture, puts the blame of the economic problems that were being experienced in the country on the PF candidate. These are propaganda devices meant for the candidate to praise oneself and blame his opponents to the electorates, which is expressed through presupposition and functions as a powerful rhetorical device (see section 2.3.2).

8.4 Presupposition and Rhetorical Devices

The UPND candidate, Mr Hakainde Hichilema, employed presupposition with the help of rhetorical devices to demonstrate his commitment to improving the plight of the citizens once elected president. The use of presupposition and rhetorical devices helped the candidate to achieve persuasion.

Excerpt 16

Ndimwe mupanga mistake – kuvotela boma yakangiwa, boma ilibe chikondi kubantu. Mwavutika because bantu bali muboma balibe chikondi kubantu baimwe. 11 August ikafika, muchita chikonto so (giving PF symbol) pabwato ... pabwato pabwato..... koma bridge kulibe, manzi tuvutika, manzi kuno ma borehole niya ng'ono ngombe zivutika.....tanvelana?

‘You are the ones that make mistakes of voting for the party that has failed. You are suffering because the people in government have no love for you the people. But when 11 August comes, you even hold a fist (PF symbol), pabwato ... pabwato pabwato..... meanwhile there is no bridge, no water, there are very few boreholes here as a result animals are suffering, are we together?’

The UPND candidate, Mr Hakainde Hichilema, presented this campaign speech in Chadiza at Kalembe Primary school. HH spoke in Nyanja, the official local language of that area. The message was that voting for the PF would not help the people of this area. *You are the ones that make mistakes of voting for a party that has failed, the party that doesn't love its people.* The statement expresses presupposition that the party that was in power was a failed leadership with the presupposition that the audience was aware of this. This presupposition is expressed through parallel structure. Parallelism comes out clearly in Nyanja *boma yakangiwa, boma ilibe chikondi* ‘the government that has failed, the government that has no love...’ The speaker in this phrase makes use of similar nouns and similar verbs expressing presupposition with emphasis on the failed leadership style of the party that was ruling. At the same time, the speaker is implying that voting for the ruling party would be a mistake and therefore cautions the audience not to make that mistake. The presupposition of failed leadership and the employing of parallelism is a rhetorical strategy to achieving persuasion.

The speaker connects the philosophy of the party to success, that theirs is built on love and respect for the citizens and *others* the PF party negatively by indicating that it had failed the citizens, it had no love for them and had no any good thing for them. This statement is powerful in that it could persuade the electorate to believing that UPND was a better party than the PF.

In the subsequent lines, the speaker refers to the PF symbol as a fist, that the people hold a fist when going to vote... *11 August ikafika, muchita chikonto so (giving PF symbol) pabwato ... pabwato pabwato.....* ‘but when 11 August comes, you even hold a fist (PF symbol), pabwato ... pabwato pabwato...’ The speaker shares knowledge of PF symbol together with the audience and that in Zambian tradition, a fist is a symbol of fighting and the speaker uses it metaphorically to present his opponents as a place where there is no peace. He further presents this expression using parallelism pabwato ... pabwato pabwato... The aim of this expression is to ridicule the opponents to appear more negative, thus employing it as a rhetorical strategy in that the audience may be persuaded to vote for the speaker and the UPND.

The speaker continues by way of challenging the audience as to why they should hold a fist on the polling day when there was no bridge, there was inadequate water supply and other amenities. He posits ... *koma bridge kulibe, manzi tuvutika, manzi kuno ma borehole niya ng'ono ngombe zivutika*... 'meanwhile there is no bridge, no water, there are very few boreholes here as a result animals are suffering', the presupposition being on the shared knowledge that both the speaker and the audience know and experience these problems. The speaker further makes use of parallelism which is beautifully expressed in Nyanja: ... *bridge kulibe, manzi tuvutika, manzi kuno ma borehole niya ng'ono, ngombe zivutika*... 'meanwhile there is no bridge, no water, there are very few boreholes here as a result animals are suffering'. Parallelism combined with presupposition presents the language aesthetically such that when the audience listens to the beauty of it, it creates certain emotional effects in their minds which in turn persuades them to supporting the candidate.

This view further brings out the philosophy of the UPND as being more concerned with the welfare of the citizens and not just looking for votes. In a way the UPND candidate is challenging the PF supporters to justify why PF should remain in power after seemingly having failed the citizens. The statement gives the UPND more power over the PF since the discourse used positively presents the UPND and negatively *others* the PF.

The speaker made use of the pathos aspect of rhetoric in that he presents his opponents, the PF, negatively by ridiculing their party symbol, the fist. In cautioning the electorate against voting for the PF, the speaker imitates the PF symbol and with it he accompanies words which were more of ridicule, presenting them negatively. This expression could have affected the audience emotionally and could have resulted in them believing that PF is not a good party, especially that a fist is a symbol of fighting in some Zambian cultures. The speaker further justifies why the electorate were not supposed to vote for PF citing lack of love, inadequate water supply with no bridges. The result was that the audience was persuaded to vote for the speaker and the UPND. The speaker therefore applies the logos aspect of rhetoric.

This perspective affirms Andreassen (2007)'s views that in political discourse, politicians lean on the extremely polarized views of the world which is common in two party political systems. It shows that politicians from whatever angle, are fighting the same battle, both personally and on behalf of their parties, in an attempt to create a polarized world of *us* versus *them*, where they themselves belong to the positively represented in-group and the opponent is firmly placed in the out-group, negatively or derogatorily whenever possible. The main focus, as always in

politics, is to gain advantage over the opponents, become popular and win the forthcoming election (cf Rashidi & Souzandehfar, 2010), (section 2.5). The UPND candidate exploits this view very clearly in the text above by speaking well of himself and ill of his opponents.

The results also re-echo the views of Ademilokun (2015), who posits that political candidates employ certain devices in their discourse in order to identify with the electorate. It also affirms the view that certain messages are better expressed in a local dialect than in English (section 3.4). The speaker expressed himself beautifully in Nyanja and the message was better comprehended in this local language than it would if it had been delivered in English. Besides, making use of Nyanja instead of English brings the speaker closer to the people and is regarded as one of them, even though he does not belong to that ethnic group. The speaker exploits the context to suit his purpose and employs presupposition as a device to winning support of the electorate.

Besides, these views affirm Jarraya's (2013) findings who contends that certain emotions can better be conveyed more effectively in a local dialect than in a standard language. In the case of Zambia and politics, the language used in politics officially is English, but the speaker chooses to articulate his message in Nyanja, the local language of the area to convey certain messages that can be better comprehended in this language. Besides, other than through linguistic tools, as Jarraya further posits, persuasion can also be achieved through the understanding of the context, which Mr Hichilema exploits very well in this discourse. Mr Hichilema therefore manages to parallel persuasion with a good awareness of the context, by making use of parallel structure in revealing the problems the people were experiencing in the area. He therefore capitalises on these problems to caution the people in that area not to vote for the PF, but for himself and the UPND. The speaker achieves this perspective by making use of certain effective linguistic devices including parallelism which comes out beautifully in Nyanja, thereby winning the hearts of the electorate (section 2.3.1).

Furthermore, as Kazemiam and Hashemi (2014) avow, politicians rely heavily on rhetorical devices, particularly, parallelism tropes and unification strategy. Rhetorical devices employed by Mr Hichilema in this text, which include parallelism and presupposition, are used as persuasiveness properties to improve the effectiveness, clarity, and beauty of the speeches. The aim is to persuade, to inform, to convey personal philosophies, and to emphasise inter-relatedness of delivered messages. It is also meant to signify differentiation, and to demonstrate

the orator's solidarity with the audience. Mr Hichilema achieves these effects in the text above (section 2.3.3).

These views fit into the Rhetorical analytical framework as elaborated by Kangira (2005) and Hansons (1997) that rhetoric refers to the skill that people employ when communicating their ideas to their audience in an endeavour to win their support. Intrinsic to this elucidation of rhetoric is the ability of the rhetor to exploit language as an essential instrument to achieving the audience's adherence to his or her standpoint. Mr Hichilema puts a very effective argument of improving on agriculture by providing clean water for the people and livestock as well as putting up proper infrastructure such as bridges. This argument is aimed at winning the support of the electorate. That is, the main objective is to be persuasive and in this case is the rhetorical function of presupposition.

In addition, as Korhonen (2017) submits, politicians use language to advance their political goals and called it the rhetoric of blame and bluster. He contends that politicians thrive when they have someone to blame: an adversary or opponent of some kind that they could use to contrast their philosophy to, as well as accuse of foul play and divert attention to, whenever possible. Mr Hichilema, in this text blames his opponent, Mr Lungu who was the president at that time, for not providing adequate clean water, proper bridges and water for livestock to the people of Eastern province, which the speaker exploits through presupposition. The aim was to persuade the electorate to vote for the speaker and his party for better results (section 2.5).

In conclusion we can say that the political candidate under investigation employed certain rhetorical functions in his discourse in order to woo support from the audience. These rhetorical functions include propaganda devices, presupposition, polarization and other persuasive devices which the candidate employs in order to manipulate the audience into believing in his campaign messages. The Political candidate under study achieved this view by choosing words, combining them carefully and delivering them in a persuasive manner in order to win the support of the electorate. In this way language is a very important tool to achieving politicians' objectives.

8.5 Summary of Chapter

The chapter has analysed and discussed the rhetorical functions of presupposition that were employed by the candidate under examination in the 2016 presidential election campaign speeches. The rhetorical functions include persuasive acts which include presupposition,

implicature, inferencing and metaphorical expressions which appeal to the mind of the electorate. Another function employed by the candidate is polarization of in-group and out-group presentation of himself and his opponent respectively. The chapter has also revealed that the politician also made use of propaganda devices in political discourse to gain political mileage over his opponents. The next chapter presents the summary and conclusion of the study.

CHAPTER NINE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

9.0 Introduction

The previous chapters (5, 6, 7 and 8) have presented and discussed the findings of the study. This chapter presents the conclusion of the rhetorical analysis of the presidential campaigns of the 2016 elections in Zambia. The conclusion brings out key issues that were brought about by the findings of the study. The chapter first highlights the research questions and objectives that the study had set out to investigate. This section is followed by a summary of the main findings that emerged from the results in relation to the research objectives in order to show how far these objectives have been addressed. The chapter then presents some implications of the findings and suggested recommendations.

The research questions and objectives are presented in chapter one of this thesis. The main objective sought to establish how the presidential candidate under investigation employed rhetorical devices in his campaign speeches during the 2016 elections in Zambia with a view to achieving persuasion. The four specific objectives were as follows: the first one was aimed at examining the rhetorical function of aesthetic expressions in achieving persuasion in the political campaign speeches by the presidential candidate under examination. The second objective analysed how the syntactic elements were employed as rhetorical devices in political campaign speeches by the presidential candidate under examination in order to achieve persuasion. The third objective sought to establish the rhetorical significance of code switching in the campaign discourse of the political candidate under examination. The fourth one analysed the rhetorical function of presupposition in the campaign discourse of the political candidate under examination.

9.1 Summary of Research Findings

Chapter five addresses objective number one and presents the rhetorical function of aesthetic expressions as exploited by the presidential candidate under study during the campaign rallies. Firstly, the findings show that when campaigning, the political candidate employed allusion as a rhetorical strategy to appealing to his sentiments and to solicit for support. The candidate under investigation employed social allusion by referring to certain issues and truths in society.

For instance, the political candidate made mention of how the problem of unemployment and the bad economy had affected the lives of Zambians and elaborated on how he would solve these problems once elected into office. The candidate also expressed himself through historical allusion by referring to some historical facts and features in the country as rhetorical devices to winning the support of the electorate. The historical facts are influential proclamations that are used to build flashbacks in discourses. These flashbacks were used to create certain images in the minds of the electorate that helped to create positive attitudes towards the candidate and his party. These historical facts and features were presented through the employment of one or more of the aspects of rhetoric which include ethos, logos and pathos. The analysis shows that social and historical allusion are devices that move the linguistic field into a field of social and political relevance. For instance, the candidate exploited the ethos aspect of rhetoric while exploiting social allusion aesthetically when he demonstrated his competence by showing his expertise in the analysis of economic issues that surrounded the nation at the time.

Secondly, the results also show a relationship between Rhetorical framework, the analytical framework guiding the study, and the presentation of aesthetic expressions as rhetorical devices. Since rhetoric refers specifically to the methods that the speaker uses to persuade the audience, rather than to the whole gestalt of intention, action and effect, then rhetoric is understood as the skill employed by the rhetor in an effort to win over the audience. Besides, rhetorical analysis examines persuasive, emphatic, effective, contrasting strategies and others in the realm of political rhetoric and other discourses. The aesthetic expressions therefore, were employed by the candidate under investigation, to improve the efficiency, clarity, emphasis, association, and focus of a given message, whose aim was at political persuasion.

The results further indicate that the political candidate made use of propagandistic language which is a crucial attribute in political discourse. As the findings indicate, propagandistic language is a feature of the language of politics which exposes the manipulative power of language. In the study, the candidate under examination employed both positive and negative propaganda in his campaign speeches by speaking good about himself and bad about his opponents respectively.

Besides, the findings elaborated the significance of the concept of requesting as a discursive feature in political discourse. The analysis shows how the politician under study used aesthetic

expressions to explain what he would do to the people once elected, and at the same time solicited for votes from the electorate. Therefore, the candidate used the discursive feature of requesting aesthetically as a rhetorical strategy to influencing people's political views to his own advantage. All these moves are persuasive acts to woo support of the electorate.

Chapter six addresses objective number two and analyses the syntactic elements that were employed by the candidate under investigation. The analysis reveals that the candidate under study made use of nominalization, passivization, parallelism, modality, cohesivation and unification rhetorical devices among others in his campaign speeches. Firstly, the findings reveal that the political candidate under study employed nominalization which is a syntactic translation which converts whole clauses into nouns or nominal phrases whereby expressions put emphasis on the entities rather than the processes thereby acting as rhetorical strategies. In the study, this perspective was achieved by the candidate under investigation employing a combination of the first person plural pronoun *we* and the modal auxiliary verb *will* and a noun phrase, to explain what he would do for the people once given the mandate to rule the country. Therefore, the political campaign speeches by the candidate under examination, were replete with syntactic features such as modal auxiliary verbs and pronouns that sought to espouse various ideologies and emphasised particular interest of a political party.

The findings also reveal that the political candidate employed parallelism by making use of a series of pronouns, verbs, nouns and noun phrases, in order to achieve certain effects with the audience. The employment of these pronouns, verbs and nouns, was highly persuasive. By making use of a series of nouns, pronouns and verbs in his campaign speeches, the candidate under study presented language beautifully, clearly and pleasantly in the ears of the electorate. This turned out to be a powerful rhetorical device to winning the support of the electorate.

Besides, the findings indicate that the political candidate under study employed unification and cohesivation as a rhetorical device. This view was achieved by analysing the context of the power in the pronoun by showing how it is a unifying and cohesive device in the speeches of the candidate under study. It was established that in political discourse, the strategic employment of *we*-groups (*we*, *our* and *us*) serve to establish a unified relationship between politicians and the public or audience. The results indicate that the inclusive *we*, is employed when a political candidate includes the audience as well as himself in the discourse, while the exclusive *we*, is made use of when the political candidate refers to themselves plus one or more

others, but does not incorporate the addressee(s). Political candidates make use of the inclusive *we* pronoun to show the audience that they are with them and that they are also human beings like anyone of the audience. This perspective helps the audience to believe in the candidate and then offer support to him.

In addition, the results show that the political candidate under investigation employed modality and passivization in his discourse by employing different types of modal verbs and the passive voice. The candidate exploited different types of modal verbs to show different attitudes, opinions and authority as the situation demanded, in order to achieve persuasion. The different types of modal verbs combined with the use of the passive voice were strong rhetorical strategies to winning support of the electorate. Modality therefore, as a semantic category is a means by which a speaker's stance towards what they are speaking about is achieved, and it is concerned with the audience as well.

The other finding that the study revealed is that the political candidate exploited political language through polarization in which he presented himself positively and presented his opponents negatively. The candidate exploited this perspective by making use of the *us* and *them* expressions of positive presentation of himself and negative presentation of his opponents respectively, in order to win support of the electorate. The political candidate under examination achieved this polarization of positive *us* and negative *other* presentation by employing syntactic elements which presented him as better placed to rule the country than his opponents. This presentation shows that language is a formidable tool that politicians employ to communicate policies and philosophical positions to the electorate.

At the same time, the speaker employed different appeals in order to achieve effective communication. With modality and passivization, the candidate exploited the ethos aspect of rhetoric with his explanation that he would *fix* and *control* the affairs of the nation. He also made use of the logos aspect in that he gave concrete examples as to how he would create employment by helping companies to be able to manufacture things which were being imported at that time. The speaker made use of the pathos aspect by using syntactic expressions that appealed to the audience emotionally and could have convinced them to support him. The Kairos aspect is exploited in that at the time of campaigns there was so much suffering and people needed to hear such a message to give them hope for a better future.

Furthermore, the results demonstrate that Rhetorical theory is a useful tool in the analysis of political discourse because it allows for the realisation of how people use language in communicating their ideas in an endeavour to win over an audience.

The research objective number three is addressed in chapter seven and it seeks to establish the rhetorical significance of code switching in the campaign discourse of the political candidate under examination. The findings have shown that the rhetorical significance of code switching, employed by the political candidate under study, is revealed by the way he used language when soliciting for support from the electorate. The candidate under examination in his code switching, employed certain cultural and social aspects to appeal to the audience in order to achieve persuasion. These cultural and social aspects such as address forms and certain types of salutation in the indigenous languages were employed as rhetorical devices.

With code switching, the candidate under study exploited the different appeals for effective communication. By making use of certain phrases in the indigenous languages, the speaker was able convey certain cultural meanings which presented him as being deeply concerned with the audience and very much attached to them in a special way and that he would improve their plight as a fellow citizen. For instance, the candidate made use of a Bemba phrase *twachula pafula* ‘we have suffered enough’, in one of his campaign speeches. This metaphorical expression appealed to the psychology of the audience and exploited the pathos aspect of rhetoric. This expression combined with *mukwayi* which is a form of address, raised the emotions of the audience to consider supporting the candidate in the elections. In Tonga, the candidate used the expression *Ono amuteelele nobana bakwesu...* ‘now listen my brothers and sisters’, in one of his messages, whose function is two fold. Firstly, the expression conveys certain emotions which could only be better achieved when using a local dialect, in this case Tonga, than it would if the English equivalent was used. Secondly, the expression in the local dialect conveys that the speaker was closer to the people and that he was one of them as their brother, which made the electorate to be secure in his presence. These phrases were therefore employed as rhetorical devices to winning support of the electorate.

While code switching, the candidate made use of the aspect of rhetoric in his speeches. For instance, in one of the speeches, the ethos aspect was expressed through the candidate showing his competence that the first task would be improving on agriculture working together with the people. The Kairos aspect comes out in that given the suffering, it was time to act to bring about the formidable leadership in the country.

These findings demonstrate that language is a formidable tool that politicians employ during political campaigns to communicate policies and philosophical positions and that linguistic manipulation can be considered as an influential instrument of political rhetoric. This is the rhetorical significance of code switching.

Furthermore, the political candidate made use of code switching to emphasise certain aspects through polarization in that he glorified his own good achievements, omitted the dubious ones, but heavily criticised and blamed his opponents for whatever had gone wrong in the country. He achieved this view by making use of positive *us* versus negative *them* presentation of himself and of his opponents respectively, employing code switching in his campaign messages.

Chapter eight addresses objective number four which analyses the rhetorical function of presupposition in the political discourse by the presidential candidate under study. The results of the study indicate that the political candidate under examination employed presupposition and conversational implicature in his campaign discourse in order to achieve his ambitions. It was found that presupposition and implicature are tools that can lead a listener to make assumptions about the existence of information that is not made explicit in what is actually said, but that might be deduced from what was said. It was also revealed that the political candidate made use of presupposition to manipulate the electorate into believing in him. The analysis of presupposition is a formidable tool for detecting what speakers think or know that recipients believe. The rhetorical function of presupposition therefore, was to help the political candidate achieve his ambitions by capitalising on what he presupposed the electorate knew or believed in. In some cases, the candidate presupposed certain facts instead of actually stating them which turned out to be a useful rhetorical strategy.

These views affirm the Rhetorical theory, in that it is concerned with how a piece of discourse is exploited by the rhetor with a view to achieving the audience's observance of his or her standpoint. It is a useful way of analysing how the message is comprehended by the audience. Therefore, this discourse is understood by the audience by denoting its philosophical implications of the context and the message.

The findings have also revealed that the candidate under examination in his campaign discourse used polarized terms to glorify his own activities and to negatively *other* the activities of his opponents. He used the pronouns *us*, *we* and *our* to present his positive actions and to solicit for support from the electorate. On the other hand, the candidate employed the pronouns *they*,

them and *their* to negatively present his opponents so that they are not voted for. The results further show that presupposition is exploited through propaganda devices with a view to gaining support of the electorate. Through propaganda devices, the candidate spoke good of himself and ill of his opponents. The rhetorical function of presupposition therefore is that in political discourse, and during campaigns in particular, the candidate tended to glorify his achievements and criticised those of the opposing side.

Generally, the objectives of the study have to a large extent been addressed. However, the study has not taken care of all the aspects regarding the rhetorical analysis of political discourse in Zambia. More needs to be established to examine the influence of the political discourse on the electorate by investigating the views of the general public as regards the political candidates and their campaign discourse.

9.2 Conclusion

The impact to the field of study in discourse analysis and sociolinguistics can be evaluated from the point of view of the research objectives.

One of the motivations of the study was to investigate the aesthetic expressions in political campaign discourse. Aesthetic expressions are expressed through the use of allusion, propagandistic language and requesting in particular political contexts, by the political candidate under study, as rhetorical strategies to solicit for support of the electorate. Therefore, it matters how politicians say what they say when campaigning, as opposed to earlier views that politicians just make known of their intentions during campaigns. This is new knowledge in the field of discourse analysis.

In addition, the study has contributed new knowledge in that the Rhetorical analytical framework is specifically interested in the skill employed in communication in order for the rhetor to convince the audience of his or her own standpoint, and spells out the detailed resources of rhetoric which are ethos, pathos, logos and kairos. New knowledge has been attained that, in order to achieve persuasion in political campaigns, these different appeals to effective communication, should be exploited in a certain way according to the context, the speaker, type of audience and subject matter as well as its timeliness. This is opposed to earlier knowledge that in the political arena, in Zambia, political candidates merely present their intentions without thoughtful exploitation of the appeals to rhetoric and the nature of the context, the person speaking, the people being addressed, the topic being discussed and its

relevance, which do not remain constant in the domain of politics. Thus the candidate under investigation, in addition to being thoughtful of the message he was delivering, he had to take into consideration the context and the type of audience he was addressing.

Furthermore, a major contribution to the body of knowledge in discourse analysis in Zambia has been made in that when campaigning, politicians employ syntactic elements such as modal auxiliary verbs and pronouns as rhetorical devices and instruments to achieving persuasion when delivering their campaign message to the electorate. Besides, political candidates make use of personal pronouns together with modal verbs and other syntactic features such as nominalization, parallelism and passivization to highlight their political will, nerve and confidence through their campaign message. In particular, the first pronoun singular *I* combined with the modal auxiliary verb *will* shows commitment to the electorate by the candidate and gives authenticity to the message being put across. This is contrary to the earlier knowledge in Zambia that politicians just use plain language when expressing themselves of what they would like to do once elected into office. This is new knowledge to the Zambian political context.

In relating to the Rhetorical analytical framework, rhetoric is the ability of the rhetor to exploit language as an essential instrument to achieving the audience's adherence to his or her standpoint. The politician therefore works hard to employ effective rhetorical strategies, since it matters how they present what they are saying, in order to achieve persuasion with the audience as opposed to just speaking without employing persuasive strategies. This brings out the view that language is a formidable tool that politicians employ during political campaigns to communicate their intentions and achieve their ambitions. This is new knowledge to the body of literature.

The other major contribution to the subject matter is regarding polarization in political discourse in the Zambian political arena. The study reveals that politicians, even in Zambia, lean on the extremely polarized view of the *us* versus *them* expressions, where they themselves belong to the positively represented in-group and the opposing group is firmly placed in the out-group, negatively whenever possible. These polarized views give political candidates power and advantage over their opponents whenever they employ them.

The study has also contributed knowledge towards the relationship between language use and the importance of insights in political campaigns in Zambia. This perspective is achieved by employing rhetoric devices that would present political candidates better than their opponents.

Therefore, political candidates make sure that they do not leave any stone unturned when delivering their message. They engage in code switching to ensure they deliver their message carefully and accurately by conveying certain cultural meanings and emotions on the part of the audience which would not be achieved in a language used without engaging in code switching. This is opposed to earlier knowledge that politicians code switch in order that the audience comprehends their message. Political candidates therefore select linguistic elements carefully to express their philosophies as well as those of their parties to inform the electorate of their intentions. This is new knowledge regarding the rhetorical significance of code switching in Zambia.

New knowledge has also been established in the political arena in Zambia that, when campaigning, politicians make use of the blame and bluster as a strategy to winning support of the electorate. Politicians make sure that they compare and contrast themselves and their ideologies to their opponents. In the process they blame and accuse their opponents of foul play as much as they can in order to present themselves as better candidates than their opponents. This is opposed to earlier views that politicians in Zambia just speak of the good and objectives of what they would do to the electorate once elected to office.

The study also contributed new knowledge regarding rhetorical function of presuppositions in political discourse in Zambia. Based on the findings of the study, one of the contributions of the study is that new knowledge has been created concerning campaign discourse in that during campaigns politicians make use of propagandistic language through presuppositions. These propaganda devices function as persuasive acts which include certain linguistic elements such as metaphorical expressions which appeal to the minds of the electorate. These linguistic expressions in turn help to achieve political mileage over their opponents. New knowledge has been created in that when campaigning politicians employ certain rhetorical devices through propaganda in order to win support of the electorate as opposed to the earlier knowledge that during campaigns politicians just explain what they would do for the electorate once elected without being critical of how propaganda devices can be exploited to achieve persuasion.

9.3 Limitations of the Study

The study recognises limitations regarding the kind of data that was collected. The study only focused on one candidate, an opposition candidate. This means that the findings are unique to that one candidate under investigation. The findings therefore, cannot be generalised to other candidates because the rhetorical devices employed were unique to this particular candidate.

Regarding the analysis, the major limitation was the transcribing of long conversations from videos where many other candidates such as parliamentary candidates, running mates, councillors and others were speaking other than the presidential candidate under investigation. This process was extremely tedious and time consuming; the researcher had to play the recordings over and over in order to transcribe them verbatim. In addition, the fact that the data that was considered covered all the campaigns that were done across the country for three months, that is, from 11th May to 10th August 2016, there was a challenge to randomly select the data from the huge amount that was sampled and transcribed. However, the researcher managed to come round this challenge since the data or this campaign discourse by Mr Hakainde Hichilema was very rich in rhetorical devices in all aspects.

9.4 Recommendations of the Study

From the overall study and conclusion drawn, the following are some of the recommendations that emerged.

The first recommendation is that the general public, that is, senior government officials, the ordinary Zambians and the media to be included in the study to see how they collectively or individually contribute to rhetorical analysis in politics.

Secondly, there is need to approach this study from a gender perspective. That is, how women fair in politics; by examining the language they use themselves in politics, the language used to them by the general public, as well the language used on the women by their fellow politicians who are men.

Thirdly, and finally, there is need to conduct a comparative study of two or more political parties in election campaigns to see whether they employ different political rhetorical devices.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT

99. The Chairperson of the Electoral Commission shall be the Returning Officer in an election to the office of President.

100. (1) A person qualifies to be nominated as a candidate for election as President if that person—

- (a) is a citizen by birth or descent;
- (b) has been ordinarily resident in Zambia;
- (c) is at least thirty-five years old;
- (d) is a registered voter;
- (e) has obtained, as a minimum academic qualification, a grade twelve certificate or its equivalent;
- (f) is fluent in the official language;
- (g) has paid that person's taxes or has made arrangements, satisfactory to the appropriate tax authority, for the payment of the taxes;
- (h) declares that person's assets and liabilities, as prescribed;
- (i) pays the prescribed election fee on, or before, the date fixed for the delivery of nomination papers; and
- (j) is supported by at least one hundred registered voters from each Province.

(2) A person is disqualified from being nominated as a candidate for election as President if that person—

- (a) is a public officer;
- (b) has dual citizenship;
- (c) is holding or acting in a Constitutional office or other public office;
- (d) is a judge or judicial officer;
- (e) was removed from public office on grounds of gross misconduct in the immediate preceding five years;
- (f) has a mental or physical disability that would make the person incapable of performing the executive functions;
- (g) is an undischarged bankrupt;
- (h) is serving a sentence of imprisonment; or

(i) has, in the immediate preceding five years, served a term of imprisonment of at least three years.

40 No. 2 of 2016] *Constitution of Zambia (Amendment)*

101. (1) A President shall be elected by registered voters in accordance with Article 47 (1) and this Article.

(2) The Returning Officer shall declare the presidential candidate who receives more than fifty percent of the valid votes cast during the election as President-elect.

(3) If at the initial ballot a presidential candidate does not receive more than fifty percent of the valid votes cast, a second ballot shall be held within thirty-seven days of the initial ballot, where the only candidates shall be the presidential candidates who obtained—

(a) the highest and second highest number of valid votes cast in the initial ballot; or

(b) an equal number of the valid votes cast in the initial ballot, being the highest votes amongst the presidential candidates that stood for election to the office of President.

(4) A person may within seven days of the declaration made under clause (2), petition the Constitutional Court to nullify the election of a presidential candidate who took part in the initial ballot on the ground that—

(a) the person was not validly elected; or

(b) a provision of this Constitution or other law relating to presidential elections was not complied with.

(5) The Constitutional Court shall hear an election petition filed in accordance with clause (4) within fourteen days of the filing of the petition.

(6) The Constitutional Court may, after hearing an election petition—

(a) declare the election of the presidential candidate valid;

(b) nullify the election of the presidential candidate; or

(c) disqualify the presidential candidate from being a candidate in the second ballot.

(7) A decision of the Constitutional Court made in accordance with clause (6) is final.

(8) The presidential candidate who obtains the majority of the valid votes cast in the second ballot shall be declared President elect.

Election of President

Constitution of Zambia (Amendment) **[No. 2 of 2016 41**

102. (1) If a presidential candidate—

(a) resigns for a reason other than health;
(b) becomes disqualified as specified in Article 100; or
(c) is disqualified by a decision of the Constitutional Court in accordance with Article 101; the presidential candidate shall not take part in the second ballot and the candidate who scored the third highest number of valid votes cast in the initial ballot shall be a presidential candidate in the second ballot, together with the remaining presidential candidate that had initially qualified for the second ballot.

(2) If a presidential candidate—

(a) dies; or
(b) resigns due to ill-health; before the taking of a second ballot, the running mate to that presidential candidate in the initial ballot shall assume the place of that presidential candidate.

(3) The presidential candidate who assumed the place of the previous presidential candidate in accordance with clause (2) shall appoint a running mate.

(4) Where both presidential candidates—

(a) resign;
(b) become disqualified under Article 100;
(c) become disqualified by a decision of the Constitutional Court under Article 101; or
(d) die; before the taking of the second ballot, fresh nominations shall be filed with the Electoral Commission, as prescribed.

103. (1) A person may, within seven days of the declaration of a President-elect, petition the Constitutional Court to nullify the election of the President-elect on the ground that—

(a) the person was not validly elected; or
(b) a provision of this Constitution or other law relating to presidential elections was not complied with.

(2) The Constitutional Court shall hear an election petition relating to the President-elect within fourteen days of the filing of the petition.

APPENDIX II: THE RUNNING MATE CLAUSE

48 No. 2 of 2016] *Constitution of Zambia (Amendment)*

109. (1) If the President leaves Zambia or is absent from office, the Vice-President shall perform the executive functions specified, in writing, by the President until the President returns to office or revokes the authority.

(2) Where the Vice-President is incapable of performing the executive functions, as specified under clause (1), the President shall appoint a member of the Cabinet to perform the executive functions until the—

(a) Vice-President is able to perform those functions;

(b) President returns to office; or

(c) President revokes the authority.

(3) Where the President is unable to appoint a member of Cabinet to perform the executive functions, in accordance with clause (2), Cabinet may elect one of its members to perform the executive functions until the—

(a) Vice-President is able to perform those functions;

(b) President returns to office; or

(c) President revokes the authority.

Vice-President

110. (1) There shall be a Vice-President for the Republic who shall be the running mate to a presidential candidate in a presidential election.

(2) The qualifications and disqualifications applying to a presidential candidate apply to the person selected by the presidential candidate to be the running mate.

(3) An election to the office of Vice-President shall be conducted at the same time as that of an election to the office of President so that a vote cast for a presidential candidate is a vote cast for the running mate, and if the presidential candidate is elected, the running mate shall be considered to have been elected.

(4) A Vice-President-elect shall be sworn into office by the Chief Justice or, in the absence of the Chief Justice, the Deputy Chief Justice.

(5) The Vice-President shall assume office on the same day that the President assumes office.

Constitution of Zambia (Amendment) [No. 2 of 2016 49]

111. (1) The term of office for a Vice-President is five years.

(2) A Vice-President shall hold office from the date the Vice-President-elect is sworn into office and ending on the date the next President-elect is sworn into office.

(3) A person who has twice held the office of Vice-President shall not be selected as a running mate.

(4) The office of Vice-President becomes vacant if the Vice-President—

(a) dies;

(b) resigns by notice in writing to the President;

(c) otherwise ceases to hold office under Article 81, 107 or 108; or

(d) assumes the office of President.

(5) Where a vacancy occurs in the office of Vice-President, except as provided under Article 81, the President shall appoint another person to be Vice-President and the National Assembly shall, by a resolution supported by the votes of not less than two thirds of the Members of Parliament, approve the appointment of that person as Vice-President.

(6) The person who assumes office as Vice-President, in accordance with clause (5), shall serve for the unexpired term of office and be deemed for the purposes of clause (3)—

(a) to have served a full term as Vice-President if, at the date on which the Vice-President assumed office, more than three years remain before the date of the next general election; or

(b) not to have served a term of office as Vice-President if, at the date on which the Vice-President assumed office, less than three years remain before the date of the next general elections.

112. (1) The Vice-President shall be answerable to the President in the performance of the functions of Vice-President.

(2) The Vice-President shall—

(a) perform the functions that are assigned to the Vice-President by the President;

50 No. 2 of 2016] Constitution of Zambia (Amendment)

(b) perform the executive functions during the periods specified in this Constitution; and

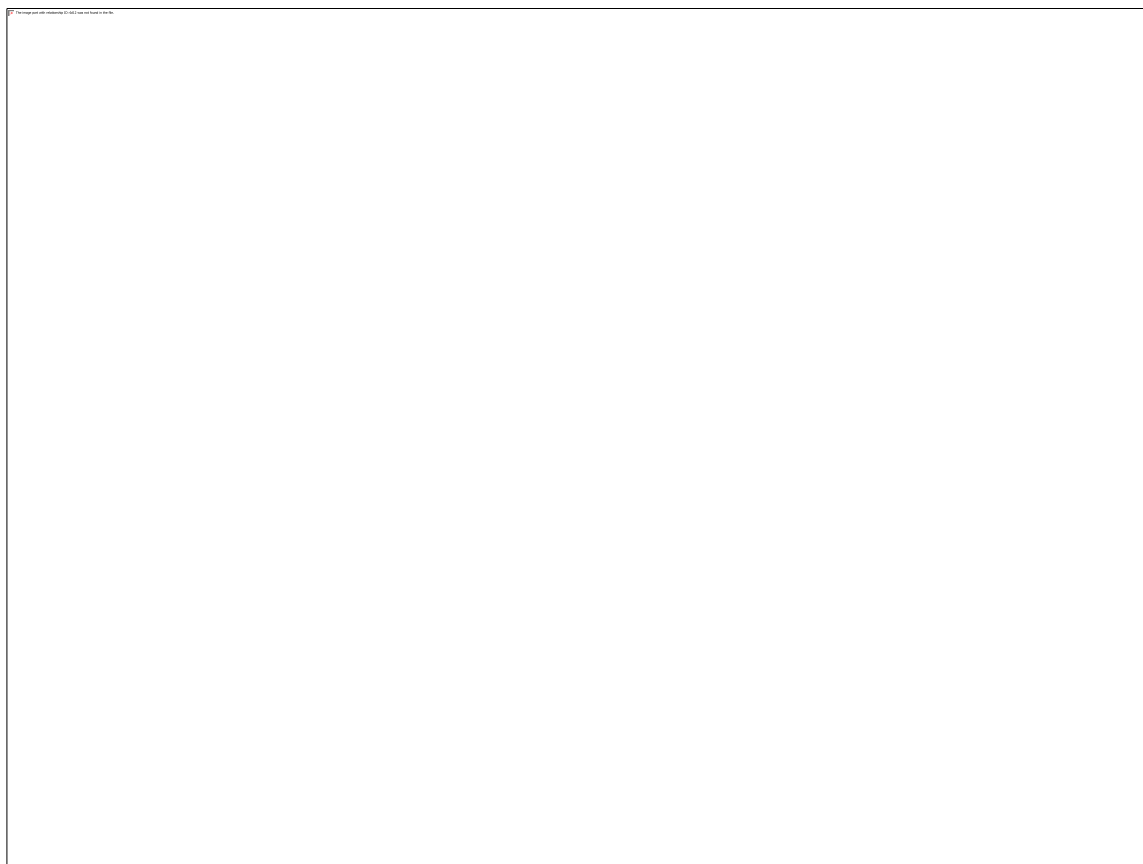
(c) assume the office of President as specified in Article 106

APPENDIX III

THE UNITED PARTY FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT MANIFESTO

18/09/2013

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United Party for National Development (UPND)

Realize the Dream of a Better Zambia through Real Change

The Vision

The vision of the UPND is to create a united and prosperous Zambia with equal opportunities across ethnic, religious and gender considerations, living in harmony in a free democratic society.

The Mission

The UPND seeks to foster accelerated national development through the mobilization and sustainable use of the available and potential human and natural resources for the empowerment of every Zambian citizen.

Preamble

1 Our United Party for National Development (UPND) team will work tirelessly to realize the dream of a prosperous Zambia anchored on mutual understanding, love and national unity for speedy economic and social development, with a targeted economic growth rate of ten per cent (10%) per year. This will be achieved through running a mixed economy, particularly promoting increased but properly structured private/public local and foreign investments in sectors such as agriculture, mining, construction, energy, tourism, manufacturing, infrastructure, telecommunications, pensions, insurance, financial and other services many of which have in the past decades been neglected. Among measures necessary for the achievement of high but sustainable growth, would be maintenance of macro economic stability (lower inflation, lower interest and stable exchange rates). The UPND believes that as a country we should realize that we cannot share poverty. The only sustainable way of helping the vulnerable and weak members of our society is through strong economic growth supported by effective social programmes.

1.1 We will take positive and clear steps to move Zambia forward into a middle income country, with equitable distribution of wealth among our citizens in all parts of the country so as to achieve overall poverty reduction, within a decade. The country now than ever before needs visionary leadership and economic management skills for development and social progress, as we are mainly not in a military or legal but rather economic crisis

2.0 Government

The hallmark of our approach would be to have small efficient government of 15 ministries characterized by good planning, prudent management (economic, efficient and effective utilization of public including donor resources) supported by a vigorous but professional fight against corruption. Economic, business and social projects/programmes will be negotiated/structured within an average period of six (6) months and not thirty-six (36) months or more as is the case currently. Further UPND shall:

- Run an open Government that will view and treat advise from and work with the various stake holders in civil society in areas of policy and programme implementation as true partners in development;
- Ensure that all agreed or approved projects and programmes are implemented rigorously in an efficient, effective and timely manner;
- Ensure that Government retains particular oversight and involvement (where necessary in partnership with the private/public sectors) in resources/assets such as energy-uranium, electricity, oil and gas for strategic and revenue for developmental reasons;
- Provide clear and effective guidelines for domestic and external debt contraction, utilization and control in order to practice what may be termed as ‘responsible borrowing’. We will hence, re-align any necessary borrowing from consumption to investment and other productive activities in order to enhance the country’s capacity to pay back loans.

3 Legal Framework.

We need to realize our shared dream as a people with respect to many aspects such as

- Enhancing constitutionalism, democracy, separation of powers, independent Electoral Commission, gender equality, etc,
- Provide for independent judicial and parliamentary systems and reform them so that they can deliver fair/timely justice and legislation to the people.
- Ensure adoption of Independent Broadcasting ACT,
- Adoption of 50+1 electoral requirement for presidential candidate, a presidential running mate and parliamentary approval of cabinet ministers

3.1 Agriculture

The UPND seeks to ensure affordable food supply for all through improved agriculture by doing the following:

- provide subsidized fertilizer and seed to the vulnerable
- provide affordable and readily available agricultural loans to farmers;
- promote efficient crop, livestock and fish production through improved farming methods and disease control for increasing rural incomes for farmers,

- invest more in the meteorological services so as to improve accuracy of weather forecasting essential for agricultural planning, management and disaster preparedness.
- improve forestry management by controlling of deforestation and soil erosion. Planting of more indigenous trees will be undertaken.
- promote effective water development and conservation through efficient utilisation of current water resources, construction of more boreholes, canals, pipelines, dams and weirs to support crop irrigation schemes, livestock production, fish farming and transportation of goods and passengers;
- Rehabilitate existing depots/storage facilities and build new ones closer to farmers;
- provide viable producer prices and pay farmers early for their produce and undertake timely distribution of farming inputs;
- promote agro processing industries to create more jobs for citizens;

3.2 Communication

The UPND will provide sound communications infrastructure as follows:

- Roads, railways, waterways, airways, bridges electrification, and telecommunications,
- Develop other rural and urban infrastructure in order to open up these areas to development especially in industry, agriculture, tourism, commerce etc.

3.3 Education for All

The UPND shall provide:

- Free universal and quality education for all from primary school up to college and university level alongside private education.
- The teaching of technical and industrial skills such as agriculture, brick laying, plumbing, etc, and other trades shall be promoted to support self employment;
- improved education facilities, and easy access to school and adult literacy special education facilities to the disabled;
- Better pay, housing, training, retraining and other conditions of service to teachers, lecturers and other education staff;

- Two technical schools per province, one for boys and other, for girls
- A National University of Science and Technology.

3.4 Health Care for All

- Free quality medical care for the poor alongside private medical facilities for those who can afford to pay
- Improved and modern medical facilities (rehabilitation and building of more clinics and hospitals supported by good technical, research and development capabilities) closer to the people.
- readily available and safe medicines in clinics and hospitals and not the current habit of only giving prescriptions to those seeking medical care;
- vigorous fight against Malaria and HIV/AIDS, in particular, improved management and increased funding for prevention, treatment and care;
- improved but affordable medical schemes and insurance;
- better pay, housing, training, retraining and other conditions of service for all medical personnel.

3.5 Land.

Land belongs to Zambians. The UPND will offer improved land management and delivery system and will guarantee access to land to Zambians including those who live outside the country to build houses, factories and industries on, grow food and for other productive use such as security for loan financing.

- Better land use planning (master and specific use plans including roads and bridges), quick processing (approval or rejection) of applications, adequate monitoring and control of plan implementation.
- In consultation with traditional authorities make more land for development while ensuring land security for rural populations.

3.6 Labour and Social Services

We shall support better and sustainable labour and investment relations by

- Fostering a genuine tripartite partnership involving workers (labour), employers (investment) and Government.
- Ending or discouraging practices such as casualisation.

3.7 Sports

- Invest in sports infrastructure in schools, communities and larger society and develop personnel training to restore country past glory in sports

3.8 Industrialisation and Employment.

UPND will promote a rapid of industrialisation in all sectors of the economy to promote employment through job creation. This will be done through:

- Setting up a business development for start up business and capitalisation of existing ones for all Zambians wishing to enter business.
- Working with business to promote raw material processing with particular emphasis on increasing Zambian exports through regional and international trade to support growth objectives. As a consequence, Government shall provide market access enable businesses to exploit regional and other international trade opportunities;
- Improving Zambia's business climate to promote private and public investments for growth;
- Aggressively and tirelessly working to redress various constraints to business development and social progress. This shall include cutting to minimum the current excessive bureaucracy in various Government/public institutions, set minimum delivery standards for efficiency such as licence or permit issuance within a set time frame, foster attitude change among staff to facilitate and promote the concept of partnership.
- According priority for employment for the youth, women and disable in all companies on a principle of equal pay for equal work.
- Welcoming and granting work and other relevant permits to individual and corporate citizens of the World who have specialist skills or bring into the country substantial investment to support success of an operation, job creation and sustenance for Zambians.

3.9 Public Service.

- Depoliticise the public service, bring back professionalism in the service and strengthen public institutions for improved delivery.

- Improved salary and conditions of service to all public service workers including men and women in uniform.
- Enable workers be able to acquire their own houses, cars and other assets through affordable loan schemes.
- UPND will form leaner and efficient government of 15 ministries.

3.10 Finance and Economic Planning

Fair and balanced corporate and lower personal taxes so that

- Zambians can have more money to spend on basic necessities;
- promote savings and investment culture among our citizens.
- For example, the tax free income band will be increased to a level above the food basket cost for an average household of six (6) people.

3.11 Local Government and Housing.

Implement a well designed and focused decentralisation programme in collaboration with traditional leaders, local authorities, etc, in order to empower local communities, and enhance local government.

- Increase the Constituency Development Fund (CDF) to more than K4 billion

per constituency. Such allocation of development resources to provinces, districts, constituencies and wards will encourage local economic expansion; create jobs in addition to enhancing revenue generation at these levels.

- Youth and Women Development funds will be set up to generate local level business development and employment
- Councillors will be salaried officials and paid gratuity at end of service like MPs currently do.
- better housing/palaces and lighting for traditional authorities
- higher allowances for chiefs and their retainers.

- Replace the current narrow Chief's Act with a Royal Establishment Act (REA) in order to broaden coverage to the whole royal establishment's development programmes and activities including traditional ceremonies.
- Improve town (urban) and country planning and capacity for implementation, monitoring and control. There is need to promote beauty, orderliness, appropriateness, standards, functionality and futuristic considerations in our village, farming, residential, commercial and industrial developments.
- Housing appropriate for all through suitable but affordable housing schemes.
- Upgrading of shanty compounds to acceptable standards.
- Priority access to and ownership of trading places in markets will be accorded to Zambians through marketeers' associations.
- Cheaper business loan schemes for the youth, women, for the disabled and other citizens in order to promote self employment and entrepreneurship development among our people.
- Adequate and sustainable pension schemes/arrangements for all public and private sector workers.
- Salary and retirement benefits to public (including those in uniform), council and other workers should be paid on time.
- Social support schemes to the old, orphaned children, and disabled and other vulnerable citizens.

3.12 Water and Sanitation.

We will provide clean water supply and good sanitation for all citizens.

- Markets, working places, compounds and other residential areas should be kept clean, have proper drainage, reliable water supply and working toilets.

3.13 Government Contracts.

Preferential treatment (through legal, regulatory and other measures) to

- Zambians and Zambian companies in award of service and supply contracts
- Zambians living abroad will be assisted to invest in Zambia and tap their network of contacts so as to increase investment flows into the country.

3.14 Mining

Appropriate taxation of all mining and other extractive industries in order to benefit both Zambians and investors.

- Realign tax regime to international standards such as mineral royalty, corporate tax and windfall tax;
- Support Zambians to own shares and businesses in mining and other companies through joint ventures with foreign capital providers.
- The precious and semi-precious mining sub-sector (emeralds, etc) will be restructured so that it can add meaningful value and income to the Zambian economy including creating more jobs for citizens
- Issuance of new artisan, small and large scale reconnaissance, prospecting and mining licenses shall favour Zambian individuals and entities while foreigners shall provide capital in joint venture agreements.
- invest in more mineral processing facilities and manufacture of final products in order to add value and create more jobs;
- Provide bonuses to workers in line with corporate performance.

3.15 Energy

Resolve the energy crisis in order to minimise electricity outages or cuts to Zambian homes, schools, colleges, industries, mines, farming enterprises and other areas. This would be achieved through:

- Improved planning and management;
- Adequate maintenance of generation, transmission and distribution assets;
- Increased investment in new hydro power stations (small and large) given the great generating potential our country has. This is necessary so as to meet domestic demand and the huge export opportunity.
- Rural electrification as part of development process. Rural areas should have access to facilities such as electricity, internet and telephones.

3.16 Clean and sustainable environment.

Institute clear measures to reduce carbon emissions or green house gases in order to halt global warming and the current Adverse changes in weather patterns that consequently affect food production.

3.17 Clear foreign policy which acknowledges that the World has become a global village.

The policy will focus on

- Achieving mutual respect, non interference in the internal affairs of other countries.
- Taking active interest in areas of common interest such as peace, development, democracy, and economic cooperation with neighbours and other states'
- Strategically exploiting economic and social relationships arising from Zambia's contribution to the liberation struggle in the Southern Africa region.
- Actively participating through quality interaction in the affairs of regional African bodies such as the African Union and other World bodies like United Nations.

4.0 Need for a Solution

- For too long, we have been living with the problem or paradox of a potentially rich country on one hand and extremely poor citizens (70%) on the other.
- We need to solve this problem, but then why are we not doing so?
- The missing link is knowledge and quality based leadership in the management of our country's public resources and affairs.
- This resourceful, prudent and quality leadership should not be viewed from the point of view of tribe or ethnicity but rather capability. We are all children of God and should co-exist, love and accommodate each other.

5.0 Unity of Purpose

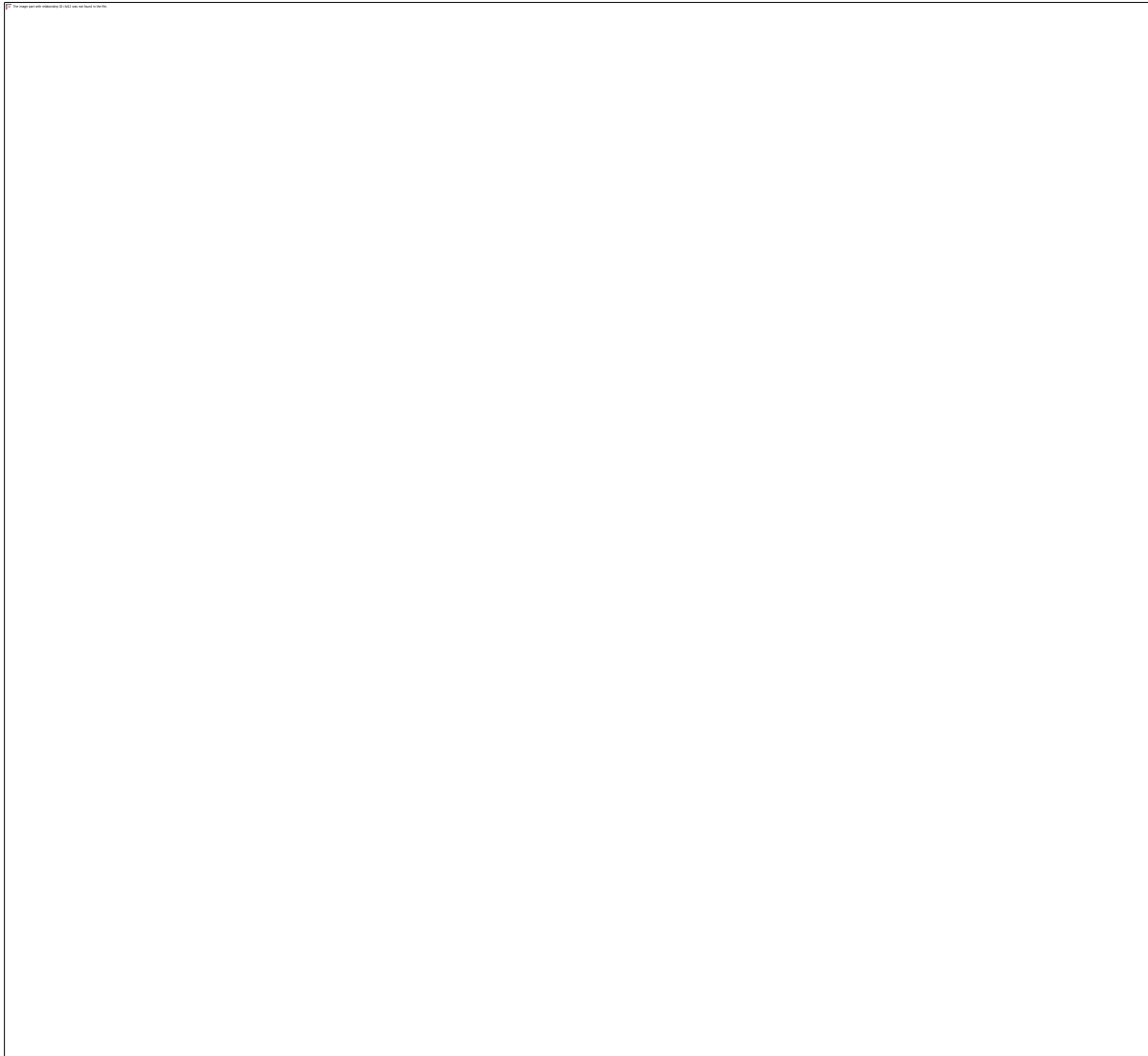
In the past Zambians have always achieved unity of purpose:

- In the 1950s and early 1960s Zambians of all ethnicities united to deliver political independence.
- In the early 1990s Zambians of all ethnicities united to deliver multi-partism.

- Going forward, we need to unite to deliver economic and social independence to our people. This is the theme around which the people of Zambia should rally behind the UPND.

APPENDIX IV: THE UPND'S TEN POINT PLAN

Tukalungisha. Tukakontolola



We plan to start with job creation and employment. From the first day in office, our Government will help Zambian companies to create jobs, by ensuring we start manufacturing most of the things we import. Isn't it an embarrassment that we are importing toothpicks? Are you telling me we can fail to make toothpicks? We will promote investment, trade and economic growth, diversifying the economy and investing in under-developed sectors with huge potential for job and wealth creation such as tourism.

Point Two will be an attack on poverty and inequality, with a strong focus on youth and women. On day one we will start addressing youth and women empowerment. The women folk present

here today, can't you sew uniforms. So why can't Government give you contracts to supply uniforms in Government schools? Youths are found making furniture at Nakadoli market. Why is Government importing furniture for their offices and not buying furniture from Nakadoli market? This is what we mean by empowering women and the youth when you give us a vote.

Point Three will be investing in our people through education. There is no nation in this world that has advanced without a population that has the right skills. The youths that will be making chairs and desks for Government schools will need education before they get skills to start making desks. Our women who will be supplying uniforms to Government schools need education first before they can learn knitting and tailoring. This is why we are saying education for all is a must. The waste we shall save from ending corruption in procurement of Government goods and services, by-elections and other areas will be invested in education. Now listen carefully here. In Zambia building a road costs 2 million dollars per kilometer, while in South Africa it's 400,000 dollars. This means the money we pay for one kilometer, you can do 5 kilometers in South Africa. Why are our roads expensive? It's because of corruption.

Point Four is to electrify Zambia. The PF has failed to run the power sector resulting in load-shedding, limited and unreliable access and high costs of production. How are businesses supposed to operate under such conditions? Our plan is very simple; we are discussing with the private sector to build power stations from renewables. What do I mean colleagues? Zesco is broke that they cannot build new power stations, we will talk to our friends in the private sector to build power stations, and the power produced will be sold to ZESCO, that is how we will end load shedding.

Point Five will improve competitiveness so that our local businesses can grow and create jobs, and new ones can start up. We will tackle areas such as heavy regulation, the high costs of transport and trade, access to finance and power supply.

Point Six will focus on aggressively cutting Government waste. We are not going to have 71 ministers in our Government the way our friends did. We are going to reduce on the number of ministers and review their conditions of service. A minister gets 800 liters of fuel per month, that is about 500,000 kwacha for the entire cabinet. By the end of the 5 years of PF we will have spent over 29 billion old currency on fuel for ministers. This does not include the free phones, cars, housing and many other things we provide to them. We cannot continue making a few people rich at the expense of 14 million Zambians.

Point Seven will develop our agriculture sector. Our job once you put us in power is to reduce the price of mealie meal. How will we do this? We will increase farmer support in both input provision and reduce the unit cost of production. In this country a farmer produces about 40 bags of maize per hectare when it is possible to produce 100 bags with the same inputs. What farmers need is a robust extension service system so that they can produce more by improving their management of fields. Once this happens then the price of a 50kg bag of maize will come down and with it mealie meal. We will also help farmers diversify their crop to produce other foods and grow produce for neighbouring countries.

Point Eight will end the flip-flops and policy inconsistencies that are costing people jobs. In this place over 10,000 miners and their affiliates lost employment. And the PF Government looked on as our people were losing jobs. From the time the PF took over they have changed mining tax policy three times, scaring investors away. What we are doing immediately you give us the instruments of power is to instill confidence in the economy. As a responsible Government we will rather lose a bit of mineral royalty than see you lose your wages and your livelihood.

Point Nine, building a healthy nation, cannot be compromised on. Colleagues, people are going to hospitals that have no medicines and doctors. We have a shortage of over 13,000 nurses and yet we have thousands of young people looking for jobs – another PF miscalculation. Meanwhile, the high maternal mortality rate remains a stain on the conscience of our nation. Immediately we take office we are reforming procurement of medicines in hospitals. The money we will save from a reduced cabinet and corruption will be used to hire nurses, doctors and buy medicines. We have already spoken to people that are willing to come and set up mini water plants in places like Chamboli so that you people can have access to piped water.

Point Ten is Good Governance. Zambians under PF are living in fear. If you say something against the Government or the President, then you are threatened with arrest. Police are being misused by the PF. People have to apply for permits to have church meetings. We are taking over Government to ensure that Zambians can enjoy their rights. We will immediately repeal the Public Order Act. We are also going to embark on reforming the Anti Corruption Commission and the Drug Enforcement Commission (DEC) to make them independent bodies to pursue corrupt elements. There will be no sacred cows in a UPND-led Government. We need to fight corruption to the bitter end, it has made us poor and I am telling you now, anyone who is corrupt will face the law. Corruption is a cancer that needs to be aggressively tackled.