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**| RESEARCH ARTICLE**

## **From Device to Deed: A Framework for Mapping Rhetorical Moves to Illocutionary Effects in Political Speech**

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**| ABSTRACT**

This paper proposes a unified framework—Device–Act–Felicity–Effect (DAFE)—linking rhetorical criticism and speech-act pragmatics to explain how political speakers transform linguistic form into performative action. It addresses the gap between rhetorical form and pragmatic function, offering a systematic model for mapping rhetorical devices to illocutionary force, felicity cues, and audience uptake. Building on Austin and Searle’s speech-act theory and contemporary rhetorical analysis, the framework formalises rhetorical devices as felicity scaffolds that make speech acts recognisable and legitimate. It employs a four-layer annotation system: (A) Rhetorical Device, (B) Illocutionary Force, (C) Felicity Signal, and (D) Perlocutionary Intent. Procedures for coder training, reliability testing ( $\kappa$ ,  $\alpha$ ), and optional NLP support ensure replicability and scalability. Applications to Nelson Mandela’s Statement from the Dock (1964) and Yasser Arafat’s UN Address (1974) show that rhetorical devices perform essential felicity functions under contested authority. Repetition heightens commissive sincerity; metaphor and antithesis enact recognition; ethos substitutes for institutional legitimacy. These patterns reveal rhetoric as a mechanism through which political actors constitute moral and performative authority. Value: The DAFE framework establishes a reproducible bridge between rhetoric and pragmatics, turning interpretive insights into structured, comparable data. Practical Implications: It supports cross-cultural and computational analyses of political oratory, diplomacy, and protest discourse, providing an open, field-building method for cumulative research on performative legitimacy in global communication.

**| KEYWORDS**

Rhetoric; Speech Acts; Felicity; Political Discourse; Performativity; Pragmatics; Rhetorical–Pragmatic Framework

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### **1. Introduction**

Political speech is not merely a vehicle for persuasion; it is a mode of action. When leaders speak, they do not simply describe political realities—they constitute them, authorize new roles, inaugurate movements, and commit collectives to future courses of action. This insight, foundational to speech-act theory, is most closely associated with Austin’s (1962) claim that “to say something is to do something” (p. 12). Yet, despite seminal developments in pragmatics (Searle, 1969; Bach & Harnish, 1979), political communication research has often treated rhetoric as symbolic persuasion rather than as performative deed (Finlayson, 2021). Conversely, rhetorical studies have richly theorized figurative devices and audience alignment but rarely specify how these devices make illocutionary acts felicitous or recognizable in contested political arenas (Charteris-Black, 2014; Condor et al., 2013; Gee, 2014; Locher, 2015). The core problem addressed in this paper is therefore the absence of an operational account of how rhetorical form conditions pragmatic force, particularly in environments where authority is not given but must be articulated and secured through language.

Freedom-movement oratory provides a critical empirical site for developing such an account (Abu Sharif, 2009; Khalidi, 1997). Leaders such as Nelson Mandela, Yasser Arafat, Martin Luther King Jr., Patrice Lumumba, Mahatma Gandhi, and Thomas Sankara spoke from positions where legitimacy was uncertain and recognition contested. Their words sought not merely to persuade audiences but to speak authority into being—asserting representation, committing to struggle, and framing political action within shared moral vocabularies (McAdam et al., 2012; Jackson et al., 2020). In these settings, rhetorical devices do not simply embellish claims; they perform felicity-scaffolding work. Ethos appeals and institutional self-ascription establish credible authority (“in my capacity as...”; Arafat, 1974). Anaphora dramatizes resolve (“I have fought...”; Mandela, 1964; United Nations, 2014). Metaphoric dualisms frame moral stakes (“olive branch and the gun”; Arafat, 1974). Such devices enable illocutions to register as authoritative and sincere when formal sovereignty or legal standing is absent (Asmal et al., 1998; Charland, 1987; Finlayson, 2025). Freedom-movement speech thus reveals how rhetorical artistry functions as a pragmatic resource for leaders navigating power asymmetries and hostile audiences.

The contribution of this paper is to propose a unified rhetorical-pragmatic framework for analyzing how political actors convert device into deed. We introduce a transferrable coding manual and annotation protocol that maps the pathway from rhetorical move to illocutionary force, to felicity cues, to perlocutionary outcomes. This formalization complements existing theoretical work in rhetoric (Burke, 1969; Charteris-Black, 2014) and speech-act philosophy (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969; Bach & Harnish, 1979) by providing a systematic mechanism for tracing how stylistic forms function as pragmatic enablers. In doing so, this framework responds directly to calls for methodological rigor and transparency in political discourse analysis (Neuendorf, 2017; Krippendorff, 2019), offering clear criteria, decision rules, and reliability benchmarks that support cumulative, comparable research across cases, movements, languages, and media.

The framework is designed not only for close rhetorical reading but for mixed-method analysis. It specifies operational definitions, coding categories, and reliability procedures that allow scholars to combine qualitative interpretation with quantitative examination of device-act co-occurrence patterns. It is illustrated here through canonical freedom-movement speeches, but it is intended for broad application across diplomatic addresses, parliamentary debate, transitional justice testimony, and digitally mediated activism. By operationalizing the structural relation between rhetorical form and pragmatic effect, the model advances a scalable methodology for understanding how political actors perform power, manufacture legitimacy, and mobilize publics through language.

The remainder of the paper proceeds as follows. Section 2 identifies conceptual gaps between rhetorical criticism and speech-act theory and defines key terms. Section 3 introduces the device-to-deed framework, including conceptual mapping and formal rules. Section 4 sets out the coding manual, annotation protocol, and reliability procedures. Section 5 provides worked examples from Mandela and Arafat. Section 6 discusses broader applications, computational extensions, and limitations. Section 7 concludes by highlighting implications for comparative political discourse research and providing access to open resources to support replication. Together, these contributions position rhetorical devices not as aesthetic ornaments but as constitutive mechanisms of political action, revealing how language enables actors—especially those in contested contexts—to do things in speech.

## **2. Conceptual Gaps: Why Rhetoric and Speech-Act Theory Need Integration**

For more than half a century, rhetoric and speech-act theory have developed in parallel, each illuminating crucial dimensions of public speech yet rarely intersecting in sustained analytic practice. Rhetoric provides interpretive power for understanding persuasive form, audience alignment, and symbolic resonance. Speech-act theory, by contrast, conceptualizes utterances as actions that perform commitments, declarations, and demands. Despite shared concern with how language *does* things, the two traditions have evolved on separate methodological tracks. This section argues that their separation creates a conceptual and empirical blind spot—especially evident in freedom-movement oratory—and that bridging them requires a systematic account of how rhetorical devices scaffold illocutionary force and felicity conditions (Charteris-Black, 2011).

This gap persists despite renewed interest in rhetorical performativity and mediated mobilization (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012; Tufekci, 2017). Historically, rhetorical studies have offered rich taxonomies of persuasive technique and contemporary rhetorical-political analysis linking metaphor to ideological legitimation (Charteris-Black, 2011; Khalidi, 1997) and audience orientation, tracing back to Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* (trans. 2007) and enduring through Burke’s dramaturgical approach, which conceptualizes symbolic action through identification and motive (Burke, 1969). Contemporary rhetorical scholarship highlights how political actors frame problems, mobilize publics, and construct identities (Charteris-Black, 2014; Condor et al., 2013; Gee, 2014; Locher, 2015). Bitzer’s (1968) notion of the rhetorical situation—exigence, audience, constraints—remains foundational, as does Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca’s (1969) argumentation theory emphasizing adherence and presence. Yet even as rhetorical scholars explore persuasion, affect, and ethos-building, the analytical attention remains largely interpretive. There is no

standardized mechanism for systematically code-linking rhetorical devices with the forms of action they enable, nor for adjudicating whether a rhetorical move successfully performs an illocutionary act in context (Saldaña, 2025; Krippendorff, 2022).

Speech-act pragmatics, conversely, excels at specifying what actions utterances perform. Yet without attention to symbolic resources, pragmatics risks assuming force without stylistic enablement (House & Kádár, 2025). Austin's (1962) tripartite distinction—locution, illocution, perlocution—frames utterances as actions that require felicity conditions (authority, sincerity, appropriate convention) to succeed. Searle (1969) formalized speech-act classes (assertives, directives, commissives, expressives, declarations), and subsequent theorists elaborated inferential mechanisms (Grice, 1975; Bach & Harnish, 1979). Later developments in political philosophy and rhetorical history, such as Skinner's (2002) contextualist analysis, further underline the role of speech acts in political contestation. However, speech-act theory tends to assume that illocutionary force is transparently encoded in linguistic form, under-specifying the stylistic and affective labor that makes force *recognizable* and uptake achievable.

Pragmatics has thus had limited tools to account for how metaphor, repetition, narrative stance, or ethos cues help satisfy sincerity or authority conditions in contested political spaces.

Across both fields, then, a conceptual gap persists: rhetorical studies emphasize *how* leaders persuade; speech-act theory explains *what* utterances do; but neither systematically theorizes *how rhetorical form becomes pragmatic force*. Judith Butler's (1997) intervention on performativity advanced the conversation by showing how repeated citation of norms confers power and identity, yet even here the mechanisms of rhetorical instantiation remain analytically diffuse. Finlayson (2021) similarly argues for rhetoric as central to political action but calls for more systematic specification of how linguistic choices enact authority. The growing scholarship on discursive legitimacy and populist rhetoric (Rooduijn, 2019; Ekström & Firmstone, 2021) likewise recognizes the performative dimension of political speech but leaves open how particular stylistic devices condition felicity and uptake.

Freedom-movement oratory surfaces this theoretical void with unusual clarity (Jasper, 2014; McAdam et al., 2012; Tarrow, 2012). Leaders like Mandela, Arafat, King, Lumumba, Gandhi, and Sankara operated in contexts where legal authority was often denied, institutional recognition uncertain, and audience uptake deeply contested. Their speeches not only argued but *performed*: they declared representation, committed to struggle, and framed resistance as morally justified. Crucially, these acts were made possible not solely by syntactic form but by rhetorical scaffolding—repetition dramatizing resolve, metaphor structuring moral horizon, ethos projecting credibility (Charteris-Black, 2011). Without such devices, commissives of sacrifice or declarations of collective identity risk infelicity: lacking perceived sincerity, authority, or shared symbolic grounding, they would fail uptake.

Thus, studying freedom-movement rhetoric makes visible what traditional speech-act theory obscures: illocutionary force is not simply encoded; it is *enabled* by stylistic form. Mandela's anaphoric "I have fought...I have cherished...I am prepared to die" converts assertion into vow; Arafat's "olive branch and the gun" fuses metaphor and antithesis to stage diplomatic peace and militant resolve simultaneously. These rhetorical moves meet felicity conditions through symbolic labor—credibility-building, norm citation, emotional alignment—not merely propositional content. Conversely, rhetorical analysis alone cannot account for why certain metaphors function as effective declarations while others falter. To explain success or failure, scholars must trace how rhetorical devices interact with contextual authority claims and audience conventions to secure felicity, uptake, and perlocutionary consequences.

Bridging these traditions demands an empirical mechanism. A systematic coding model mapping rhetorical device → illocutionary force → felicity cues → perlocutionary consequences addresses this need by operationalizing the connective tissue between form and force (Saldaña, 2025; Krippendorff, 2022). Such a bridge aligns with calls for methodological rigor in political discourse analysis (Krippendorff, 2019; Neuendorf, 2017), supports comparative inquiry across speeches and movements, and opens pathways for computational extension (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012; Tufekci, 2017) in multimodal activism contexts (Bhatia, 2017; Freelon et al., 2016; Jackson et al., 2020; Munger, 2020; Sosnin et al., 2023). It also clarifies theoretical stakes: without rhetorical alignment, even authoritative utterances risk infelicity; with strategic deployment of devices, speakers lacking formal power can nevertheless constitute authority, mobilize publics, and enact political reality.

In short, rhetoric can no longer be treated as ornament and pragmatics cannot assume force without stylistic enablement. A unified framework is essential to theorize and measure how actors in contested arenas translate *device into deed*, transforming symbolic language into performative political action.

### 3.The Proposed Framework

This section formalizes a device-to-deed framework that specifies how rhetorical form conditions pragmatic force in political speech. Its central claim is that rhetorical devices are not peripheral embellishments but integral scaffolds for illocutionary success: they help utterances meet felicity conditions of authority, sincerity, and normative fit and thereby enable perlocutionary uptake. To capture this dynamic, the framework operationalizes a four-layer chain:

*Rhetorical device → Illocutionary force → Felicity cues → Perlocutionary pathways*

This architecture builds on speech-act theory (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969; Searle & Vanderveken, 2009), rhetorical theory (Aristotle, trans. 2007; Burke, 1969; Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969), and contemporary work on political rhetoric and performativity (Charteris-Black, 2011; Butler, 2021; Finlayson, 2025). It translates conceptual insights into a reproducible analytic protocol capable of mixed-method implementation (Neuendorf, 2019; Krippendorff, 2022; Saldaña, 2025). The framework is designed to work across liberation speeches, diplomatic addresses, courtroom statements, and digital mobilization utterances (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012; Tufekci, 2017; Freelon, McIlwain, & Clark, 2016; Jackson, Bailey, & Welles, 2020).

#### 3.1 Theoretical Architecture

The model assumes that rhetorical strategies operate as felicity scaffolds: stylistic techniques help listeners recognize an utterance as authoritative, sincere, morally grounded, or collectively binding. Rhetorical devices thus constitute pragmatic work—“the doing within the saying” (Austin, 1962; Butler, 2021). The device performs uptake engineering, shaping whether audiences accept the speaker’s authority to declare (“the PLO is the sole legitimate representative”), commit (“I am prepared to die”), or direct (“Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand”).

Building on constitutive rhetoric (Charland, 1987), framing theory (Snow & Benford, 1988; Chong & Druckman, 2007), and mobilization studies (McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 2012; Jasper, 2014; Tarrow, 2012), the model understands rhetorical acts as identity-creating and authority-generating. The framework thus sits at the intersection of stylistic analysis and political pragmatics, allowing researchers to trace how leaders perform legitimacy rather than merely claim it (Asmal, Asmal, & Roberts, 1998; Gasaway-Hill, 2018; Oyedeleji & Nmadu, 2025).

#### 3.2 Definitions

*Unit of analysis:* The unit of analysis is the sentence or independent clause, consistent with content-analytic conventions (Neuendorf, 2019; Saldaña, 2025). Sub-clausal devices (e.g., metaphorical noun phrases) are coded at the sentence level to maintain comparability across multilingual corpora and computational scalability.

*Rhetorical device categories:* Drawing on Aristotle (trans. 2007), Burke (1969), and modern rhetorical-political analysis (Charteris-Black, 2011; Finlayson, 2025), devices are grouped into six operational categories (Table 1).

Table 1. Operational Definitions and Linguistic Markers for Core Rhetorical Device Categories

Category	Definition	Illustrative Markers
Metaphor/ imagery	Substitution mapping one domain onto another to structure meaning	symbolic nouns; dual framing (“olive branch and gun”; Arafat, 1974)
Antithesis/ contrast	Juxtaposition to dramatize stakes or moral polarity	binary pairings (“white domination/black domination”; Mandela, 1964)
Anaphora/ repetition	Recurring opening phrase or structure to intensify commitment	“I have fought... I have cherished...” (Mandela, 1964).
Ethos/ authority cues	Claims to role, sacrifice, moral standing	“in my capacity as...”; biography, sacrifice (Arafat, 1974).
Pathos/ affective appeal	Emotional invocation to build solidarity or urgency	suffering, hope, injustice, sacrifice

Logos/rational argument	Causal or evidentiary logic to justify action	statistics, legal principles, historical claims
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Definitions include explicit linguistic markers to support reliable intercoder coding and automated detection (Bhatia, 2017; House & Kádár, 2025).

*Illocution taxonomy:* Speech acts follow Searle's (1969) schema with political-speech overlays from Finlayson (2012; 2025):

- Assertives (diagnosing injustice; stating fact)
- Directives (appeals to courts, publics, institutions)
- Commissives (pledges of struggle, sacrifice, negotiation)
- Expressives (mourning, indignation, resolve)
- Declarations (claims to represent the people; political identity acts)

Political declarations include representational claims, e.g., "the sole legitimate representative of the people," consistent with Gricean commitment logic (Grice, 1975) and identity formation (Charland, 1987).

### 3.3 Mapping Rules

The framework proposes heuristic associations between devices and likely illocutionary forces. These are not deterministic but probabilistic, emphasizing the device-force affinity (Table 2).

Table 2. Heuristic Mapping of Rhetorical Devices to Illocutionary Forces

Device	Typical Force(s)	Rationale
Metaphor	assertive/commissive/declarative	moral framing; identity construction
Antithesis	Assertive/commissive	dramatizes moral boundary, conflict stakes
Anaphora	Commissive/assertive	dramatizes resolve, enacts vow-structure
Ethos	Declarative/commissive	claims authority; authenticates commitment
Pathos	Expressive/commissive	mobilizes solidarity & sacrifice
Logos	Assertive/directive	justifies claims; legitimizes demands

These heuristics instantiate Gricean inferencing (Grice, 1975) and pragmatic activation principles (Bach & Harnish, 1979), but they also align with empirical findings in liberation rhetoric (Asmal et al., 1998; Charteris-Black, 2011; Sutanto et al., 2025).

### 3.4 Felicity Signaling

Felicity cues specify how rhetorical devices satisfy speech-act conditions (Austin, 1962; Searle & Vanderveken, 2009). Core signaling categories include:

Table 3. Felicity-Cue Categories and Their Rhetorical Correlates in Political Speech

Felicity cue	Device Correlates	Function
Authority markers	Ethos, role declaration	establishes speaker's right to speak/declare
Sincerity markers	Anaphora, sacrifice, narrative	demonstrates earnest commitment
Modality	Conditionals ("if needs be"), future tense	encodes intentions and readiness
Audience construction	Direct address, inclusive pronouns	builds collective identity; assigns duties
Norm citation	Legal/historical references	grounds claims in recognized frameworks

These cues support performative uptake in arenas where legitimacy is contested (Neumann, 2012; Johnson & Foster, 2024).

### 3.5 Perlocution in Multi-Audience Contexts

Perlocution is conceptualized not as a single outcome but as a multi-audience vector. Liberation speeches address:

- Diplomatic observers (seeking state recognition)
- Domestic supporters (reinforcing resolve and identity)
- Hostile adversaries (signaling credible commitment or threat)
- International publics (moral dramatization and solidarity)
- Future audiences (archival afterlife; Butler, 2021)

This aligns with research on ideological resonance (Snow & Benford, 1988; Benford & Snow, 2000), connective politics (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012; Jackson et al., 2020), and digital performance (Sosnin, Balakina, & Jucovskaia, 2023; Oyedemi & Nmadu, 2025). A commissive uttered in a courtroom must simultaneously persuade domestic publics, shame regimes, and inspire transnational actors (Sampson, 2011; Asmal et al., 1998).

### 3.6 Conceptual Framework: From Device to Deed

The conceptual framework shown in Figure 1 illustrates a sequential model linking rhetorical form to communicative effect. It shows how a *rhetorical device* enables recognition of *illocutionary force*, which both requires and signals *felicity conditions*, thereby generating pathways for *perlocutionary uptake* across multiple audiences. The figure highlights the pragmatic progression from linguistic strategy to social consequence within communicative acts. This visual architecture is designed to support both manual coding and computational extensions (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012; Bhatia, 2017; Tufekci, 2017).



Figure 1. Conceptual Flow: From Device to Deed

## 4. Coding Manual and Annotation Protocol

The coding manual operationalises the theoretical bridge between rhetoric and pragmatics by specifying how rhetorical devices are annotated as antecedents of illocutionary force, felicity cues, and perlocutionary potential. Its structure enables reproducibility, inter-coder reliability, and the cumulative accumulation of comparable data across diverse political contexts. The procedures build on established standards in discourse analysis and content analysis (Krippendorff, 2022; Neuendorf, 2019; Saldaña, 2025), adapted to the distinct aims of rhetorical-pragmatic integration.

### 4.1 Unitisation

The unit of analysis is the independent clause or complete sentence that expresses a self-contained communicative act, whether declarative, commissive, directive, or expressive (Searle, 1969; House & Kádár, 2025). Segmentation follows grammatical closure and pragmatic coherence. Elliptical clauses (e.g., "Never again!") count as full units if they carry discernible illocutionary intent.

Unit boundaries are determined using two criteria:

1. Syntactic closure – one main clause or coordinate structure.
2. Pragmatic autonomy – each segment expresses a discrete act directed toward an audience, even if subordinate in syntax.

Quotations or paratactic repetitions are treated as separate units if they produce new illocutionary effects. For example, in Mandela's *Statement from the Dock* (1964):

"I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society."

"It is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

Though syntactically linked, these are distinct rhetorical–illocutionary units: the first declarative (assertive), the second commissive (pledge of sacrifice).

Each unit receives one primary code per analytical layer (A–D), ensuring consistent granularity for cross-speech comparisons.

#### 4.2 Layered Annotation Scheme

Each coded unit carries four hierarchical layers that together constitute the *Device–Act–Felicity–Effect (DAFE)* chain:

- *Layer A: Primary Rhetorical Device:* Identifies the dominant stylistic or structural strategy (e.g., antithesis, metaphor, repetition, ethos appeal). Only the most functionally salient device is coded per unit. Categories are defined in Table 1.
- *Layer B: Illocutionary Force:* Assigns the act type (e.g., assertive, directive, commissive, expressive, declarative) following Austin (1975) and Searle (1969), adapted for political discourse contexts (Finlayson, 2012, 2025; Ilie, 2010). A structured decision tree (see Table 2) guides classification.
- *Layer C: Felicity Signal:* Notes whether the unit displays explicit or implicit cues validating the act’s legitimacy, authority, or sincerity (Austin, 1975; Butler, 2021). This binary field is supplemented by categorical subtypes (e.g., institutional reference, sincerity marker, modal framing, audience construction).
- *Layer D: Perlocutionary Intent:* Captures the projected audience effect inferred from linguistic and contextual clues (Bach & Harnish, 1979; Charland, 1987). Coding is conservative—assigned only when intent is inferable from textual evidence (e.g., “We appeal to your conscience” → intended persuasion).

Each layer builds logically on the preceding one. The device constrains possible illocutions, the illocution presupposes felicity conditions, and felicity enables perlocutionary potential across audiences (see Figure 1).

#### 4.3 Operational Definitions and Examples

Each device type is coded by salience, not frequency. Secondary devices may be recorded in notes (Table 4).

Table 4. Device Definitions, Cues, and Examples

Device	Definition	Cue Type	Illustrative Example
Antithesis	Contrasting parallel structures to sharpen opposition or assert moral clarity (Charteris-Black, 2011).	Structural symmetry; opposing lexemes (e.g., life/death, freedom/slavery).	“We must learn to live together as brothers or perish together as fools.” – M. L. King Jr.
Metaphor	Conceptual transfer framing abstract goals as concrete entities (Lakoff, 2004; Charteris-Black, 2011).	Figurative noun phrase; “journey,” “struggle,” “battle” metaphors.	“The long walk to freedom.” – Mandela
Repetition	Strategic recurrence of lexical or syntactic form to signal resolve or evoke solidarity (Sallomi & Chiad, 2019).	Identical words or clauses recurring across adjacent units.	“We shall fight on the beaches... we shall fight on the landing grounds...” – Churchill
Ethos Appeal	Invocation of personal credibility, sacrifice, or moral authority (Leff & Utley, 2004).	First-person plural stance; moral self-disclosure.	“I am prepared to die.” – Mandela
Rhetorical Question	Interrogative structure inviting assent or moral reflection (Aristotle, 2007).	“Shall we...?”, “How long...?” constructs.	“How long shall they kill our prophets?” – Marley (adapted political lyric).

Cross-classifications are possible when illocutions overlap (e.g., expressive–commissive). Coders record the *dominant force* based on pragmatic intent, following Searle and Vanderveken (2009).

#### 4.5 Illocutionary Decision Model

Figure 2 and Table 5 jointly illustrate the decision procedure used to determine the illocutionary force of an utterance unit within the DAFE analytical framework. The model formalises the stepwise reasoning through which rhetorical expressions are mapped onto pragmatic act categories.

Figure 2 presents the hierarchical decision tree guiding coder judgments. The process begins with an assessment of whether the surface force is explicit. When it is, the corresponding act type (e.g., *assertive*, *directive*, *commissive*) is assigned directly. When implicit, the analysis proceeds through successive diagnostic nodes: the presence of directive markers, commitment language, evaluative or emotive cues, and role- or authority-based statements. If none of these indicators occur, the utterance defaults to *assertive*. This procedure operationalises pragmatic inference as an explicit, replicable coding rule.

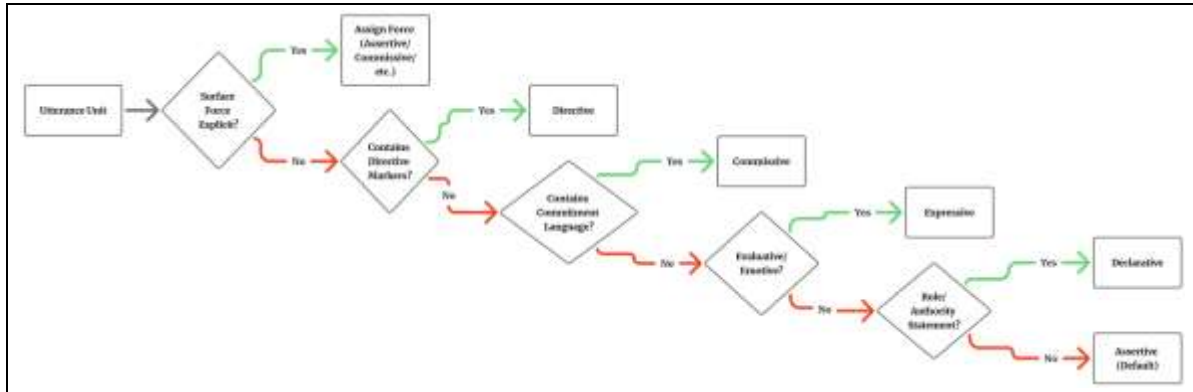


Figure 2. Decision Tree for Illocutionary Force Assignment

Table 5 summarises the core diagnostic criteria for each illocutionary type. Assertives express propositional commitment to truth; Directives aim to elicit action; Commissives bind the speaker to future behaviour; Expressives display affective or evaluative stance; and Declaratives enact institutional change through the utterance itself. Each category is accompanied by a diagnostic question and a representative example.

Table 5. Illocution Decision Tree

Illocution Type	Core Criterion	Diagnostic Question	Example
Assertive	Proposes a truth claim.	Does the speaker assert a state of affairs?	"Our people have suffered too long."
Directive	Aims to get the audience to act.	Is the speaker urging, calling, or commanding?	"Join us in this cause."
Commissive	Commits the speaker to future action.	Does the utterance promise or vow?	"We shall never surrender."
Expressive	Displays emotion or evaluation.	Does it reveal attitude or solidarity?	"We grieve for the fallen."
Declarative	Brings about a change by the act itself.	Does saying it enact authority (e.g., proclaim, announce)?	"I declare this movement free."

Taken together, Figure 2 and Table 5 constitute the operational core of the DAFE framework. They convert the qualitative identification of speech acts into a standardised annotation process, enabling cross-coder reliability and comparability across political and institutional discourse data.

#### 4.5 Edge Cases

Certain rhetorical constructions complicate illocutionary assignment:



- *Sarcasm and Irony*: Where literal and intended meanings diverge (Angermüller, 2014), coders annotate the *surface illocution* (e.g., assertive) and flag “ironic inversion” in a secondary field. Interpretation must rely on contextual indicators or audience irony competence (Grice, 1975).
- *Conditional Commitments*: Hypothetical formulations (“If they oppress us further, we shall resist”) are coded as commissive if the conditional implies credible intent rather than abstraction. Felicity is marked *provisional* when performative authority is uncertain.
- *Hypothetical Worlds*: Visionary or imagined states (“One day our children will be free”) are coded as assertive–commissive hybrids: declarative of belief, projective of action. Following Charland (1987), such rhetoric performs *constitutive acts*—enacting a political subject through imagined futures.

Coders are instructed to annotate uncertainty (e.g., 0.5 confidence) where ambiguity precludes categorical assignment, enabling weighted reliability computation.

#### 4.6 Reliability Procedures

Reliability safeguards are critical for transforming interpretive rhetoric into empirical data (Krippendorff, 2022; Neuendorf, 2019). The protocol follows a three-phase validation cycle:

1. *Inter-Coder Training*: Coders receive a brief seminar on speech-act theory, pragmatic cues, and rhetorical taxonomies. Practice sessions employ historical excerpts (e.g., Mandela, Arafat, Abbas) with supervised feedback. Training materials include annotated examples and the decision-tree handbook.
2. *Pilot Annotation and Refinement*: A small subsample (10 % of corpus) is independently coded, compared, and discussed. Disagreements inform iterative refinement of operational definitions, following Saldaña (2025). Revisions continue until inter-coder concordance stabilises.
3. *Agreement Thresholds and Reporting*: Agreement is measured using Cohen’s  $\kappa$  (Cohen, 1988) and Krippendorff’s  $\alpha$  (Krippendorff, 2022). Minimum thresholds of  $\kappa \geq 0.80$  or  $\alpha \geq 0.80$  are recommended (Landis & Koch, 1977). Divergent cases are qualitatively reviewed to detect conceptual slippage (e.g., between assertive and declarative).
4. *Bootstrapped Reliability Estimation*: Confidence intervals for  $\kappa/\alpha$  are computed using bootstrap resampling (Agresti & Kateri, 2025). This technique enhances robustness in small samples typical of political-speech datasets.

Reliability outcomes are reported with coder IDs anonymised, including matrix visualisations for each annotation layer.

#### 4.7 Data Workflow

The complete workflow follows a modular sequence:

1. *Manual Coding*: Coded by trained analysts using qualitative software (e.g., NVivo, Atlas.ti) or structured spreadsheets. Each text unit receives a unique identifier and four-layer annotation.
2. *Heuristic Consolidation*: Post-coding, results are inspected for device–force alignment patterns (e.g., metaphor → commissive, repetition → assertive escalation). Pattern frequency counts reveal which rhetorical devices statistically correlate with certain illocutions.
3. *Optional NLP Assistance*: Computational tools enhance, not replace, human annotation.
  - *Metaphor Identification*: Using established metaphor recognition models (e.g., MIPVU guidelines; see Charteris-Black, 2011).
  - *Repetition Detection*: Token-level recurrence algorithms identify unmarked iteration.
  - *Sentiment and Modality Analysis*: Sentiment lexicons or modal taggers infer evaluative stance (Saleem, Zafar, & Pasha, 2025).
4. *Data Validation*: Automated outputs are manually verified to ensure alignment with human-coded categories. Cross-validation ensures algorithmic precision  $\geq 85\%$  relative to coder judgement.
5. *Archival Documentation*: All annotated files (CSV or JSON formats) include metadata: source, date, context, speech genre, coder, and revision history. These are stored in an open repository for replicability, in line with best practice for transparent qualitative research (Gee, 2014; Finlayson, 2025).

#### 4.8 Output: Usable Protocol and Codebook

The resulting DAFE Coding Manual serves as both methodological guide and reproducible schema. It standardises the following:

- Units: Clearly segmented pragmatic acts.
- Layers: Device–Act–Felicity–Effect.
- Definitions: Operational, verifiable, and transferable.
- Procedures: Training, reliability testing, and documentation.
- Tools: Optional computational aids with human oversight.

This design promotes cross-study comparability, cumulative corpus building, and intertextual meta-analysis of political speech. Systematising how rhetorical form produces pragmatic force will enable the researcher convert interpretive criticism into codifiable evidence of performative efficacy.

#### 6. Worked Examples (Mandela & Arafat)

This section demonstrates the operational use of the Device–Act–Felicity–Effect (DAFE) framework through two iconic cases of political oratory—Nelson Mandela’s *Statement from the Dock* (Pretoria Supreme Court, 20 April 1964) and Yasser Arafat’s *Speech to the United Nations General Assembly* (New York, 13 November 1974). Both exemplify high-stakes communication where rhetorical form performs political legitimacy amid existential threat. Each is annotated across the four DAFE layers to show how rhetorical devices realise illocutionary force, signal felicity, and invite perlocutionary uptake.

##### 5.1 Why These Cases

These speeches were selected for three reasons. First, both are delivered under acute conditions of *contested authority*: Mandela speaking under indictment by the apartheid regime, Arafat appearing before the UN as leader of a stateless people. Their performative challenge was to *constitute* legitimacy through discourse rather than derive it from institutional sanction (Charland, 1987; Butler, 2021).

Second, both are foundational to liberation rhetoric, marked by a blend of moral conviction and strategic moderation (Lodge, 2006; Abu Sharif, 2009). The speeches do not merely persuade; they enact the right to speak—an illocutionary feat dependent on felicity construction (Austin, 1975; Finlayson, 2012).

Third, these cases were pre-coded in the pilot phase of Paper 1, allowing replication for methodological transparency and reliability assessment (Krippendorff, 2022; Neuendorf, 2019). Each excerpt is coded at clause level with interpretive justification per the DAFE protocol.

##### 5.2 Annotated Excerpts

###### 5.2.1 Arafat (1974): “Olive Branch” Passage, UN General Assembly

Arafat’s “olive branch and gun” formulation compresses contradictory felicities into one symbolic act (Table 6). The dual imagery of peace and resistance functions rhetorically as felicity scaffolding—it legitimises militancy through the parallel invocation of peaceful intent. In Austinian terms, the declarative act (“I have come bearing...”) constitutes a self-authorising *appearance* before the UN: Arafat’s language enacts the very recognition he seeks (Austin, 1975; Abu Sharif, 2009).

Table 6. Arafat (1974): “Olive Branch” Passage, UN General Assembly

Text Segment (Unit)	Layer A: Device	Layer B: Illocutionary Force	Layer C: Felicity Signal	Layer D: Perlocutionary Intent
“Today I have come bearing an olive branch and a free-dom fighter’s gun.”	Metaphor + Juxtaposition (Antithesis)	Declarative (symbolic enactment)	Bimodal cue: peace and resistance unified in gesture	Persuasive recognition—assert identity as responsible agent.
“Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand.”	Directive + Metaphoric imperative	Directive (appeal for action)	Audience-construction cue: invokes addressee agency (the world community)	Moral exhortation—pressure for diplomatic recognition
“War flares again, and a new war destroys what peace might build.”	Personification + Repetition	Assertive → Expressive (lamentation and warning)	Causal coherence cue—frames peace as collective responsibility	Preventive mobilisation—induce empathy and caution

The directive “Do not let the olive branch fall” is a paradigmatic case of what Searle (1969) calls *indirect speech acts*: a plea disguised as conditional command. It relies on shared pragmatic inference—if the addressee (the UN) lets it fall, they become complicit in renewed conflict. The felicity of this directive rests on an implicit global norm—that peace is preferable and legitimate.

Perlocutionarily, the utterance achieved differential uptake (Benford & Snow, 2000). Among Western diplomats, it reconstituted Arafat as interlocutor; among adversaries, it consolidated identity as national spokesman. The device’s strength lies in metaphoric compression: the two symbols (“olive branch” and “gun”) embody the performative balance between resistance and diplomacy, enabling recognition without renunciation.

### 5.2.2 Mandela (1964): Closing Paragraph, Rivonia Trial

Mandela’s closing paragraph (see Table 7) exemplifies what Leff and Utley (2004) call *constitutive rhetoric*—language that constructs a moral identity rather than describes one. The repeated metaphor of “ideal” functions as both rhetorical device and felicity signal: its reoccurrence underlines coherence of conviction, satisfying the sincerity condition essential to performative efficacy (Austin, 1975).

Table 7. Mandela (1964): Closing Paragraph, Rivonia Trial

Text Segment (Unit)	Layer A: Device	Layer B: Illocutionary Force	Layer C: Felicity Signal	Layer D: Perlocutionary Intent
“I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination.”	Antithesis (parallel contrast)	Assertive (moral positioning)	Implicit moral symmetry—rejects partiality; appeals to justice	Moral credibility, repositioning struggle as inclu-sive human claim
“I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities.”	Metaphor (“ideal” as tangible object)	Assertive → Declarative (statement of belief transforming into public ideal)	Normative felicity cue—appeal to universal democratic values	Recognition seeking—invites international identification with cause

Text Segment (Unit)	Layer A: Device	Layer B: Illocutionary Force	Layer C: Felicity Signal	Layer D: Perlocutionary Intent
"It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve."	Repetition (of "ideal")	Commissive (pledge of pursuit)	Sincerity marker ("hope to live for")	Mobilisation of empathy; moral perseverance
"But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."	Ethos Appeal + Antithesis (life/death)	Commissive → Expressive (sacrificial vow)	Ultimate sincerity condition—total personal risk	Transcendent legitimization; transforms defendant into moral exemplar

The antithesis "fought against white domination... black domination" neutralises ethnic partiality, shifting the illocution from rebellion to universal justice. Mandela, by self-positioning as moral rather than partisan, meets the felicity condition of authority—that the speaker be perceived as morally entitled to speak on behalf of humanity.

The perlocutionary uptake was multi-tiered: domestically, the act framed the struggle as moral resistance, not criminality (Sutanto et al., 2025); internationally, it facilitated recognition of the ANC as a legitimate liberation movement. The utterance's power derived less from logical argument than from its felicitous self-institution—a speech act that *made true* the authority it claimed (Butler, 2021; Finlayson, 2025).

### 5.3 Insights from the Examples

Across both cases, the DAFE framework exposes recurrent device–force couplings that enable rhetorical legitimacy in political crisis.

1. *Repetition → Commissive Escalation*: Repetition reinforces the *sincerity condition* of commitment. Each recurrence of an "ideal," "freedom," or "peace" term heightens the perceived depth of conviction (Sallomi & Chiad, 2019). In Mandela's case, the reiterated "ideal" transforms hope into vow. Such patterning operationalises what Searle (1969) called the "expression of psychological state," giving empirical trace to conviction through linguistic recurrence.
2. *Metaphor + Antithesis → Recognition Acts*: Both orators rely on metaphoric antithesis to reconcile contradiction: peace ↔ resistance; life ↔ death; hope ↔ struggle. This stylistic pairing marks an illocutionary *hinge* where felicity is negotiated. The device signals the speaker's capacity to mediate opposites, thus constituting authority (Charteris-Black, 2011; Finlayson, 2025). When Arafat merges the "olive branch" and the "gun," he achieves the pragmatic felicity of balance—asserting rationality while retaining militancy.
3. *Felicity as Rhetorical Achievement*: In both speeches, felicity is *not given* but *constructed*. Mandela's sincerity is verified through sacrifice; Arafat's legitimacy through symbolic moderation. The rhetorical device functions as the felicity signal itself—what Butler (2021) terms the *performative reiteration* that materialises authority.
4. *Multi-Audience Perlocution*: The framework clarifies uptake across layered publics. Mandela's courtroom audience (judges) heard defiance; global observers heard martyrdom. Arafat's UN audience heard diplomatic moderation; domestic listeners heard steadfast resistance. The DAFE mapping formalises this plurality by distinguishing illocutionary content (the act) from perlocutionary diversification (the responses), following Bach & Harnish (1979) and Benford & Snow (2000).

Collectively, these findings support the thesis that rhetorical devices serve as felicity mechanisms enabling speech acts to cross thresholds of legitimacy. Political oratory, in this sense, is not merely persuasive performance but *felicitous constitution*—language acting itself into authority.

### 6. Broader Applications and Limitations

The DAFE framework's purpose extends beyond individual speech analysis. Its layered mapping of rhetorical form to illocutionary function enables comparative, longitudinal, and computational applications across political, institutional, and cultural contexts. While designed through case studies of Mandela and Arafat, its underlying logic—device → act → felicity → effect—offers a transferable analytic lens for examining how political legitimacy and authority are *performed* through language under conditions of contestation.

## 6.1 Movement Research

The framework contributes directly to empirical research on protest, diplomacy, counter-terrorism narratives, and peace processes, where speech acts mediate between moral persuasion and strategic mobilisation.

In protest movements, speech constitutes both identity and legitimacy. Movement leaders such as Martin Luther King Jr., Mandela, or contemporary activists rely on performative speech that transforms personal conviction into collective action (Tarrow, 2012; Alimi, 2015). Through rhetorical repetition and metaphor, protest language converts moral ideals into *felicitous commitments* that mobilise solidarity (Benford & Snow, 2000; Jasper, 2014). Applying DAFE coding to corpora of #EndSARS or #BlackLivesMatter speeches could reveal how rhetorical devices operate as force-multipliers in transnational moral appeals (Freelon, McIlwain, & Clark, 2016; Jackson, Bailey, & Welles, 2020).

In diplomatic discourse, felicity cues—such as institutional ethos, politeness, and modal hedging—serve as markers of legitimacy (Neumann, 2012; Johnson & Foster, 2024). The DAFE structure allows analysts to trace how rhetorical framing supports directive or commissive speech acts in negotiations, from ceasefire appeals to multilateral declarations. Similarly, in counter-terrorism and peace narratives, the framework clarifies how metaphorical antitheses (“war on terror,” “olive branch and gun”) construct moral asymmetries that justify violence or reconciliation (Gasaway-Hill, 2018; Bibi & Shaheen, 2025).

The model, by capturing felicity scaffolding—the rhetorical conditions that make a speech act “fit” its audience—provides a replicable basis for comparing diverse repertoires of contention (McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 2012).

## 6.2 Institutional Contexts

Beyond movements, the DAFE model offers analytic traction in institutional communication—courtrooms, parliaments, international forums, and legal hearings—where speech acts directly produce social realities. In courtroom discourse, for instance, felicity is tightly regulated by procedural authority. Mandela’s 1964 testimony illustrates how rhetorical self-legitimation can substitute for juridical felicity when institutional authority is denied (Sutanto et al., 2025). DAFE coding helps identify the rhetorical compensations—ethos, repetition, and narrative framing—that sustain legitimacy when official felicity fails.

In parliamentary contexts, formulaic address and ritualised discourse perform institutional continuity (Ilie, 2010). Analysing Hansard records or plenary debates through DAFE reveals how conventional devices such as appeals to decorum, procedural reference, or irony maintain felicity in adversarial exchanges.

In United Nations and diplomatic arenas, speech acts serve dual audiences—official peers and global publics (Finlayson, 2012). DAFE’s multi-audience perlocution layer captures how speakers like Arafat, Abbas, or modern African and Middle Eastern diplomats manage simultaneous illocutions: declarative sovereignty to one audience, conciliatory reason to another.

Social movement tribunals and insurgency trials also present fertile ground for comparative application, bridging rhetorical studies and forensic linguistics. Here, felicity markers (e.g., moral appeals, sacrificial tropes) can be codified as empirical indicators of self-legitimation in resistance discourse.

## 6.3 Multilingual and Cross-Cultural Extension

Extending the framework across languages introduces both promise and complexity. Political speech acts are deeply embedded in cultural pragmatics, where felicity conditions depend on shared norms and symbolic repertoires (Locher, 2015; Oyedele & Nmadu, 2025).

Metaphor transfer poses the first challenge. Metaphors of journey, light, or family vary in their felicity across linguistic traditions. For instance, Arafat’s “olive branch” carries Judeo-Christian connotations of peace that differ from African nationalist imagery of soil and harvest (Rifkin, 2017; Thatelo & Selekeane, 2025). Direct translation without contextual annotation risks misidentifying device–act linkages. To mitigate this, analysts should append translation notes documenting connotative shifts and cultural reference layers describing audience-specific felicity markers (e.g., kinship appeals, religious invocations).

Cultural felicity markers—such as collective address, proverbs, or appeals to ancestral legitimacy—should be treated as codable device categories in cross-cultural corpora. Incorporating ethnolinguistic notes strengthens inter-coder consistency by clarifying what constitutes a “felicitous” act in non-Western traditions (Young, 2016; Khalidi, 1997).

Multilingual DAFE application thus advances comparative pragmatics by formalising how political performativity varies across moral–cultural systems without imposing Anglo-centric criteria of authority or sincerity.

## 6.4 Computational Prospects

The formal codification of rhetorical–pragmatic relations allows partial automation through computational linguistics. Three domains are particularly promising:

1. *Metaphor Detection*: Tools like the *Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIPVU)* or transformer-based semantic models (Charteris-Black, 2011) can assist in detecting metaphoric felicity cues at scale. Automated tagging of conceptual metaphors (“light,” “journey,” “battle”) enables cross-corpus comparison of ideological framing.
2. *Rhetorical Pattern Mining*: Natural language processing (NLP) pipelines can identify recurrent rhetorical patterns—parallelism, anaphora, antithesis—across large political speech datasets (Saleem, Zafar, & Pasha, 2025). Machine learning classification models can be trained on validated DAFE annotations to predict likely illocutionary categories with measurable accuracy.
3. *LLM-Assisted Coding*: Large language models (LLMs) can support heuristic coding through probabilistic suggestion of device categories or felicity markers, under human supervision. Yet human judgment remains indispensable for interpreting pragmatic nuance and contextual felicity (Finlayson, 2025).

Such computational extensions enable macro-level analysis of performative rhetoric across time and region while maintaining the interpretive depth of qualitative coding.

## 6.5 Limits

Despite its strengths, the DAFE framework faces interpretive and methodological boundaries. First, interpretive bias remains a risk. Coding rhetorical felicity entails subjective judgement, particularly in assessing sincerity or authority. Inter-coder reliability metrics (Krippendorff’s  $\alpha$ , Cohen’s  $\kappa$ ) mitigate but cannot eliminate hermeneutic variability (Krippendorff, 2022; Neuendorf, 2019). Coders should therefore document interpretive rationales transparently, treating disagreement as data about rhetorical ambiguity rather than error.

Second, perlocution inference is bounded by *text and context*. Perlocutionary effects—belief, mobilisation, empathy—cannot be fully verified from discourse alone (Searle, 1969; Bach & Harnish, 1979). DAFE operationalises *perlocutionary intent*, not actual outcome. Triangulating with reception studies or social media trace data may strengthen validity.

Finally, temporal and cultural drift complicate felicity interpretation. Acts deemed felicitous in one era (e.g., militant metaphors) may appear infelicitous later. Thus, the framework requires periodic recalibration to contemporary rhetorical ecologies (Finlayson, 2025; Bennett & Segerberg, 2012).

In sum, the DAFE framework offers a generalisable but reflexive model of rhetorical performativity—empirically codifiable, computationally scalable, yet interpretively aware. It reframes political speech not as ornamented persuasion but as the institutional work of *making authority real through language*.

## 7. Conclusion and Open Resources

This article has proposed and demonstrated a unified framework—Device–Act–Felicity–Effect (DAFE)—as a methodological bridge between rhetorical criticism and speech-act pragmatics. Integrating the analytic precision of Austinian and Searlean theory (Austin, 1975; Searle, 1969) with the interpretive richness of political rhetoric (Finlayson, 2012; Charteris-Black, 2011) positions the framework as a tool for reconceptualising political speech as an *empirically traceable sequence* linking rhetorical devices to illocutionary and perlocutionary outcomes. It transforms rhetorical analysis from hermeneutic description into a replicable coding system capable of quantifying felicity and legitimacy across diverse political contexts.

The framework’s contribution is thus both theoretical and instrumental. Theoretically, it situates rhetorical devices as the *felicity mechanisms* through which political utterances acquire performative force. Methodologically, it operationalises those relations into a transparent annotation protocol—complete with definitions, decision trees, and reliability metrics (Krippendorff, 2022; Neuendorf, 2019)—enabling scholars to test how rhetorical structures sustain authority, mobilisation, or recognition in speech. Empirically, the worked cases of Mandela and Arafat demonstrate how felicity can be enacted through antithesis, repetition, and metaphor under conditions of contested legitimacy (Sutanto et al., 2025; Abu Sharif, 2009).

Looking forward, the research agenda invites cross-regional application and corpus expansion. Comparative studies of freedom and protest rhetoric across Africa, the Middle East, Asia, and Latin America can test whether the felicity–device

correspondences identified here hold across differing political and cultural ecologies (Young, 2016; Tarrow, 2012). The creation of open-source rhetorical–pragmatic corpora, with linked datasets and reproducible codebooks, will enable cumulative and collaborative research on performative legitimacy in global political speech.

To facilitate scholarly adoption, the full DAFE Coding Manual, decision trees, and reliability scripts are provided as open resources (Appendices A–E). The aspiration is not to standardise interpretation but to institute a shared empirical language for describing how rhetoric does its work in politics—how words *become deeds*. Thus, the framework establishes a reproducible foundation rhetorical–pragmatic inquiry, transforming political oratory into measurable, comparable, and cumulative data.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A: FULL CODING MANUAL (PDF EXTRACT)

**Purpose:** The DAFE Coding Manual defines the operational procedures, categories, and decision rules used for annotating rhetorical–pragmatic relations. It ensures interpretive consistency across coders and datasets.

#### A1. Unit of Analysis:

- Sentence or independent clause expressing a self-contained communicative act.
- Elliptical or fragmentary utterances coded if they carry discernible illocutionary intent.

#### A2. Layer Definitions:

Layer	Description	Coding Output
A. Rhetorical Device	Primary stylistic or structural move (e.g., metaphor, repetition, ethos appeal).	Device label (string)
B. Illocutionary Force	Communicative act type (assertive, directive, commissive, expressive, declarative).	Category (5-class)
C. Felicity Signal	Presence of legitimacy or sincerity cues.	Binary (1 = present; 0 = absent) + subtype
D. Perlocutionary Intent	Intended audience effect.	Nominal (mobilise/ persuade/legitimise / threaten/console)

#### A3. Coding Procedure:

1. Segment text into units.
2. Identify the dominant rhetorical device.
3. Assign illocutionary type using Decision Tree (Appendix B).
4. Mark felicity cues and subtype (authority, sincerity, modality, relational).
5. Infer perlocutionary intent conservatively.
6. Record coder ID and timestamp.

#### A4. Annotation Software:

- Compatible with *NVivo*, *Atlas.ti*, *ELAN*, or CSV-based annotation sheets.
- Optional Python JSON schema provided for computational projects.

### APPENDIX B: DECISION TREE (ILLOCUTION ASSIGNMENT)

**Purpose:** A hierarchical guide to ensure consistent classification of speech acts.

**Step 1:** Does the clause describe or claim a state of affairs?

→ **Yes:** *Assertive*

→ Example: "Our struggle is just."

**Step 2:** Does the clause **urge or request** action from others?

→ **Yes:** *Directive*

→ Example: "Join us in this cause."

**Step 3:** Does the speaker **commit themselves** to a future course?

→ **Yes:** *Commissive*

→ Example: "We shall continue until freedom is achieved."

**Step 4:** Does the clause **express emotion or evaluation**?

→ **Yes:** *Expressive*

→ Example: "We grieve for the fallen."

**Step 5:** Does the utterance **perform an act by being said** (declare, appoint, proclaim)?

→ **Yes:** *Declarative*

→ Example: "I declare this movement free."

**Decision Rule:**

When overlapping, select the *dominant pragmatic function* based on communicative intent, not grammatical form (Searle & Vanderveken, 2009).

**APPENDIX C: ANNOTATED SAMPLE TRANSCRIPT**

Unit ID	Text Segment	Rhetorical Device	Illocutionary Force	Felicity Signal	Felicity Type	Perlocutionary Intent	Notes
MND_01	I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination.	Antithesis	Assertive	1	Moral symmetry	Legitimation	Balances opposition, signals impartial justice
MND_02	I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society.	Metaphor	Assertive → Declarative	1	Universal values	Recognition	Ideal reified as performative belief
MND_03	It is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.	Repetition + Ethos	Commissive → Expressive	1	Sincerity	Mobilisation	Establishes ultimate moral credibility

**Source:** Nelson Mandela, *Statement from the Dock* (1964), closing paragraph.

*Metadata:*

- Context: Trial statement, Pretoria, 20 April 1964

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- Coder: [Initials]
- Reliability batch: Pilot v2.1

## APPENDIX D: RELIABILITY PROTOCOLS AND SAMPLE K/A CALCULATION SCRIPTS

### D1. Training Procedure:

- Coders trained using 20-sentence practice set.
- Review sessions conducted until interpretive variance  $\leq 10\%$ .

### D2. Agreement Metrics:

- **Cohen's  $\kappa$  (pairwise):**  
library(irr)  
  
kappa2(cbind(coder1, coder2), weight = "unweighted")
- **Krippendorff's  $\alpha$  (multi-coder):**  
library(krippendorff)  
  
alpha(coding.matrix, level = "nominal", boot.n = 1000)

### D3. Thresholds:

- $\kappa \geq .80$  or  $\alpha \geq .80$  = acceptable (Landis & Koch, 1977).
- Lower results trigger decision-tree recalibration.

### D4. Bootstrapped Confidence Interval Example (Python):

```
import numpy as np

from bootstrapped import bootstrap as bs

def kripp_alpha_ci(data, n=1000):

    return bs.bootstrap(np.array(data), stat_func=np.mean, num_iterations=n)
```

### D5. Reporting Template:

Layer	Coders	$\kappa$	$\alpha$	Confidence (95%)	Pass/Fail
Device	3	0.83	0.85	[.79-.89]	✓
Illocution	3	0.81	0.84	[.76-.88]	✓
Felicity	2	0.79	0.80	[.72-.86]	Borderline
Perlocution	2	0.77	0.78	[.70-.84]	Review

**APPENDIX E: GLOSSARY OF RHETORICAL DEVICES**

<b>Device</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Example (Political Speech)</b>	<b>Typical Illocution Link</b>
Antithesis	Juxtaposition of opposites for emphasis.	"Freedom or slavery."	Assertive / Declarative
Metaphor	Conceptual mapping from concrete to abstract.	"The long walk to freedom."	Commissive / Expressive
Repetition (Anaphora)	Recurrent phrasing to reinforce resolve.	"We shall fight... we shall endure..."	Commissive
Ethos Appeal	Invocation of moral authority or integrity.	"I am prepared to die."	Expressive / Declarative
Rhetorical Question	Interrogative used to elicit agreement.	"How long shall injustice reign?"	Directive / Expressive
Parallelism	Structural symmetry for rhythmic emphasis.	"One people, one destiny."	Assertive
Personification	Attribution of agency to abstract ideas.	"Justice will not rest."	Expressive / Declarative
Metonymy	Reference through association.	"The crown will decide."	Declarative
Hyperbole	Deliberate exaggeration for effect.	"A thousand years of struggle."	Expressive / Commissive
Allusion	Implicit reference to shared cultural text.	"Let my people go."	Directive / Expressive