

English

Political Public Speaking:

A Rhetoric of Identification

英语

政治公众演讲语篇：
同一修辞视角

周 强◎著



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Preface

This book is aimed at providing a comprehensive introduction to a fairly new approach to the analysis of English political public speaking, that is to say, the identification model of discourse analysis from the perspective of Burkean new rhetoric. The focus of this book is upon the construction and implementation of the identification model. Our data consist of naturally occurring English political public addresses in various situations about a variety of subject matters.

Since political discourse reflects the close relation between politics and language, it has attracted many scholars' attention at home and abroad, and has been approached from a wide range of disciplines, like pragmatics, systemic-functional grammar, stylistics, critical discourse analysis, cognitive linguistics, and rhetoric. With regard to political discourse, these researches have all made their great contributions and shed light on different aspects of the total phenomenon. Yet, up to now, to the author's limited knowledge, there hasn't been any attempt to analyze political discourse systematically from the perspective of Burkean identification rhetoric, although actually rhetoric has a close relationship with discourse study, which can be traced back to the days of ancient Greece. New rhetoric has been largely neglected not only in political discourse analysis but also in other genres of text and discourse analysis. This is the exact reason why we single out the subject for discussion in this book. Therefore, due to the space and time limitation, we choose one of the subcategories of political discourse – English political public

speaking as the subject of our present study. Based on the findings of Kenneth Burke's new rhetoric, which is deeply rooted in classical rhetoric, we probe into the identification strategies of EPPS (English Political Public Speaking) from rhetorical content and rhetorical form. According to these two aspects, we construct a model and put our model into practice by providing extended analysis of English political public speaking on various issues, and reflect on this analytical tool in terms of its theoretical and pedagogical implications. By the way of case study, we do the rhetorical criticism of the public addresses in detail. The results of the criticism show that our identification model can be applied to the analysis of English political public speaking, at least to some extent.

This study consists of two major parts. The first part proposes a theoretical framework for EPPS identification analysis. The second part utilizes the framework to expound the specific means of EPPS identification.

Chapter One is a general introduction to the study of English political public speaking research. The scope of the research is defined; the purpose and significance of the project are stated; the data and methodology to be used in the present study are described; and finally the overall structure of the book is summarized, too.

Chapter Two firstly illustrates the definition and functions of English political public speaking. It also offers a state-of-the-art review of English political public speaking studies. Pragmatics, systemic-functional grammar, stylistics, critical discourse analysis, cognitive linguistics, and rhetoric all make a contribution to English political public speaking studies in different aspects. Following the literature review is the statement of the present approach to EPPS analysis, in which we explain the aim and focus of our proposed approach and how we try to be different from above-mentioned approaches.

Chapter Three, first and foremost, introduces rhetoric in a general

sense, and then, sketches the relevant theoretical points, including the origin, definition, scope and function of new rhetoric. All these theoretical points serve as the background knowledge for next section, which focuses on introducing Kenneth Burke, one of the representative rhetoricians in the twentieth century. In particular, the notion of identification and its relationship with other related terms, i.e. consubstantiality, division, persuasion, are outlined. The rhetorical model of English political public speaking identification is based on the proposition that rhetorical process occurs in both rhetorical content and rhetorical form. The model is regarded as the theoretical foundation for the following chapters.

Chapter Four investigates English political public speaking identification via rhetorical content: argumentation, emotional appeal, ethical appeal, antithesis, inaccuracy, and non-verbal symbolic actions, etc.

Chapter Five considers English political public speaking identification via rhetorical form: conventional form, progressive form, repetitive form, and figurative form, etc.

Chapter Six employs the theoretical framework that has been laid out in Chapter Three, Four, and Five. A detailed step-by-step analysis of English political public speaking is hoped to demonstrate the feasibility of the Burkean identification model in the analysis of political genre of discourse. Having analyzed four speeches in detail, we can draw the following conclusions. Firstly, the rhetoric of English political public speaking is a process of identification in which both the speakers and the audience try to commune with each other, verbally and non-verbally, in content and in form. The identification between them could be achieved via rhetorical content and rhetorical form. Rhetorical content is likely to bring about identification, for it appeals to people's faculties

and meets their needs. Rhetorical form makes identification possible, because the audience first get involved in the form and then in the content. Secondly, some identification strategies are used more frequently than others in English political public speaking, according to different circumstances under which the speech has been delivered and various purposes the speakers intend to achieve. For example, if the address is given in a war time or in an urgent situation, the speaker would be more likely to resort to emotional appeal than rational appeal. Thirdly, as English political public speaking is always well-prepared rather than impromptu, the subconscious or unconscious identification strategies are always employed by the speaker to accomplish their purposes, that is, to transcend division, gain identification and induce cooperation. Fourthly, English political public speaking always has clear and logical reasoning, emotive expressions, that is to say, the speaker tends to exploit rational appeal, emotional appeal, conventional form, progressive form and figurative form. Moreover, the speaker always employs repetitive form to help the audience remember the theme of the address. The problems or exigencies from the outside that need solving, i.e. gaining identification via antithesis, also frequently appear in English political public speaking.

The final chapter is intended to draw a conclusion of the present study, figure out the implications for pedagogy, and point out its limitations and future efforts to be made.

By putting forward the rhetorical approach, we attempt to illustrate how Kenneth Burke's theory of new rhetoric, especially the theory of identification, might play a positive part in dealing with English political public speaking. The nature of our identification model lies in its capability to reveal the motives or the multiple aims that are featured in political discourse. It is designed to explain the relationship among political

discourse, power and cooperation or action. It also helps to understand how language supplies motive and identity. Yet, we do not assume that other approaches to political discourse analysis are imperfect and inadequate. What we design to do in this book is to sketch and outline a practicable model for the critical analysis of English political public discourses from the perspective that has been touched upon by few scholars.

The Author

Aug. 10, 2015

List of Figures

- 3.1 The relationship of identification and its related terms
- 3.2 The rhetorical situation of English political public speaking
- 3.3 A rhetorical model of identification: English political public speaking
- 4.1 Toulmin's argument model
- 4.2 Human needs hierarchy
- 4.3 The multi-dimensions of rhetorical content in EPPS identification
- 5.1 The typical pattern of EPPS
- 5.2 The multi-dimensions of rhetorical form in EPPS identification
- 6.1 The percentage of sentence length in John F. Kennedy's *Inaugural Address*
- 6.2 The percentage of sentence types in John F. Kennedy's *Inaugural Address*
- 6.3 Identification strategies of John F. Kennedy's *Inaugural Address*
- 6.4 Identification strategies of Barack Obama's *Inaugural Address*
- 6.5 Identification strategies of Abraham Lincoln's *Gettysburg Address*
- 6.6 Identification strategies of George W. Bush's *TV Address to the Nation*

Contents

Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1 Scope of the Present Study	1
1.2 Purpose and Significance of the Present Study	3
1.3 Methodology and Data Collection	4
1.4 Organization of the Book	5
Chapter 2 A Review of English Political Public Speaking Studies	7
2.1 Perception of English Political Public Speaking	7
2.2 Approaches to English Political Public Speaking	10
2.3 The Present Approach	17
2.4 Summary	18
Chapter 3 The Identification Model of English Political Public Speaking	19
3.1 Rhetoric in General	19
3.2 Introducing Kenneth Burke's New Rhetoric	21
3.3 Definition of Identification and Its Related Terms	23
3.4 The Model for English Political Public Speaking Identification	28
3.5 Summary	33
Chapter 4 English Political Public Speaking Identification via Rhetorical Content	35
4.1 Identification via Rational Appeal	36

4.2	Identification via Emotional Appeal	40
4.3	Identification via Ethical Appeal	47
4.4	Identification via Antithesis	49
4.5	Identification via Inaccuracy	49
4.6	Identification via Non-Verbal Symbolic Actions	51
4.7	Summary	52
Chapter 5	English Political Public Speaking Identification via Rhetorical Form	54
5.1	Identification via Conventional Form	55
5.2	Identification via Progressive Form	57
5.3	Identification via Repetitive Form	59
5.4	Identification via Figurative Form	62
5.5	Summary	65
Chapter 6	Case Studies	67
6.1	Inaugural Addresses	68
6.2	Public Speeches on War Issues	95
6.3	Summary	108
Chapter 7	Conclusion	110
7.1	A Brief Summary of the Book	110
7.2	Implications for Pedagogy	111
7.3	Limitations and Future Directions of the Present Study	112
Appendix		114
Bibliography		170

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Scope of the Present Study

Politics and language are so closely related that, as R. Lakoff (1990: 13) put it, politics is language and, at the same time, language is politics, which are intimately linked at a fundamental level (Chilton, 2004: 4). The close relation between politics and language is revealed in political discourse, which has attracted many scholars' attention at home and abroad, and has been approached from a wide range of disciplines, like pragmatics, systemic-functional grammar, stylistics, critical discourse analysis, cognitive linguistics, and rhetoric. With regard to the political discourse, these researches have all made their great contributions and shed light on the different aspects of the total phenomenon.

From the 1980s' onward, there has been an increasing interest in the language of politics (political rhetoric, political speech, political style and political discourse) (Landsheer, 1998: 1). Actually, it is hardly something new, which can be traced back to as early as ancient Greek and became a heated topic from that time on, especially on whether it is legitimate to change people's minds by using language in a well-designed way. On one hand, Aristotle suggested that a good speaker should be capable of making use of language in such a delicate way as to alter people's

attitudes toward the world, since “man is a political animal [*politikon zoon*]” (Aristotle, cf. Chilton, 2004: 4). On the other hand, Plato condemned that this way of employing language is illegitimate, for it cannot be excused from being intended to control others.

Nowadays, with the expanding globalization and cross-cultural communication, people are more sensitive to political speeches, for they are not only presentations of speaking skills of certain politicians, but also manifestations of reinforcement of policies and political attitudes upon the addressees. Thus, the most prominent features that distinguish political speeches from the other types of speech are their strong association with power and their multiple aims, explicit or implicit. On one hand, the speaker often tries to present himself as an authority in order to enforce the power upon the hearers; on the other hand, he has to mitigate his power, in one way or another, so as to establish a desirable relationship with the audience. This two-sidedness often forms a sharp contrast in political speeches. All of the above features make the political speech more complex and deserve our special attention. Due to time and space limit, our present study narrows down to the analysis of English political public speaking (EPPS, for short).

From the 1950s' on, rhetoric has been reborn and flourished with different ideas and methodologies; however, it has been neglected in the political discourse analysis, to some extent. Therefore, this study attempts to analyze EPPS from the perspective of identification, the key term for Kenneth Burke's new rhetoric. Then, it probes into the identification strategies that politicians have employed to transcend division, gain identification, induce cooperation and realize their motives in EPPS, and discuss the positive effects of these strategies on EPPS. Finally, we propose a rhetorical model of EPPS identification in the hope of providing a new approach to the political discourse analysis.

Two concerns have been involved in our study: Kenneth Burke's key term for new rhetoric – identification, as our theoretical basis; EPPS as the subject of our analysis.

1.2 Purpose and Significance of the Present Study

Based on the theory of new rhetoric, the current study attempts to make a systematic investigation into the rhetorical process of EPPS, to figure out how the speakers achieve its rhetorical effect, and to discuss how the politicians use the identification strategies to transcend division, gain identification, induce cooperation, and thus, realize their motives. A rhetorical model of EPPS identification will be put forward to help people interpret EPPS in a more effective way.

This research of EPPS from a new rhetorical perspective is of both theoretical and practical significance. Its theoretical value lies in not only providing the empirical evidence for Kenneth Burke's new rhetoric, which is applicable to analyze EPPS, but also offering a new perspective to analyze the political discourse. Our research results are also of practical importance. On one hand, they can guide people to appreciate the art of politicians' speaking better, learn the language techniques employed in EPPS, and improve their own speaking skills. On the other hand, they can help people to understand the deeper meaning implied in EPPS better, and find the language strategies and techniques the politicians used in EPPS to attract the audience, shorten their distance, and, thus, to conceal the multi-purposes of their speaking. In addition, the model we proposed emphasizes the interactive relationship between the

speaker and the audience in EPPS. The audience-oriented concept is central to our rhetorical identification model, which is also applicable to writing as an active process between the writer and the reader. Thus, our rhetorical identification model and its emphasis on the audience have also shed light on writing practices.

1.3 Methodology and Data Collection

To effectively analyze EPPS, we should try to follow some sequential steps: description, interpretation, and explanation put forward by Fairclough.

Description is the stage which is concerned with formal properties of the text; Interpretation is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction – with seeing the text as the product of a process of production, and as a resource in the process of interpretation; Explanation is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context – with the social determination of the processes of production and interpretation, and their social effect. (Fairclough, 1989: 26)

On the basis of introducing identification systematically, this book will analyze several addresses in particular. The data will be collected from the published books and the websites, which possess the prominent characteristics of EPPS. This book will focus on interpreting the speeches – how the speakers employ the identification strategies to transcend division, gain identification, induce cooperation and realize their motives in EPPS.

The methodology employed in the research is the combination of

qualitative method and quantitative method, in which qualitative method is the primary one. Generally speaking, our study is speculative in nature.

1.4 Organization of the Book

EPPS, the typical example of political discourse, is very common in our society. This book, based on the identification theory, attempts to explore the rhetorical strategies employed in EPPS.

This book consists of seven chapters.

Chapter One is a general introduction to the current EPPS research. The scope of the research is defined, the purpose and significance of the project is stated, the data and methodology to be used are described, and the overall structure of the book is generalized.

Chapter Two defines EPPS, and offers a state-of-the-art review of EPPS studies. The perspectives of pragmatics, systemic-functional grammar, stylistics, critical discourse analysis, cognitive linguistics, and rhetoric all contribute to EPPS studies in different aspects. However, the change in rhetorical situation calls for a new rhetorical approach to EPPS studies, i.e. the statement of the approach in our present study.

Chapter Three introduces the theory of rhetoric in general and Kenneth Burke's New Rhetoric in particular, and expounds the notion of identification and its related terms. The rhetorical model of EPPS identification is based on the proposition that rhetorical process occurs in both rhetorical content and rhetorical form. The proposed model serves as the theoretical framework for the following chapters.

Chapter Four investigates EPPS identification via rhetorical content. Apart from the three appeals proposed by Aristotle, it also analyzes identification via antithesis, inaccuracy, and non-verbal symbolic actions.

Chapter Five concerns EPPS identification via rhetorical form from

the following aspects: the conventional form, progressive form, repetitive form and figurative form.

Chapter Six is the application of the theoretical framework constructed in Chapter 3, 4, and 5 to case studies.

Chapter Seven draws the conclusion of the present study, explores the pedagogical implications for public speaking and writing in a brief way. Its limitations and recommendations for the future study are also being mentioned in the final part of the book.