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# **Abstract**

Within a discourse analysis framework, this research investigates 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.

Sentences are analyzed to check their illocutionary force in light of Searle's typology of Speech Act Theory. Then, an analysis of agency is 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. The speech is also examined using the three appeals of Aristotle, and its use of diglossia is analyzed. Lastly, the Gricean maxims are used to check whether the Cooperative Principle is observed or not and whether the deviation is intended for persuasive ends.

The findings of this study indicate that multiple speech acts are used in the same utterance either with or without an explicit performative verb. Some speech acts may be used as a medium to carry others. It also shows 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.

Although the use of Tunisian dialect represents a deviation from the norm, the findings show that emotions are more effectively conveyed in dialect than in Standard Arabic. The non-observance of the Gricean maxims is found to be a persuasive strategy to manipulate the audience. However, persuasion cannot be achieved only through linguistic tools. It has to be paralleled with a good awareness of the context.

**Persuasion in Political Discourse:  
Tunisian President Ben Ali's Last Speech as a Case Study**

By

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**THESIS**

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistic Studies in the Graduate School of  
Syracuse University

**Syracuse University**

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

This study deals with the persuasive strategies that the overthrown Tunisian president Zine El Abidine Ben Ali used in his last speech before leaving the country. Searle's Typology of Speech Act Theory will be used as a framework to analyze the illocutionary force of the sentences in the speech. Then, agency will be analyzed to uncover the persuasive goals behind the use of deictic pronouns to construct self-image as well as the image of the other. Afterwards, I will examine Ben Ali's use of Aristotle's three appeals, ethos, logos and pathos, as well as diglossia, as persuasive techniques. Grice's four maxims of quality, quantity, relevance and manner will be used at the end to verify whether the Cooperative Principle was observed or not in this speech, and whether any deviation, if found, was intended as a persuasive strategy.

On December 17, 2010, in the town of Sidi Bouzid in Tunisia, a young street vendor named Mohamed Bouazizi, who had earned a degree but was unable to find a job, immolated himself in protest at the confiscation of his scale and vegetables and for being humiliated by a municipal official. He had tried to complain at the governor's office, but the latter had refused to meet him. Desperate, he set himself on fire, inciting demonstrations all over the country against General Zine El Abidine Ben Ali's regime, which had been in power since November 7, 1987.

After violent protests spread throughout the whole country, Ben Ali had to cancel his vacation in Dubai and return to Tunisia to declare a state of emergency. In less than a month that elapsed between the beginning of the protests and his flight to Saudi Arabia on January 14, 2011, Ben Ali delivered three speeches. In the first two, he presented himself as the usual tough strongman, threatening the protestors. In the third and last speech, however, after the escalation of protests against his iron-fist regime, he looked tired and appeared to be losing control.

This study is concerned with this last speech, which was delivered in Arabic on January 13, 2011, one day before his departure. This incident seems to be the straw that broke the camel's back. Most Tunisians were desperate, and civil society was subject to constant harassment by the government. Wikileaks cables referred to Tunisia as a "censorland" (Wikileaks, 2009), and cyber-surveillance was common in a police state often described as being at "the forefront of cybercensorship" (Wikileaks, 2009). Any criticism of the government was met with "harassment, intimidation and physical assault by state security officers" (Amnesty International Report, 2010). Opposition figures were "prosecuted and imprisoned on trumped-up charges and targeted in smear campaigns in the pro-government media. The abuses were committed with impunity, with complaints rarely investigated. Critics were subjected to overt and oppressive surveillance, and their phone and internet connections were disrupted or cut" (Amnesty International Report, 2010).

With an aging president who had been in power since 1987, no apparent successor, and growing public discontent, the political future of the country was unclear. Corruption was increasing in the inner circle of Ben Ali's own family, including his wife and in-laws. Anger was growing at the high rate of unemployment, regional inequities and the President's refusal to respond to any criticism, domestically or internationally (Beau, 2009; Beau and Tuquoi, 2002).

Various opinions were expressed regarding Ben Ali's third speech. While it convinced some, it failed to persuade others. This led me to think of and investigate the strategies that he used to make his political opponents believe him.

In August 2012, I conducted two interviews, with Hatem Bourial<sup>1</sup> and Ikbal Zalila.<sup>2</sup> Zalila (2012) talked about Ben Ali's attempt to imitate the speech made by the former Tunisian

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<sup>1</sup> **Hatem Bourial** is a well-known figure in Tunisia's culture and press. Over the years, he has worked for many Tunisian and international papers. The author of nine books, he is also a weekly columnist for Tunis international radio, the host of a Monday

President Habib Bourguiba in 1984 after what was called the Bread Revolution, when a series of social movements and demonstrations took place that constituted the first threat to the regime after the Declaration of the Republic in 1957. Bourial (2012) claimed that Ben Ali also quoted the words “I have understood you” from a speech delivered by Charles De Gaulle in 1958 in Algeria to ease tensions as the country prepared for independence. Quoting two previous leaders is a persuasive strategy in the light of what these expressions did to reduce the tension among demonstrators.

### 1.1. Research Questions

In light of what has been mentioned, the current study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. Which of the following rhetorical strategies were used by Ben Ali in his speech? Speech acts, performatives, deictic pronouns, the Aristotelian appeals, the Gricean Maxims, and Tunisian dialect
2. How were these strategies utilized to persuade people of his message?
3. How successful were these strategies in persuading people?

### 1.2. Research Hypotheses

Furthermore, the current study sets forward the following hypotheses:

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morning television segment on Tunisia’s version of *Good Morning America* and a weekly columnist in *Tunis-Hebdo*, a Tunisian French-language weekly, and editor of many independent news magazines. Hatem’s columns, radio and television spots deal with far-ranging topics from culture and history to literature.

<sup>2</sup> **Ikbal Zalila** is an associate professor in Film Studies at the Institute Supérieur des Arts Multimédias de la Manouba (ISAMM), where he teaches film aesthetics, film theory and film analysis. He is also president of the National Association of Film Critics and member of the International Federation of Film Critics (FIPRESCI). He was also a member of the critic’s jury at the Venice Film festival, the Rotterdam International Film Festival and the Istanbul Film Festival. Zalila is a regular contributor to the Tunisian newspaper *Le Temps*. In 2008, he was a member of the organizing committee of the Carthage Film Festival.

1. Persuasive strategies are not self-sufficient. They have to be complemented by a favorable socio-political context.
2. There is a correlation between the Aristotelian appeals and the strategic use of deictic pronouns in relation to performatives.

The following section will provide the theoretical framework that will be the basis for data analysis in the discussion section (Section 4). Section 2.1 touches on political discourse and persuasion; Section 2.2 introduces the Speech Act Theory, performatives and Searle's Typology; Section 2.3 gives a brief review of agency and deictic pronouns in political discourse; Section 2.4 presents the Aristotelian appeals, ethos, logos and pathos; Section 2.5 touches on Grice's Cooperative Principle; and Section 2.6 gives a brief review of diglossia and political discourse. Section 3 that presents the research methodology, while the findings and discussion will be presented in Section 4. Section 5 forms the conclusion, and is followed by the appendices.

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

Language “as a form of social practice” (Fairclough, 2001: 16) and a “purposeful means of communication” (Schaff, 1960: 292) is viewed as a tool to express the self and to establish and maintain a certain relationship with the Other. The speaker’s use of utterances to do this reveals their intentions (D’Amato, 1989). Ideologies, therefore, do not exist in silence, but are expressed, built up and transmitted through language, which reveals their nature (Thompson and Hunston, 2001).

### **2.1. Political Discourse and Persuasion**

Within this framework, addressers tend to reach an understanding with their addressees through the use of different strategies (Fairclough, 2001). These include persuasion, which is an “act of conversion ... convincing others, changing their views, shifting their ideal points along the imagined line” (Diamond and Cobb, 1999: 225). Persuasion therefore has the ultimate objective of influencing people or making them embrace certain beliefs in order that they may either adopt new goals or abandon previous ones in favor of higher value goals, as presented by the persuader (Poggi, 2005).

Although persuasion is an inherited form of human interaction, it is “ubiquitous in the political process” (Mutz et al., 1999: 1); since it is socially acceptable to have different views about politics, there is always an attempt to attract people to one side or another. Thus, the attempt to persuade people to change their opinions becomes a legitimate feature of political discourse (Mutz et al., 1999). From a pragmatic perspective, speech acts (Austin, 1962) may uncover the hidden reasons and intentions behind the act of persuading people.

Political thinking has been a vast and fruitful area of contemporary research, particularly among politicians who have studied it from different angles, as well as linguists, because “politics relies upon language as its tool of trade” (Lohrey, 1981: 341).

## **2.2. Speech Act Theory**

Austin’s (1962) Speech Act Theory provides a tool to assist in the pragmatic analysis of discourse. It is concerned with the meanings assigned to speech acts by participants based on their relationship and context. In other words, it is primarily concerned with what the producer of an utterance can do with it as soon as it is produced. Utterances are not simply statements intended to seek or convey information, for instance, but rather turn into actions once pronounced (Austin, 1962). Searle (1978: 16) defines them further as follows:

Speaking a language is performing speech acts, acts such as making statements, giving commands, asking questions, making promises and so on, and more abstractly, acts such as referring and predicating, and secondly that these acts are in general made possible by and are performed in accordance with certain rules for the use of linguistic elements.

This theory is important because every form of linguistic communication has speech acts embedded in it, whether explicitly or implicitly. The main issue for the speech act analysis is that speakers do not always explicitly state their intentions. If that were the case, there would have been few problems for Speech Act Theory:

A central problem for analysis is therefore the depth of indirection involved in much discourse: the distance between what is said and what

is meant, and the multiple layers of meaning between the literal propositional meaning of an utterance and the act which it performs in context. (Stubbs, 1983: 147)

Austin (1962) claims that statements are classified into two categories: constatives, which can be either true or false, and performatives, which are used to perform action, and the truth of which is not questionable. To illustrate this distinction, Stubbs (1983: 151) contrasts the statements “I apologize” and “I am sorry.” The former is a performative, because it performs the action of making an apology, while the latter is a constative, as it does not necessarily mean that the producer of the utterance is really sorry. It is worth mentioning that truth condition does not always apply to speech acts, and mistakes are likely to happen while trying to decode them (Searle, 1978). For instance, a statement such as “Try not to be late!” may be an act of complaint, a warning, or simply a reminder. This fuzziness drove Austin (1962) to develop a more general theory of speech acts, where utterances may perform three types of act: locutionary, perlocutionary and illocutionary.

### **2.2.1. Locution, Perlocution and Illocution**

The locutionary act, which is the production of sounds that mean something, has been the traditional concern of linguistics. Usually, the denotation is what matters most in a locutionary act. However, pragmatic analysis goes beyond the denotative meaning of an utterance.

The perlocutionary act deals primarily with the effect of the utterance on the hearer, such as to persuade, convince, threaten, amuse, and so on. Perlocution has traditionally been the main concern of rhetoric, because you cannot simply tell someone “I am persuading you”, for instance (Stubbs, 1983).



Illocutionary acts, such as promises and orders, reveal the intention of the speaker through their utterance. It is worth mentioning that the directness or indirectness of the speech act is determined by the asymmetry in the power relations and hierarchical position of the speech participants, and may be a way to “mitigate an imposition” (Fairclough, 2001: 130) when trying to get someone to do something. For example, during dinner, a request to pass the salt may take the form of “Can you pass me the salt, please?” as opposed to “Pass me the salt!” or “I need the salt!” or even “Salt!”

Moreover, the validity of any illocutionary act requires that the participants have social roles within a social institution that allow their speech acts to come into effect, as when a defendant guilty is pronounced in a court, or a couple are declared husband and wife by a priest in a church (Searle, 1978). In illocutionary acts, verbs can be used performatively, i.e. to perform a certain action, as stated by Austin (1962). One way to test whether a verb is performative is to check whether the act can be performed in any other way. Apologizing, thanking or promising someone cannot be performed without saying something to someone.

### **2.2.2. Performatives and Searle’s Typology**

Understanding speech acts would be easy if the relationship between illocutionary and perlocutionary acts were always straightforward, which is not invariably the case (Stubbs, 1983). For instance, as an illocutionary speech act, a request aims to get the hearer to do something, a perlocutionary effect. In the case of promising, however, the perlocutionary effect is not quite clear (Searle, 1978).

Moreover, the producer of any utterance or speech event may be simultaneously producing multiple speech acts with emphasis on one speech act or the other (Searle, 1978).

However, even if the utterance contains an explicit performative verb, its illocutionary force should not be uniquely determined by that performative verb, although it is easier to detect the illocutionary force in highly conventionalized and formal settings (Stubbs, 1983). Only a good knowledge of the context of the utterance may reveal the intended illocutionary act, which is the essence of pragmatics as the study of language within its context (Fairclough, 2001). It is worth noting, however, that as Austin (1962) asserts, the whole speech act of a statement should be analyzed, even though it may not contain an explicit verb. “What are we to call a sentence or an utterance of this type? I propose to call it a performative sentence or a performative utterance, or for short, a performative” (Austin, 1962: 6). A directive such as “Go out!” may be substituted by “Out!”, which does not have an explicit performative verb but still has the same performative function and illocutionary act.

Searle (1978) classifies illocutionary force into five categories in what is known as Searle’s typology of speech acts: assertives, directives, commissives, expressives, and declarations. Assertive speech acts, or representatives, are represented by the speaker’s assertion of the truth of what is said, as in giving conclusions, complaining, boasting or describing events or states in the world. Directive speech acts are an attempt to get the hearer to do something, and are typified by orders, invitations or requests. Commissive speech acts, such as promises, threats or offerings, express the speaker’s intention to take certain actions; in political speeches, usually “fair and responsible” ones (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012: 122). An expressive speech act is performed whenever there is an expression of psychological state by the producer of the utterance, as when apologizing and thanking. Declarations are speech acts that change the world by declaring that a new state of affairs has come into existence, such as a declaration of war; to have any effect, they must be pronounced by the right person in the right context.

The use of different verbs, especially performative ones, is cleverly deployed in political discourse. Such verbs serve their persuasive goal when assigned to the appropriate participants. From a sociolinguistic perspective, Stubbs (1983: 160) claims that speech acts can be classified according to whether their producer speaks on his own behalf or, as an incumbent of a particular role, on behalf of a group. In the latter case, the speaker may be allowed to use different pronouns, such as first person plural instead of first person singular. This phenomenon may be further analyzed through the concept of agency.

### **2.3. Agency and Pragmatics**

Stubbs (1986) claims that language is used to express beliefs and adopt positions in the process of interaction with the Other. Levinson's (1983: 9) definition of pragmatics establishes a strong connection between agency and pragmatic analysis, linking the meaning of an utterance to the intention behind it according to its place in a sequence of discourse, its attribution to one subject or another, or concealment of the agent.

#### **2.3.1. Agency in Political Discourse**

Agency, according to Ahearn (2012), "refers to the socio-culturally mediated capacity to act." Accomplished through a switch in pronouns, it is a common manipulative strategy in political discourse (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012). The choice of a particular subject, or simply hiding it, is never innocent. This strategy is characteristic of Machiavelli's (1985: 75) Prince, who "should have anything blameable administered by others, favors by themselves." In political discourse, therefore, it is a strategy employed to achieve a specific objective, the deliberate manipulation of the addressee through the use of deictic pronouns. According to Triki

and Taman (1994: 214), this is a very convenient way “to pass judgments unnoticed” and an effective means of concealing agency, thus serving as hedging strategy with the ultimate objective of mystifying the addressee.

### 2.3.2. Deictic Pronouns

Deictic pronouns are well known for being at the boundaries of syntax, semantics and pragmatics and, as Van Dijk (1997) points out, are very typical in political contexts. They are a way of avoiding full commitment to an action, and are seen as a detachment strategy (Woodward and Denton, 2004). Person deixis has been the focus of many linguists (Levinson 1983, Fairclough 2001, Wilson 1990, Triki 2002, Van Dijk, 1995, 1997), who claim that it is central to the study of political discourse.

Fairclough (2001) and Wilson (1990) argue that politicians use person deixis to manipulate people, make alliances, attack, or express an ideological basis. According to Levinson (1983), deixis can be classified into five categories: time, place, social, discourse and person. Of these, only person deixis will be explained, on account of its relevance to the corpus being analyzed. According to Levinson (1983: 62), person deixis is concerned with “the encoding role of participants in the speech event in which the utterance in question is delivered.” Levinson (1983) categorized plural pronouns by encoding them as “we” and “they.” He makes a distinction between two types of the first person plural pronoun *we*. One is called the inclusive *we*, which includes the speaker and the addressee when the speaker is one person asking another about something they share or would both like to do. The other is the exclusive *we*, which excludes the speaker from the reference (Marmaridou, 2000). Wilson (1990: 47) cites the example of Churchill in one of his speeches during the Second World War: “We shall fight on

the beaches; we shall fight on the landing grounds..." The *we* does not include Churchill himself who, as an old man, would not be fighting personally.

The use of person deixis to manipulate addressees has been pointed out by Wilson (1990) and Fairclough (2001), who assert that its selection in political discourse is never arbitrary. The use of certain pronouns is strategic. Politicians chose one deictic category rather than another to express the degree of their personal involvement. This is consonant with the manipulation of the first person plural *we*, which can designate the speaker and one or more other persons. Or it may refer to persons other than the speaker, as in the example of Churchill.

Therefore, identity and membership may be expressed through the use of personal deixis as a persuasive technique. This determines who belongs to the group and who does not. Typical group members share common features that distinguish them from other groups. Politicians tend to emphasize this difference through the categorization of groups using person deixis.

"Ideological polarization" (Van Dijk, 1997: 28) is strategically reinforced through positively representing the self via pronouns such as "we" and "our" on the one hand, while attributing a negative evaluation to the other side through the use of "them" or "their." "Given the nature of political polarization in the political process, we may further expect the typical positive evaluation of US and OUR actions in positive terms and of THEM and THEIR actions in negative terms" (Van Dijk, 1997: 28). Positioning of a certain group can be achieved through "inter-groups competition and conflict" (Van Dijk, 1995: 250). The values of a certain group can be emphasized by stressing the standards of the opposite group. In this respect, Machiavelli (1985: 89) argues that "a prince should contrive to give himself the fame of a great man and of an excellent talent in every action of his." It is worth mentioning that pronouns that reference the

self may vary in political discourse according to the reference group that is most relevant to the argument.

## **2.4. Aristotle's Persuasive Strategies**

In his seminal work *The Art of Rhetoric*, Aristotle (1967) presents three different persuasive strategies: logos (rational argumentation), ethos (reliability and credibility of the speaker) and pathos (emotional appeal). These three appeals aim to convince the addressee to reach “out of free choice” a goal desired by the addresser (Poggi, 2005: 298). This is achieved by convincing the addressee of the high value of the perceived goal through the manipulation of their beliefs.

### **2.4.1. Logos**

Human beliefs are linked to each other according to a set of relations such as cause/effect and goals/means. The more reliable the connection between beliefs, therefore, the higher the degree of conviction with which those beliefs will be held. Showing people that newly proposed beliefs are highly consistent with their established beliefs in terms of cause/effect, goals/means, space or time, can trigger their logical analysis and make the argumentation coherent in their minds. Poggi (2005) identifies the use of logos as a logical, rational means of persuasion as the classical domain of argumentation.

### **2.4.2. Ethos**

Drawing the addressee's attention to the credibility and reliability of the source constitutes another level of persuasion, i.e. ethos. The degree of trust that it will elicit in the

addressee depends on the “personality and moral substance” (Cockcroft, 2004: 195) of the persuader.

According to Poggi (2005: 313), the trust that may be attributed to the source depends mainly on two features: benevolence and competence. A source is considered benevolent when it either shares the same goals as the addressee or, at least, does not intend to harm them. A high level of transparency and an intention to show the truth are required if the source is not to be accused of misleading.

On the other hand, a source is considered competent when it has the power to pursue the goals being claimed or endorsed. The essence of ethos is the act of “self-representation” (Poggi, 2005: 314), or the way the persuader wants to represent their character to the audience.

Cockcroft (2004: 196) claims that ethos is the strongest appeal, since it expresses values shared by the persuader and the persuadee and is used to establish a rapport with the audience.

### **2.4.3. Pathos**

Only a good knowledge of the party to be persuaded will enable the persuader to identify their preferences and their most highly valued goals. Certain goals, however, are known for their universality and high value to humankind regardless of cultural differences; these include self-representation, maintenance of a positive face, freedom, and the desire to be loved or admired. Emotions biologically protect the most valued goals, manifested by either pleasant or unpleasant feelings. These values are emotionally loaded, therefore, so that pathos is triggered whenever they are invoked. Once the pathos trigger is pulled, the addressee may feel an urgent desire to achieve the goal or goals in question (Poggi, 2005: 314).

Aristotle claims that mastery of these strategies belongs to those who understand such emotions, and how they are produced. Although these three appeals are intertwined, the weight given to each may differ according to the context, the quantity of sentences used to express them, and the way they are presented. This is better explained through Grice's (1975) cooperative principle.

## **2.5. The Cooperative Principles**

Grice (1975) claims that any exchange of communication usually consists of connected remarks, in which participants are expected to cooperate in order to reach a successful communication. This is why he describes his theory as the Cooperative Principle. Participants are expected to cooperate to reach the objective of their exchange through observing four maxims: quantity, quality, relation and manner. The maxim quantity is related to the quantity of information being provided. The contribution of the utterance producer should be neither more or less informative than what is expected or required. The quality maxim requires the speaker not to say what is believed to be false or to say something without adequate evidence. The maxim of relation is defined by Grice (1975: 45) as being relevant. This relates to the degree of coherence that the participants must respect while interacting, and the ways in which subjects may be "legitimately changed" (Grice, 1975: 45). The last maxim, manner, refers to the way in which an exchange should be maintained, whereby participants must be orderly and "avoid obscurity of expression and ambiguity" (Grice, 1975: 45).

Grice (1975: 49) admits that the ostentatious violation of a maxim will make a person "liable to mislead." However, deviation from the maxims is sometimes intentional, for stylistic reasons, for instance. The deviation from what is expected is recognizable since "we often



recognize norms only when they are broken” (Stubbs, 1983: 95). Moreover, maxims may vary across different cultures (Stubbs, 1983: 95).

In political discourse, however, most utterances are perceived as intentional and aim to manipulate the addressee. Van Eemeren (2005: xii) claims that “manipulation in discourse boils down to intentionally deceiving one’s addressee by persuading them of something that is foremost in one’s own interest through the covert use of communicative devices that are not in agreement with generally acknowledged critical standards of reasonableness.” Mixing two varieties of language may constitute intentional manipulation and can be seen as a persuasive strategy.

## **2.6. Diglossia and Political Discourse**

According to Ferguson (1989), Arabic is characterized as diaglossic, where two varieties co-exist. Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is the “high” variety, used in formal contexts such as politics, media, the law, religious sermons and education. It is “the language of power and control” according to Holes (2004: 6). Dialect is the “low” variety, used in everyday conversations and less formal communication, and is considered “the language of intimacy and domesticity” (Holes, 2004: 6). However, the claim that there is a list of speech events that require the ‘high’ or ‘low’ variety has been much criticized on the ground that dichotomies are not preferred in taxonomic distinctions in academia and that there is a continuum between the two poles that resulted in a variety used mainly by educated people (Walters, 2003). The principle of diaglossic context is similar to the context where people use different codes according to the situation.

The use of one variety or the other, or simply the combination of both, emphasizes the meaning, which the members of a community are willing to convey, as claimed by Hymes (1973). However, code mixing or switching in a diaglossic community is usually seen as a sign of language deficiency by ordinary people, as Ritchie and Bhatia (2013: 388) indicate, “LM/S [language mixing/switching] invites, at least overtly, a near-universal negative evaluation among laymen.” Walters (2003:82) also confirms this view by considering “diglossia is coming to be seen as a problem rather than as merely a fact of a language’s and community’s life.”

Contrary to the claim of Ferguson (1989) that MSA is exclusively used in political speeches whereas dialect only is used in informal conversations, which exclude political discourse, Holes (2004) claims that the tradition of mixing both varieties goes back to the fifties, when it was employed by the Egyptian president Nasser as a rhetorical strategy to guarantee that the maximum of ordinary people with limited access to education would understand him. While a hybridized form of the two varieties, MSA and dialect, “is necessary to ensure smooth communication,” according to Holes (2004: 6), it is also viewed as a persuasive strategy in political discourse analysis, through the example of Nasser’s speeches (Holes, 2004). At the same time, formal language or MSA is “quite simply an inappropriate vehicle to carry the emotional charge of the message and the personal commitment of the speaker to his audience at the time of an acute crisis and a physical threat to them” (Holes, 2004: 350). In a diaglossic community, the speaker is therefore considered closer to the people when s/he uses dialect in critical times to confirm the idea of shared commitment through the use of a shared code with the laymen.

In the case of Tunisian diglossia, Walters (2003: 92) claims that in the process of switching or mixing MSA and Tunisian dialect, “either the high variety serves as the matrix or

the low variety serves as the matrix, with the respective remaining variety serving as the embedded variety.” This means that when one variety is used as a matrix in a sentence, the syntax of the sentence as well as most of its lexis will be from the matrix variety, with some embedding from the other one. In the case where MSA is the matrix variety and Tunisian dialect is the embedded one, “lexical items from the high variety of Arabic adapted to Tunisian phonology” (Walters, 2003: 93) are inserted within a sentence with MSA matrix, which gives rise to a new variety between MSA and dialect, used mainly by educated people. This variety originates from MSA lexis but without case marking (Walters, 2003). This results in:

“a kind of spoken Arabic much used in certain semiformal or cross-dialectal situations that has a high classicized vocabulary with few or no inflectional endings, with certain features of classical syntax, and a generous admixture of colloquial vocabulary” (Ferguson, 1959: 332).

This variety is used as a persuasive strategy that can be used “in fairly formal situations” (Walters, 2003: 92) to attract all the strata of society that use different linguistic codes according to their different educational background. Embedding Tunisian dialect into a Standard Arabic matrix sentence helps “reconfiguring the situation from a formal one to one where solidarity plays the greater role” (Walters, 2003: 92). Using “the functional domain of the vernacular” is an effective persuasive strategy in political discourse (Holes, 2004: 350). It helps the addresser reach their objective through magnifying ethos by talking about personal experience, and triggering the audience’s fears or desires, i.e. pathos, in a language variety that everyone understands (Holes, 2004: 350).

The consequence of such choice may vary from one context to another based on the participants’ “canonical expectations” (Walters, 2003: 91). Tensions in diaglossic communities

arise “when language users need to speak the high variety” and instead of doing that, they use “the variety of Arabic that ‘violates’ the conventionalized patterns” (Walters, 2003: 91). Such deviance from the linguistic norms or the expectations of the audience, although intended to be strategic for persuasive goals, may not always fulfill the intended objectives since a preference for certain structures is strategically determined by the political context to accomplish certain political actions (Van Dijk, 1997: 35).

### 3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study uses discourse analysis methods to uncover the hidden inferences and to make explicit what was deliberately made implicit by the persuader.

#### 3.1. Corpus Description

The speech under study was delivered in Arabic on January 13, 2011 and lasted eight minutes and thirty seconds. It can be found with English subtitles at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ou6Oqnz4O4I>. In the transcription of the English subtitles, I have made some modifications to the translation that can be found in Appendix A. The original speech, in Arabic, is found in Appendix B.

A letter sent to Ben Ali on January 12 by one of his advisors, Hakim Karoui, a Tunisian banker who lives in Paris, is included in Appendix C. This letter contains some recommendations to Ben Ali about how to deal with the crisis. The letter was written in French and published later in the French-speaking electronic newspaper Webdo on February 8, 2011, and may be found at <http://www.webdo.tn/2011/02/08/h-el-karoui-lhomme-qui-soufflait-aux-oreilles-de-ben-ali-aujourd'hui-au-service-de-ghannouchi/>. Appendix D provides an English translation of the letter.

#### 3.2. Analysis Methods

The data is tabulated in Section 4. The sentence is used as the unit of analysis in Sections 4.1 and 4.2, which deal with speech acts, performatives, agency and pronouns. The sentences are tabulated and transformed into graphs to present the data clearly.

In Section 4.3, which deals with the Aristotelian appeals, whole chunks of sentences are analyzed according to a coherent shared meaning, and the data are then transformed into graphs.

Sections 4.4 and 4.5 deal with the use of Standard Arabic and dialect as well as the Gricean maxims. Consequently, the whole text is fully analyzed pragmatically through personal scrutiny of the data in view of the necessity to interpret the assigned meaning to utterances within their context. Therefore, the unit of analysis will start with the sentence, move to the paragraph and end with the text.

## 4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Following the literature review, the data will be interpreted pragmatically. It will start by analyzing performatives and speech acts before agency and pronouns. The Aristotelian appeals and the distribution of Standard Arabic and dialect will follow. At the end, the whole speech will be analyzed in light of the Gricean maxims.

### 4.1. Performatives and Speech Acts Distribution:

The whole speech is analyzed in terms of sentences/phrases in Table 1. Each is analyzed within its context and is coded as a constative or a performative. Then, performatives will be accorded the speech acts that are carried in the illocutionary force of the utterance. The frequencies will be transformed into graphs afterwards.

**Table 1: Sentences/Phrases Constative/Performative Function and Speech Act/s**

<i>Sentence/Phrase</i>	<i>Constative</i>	<i>Performative</i>	<i>Speech Acts</i>
In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful		x	Assertive
Dear fellow Tunisians		x	Assertive
I am speaking to you today, all of you citizens, in Tunisia and abroad.		x	Assertive
I am speaking to you in the language of all Tunisians.		x	Assertive
I am speaking to you now because the situation dictates a change, yes, a deep and comprehensive change.		x	Assertive
I have understood you all. Yes, I have understood		x	Assertive

you all, the jobless, the needy, and the political, all of those who are claiming more freedom.			Expressive
I have understood you.		x	Assertive Expressive
I have understood each one of you.		x	Assertive Expressive
But the events taking place in our country are not a part of us.		x	Assertive Expressive
Destruction is not part of the Tunisian tradition, the civilized and tolerant Tunisian.		x	Assertive Expressive
Violence has never been part of our customs, or part of our behavior.		x	Assertive Expressive
The present tide of unrest should stop.		x	Directive
We must bring it to a halt together; political parties, national organizations, civil society, intellectuals and ordinary citizens.		x	Assertive Directive
Hand in hand, together, to serve our country.		x	Assertive Commissive
Hand in hand, to guarantee our children's safety.		x	Directive Commissive
The change, which I announce now, is an acceptance of your legitimate claims, to which I have reacted, and I felt deep pain at the events that occurred.		x	Assertive Commissive Expressive Declaration
I felt great sadness and pain because I have spent more than fifty years of my life in the service of Tunisia, serving in different positions, from the national Army, to the different decision making positions, and 23 years as the head of state.		x	Assertive Expressive
Every day of my life was and still in the service of		x	Assertive



the country.			
I have made countless sacrifices and I do not want to count them.		x	Assertive
You already know them all and I have never accepted and I will not accept the shedding of one single drop of Tunisian blood.		x	Assertive Commissive
We were saddened for the victims of these events and damage suffered by persons, and I refuse to see more victims as a result of the ongoing violence and looting.		x	Assertive Expressive
Our children are confined at home today, and they are not in school.		x	Assertive Expressive
This is totally immoral and shameful, because we became afraid for their safety, from the acts of violence perpetrated by small groups of bandits from looting and attacks against persons.		x	Assertive Expressive
This is a crime, this is a criminal act not a protest, and this is sinful.		x	Assertive
All citizens, all citizens should face up to them.		x	Directive
And we have issued instructions and we rely on the cooperation of all, so that we can distinguish between the small delinquent gangs who are making use of the circumstances, and the legitimate and peaceful demonstrations which we accept.		x	Assertive Directive Commissive
My sadness is deep.		x	Expressive
My sadness is deep and profound, very deep and very profound.		x	Expressive
Enough violence! Enough violence!		x	Directive Declaration

I have instructed the Interior Minister and reiterated and today, I insist, stop using live ammunition.		x	Directive Declaration
Live ammunition is not acceptable, and is not justifiable! Except, God forbid, anyone seeks to snatch your weapon, or attacks you with a firearm, or compels you to defend yourself.		x	Assertive Directive Commissive
I call on the independent committee		x	Directive Declaration
I repeat: an independent committee, which will investigate the incidents, abuses and regrettable deaths, to delineate the responsibilities of all sides, all sides without exception, with equity, integrity, and objectiveness.		x	Directive Commissive Expressive Declaration
I expect all Tunisians, whether they support us or not, to back up the efforts of appeasement, and to reject violence, acts of destruction, and degradation of property.		x	Directive
Reform requires calm, and the events we witnessed, were triggered by the protest against a social situation, on which we have made huge efforts, but we should make greater efforts, greater efforts, to right the wrongs.		x	Assertive Directive Commissive
We should give ourselves the possibility and needed time to put into effect all the important measures we have decided.		x	Commissive
In addition to that, I gave my instructions to the Government and called the Prime Minister to decrease the commodity prices and basic services; sugar, milk, and bread, etc.		x	Assertive Directive Commissive Declaration
Regarding the political demands, I told you that I have understood you.		x	Expressive

Yes, I told you I have understood you.		x	Expressive
I have decided full freedom for all means of information, no more blocking of the Internet, and rejection of all forms of censorship, while respecting our ethics, and the universal principles of the profession.		x	Assertive Directive Declaration
As for the committee, which I announced two days ago, to examine the cases of corruption, bribery, and abuses by officials, it will be independent.		x	Assertive Commissive Declaration
Yes, I repeat, it will be independent.		x	Assertive Commissive Declaration
We will make sure of its credibility and fairness.		x	Commissive
From today onwards, there will be full freedom of political expression including peaceful, demonstrations, peaceful, guided and organized demonstrations, civilized demonstrations.		x	Commissive Declaration
We do not mind if one political party or organization intends to organize a peaceful demonstration.		x	Assertive Commissive
They are welcome.		x	Directive
But they only have to inform the competent authorities, identify its time and place, guide it, and cooperate with the appropriate authorities to guarantee its peacefulness.		x	Directive
I would like to affirm that many things didn't work the way I wished, frankly ... the way I wished, especially in democracy and freedoms.		x	Assertive Expressive
They have sometimes misled me.		x	Assertive Expressive

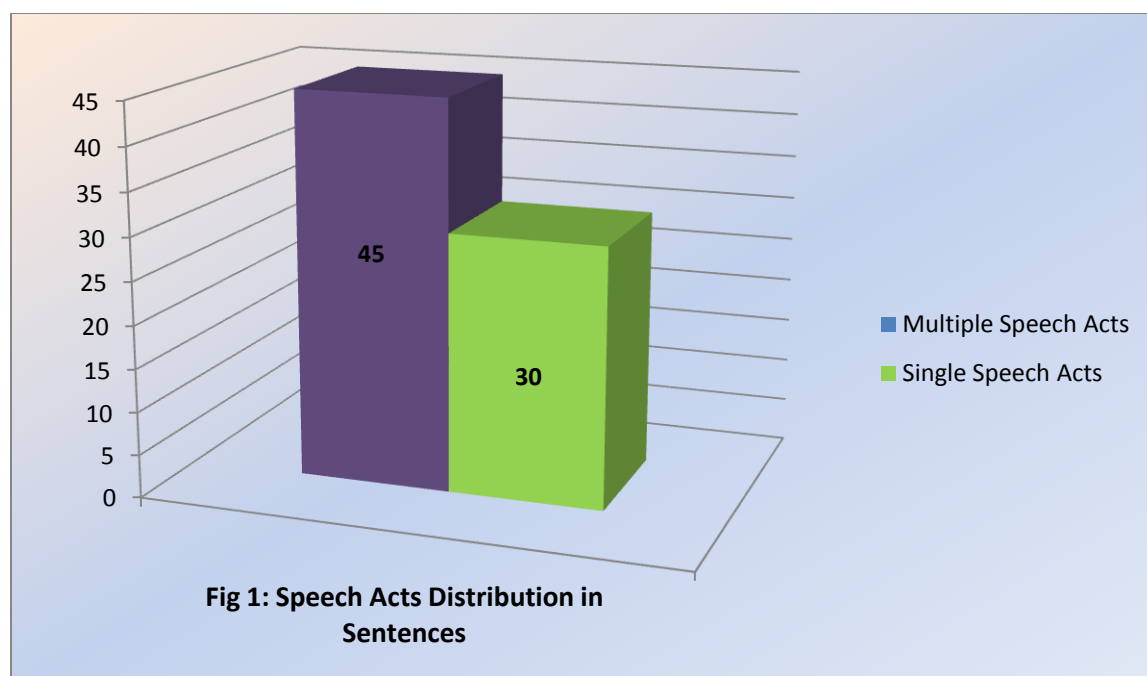
I am not a sun to shine all over the country.		x	Assertive Expressive
Some have sometimes misled me, by hiding truths, and they will indeed be held accountable for that.		x	Assertive Commissive Declaration
Yes, they will be held accountable for that.		x	Commissive Declaration
Once again, I wish to say clearly		x	Expressive
I will work to promote democracy, to promote democracy and pluralism.		x	Commissive Declaration
I will work to preserve and respect the country's constitution.		x	Commissive Declaration
I would like to say again, and contrary to what some claim, I pledged on November 7, 1987 that there would be no lifetime presidency, no lifetime presidency!		x	Assertive Commissive Expressive Declaration
Once again I wish to thank all who launched appeals so that I would stand as a candidate in the 2014 presidential election.		x	Expressive
However, I refuse to violate the age condition for candidacy to the presidency of the Republic.		x	Assertive Commissive
However, we want to reach 2014 within a climate of genuine harmony and national dialogue, with the participation of all national parties in assuming responsibilities.		x	Directive Commissive Expressive
Tunisia is a country of all of us, the country of all Tunisians.		x	Assertive
We love Tunisia.		x	Expressive
All the people love it.		x	Expressive

We have to safeguard it.		x	Directive Commissive
The will of her people will be in her hands, and in the trustworthy hands that the people will choose, to pursue the procession, the procession launched since independence and which we have pursued since November 7, 1987.		x	Assertive Commissive
To that end, we will set up a national committee headed by an independent national personality enjoying credibility among all political and social parties, to review the electoral code, the press code, and the law on associations, etc.		x	Commissive
The committee will suggest the necessary provisional approaches until the 2014 elections, including the possibility of separating the legislative and presidential elections.		x	Commissive
Tunisia belongs to all of us.		x	Assertive
Let us all preserve it together.		x	Directive Commissive
Her future lies in our hands.		x	Assertive
Let us secure her together.		x	Directive Commissive
Each one of us is responsible for restoring her security, responsible for her stability, for healing her wounds, and for entering a new era that lays the ground for a better future.		x	Assertive Directive Commissive
Long live Tunisia!		x	Expressive
Long live the Tunisian people!		x	Expressive
Long live the Republic!		x	Expressive

			Commissive
Peace be upon you, and the Mercy of God and his Blessings.		x	Assertive
<b>Total Sentences: 75</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>75</b>	

The analysis of the sentences/phrases in Table 1 shows that all of them contain performatives. This confirms the characteristic of political discourse as “an act of conversion” (Diamond and Cobb, 1999: 225) that pushes addressees to take one side or the other through utterances that are meant to persuade them to act in accordance with the intention of the persuader (Austin, 1962). As Fairclough (2001) states, the illocutionary force, i.e. the intention of the addresser, can be understood only within its context. A good knowledge of the context allows the analyst to uncover the real illocutions behind any assertion. Therefore, according to Searle’s typology of speech acts, the sentences give us the following distribution: assertives: 42/75; commissives: 30/75; expressives: 28/75; directives: 21/75; declarations: 15/75.

Table 1 also shows that even in the absence of a verb, the utterance still has a performative act, which supports Austin’s (1962: 6) claim that “a performative utterance, or for short, a performative” still carries the same speech act intended by the addresser even though it may not contain an explicit verb. It also shows that 30 sentences contain single speech acts, while 45 have multiple speech acts (Figure 1).



Although the frequencies show that assertive speech acts outnumber other acts, it is worth mentioning that “just as an action may have further goals which are hierarchically super-ordinate to the first, a sentence too may have, beyond its first goal, which is made explicit by the literal meaning of the sentence, one or more super-ordinate goals, called ‘super-goals,’ for which the first goal of the sentence is only a means” (Poggi, 2005: 318). This indicates that the use of assertive speech acts is only a subtle medium to pass other, more important speech acts, such as commissives and expressives, that serve Ben Ali’s persuasive goals: to make people change their opinions, stop the demonstrations, and accept all the suggestions that he is making in his speech in return for the promise of a better future. The intention is to make them abandon previously adopted goals, i.e. changing the regime, and adopt new ones, i.e. accepting the promises of Ben Ali (Poggi, 2005).

There is a marked use of commissive and expressive speech acts in Ben Ali’s speech. Commissive speech acts carry reported promises that “commit the speaker to some future course

of action” (Searle, 1978: 17). These commissive speech acts were recommended in the letter sent by Hakim Karoui (Appendix D) on January 12, 2011. Following these recommendations, Ben Ali committed himself to sanctioning “those in positions of responsibility for not doing their jobs properly” and gave a “political message” by promising to make reforms through the appointment of a competent and independent national figure. Following Karoui’s advice that “the current crisis is no more than a social crisis,” Ben Ali also promised to make more efforts to address social problems.

Moreover, there is also a marked use of expressive speech acts that show “a psychological state specified in the sincerity condition about a state of affairs specified in the propositional content” (Searle, 1978: 21). Expressive speech acts are also referred to in Karoui’s letter as well by the need to send “a message of compassion to the victims’ families.”

On the other hand, there is less use of directives that represent “attempts to get the hearer to do something” (Searle, 1978: 17) or declarations “where one brings a state of affairs into existence by declaring it to exist” (Searle, 1978: 17). This shows a manipulative strategy of the type described by Van Eemeren (2005), through which Ben Ali aims intentionally to deceive his addressees by persuading them to take a course of action, the perlocutionary force of stopping demonstrations, which is in his interest, while reporting actions (through declarative speech acts) that would bring real change, which is in the best interest of the crowd. This claim is supported by the fact that he did not adopt the suggestions by Karoui that involved declarative speech acts, such as “giving a clear and strong signal about those taking advantage of being part of your entourage, and who have given rise to the feelings of injustice felt by the people” or planning an “eventual dissolution of the National Assembly” in March or April.



All the speech acts in Ben Ali's speech convey an illocutionary act that can be uncovered only through a good knowledge of the context of the country, characterized by political turmoil and social unrest at that time. Only performatives were found in the speech, found with and without a verb, to primarily convey assertive speech acts with the highest number to pass the second highest acts, commissive acts, which implies reported promises. On the other hand, directives and declarations, which mark effective decisions had the least presence in the speech.

## 4.2. Agency and Pronouns

Agency, which Ahearn (2012) has defined as the socio-cultural ability to act, is used intentionally in political discourse as a persuasive and manipulative strategy (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012). The choice of agency, through the use of one personal pronoun or another, is not innocent in political discourse, and serves the ultimate objective of mystifying the addressee (Triki and Taman, 1994).

In Table 2, only sentences that contain the first person singular pronoun, where agency is clearly claimed for the self (in bold), are selected to show the correlation between the use of the pronouns, the verbs (underlined) and the speech acts involved in the illocution.

**Table 2: Correlation among First Person Singular Pronoun, Performatives and Speech Acts**

<i>Sentence</i>	<i>Speech Acts</i>
<b>I am <u>speaking</u></b> to you today, all of you citizens, in Tunisia and abroad.	Assertive
<b>I am <u>speaking</u></b> to you in the language of all Tunisians.	Assertive
<b>I am <u>speaking</u></b> to you now because the situation dictates a change, yes, a deep and comprehensive change.	Assertive

I (1) <u>have understood</u> you all. Yes, I (2) <u>have understood</u> you all, the jobless, the needy, and the political, all of those who are claiming more freedom.	(1)/(2) Assertive (1)/(2) Expressive
I <u>have understood</u> you.	Assertive Expressive
I <u>have understood</u> each one of you.	Assertive Expressive
The change, which I (1) <u>announce</u> now, is an acceptance of your legitimate claims, to which I (2) <u>have reacted</u> , and I (3) <u>felt</u> deep pain at the events that occurred.	(1) Commissive (1) Declaration (2) Assertive (3) Expressive
I (1) <u>felt</u> great sadness and pain because I (2) <u>have spent</u> more than fifty years of <b>my</b> life in the service of Tunisia, serving in different positions, from the national Army, to the different decision making positions, and 23 years as the head of state.	(1) Expressive (2) Assertive
I <u>have made</u> countless sacrifices and I do not want to count them.	Assertive
You already know them all and I (1) <u>have never accepted</u> and I (2) <u>will not accept</u> the shedding of one single drop of Tunisian blood.	(1) Assertive (2) Commissive
I (1) <u>have instructed</u> the Interior Minister and reiterated and today, I (2) <u>insist</u> , stop using live ammunition.	(1) Assertive (1) Declaration (2) Directive
I <u>call</u> on the independent committee	Directive Declaration
I <u>repeat</u> : an independent committee, which will investigate the incidents, abuses and regrettable deaths, to delineate the responsibilities of all sides, all sides without exception, with equity, integrity, and objectiveness.	Directive Commissive Expressive Declaration
I <u>expect</u> all Tunisians, whether they support <u>us</u> or not, to back up the efforts of appeasement, and to reject violence, acts of destruction, and	Directive

degradation of property.	
In addition to that, I <u>gave</u> my instructions to the Government and called the Prime Minister to decrease the commodity prices and basic services; sugar, milk, and bread, etc.	Assertive Directive Commissive Declaration
Regarding the political demands, I (1) <u>told</u> you that I (2) <u>have understood</u> you.	(1) Assertive (2) Expressive
Yes, I (1) <u>told</u> you I (2) <u>have understood</u> you.	(1) Assertive (2) Expressive
I <u>have decided</u> full freedom for all means of information, no more blocking of the Internet, and rejection of all forms of censorship, while respecting our ethics, and the universal principles of the profession.	Assertive Directive Declaration
As for the committee, which I <u>announced</u> two days ago, to examine the cases of corruption, bribery, and abuses by officials, it will be independent.	Assertive Commissive Declaration
Yes, I <u>repeat</u> , it will be independent.	Assertive Commissive Declaration
I (1) <u>would like</u> to affirm that many things didn't work the way I (2) <u>wished</u> , frankly ... the way I (3) <u>wished</u> , especially in democracy and freedoms.	(1) Assertive (1)/(2)/(3) Expressive
I <u>am not</u> a sun to shine all over the country.	Assertive Expressive
Once again, I <u>wish</u> to say clearly	Expressive
I <u>will work</u> to promote democracy, to promote democracy and pluralism.	Commissive Declaration
I <u>will work</u> to preserve and respect the country's constitution.	Commissive Declaration
I (1) <u>would like</u> to say again, and contrary to what some claim, I (2)	(1) Expressive

<u>pledged</u> on November 7, 1987 that there would be no lifetime presidency, no lifetime presidency!	(2) Declaration (2) Commissive (1)/(2) Assertive
Once again I (1) <u>wish</u> to thank all who launched appeals so that I (2) <u>would</u> stand as a candidate in the 2014 presidential election.	(1)/(2) Expressive (2) Assertive
However, I <u>refuse</u> to violate the age condition for candidacy to the presidency of the Republic.	Assertive Commissive

Table 2 shows that there is a high degree of involvement through the use of the first person singular pronoun with explicit performative verbs that have been underlined. This supports the claim of Machiavelli (1985: 89) that “a prince should contrive to give himself the fame of a great man and of an excellent talent in every action of his.” Attributing to oneself the power to take actions and bring about change is carried by explicit performatives.

Table 3 shows the sentences that have first plural pronouns underlined (subject, object, possessive and reflexive) and the speech acts they convey. It also shows the type of the pronoun, i.e. inclusive or exclusive. Whenever the pronoun is marked exclusive, a brief explanation is provided.

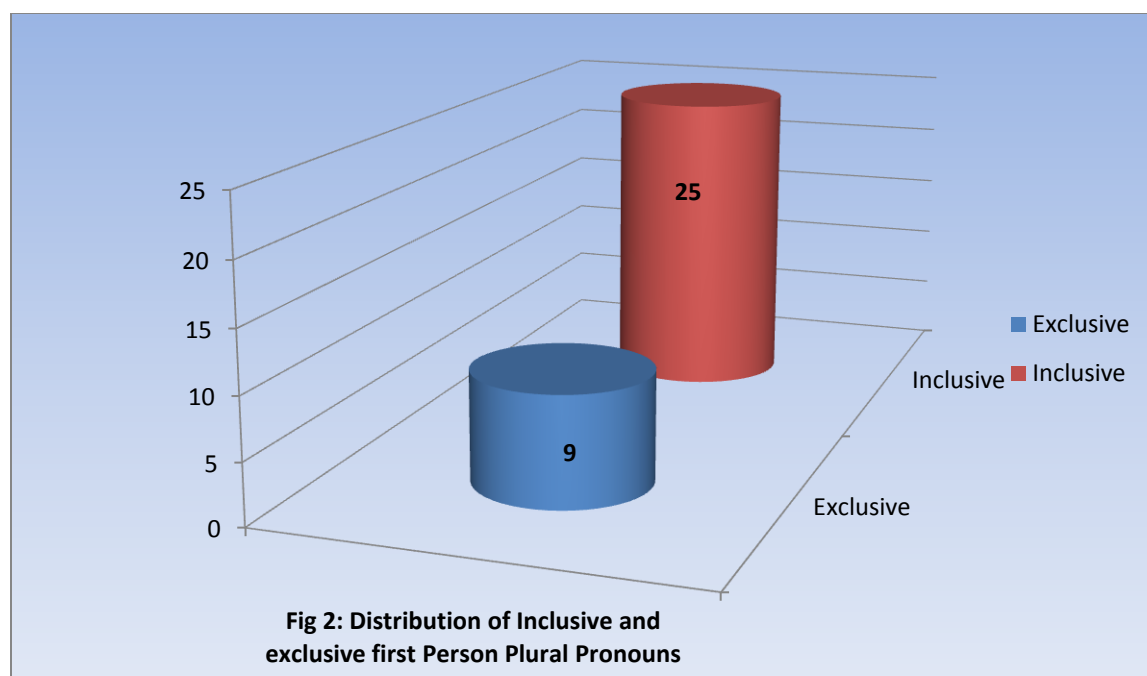
**Table 3: Correlation between Inclusive/Exclusive Deictic Pronouns and Speech Acts**

<i>Sentence</i>	<i>Explanation</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Speech Acts</i>
But the events taking place in <u>our</u> (1) country are not a part of <u>us</u> (2).	He shares the country with them but he is not responsible for the events and damages	Inclusive (1) Exclusive (2)	Expressive Assertive
Violence has never been part of <u>our</u> (1) customs, or part of <u>our</u> (2) behavior.	He did not cause violence and his behavior is rational	Exclusive (1) Exclusive (2)	Expressive Assertive

<u>We</u> must bring it to a halt together; political parties, national organizations, civil society, intellectuals and ordinary citizens.	He means: you have to stop all that.	Exclusive	Assertive Directive
Hand in hand, together, to serve <u>our</u> country.		Inclusive	Assertive Commissive
Hand in hand, to guarantee <u>our</u> children's safety.	His daughters are already safe and left the country. His son is safe with him in the palace.	Exclusive	Directive Commissive
<u>We</u> were saddened for the victims of these events and damage suffered by persons, and I refuse to see more victims as a result of the ongoing violence and looting.		Inclusive	Assertive Expressive
<u>Our</u> children are confined at home today, and they are not in school.	His children do not go to school. They are already married. His son had private lessons in the palace.	Exclusive	Assertive Expressive
This is totally immoral and shameful, because <u>we</u> became afraid for their safety, from the acts of violence perpetrated by small groups of bandits from looting and attacks against persons.	His children have body guards and their palaces are well guarded.	Exclusive	Assertive Expressive
And <u>we</u> (1) have issued instructions and <u>we</u> (2) rely on the cooperation of all, so that <u>we</u> (3) can distinguish between the small delinquent gangs who are making use of the circumstances, and the legitimate and peaceful demonstrations which <u>we</u> (4) accept.		Inclusive (1) Inclusive (2) Inclusive (3) Inclusive (4)	Assertive Directive Commissive

I expect all Tunisians, whether they support <u>us</u> or not, to back up the efforts of appeasement, and to reject violence, acts of destruction, and degradation of property.		Inclusive	Directive
Reform requires calm, and the events <u>we</u> (1) witnessed, were triggered by the protest against a social situation, on which <u>we</u> (2) have made huge efforts, but <u>we</u> (3) should make greater efforts, greater efforts, to right the wrongs.		Inclusive (1) Inclusive (2) Inclusive (3)	Assertive Directive Commissive
<u>We</u> (1) should give <u>ourselves</u> (2) the possibility and needed time to put into effect all the important measures <u>we</u> (3) have decided.	He means: you should give me time.	Exclusive (1) Inclusive (2) Exclusive (3)	Commissive
<u>We</u> will make sure of its credibility and fairness.		Inclusive	Commissive
<u>We</u> do not mind if one political party or organization intends to organize a peaceful demonstration.		Inclusive	Assertive Commissive
However, <u>we</u> want to reach 2014 within a climate of genuine harmony and national dialogue, with the participation of all national parties in assuming responsibilities.		Inclusive	Directive Commissive Expressive
Tunisia is a country of all of <u>us</u> , the country of all Tunisians.		Inclusive	Assertive
<u>We</u> love Tunisia.		Inclusive	Expressive
<u>We</u> have to safeguard it.		Inclusive	Directive Commissive
The will of her people will be in her hands,		Inclusive	Assertive

and in the trustworthy hands that the people will choose, to pursue the procession, the procession launched since independence and which <u>we</u> have pursued since November 7, 1987.			Commissive
To that end, <u>we</u> will set up a national committee headed by an independent national personality enjoying credibility among all political and social parties, to review the electoral code, the press code, and the law on associations, etc.		Inclusive	Commissive
Tunisia belongs to all of <u>us</u> .		Inclusive	Assertive
Let <u>us</u> all preserve it together.		Inclusive	Directive Commissive
Her future lies in <u>our</u> hands.		Inclusive	Assertive
Let <u>us</u> secure her together.		Inclusive	Directive Commissive
Each one of <u>us</u> is responsible for restoring her security, responsible for her stability, for healing her wounds, and for entering a new era that lays the ground for a better future.		Inclusive	Assertive Directive Commissive



The frequencies of Table 3 are presented visually in Figure 2. The data shows that there are 25 inclusive and 9 exclusive first person plural pronouns. The use of inclusive or exclusive pronouns is strategic in political discourse and serves the persuasive goals of the addresser (Wilson, 1990). Inclusive pronouns are employed where Ben Ali stresses the idea of belonging to the group, and that actions are therefore required from everyone to ease tension. Exclusive pronouns, on the other hand, are a manipulation strategy. He does not belong to the group, but tried to identify with it to create a sense of sympathy, emphasizing that he is in the same boat as them by stating that everyone is afraid for their children.

**Table 4: Deictic Third Person Plural Pronouns and their Speech Acts**

<i>Sentence</i>	<i>Speech Acts</i>
All citizens, all citizens should face up to <b>them</b> .	Directive
<b>They</b> are welcome.	Directive
But <b>they</b> only have to inform the competent authorities, identify its time and place, guide it, and cooperate with the	Directive



appropriate authorities to guarantee its peacefulness.	
<b>They</b> have sometimes misled me.	Assertive Expressive
Some have sometimes misled me, by hiding truths, and <b>they</b> will indeed be held accountable for that.	Assertive Commissive Declaration
<b>Yes</b> , they will be held accountable for that.	Commissive Declaration

Person deixis is a way to avoid full commitment to an action, and is seen as a detachment strategy (Woodward and Denton, 2004). Through the construction of the otherness, usually in a negative fashion by attributing blamable actions to others (Machiavelli, 1985), a positive self-representation is achieved.

The “others” in this speech may be divided into two categories:

- (a) Those who are responsible for the unrest. Ben Ali uses directive speech acts when he refers to them. People are requested to face them and they are invited to follow law and order.
- (b) Those who mislead him. He uses assertive speech acts to present the situation, and then of commissive speech acts to express a commitment to punish them. This determination is given more weight by the addition of the declarative speech act as a sign of power conferred by his social role as the head of state.

Fairclough (2012) and Wilson (1990) claim that in political discourse, person deixis serves to express ideologies and manipulate people. This appears to be true in the case of Ben Ali’s speech, and throws into question his seriousness about take action against those who have “mislead” him by keeping them anonymous. Moreover, the way he refers to any demonstration by his political opponents implies that they are not accustomed to following the required

procedures and are unorganized. Together, these speech acts serve to promote his self-representation as a having been misled, and therefore not to be blamed, and as being organized and tolerant of political opposition.

#### **4.3. The Aristotelian Appeals**

The analysis of the speech in light of the Aristotelian appeals, logos, ethos and pathos, will be applied to coherent segments of meanings and not whole sentences, as was the case in the previous data analysis. The reason for this is the coherent connection of sentences and the possibility of analyzing chunks of sentences according to the main topic they present. Below is the distribution of the three appeals and a brief analysis of each.

**Table 5: Analysis of the Aristotelian Appeals**

<i>Sentences</i>	<i>Logos</i>	<i>Ethos</i>	<i>Pathos</i>
<p>In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful</p> <p>Dear fellow Tunisians</p> <p>I am speaking to you today, all of you citizens, in Tunisia and abroad.</p> <p>I am speaking to you in the language of all Tunisians.</p> <p>I am speaking to you now because the situation dictates a change, yes, a deep and comprehensive change.</p> <p>I have understood you all. Yes, I have understood you all, the jobless, the needy, and the political, all of those who are claiming more freedom.</p> <p>I have understood you.</p> <p>I have understood each one of you.</p>	<p>The use of a code that is understood by everyone regardless of the educational level.</p>	<p>Ben Ali shares the same goals of calming down the situation and the need for change.</p>	<p>He understands the plights of different categories and connects with everyone.</p>
<p>But the events taking place in our country are not a part of us.</p> <p>Destruction is not part of the Tunisian tradition, the civilized and tolerant Tunisian.</p> <p>Violence has never been part of our customs, or part of our behavior.</p> <p>The present tide of unrest should stop.</p> <p>We must bring it to a halt together; political parties, national organizations, civil society, intellectuals and ordinary citizens.</p> <p>Hand in hand, together, to serve our country.</p> <p>Hand in hand, to guarantee our children's safety</p>	<p>Cause/riots should stop to reach to a result, i.e. building the country together.</p>	<p>The idea of sharing is stressed by the use of inclusive pronouns. Competence is not mentioned.</p>	<p>Demonstrators should be ashamed because they violated valued cultural norms.</p>

<p>The change, which I announce now, is an acceptance of your legitimate claims, to which I have reacted, and I felt deep pain at the events that occurred.</p> <p>I felt great sadness and pain because I have spent more than fifty years of my life in the service of Tunisia, serving in different positions, from the national Army, to the different decision making positions, and 23 years as the head of state.</p> <p>Every day of my life was and still in the service of the country.</p> <p>I have made countless sacrifices and I do not want to count them.</p> <p>You already know them all and I have never accepted and I will not accept the shedding of one single drop of Tunisian blood.</p>	<p>Sad events led to his understanding.</p> <p>Cause/effect relation.</p>	<p>Competence and benevolence are stressed through a brief review of his career.</p> <p>He understands the legitimate demands of the protestors.</p>	<p>He is full of emotions as a result of the events.</p>
<p>We were saddened for the victims of these events and damage suffered by persons, and I refuse to see more victims as a result of the ongoing violence and looting.</p>	<p>He is sad now but does not want to remain sad in the future.</p>	<p>He shares feeling and has the social role to act.</p>	<p>He is also sad like many people.</p>

<p>Our children are confined at home today, and they are not in school.</p> <p>This is totally immoral and shameful, because we became afraid for their safety, from the acts of violence perpetrated by small groups of bandits from looting and attacks against persons.</p> <p>This is a crime, this is a criminal act not a protest, and this is sinful.</p> <p>All citizens, all citizens should face up to them.</p> <p>And we have issued instructions and we rely on the cooperation of all, so that we can distinguish between the small delinquent gangs who are making use of the circumstances, and the legitimate and peaceful demonstrations which we accept.</p>	<p>Being afraid for children's safety prevents them from getting education.</p> <p>This should stop so that they can go back to school.</p>	<p>Benevolence is stressed through the use of inclusive pronouns.</p> <p>Competence is missing since everyone is supposed to take action.</p>	<p>Emotions of fear and shame are triggered.</p> <p>This should stop so that everyone will get back positive face.</p>
<p>My sadness is deep.</p> <p>My sadness is deep and profound, very deep and very profound.</p> <p>Enough violence! Enough violence!</p>		<p>He is sharing the feeling of pain and is urging people to stop though competence here is not clear.</p>	
<p>I have instructed the Interior Minister and reiterated and today, I insist, stop using live ammunition.</p>	<p>Stopping the use of live ammunition</p>	<p>Benevolence and competence are stressed.</p>	

	will reduce casualties. Cause/effect.		
Live ammunition is not acceptable, and is not justifiable! Except, God forbid, anyone seeks to snatch your weapon, or attacks you with a firearm, or compels you to defend yourself.	The use of violence is legitimate only in self defense.	Not intending to harm people. He is addressing police officers.	Implied threat to protesters.
I call on the independent committee I repeat: an independent committee, which will investigate the incidents, abuses and regrettable deaths, to delineate the responsibilities of all sides, all sides without exception, with equity, integrity, and objectiveness.	Cause/effect. Fair investigation s will ease tension.	He shares the people's requests and has the competence to act.	This makes addressees relieved and pleased.
I expect all Tunisians, whether they support us or not, to back up the efforts of appeasement, and to reject violence, acts of destruction, and degradation of property. Reform requires calm, and the events we witnessed, were triggered by the protest against a social situation, on which we have made huge efforts, but we should make greater efforts, greater efforts, to right the wrongs. We should give ourselves the possibility and needed time to put into effect all the important measures we have decided.	Cause/effect relationship of calm/reform.	Benevolence stressed by the use of inclusive pronouns and the idea of shared efforts.	Violence and destruction are always scary for everyone.
In addition to that, I gave my instructions to the		Benevolence as	Decreasing

Government and called the Prime Minister to decrease the commodity prices and basic services; sugar, milk, and bread, etc.		sharing the concerns of people and competence as having the power to give orders.	prices will make people happy.
Regarding the political demands, I told you that I have understood you. Yes, I told you I have understood you. I have decided full freedom for all means of information, no more blocking of the Internet, and rejection of all forms of censorship, while respecting our ethics, and the universal principles of the profession.		Benevolence of sharing the political demands of people and the competence to act.	People will be able to enjoy political freedom.
As for the committee, which I announced two days ago, to examine the cases of corruption, bribery, and abuses by officials, it will be independent. Yes, I repeat, it will be independent. We will make sure of its credibility and fairness.	An independent committee will make accountability possible.	Benevolent for sharing the request of people and competent as issuing orders.	Reforms and accountability make people happy.

<p>From today onwards, there will be full freedom of political expression including peaceful, demonstrations, peaceful, guided and organized demonstrations, civilized demonstrations.</p> <p>We do not mind if one political party or organization intends to organize a peaceful demonstration.</p> <p>They are welcome.</p> <p>But they only have to inform the competent authorities, identify its time and place, guide it, and cooperate with the appropriate authorities to guarantee its peacefulness.</p>	<p>Informing the authorities will guarantee a safe demonstration.</p>	<p>The use of modality stresses the competence. Benevolence is present through the will of not harming demonstrators.</p>	<p>People will be able to enjoy their freedom.</p>
<p>I would like to affirm that many things didn't work the way I wished, frankly ... the way I wished, especially in democracy and freedoms. They have sometimes misled me.</p> <p>I am not a sun to shine all over the country. Some have sometimes misled me, by hiding truths, and they will indeed be held accountable for that.</p> <p>Yes, they will be held accountable for that.</p> <p>Once again, I wish to say clearly</p> <p>I will work to promote democracy, to promote democracy and pluralism.</p>	<p>Being fair and guaranteeing accountability will promote democracy.</p>	<p>He shares the same concerns of people but was misled. He has the competence to punish those who misled him.</p>	<p>Triggering people's sympathy by stressing his goodwill and that he was misled.</p>



<p>I will work to preserve and respect the country's constitution.</p> <p>I would like to say again, and contrary to what some claim, I pledged on November 7, 1987 that there would be no lifetime presidency, no lifetime presidency!</p> <p>Once again I wish to thank all who launched appeals so that I would stand as a candidate in the 2014 presidential election.</p> <p>However, I refuse to violate the age condition for candidacy to the presidency of the Republic.</p>	<p>Cause/effect.</p> <p>His refusal to be reelected will guarantee the supremacy of the constitution.</p>	<p>He shares what people are looking for in terms of politics and stresses his competence not to violate the constitution.</p>	<p>Relieving people who are scared that the constitution will be tailored to fit his reelection.</p>
<p>However, we want to reach 2014 within a climate of genuine harmony and national dialogue, with the participation of all national parties in assuming responsibilities.</p> <p>Tunisia is a country of all of us, the country of all Tunisians.</p> <p>We love Tunisia.</p> <p>All the people love it.</p> <p>We have to safeguard it.</p> <p>The will of her people will be in her hands, and in the trustworthy hands that the people will choose, to pursue the procession, the procession launched since independence and which we have pursued since November 7, 1987.</p>	<p>Being patient and waiting for 2014 will boost democracy and make a smooth transition in harmony.</p>	<p>Declaring his intention to leave power.</p>	<p>Triggering the necessity to protect one's country as a common goal for all citizens.</p>

<p>To that end, we will set up a national committee headed by an independent national personality enjoying credibility among all political and social parties, to review the electoral code, the press code, and the law on associations, etc.</p> <p>The committee will suggest the necessary provisional approaches until the 2014 elections, including the possibility of separating the legislative and presidential elections.</p>	<p>The independent committee will have the power to make political reforms and changes.</p>	<p>He is benevolent as he presents some suggestions shared by people and competent as having the social role to issue orders.</p>	<p>People will be relieved to hear the news of an independent committee that has full authority.</p>
<p>Tunisia belongs to all of us. Let us all preserve it together. Her future lies in our hands. Let us secure her together. Each one of us is responsible for restoring her security, responsible for her stability, for healing her wounds, and for entering a new era that lays the ground for a better future. Long live Tunisia! Long live the Tunisian people! Long live the Republic! Peace be upon you, and the Mercy of God and his Blessings.</p>	<p>Protecting the country is a shared responsibility to guarantee the survival of the country and the people.</p>	<p>He shares the same beliefs and concerns of people through the use of inclusive pronouns. He also shows his competence to protect the republican system</p>	<p>Stressing the feeling of responsibility and the need to mutually leave securely.</p>

Table 5 shows that the three appeals are used in an intertwined way most of the time, as described by Aristotle (1967). This is a persuasive strategy that is driven by a good knowledge of the context. Moreover, the data shows that “self-representation” (Poggi, 2005: 314) is of great importance in this speech, as ethos is present in all the chunks analyzed, which is not the case with logos and pathos. This supports the claim of Cockcroft (2004) that ethos is the strongest appeal since it expresses values shared by the persuader and the persuadee and is intended to establish a rapport with the audience, in this instance through Ben Ali’s representation of himself, following Hakim Karoui’s recommendation, as “the Father of the nation” who “must be found at his sons’ side when they are suffering.” This rapport is enforced by the marked use of inclusive pronouns alluding to the social role that enables Ben Ali to take decisions.

#### **4.4. Standard Arabic and Dialect**

The total word count of Ben Ali’s speech is 890, of which 689 words are Standard Arabic and 201 Tunisian dialect. The results are shown in Figure 3 below.

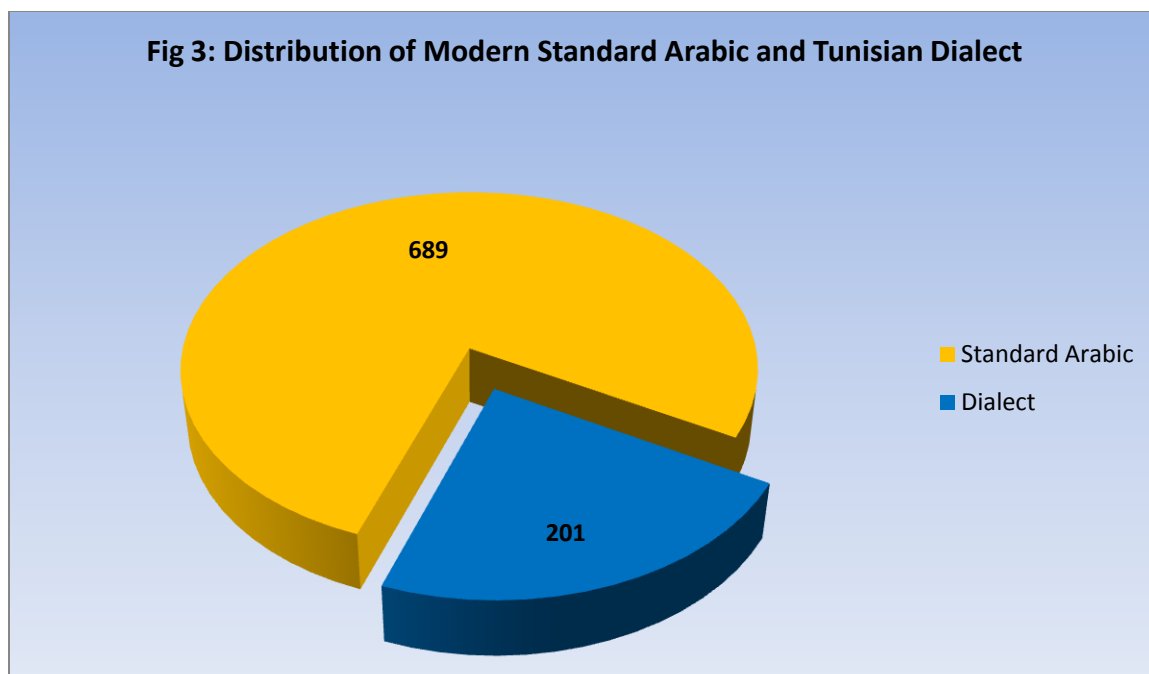


Figure 3 shows that 77 % of the speech was delivered in Standard Arabic and 23 % in dialect. The result was reached after I manually calculated the total number of words of the speech as well as the number of tokens from standard Arabic and the dialect, and then calculated the percentages based on the number of tokens of each variety to the total of words in the speech. Then, the dialect was marked in bold in both the original text in Arabic and the English translation (Appendices A and B respectively). Here are some examples of words that are originally from MSA and are adapted to Tunisian dialect. In lines 3, 4 and 5 of the original text, the verb ‘I speak’ (n-kallam) is conjugated with the prefix (n-) that marks the first person singular in the Tunisian dialect. Similar examples can be found in lines 15, 16 and 17 of the original text where the verbs ‘I do not like’ (ma-n-hebb-esh) and ‘I refuse’ (ma-n-ekbel-esh) are negated with the dialect markers, the prefix (ma-) and the suffix (-esh). Another example of adaptation to the Tunisian dialect is the lengthening of vowels such as in the word ‘language’ (lughā) in MSA, in line 4 of the original text, that becomes (luughā) in Tunisian Arabic.

As it was mentioned in the literature review, the dialect is used to carry an emotional charge, reach out to the audience and seek their sympathy as well as stressing the message of solidarity (Holes, 2004; Walters, 2003). In the following examples, where dialect is marked in bold, Ben Ali wanted to stress the idea of communication and mutual intelligibility with the audience through the verb “**I am speaking to you**” in lines 3, 4 and 5. He also used the dialect to play with agency while triggering the audience pathos. This is clear through the use of utterances such as “**I have understood you**” (line 9) to stress his agency; “**Violence has never been part of our customs, or part of our behavior**” (line 12); “**Hand in hand**, together, to serve our country” (line 15); “**We love Tunisia**” (line 79); “**We have to safeguard it**” (line 80) to stress the need for mutual cooperation.

The use of dialect also serves to magnify Ben Ali’s ethos to get closer to people (Holes, 2004: 350), while continuing to play on agency and focusing on his capacity to act for the benefit of people, and therefore to be trusted for the future of the country. This was shown in the use of “I have made countless sacrifices and **I do not want to count them. You already know them all**” (line 21); “**I have spent** more than fifty years of my life in the service of Tunisia” (line 18); “**And we have issued instructions and we rely** on the cooperation of all” (line 31); “**I have instructed** the Interior Minister and reiterated and today, **I insist, stop using live ammunition.**” (line 36).

Although there is a marked use of MSA throughout the speech as a matrix for most sentences, there are still additions of some Tunisian dialect from time to time to tune down the situation. This is a strategy intended not only to reach the maximum number of people with limited education (Holes, 2004), but also to make the formal context less formal (Walters, 2003)

to stress the idea of intimacy and the need to work together during the time of crisis (Holes, 2004).

The repetition of some expressions in Tunisian dialect is also noticed, such as “**I am speaking to you**” (line, 3, 4 and 5); “**I have understood you**” (line 7, 9 and 52); “**Hand in hand**” (line 15) as well as the modal “**will**” (lines 57 and 58). These repetitions were not meant to catch attention only, but also to create a bond with people and send a message that they do not have to worry about the past and rather get ready for a bright future that has to be built together. Kuhl and Anderson (2011: 971) claim that repetition is a strategy to enhance accessibility to people through affecting their implicit memory because it “almost always improves long-term retention, or, at worst, leaves it unaffected.” However, repetition does not always work in favor of the intended objective, which is getting people together and calming down the situation in this speech. Kuhl and Anderson (2011: 971) claim that “massive, continuous repetition of the sort employed in studies of semantic situation not only fails to further improve memory, but actually reverses and eliminates the benefits that brief periods of repetition impart on long-term semantic memory.” This view supports the feeling of skepticism that some people had when they were listening to the speech and which encouraged me to conduct this research. Therefore, while listening to some repetitions, the addressee’s “attention is occasionally drawn away from the repeated word’s meaning” as it was initially intended by the addresser to wonder about the objective behind this repetition (Kuhl and Anderson, 2011: 970).

Code mixing is a strategy that may not necessarily fulfill the ultimate objective of the speaker. In a formal context, and in a time of crisis, the use of code mixing, which has “a near-universal negative evaluation among laymen” (Ritchie and Bhatia, 2013: 388), did not meet the expectations of the audience, mainly with the fact that it was the first time for Ben Ali to mix

both varieties in a speech. Therefore, the violation of the “canonical expectations” (Walters, 2003: 91) created more communicative tensions in addition to the socio-political tension that existed already according to my two interviewees Hatem Bourial and Ikbal Zalila (2012), which is mainly due to the quotations from former presidents Bourguiba and De Gaulle and which gave the impression that Ben Ali is trying to give his last try in a lost game (Bourial and Zalila, 2012).

These strategies, i.e. mixing Tunisian dialect with MSA and the repetition of some phrases in dialect to get closer to people were not successful in persuading people, who went to the streets right after he finished his speech, to protest and to ask him to step down.

#### **4.5 Gricean Maxims**

Grice (1975) claims that a communication can be successful if the maxims of quantity, quality, relation and manner are respected. In this speech, the maxim of quantity, where the addresser should be neither more nor less informative than what is expected, is not fully respected. The use of third person plural pronouns is a hedging strategy because it does not show a full commitment to the action, as would the first person singular pronoun. This is evident in statements such as “We do not mind if one political party or organization intends to organize a peaceful demonstration” and “however, we want to reach 2014 within a climate of genuine harmony and national dialogue, with the participation of all national parties in assuming responsibilities.” Although Ben Ali tries, through the use of inclusive pronouns, to build a rapport with the audience, the use of ambiguous deictic pronouns that do not fully convey the meaning is not completely informative. This represents a violation of the maxim of quantity, i.e. not presenting the expected amount of information to the audience.

The maxim of quality that requires the speaker not to say what is believed false or to say something without adequate evidence is also violated. At the time of the speech, people were being shot dead. Although there is no reference to the violation of this maxim in the speech, the context shows that Ben Ali was not committed to the truth when he ordered the armed forces to stop using live ammunition.

The maxim of relation that requires the addresser to be relevant is respected. Ben Ali talks about the crisis, suggests solutions and promises to take actions. “I am speaking to you now because the situation dictates a change, yes, a deep and comprehensive change” and “The change, which I announce now, is an acceptance of your legitimate claims, to which I have reacted, and I felt deep pain at the events that occurred.”

The maxim of manner that refers to the way an exchange should be maintained is violated when a comparison is made with the way Ben Ali used to deliver his speeches. The maxim of manner does not only refer to this speech, but situates it in relation to previous ones. This is the first time Ben Ali uses dialect in a political speech. Instead of establishing a rapport with his addressees, he looks defeated.

Moreover, Ben Ali tries to identify with two previous leaders, the first Tunisian president Habib Bourguiba and the French president Charles De Gaulle. During a similar crisis in the 80s, Bourguiba promised to cancel the price increases that had ignited social unrest. However, he was able to convince the crowd thanks to his charisma, something Ben Ali could not acquire on account of his use of formal language that ordinary laymen find hard to understand, according to Zalila (personal communication, 2012).

In addition, all Tunisian intellectuals are bilingual and many, particularly the older ones, would be familiar with the quotations from Bourguiba and De Gaulle. The linguistic choice and



the code-mix between Standard Arabic and Tunisian dialect was also a political defeat. Ben Ali's speeches had been characterized by linguistic linearity (Bourial, 2012), in which he maintained a sole usage of Standard Arabic and very sophisticated language. That is why, in its desperate attempt to persuade the audience, the last speech portrayed him as a defeated president who could no longer maintain his power.

## 5. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this study has shown that:

- Speech acts can be interpreted only within their context, where many persuasive tools may be used at the same time.
- Political discourse is characterized by a marked use of multiple speech acts in the same utterance, where one speech act may be a medium for another. Assertives are used as a medium to pass commissives and expressives subtly, to build a rapport with the audience, and seek their sympathy for persuasive ends. In Ben Ali's third speech, assertives were mostly used (42/75 sentences), followed by commissives (30/75) and expressives (28/75). The least-used speech acts were directives (21/75) and declarations (15/75).
- Performatives were present in all the sentences either implicitly or through an explicit use of a performative verb.
- There was a strategic use of agency through deictic pronouns to build a rapport with the audience. On the one hand, agency that is expressed by the first-person singular pronoun relies on explicit performative verbs. On the other, the use of person deixis is a persuasive strategy in political discourse through the construction of a negative image of the other by the use of third-person pronouns, to serve the foremost interests of the addresser.
- Aristotelian appeals are mostly intertwined with an emphasis on ethos in political discourse to create a trustworthy and credible image of the persuader. The strategic use of person deixis and first-person singular pronouns with performative verbs helps to develop the ethos of the addresser as a persuasive strategy, proving the first hypothesis.

- The non-observance of some Gricean maxims is a strategic persuasive tool in political discourse.
- Dialect is used in political discourse as a persuasive strategy to carry an emotional charge, gaining the sympathy of the audience and building a rapport with the maximum number of people.
- Dialect constituted 23% of Ben Ali's speech, sending a message of personal commitment intended to persuade the audience.
- Linguistic persuasive strategies are not sufficient in themselves to persuade people, especially when there is tension. They have to be accompanied by other non-linguistic tools, such as the charisma of the persuader and a good awareness of the socio-political context, which confirms the second hypothesis of this thesis.

These strategies, i.e. mixing Tunisian dialect and MSA intertwined with appeals, the repetition of some phrases in dialect to get closer to people, the marked use of expressive and commissive speech acts to report promises, the manipulation of agency and performatives were not successful in persuading people, who went to demonstrate as soon as he finished his speech, asking him to step down and disregarding all the promises he made. The fact that all of these strategies were not successful in calming people down answers the third research question.

The study demonstrates the richness of political discourse, which is a very fruitful area of research on account of its nature, which always involves a tendency to persuade someone. It also highlights the need to analyze political discourse pragmatically, i.e. as the study of language in context.

Moreover, a comparative analysis may be conducted with similar speeches of overthrown leaders such as Hosni Mubarak in Egypt, Ali Abdalla Saleh in Yemen and Muammar Kaddafi in Libya to check whether political addresses delivered in similar contexts share any similarities in terms of persuasive strategies.

More research may be conducted to verify whether the use of dialect as a persuasive strategy differs in other political contexts, such as parliamentary debates, political campaigns and hearings, or whether persuasive strategies differ in other cultures.

The present thesis has aimed at providing an understanding of persuasion in political discourse through the use of different strategies. However, no hasty generalization can be formed, since a larger corpus of data, such as the previous speeches of Ben Ali, would be required in order to evaluate any deviation from the way he used to deliver his speeches, and to interpret better his mixing of dialect and Standard Arabic.

Moreover, the corpus was originally delivered in oral form. This can be beneficial in scrutinizing paralinguistic features such as voice quality, intonation, pitch, postures and gestures, and to check whether they have any correlation with Speech Act Theory or the Aristotelian appeals. Analysis of these paralinguistic techniques would help us to reach an even more reliable interpretation of Ben Ali's speech. Nonetheless, the findings of this thesis indicate that much work can be done in the field of political discourse, and provide a ground for further investigation of persuasion.

## APPENDIX A

### English Transliteration of the Last Speech of the Overthrown Tunisian President, Zine El Abidine Ben Ali (Tunis, January 13, 2011)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ou6Oqnz4O4I>

1 In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful  
 2 Dear fellow Tunisians,  
 3 <sup>3</sup>**I am speaking to you** today, all of you citizens, in Tunisia and abroad.  
 4 **I am speaking to you in the language** of all Tunisians.  
 5 **I am speaking to you** now because the situation dictates a change, yes, a deep and  
 6 comprehensive change.  
 7 **I have understood you all. Yes, I have understood you all,** the jobless, the needy, and the  
 8 political, **all of those who are claiming more freedom.**  
 9 **I have understood you. I have understood each one of you.** But the events taking place **in our**  
 10 **country are not a part of us.** Destruction **is not** part of the Tunisian tradition, the civilized and  
 11 tolerant Tunisian.  
 12 **Violence has never been part of our customs, or part of our behavior.** The present tide of  
 13 unrest should stop. We must bring it to a halt together; political parties, national organizations,  
 14 civil society, intellectuals and ordinary citizens.  
 15 **Hand in hand,** together, to serve our country. **Hand in hand,** to guarantee our children's **safety.**  
 16 The change, **which** I announce now, is an acceptance of your legitimate claims, **to which I have**  
 17 **reacted,** and I felt deep pain at the events that occurred.

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<sup>3</sup> The bold marks the Tunisian dialect vs. Modern Standard Arabic in regular font.

18 I felt great sadness and pain because **I have spent** more than fifty years of my life in the service  
19 of Tunisia, serving in different positions, from the national Army, to the different decision  
20 making positions, and 23 years as the head of state.

21 Every day of my life was and still in the service of the country. I have made countless sacrifices  
22 and **I do not want to count them. You already know them all** and I have never accepted **and I**  
23 **will not accept the shedding** of one single drop of Tunisian blood.

24 **We were saddened** for the victims of these events and damage suffered by persons, and **I refuse**  
25 to see more victims as a result of the ongoing violence and looting.

26 **Our children are confined at home today, they are not in school. This is totally immoral**  
27 **and shameful**, because we became **afraid for their safety**, from the acts of violence perpetrated  
28 by small groups of bandits from looting and attacks against persons.

29 This is a crime, this is a criminal act **not** a protest, and this is **sinful**. All citizens, all citizens  
30 should face up to them

31 **And we have issued** instructions **and we rely** on the cooperation of all, so that we can  
32 **distinguish** between the small delinquent gangs who are making use of the circumstances, and  
33 the legitimate and peaceful demonstrations which we accept.

34 My sadness is deep. My sadness is deep and profound, very deep and very profound. Enough  
35 violence! Enough violence!

36 **I have instructed** the Interior Minister and reiterated and today, **I insist, stop** using **live**  
37 **ammunition. Live ammunition is not acceptable, and is not justifiable!** Except, God forbid,  
38 **anyone seeks to snatch your weapon, or attacks you with a firearm, or compels you to**  
39 defend yourself.

40 I call on the independent committee, I repeat: an independent committee, which will investigate  
 41 the incidents, abuses and regrettable deaths, to delineate the responsibilities of all sides, all sides  
 42 without exception, with equity, integrity, and objectiveness.

43 **I expect all Tunisians, whether they support us or not, to** back up the efforts of appeasement,  
 44 and to reject violence, acts of destruction, and degradation of property. Reform **requires** calm,  
 45 and the events **we witnessed**, were triggered by the protest against a social situation, on which  
 46 we have made huge efforts, but we should make greater efforts, greater efforts, to right the  
 47 wrongs.

48 We should give ourselves the possibility and needed time **to put into effect** all the important  
 49 measures we have decided. In addition to that, I gave my instructions to the Government and  
 50 called the Prime Minister **to decrease** the commodity prices and basic services; sugar, milk, and  
 51 bread, etc.

52 Regarding the political demands, **I told you that I have understood you. Yes, I told you I have**  
 53 **understood you.** I have decided full freedom for **all means** of information, no more blocking of  
 54 the Internet, and rejection of all forms of censorship, while respecting our ethics, and the  
 55 universal principles of the profession.

56 As for the committee, which I announced two days ago, to examine the cases of corruption,  
 57 bribery, and abuses by officials, **it will be** independent. Yes, I repeat, **it will be** independent. **We**  
 58 **will make sure** of its credibility and fairness.

59 From today onwards, there will be full freedom of political expression including peaceful,  
 60 demonstrations, peaceful, guided and organized demonstrations, civilized demonstrations. We do  
 61 not mind if one political party or organization **intends to** organize a peaceful demonstration.  
 62 **They are welcome.** But **they only have to inform the competent authorities, identify its time**

63 **and place, guide it, and cooperate** with the appropriate authorities to guarantee its  
 64 peacefulness.

65 **I would like to affirm** that many things didn't work **the way I wished, frankly ... the way I**  
 66 **wished**, especially in democracy and freedoms. **They have** sometimes **misled me. I am not a**  
 67 **sun to shine all over** the country.

68 **Some have** sometimes **misled me**, by hiding truths, and they will indeed be held accountable for  
 69 that. **Yes**, they will be held accountable for that.

70 Once again, I wish to say clearly: **I will work to promote** democracy, to promote democracy  
 71 and pluralism. I will work to preserve and respect the country's constitution.

72 **I would like to say again**, and contrary to what some claim, I pledged on November 7, 1987 that  
 73 there would be no lifetime presidency, no lifetime presidency!

74 Once again I wish to thank all who launched appeals so that I would stand as a candidate in the  
 75 **2014** presidential election. However, I refuse to violate the age condition for candidacy to the  
 76 presidency of the Republic.

77 However, we want to reach **2014** within a climate of genuine harmony and national dialogue,  
 78 with the participation of all national parties in assuming responsibilities.

79 **Tunisia is a country of all of us, the country of all Tunisians. We love Tunisia.** All the people  
 80 **love it, we have to safeguard it.** The will of **her people** will be in her hands, and in the  
 81 trustworthy hands that the people will choose, to pursue the procession, the procession launched  
 82 since independence and which we have pursued since November 7, 1987.

83 To that end, we will set up a national committee headed by an independent national personality  
 84 enjoying credibility among all political and social parties, to review the electoral code, the press  
 85 code, and the law on associations, etc. The committee will suggest the necessary provisional



86 approaches until the **2014** elections, including the possibility of separating the legislative and  
87 presidential elections.

88 Tunisia belongs to all of us. Let us all preserve it together. **Her future** lies in our hands. Let us  
89 secure her together. Each one of us is responsible for restoring her security, responsible for her  
90 stability, for healing her wounds, and for entering a new era that lays the ground for a better  
91 future.

92 Long live Tunisia! Long live the Tunisian people! Long live the Republic!

93 Peace be upon you, and the Mercy of God and his Blessings.

## APPENDIX B

### Arabic Transcription of the Last Speech of the Overthrown Tunisian President, Zine El Abidine Ben Ali (Tunis, January 13, 2011)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ou6Oqnz4O4I>

- 1 باسم الله الرحمان الرحيم
- 2 أيها الشعب التونسي،
- 3 **نكلمكم اليوم ونكلمكم الكل** في تونس و خارج تونس
- 4 **نكلمكم بلوغة** كل التونسيين و التونسيات
- 5 **نكلمكم الآن لأن** الوضع يفرض تغيير، تغيير عميق، نعم تغيير عميق و شامل،
- 6 وأنا فهمتكم، إي نعم أنا فهمتكم، فهمت الجميع، البطال و المحتاج و السياسي واللي يطالب بمزيد مالحريات
- 7 فهمتكم و فهمت الكل، لكن الأحداث التي جارية اليوم في بلادنا ماهياش متاعنا و التخريب موش من عادات التونسي،
- 8 التونسي المتحضّر، التونسي المتسامح.
- 9 العنف موش متاعنا ولا هو من سلوكنا و لابد أن يتوقف التيار، يتوقف بتكاتف الجهود الجميع: أحزاب سياسيّة، منظمات
- 10 وطنية، مجتمع مدني، مثقفين و مواطنين
- 11 **اليدي في اليدي** من أجل بلادنا، **اليدي في اليدي** من أجل آمان كل أولادنا. سيكون التغيير اللي أعلن عليه اليوم إستجابة لمطالبكم
- 12 الذي اللي... تفاعلت معاها و تألمت لما حدث شديد الألم .
- 13 حزني و ألمي كبيران لأنني مضيت أكثر من خمسين سنة من عمري في خدمة تونس في مختلف المواقع، من الجيش
- 14 الوطني، إلى المسد المسؤوليات المختلفة و ثلاثة و عشرين سنة على رأس الدولة
- 15 و كل يوم من حياتي كان و ما زال لخدمة البلاد، و قدّمت التضحيات و ما نحبش نعدّدها، بكلّو تعرفوها و لم أقبل يوما
- 16 و ما نقبلش باش تسيل قطرة دم واحدة من دماء التونسيين.

<sup>4</sup> The bold marks the Tunisian dialect vs. Modern Standard Arabic in regular font.

- 17 تألمنا لسقوط ضحايا و تضرّر أشخاص و أنا نرفض أن يسقط المزيد بسبب تواصل العنف و النهب.
- 18 أولادنا اليوم في الدار و موش في المدرسة و هذا حرام و عيب لأننا أصبحنا خائفين عليهم من عنف مجموعات سطو و
- 19 نهب و إعتداء على الأشخاص. هذا إجرام موش احتجاج و هذا حرام و المواطنين كل المواطنين لا بد أن يقفوا أمامهم.
- 20 وحنّا عطينا التعليمات و نعول على تعاون الجميع حتى نفرّق بين هذه العصابات و المجموعات من المنحرفين الذين
- 21 يستغلّون الطرف و بين الإحتجاجات السد السلميّة المشروعة التي لا نرى مانعا فيها .
- 22 و أسفي كبير أسفي كبير و كبير جدًا و عميق جدًا عميق جدًا فكفى عنفاً فكفى عنفاً
- 23 و عطيت تعليمات كذلك لوزير الداخلية و كرّرت و اليوم نأكّد، يرّي من اللجوء للكرتوش الحيّ الكرتوش موش مقبول، ما
- 24 عندوش مبرّر إلا لا قدر الله حدّ يحاول يفكّ سلاحك و يهجم عليك بالنار و غيرها و يجبرك على الدفاع عن النفس.
- 25 و أطلب من اللجنة المستقلّة أكرّر اللجنة المستقلّة التي ستحقّق في الأحداث و التجاوزات و الوفايات المأسوف عليها تحديد
- 26 مسؤوليات كل الأطراف، كل الأطراف بدون إستثناء بكلّ إنصاف و نزاهة و موضوعيّة.
- 27 و نستنّى من كل تونسي إلى يساندنا و إلى ما يساندناش باش يدعم الجهود، جهود التهدئة و التخلّي عن العنف
- 28 و التخريب و الإفساد، فالإصلاح لازم الهدوء، و الأحداث التي شفناها كانت في منطلقها إحتجاج على أوضاع إجتماعيّة
- 29 كنّا عملنا جهود كبيرة لمعالجتها و لكن مازال أماننا مجهود كبير مجهود كبير لتدارك النقائص.
- 30 و لازم نعطي أنفسنا جميعا الفرصة و الوقت باش تجسّم كل الإجراءات الهامة التي إتخذناها. و زيادة على هذا، كلّفت
- 31 الحكومة .. كـ ... إتصلت بالسيد الوزير الأول باش نقوم بتخفيض في أسعار المواد و المرافق الأساسية، السكر،
- 32 الـ.. الحليب، الخبز.. إلى غير ذلك .
- 33 أما المطالب السياسيّة، قتلتم أنا فهمتكم، إي نعم قتلتم أنا فهمتكم. و قرّرت الحرّية الكاملة للإعلام بكل وسائله و عدم
- 34 غلق مواقع الأنترنت و رفض أيّ شكل من أشكال الرقابة عليها مع الحرص على إحترام أخلاقيّاتنا و مبادئ المهنة
- 35 العالميّة
- 36 أمّا بالنسبة للجنة التي أعلنت عليها منذ يومين نظر في ظواهر الفساد و الرشوة و أخطاء المسؤولين، باش تكون هذه اللجنة
- 37 مستقلّة، نعم باش تكون مستقلّة و نحرص على نزاهتها و إنصافها

- 38 و المجال مفتوح من اليوم لحرية التعبير السياسي، بما في ذلك التظاهر السلمي، التظاهر السلمي المؤطر و المنظم.
- 39 التظاهر الحضاري، فلا بأس حزب أو منظمة ينوي تنظيم تظاهرة سلمية، يتفضل، لكن يعلم بيها و يحدد وقتها و مكانها
- 40 و يأتورها و يتعاون مع الأطراف المسؤولة للمحافظة على طابعها السلمي .
- 41 نحب نأكد أن العديد من الأمور لم تجر كما حبيتها، بكل صراحة، ماحا..، كيما حبيتها تكون و خصوصاً في مجالي
- 42 الديمقراطية و الحريات و غلطوني أحياناً، أنا موش شمس باش نزرق على الجم.. على كامل تـ... تـ... تراب
- 43 الجمهورية، غلطوني أحياناً بحجب الحقائق و سيحاسبون، إي نعم، سيحاسبون.
- 44 و لذاذا.. و لذا أجدد لكم و بكل وضوح: راني باش نعمل على دعم الديمقراطية، على دعم الديمقراطية و تفعيل التعددية،
- 45 نعم على دعم الديمقراطية و تفعيل التعددية. و سأعمل على صون الدستور، دستور البلاد و احترامه. نحب نكرر هنا
- 46 و خلافا لما ادعاه البعض، أني تعهدت يوم السابع من نوفمبر بأن لا رئاسة مدى الحياة، لا رئاسة مدى الحياة.
- 47 و لذلك، فإنني أجدد شكري لكل من ناشدني للترشح لسنة ألفين وربعطاش و لكني أرفض المساس بشرط السن للترشح
- 48 لرئاسة الجمهورية. إلا أنا نريد بلوغ سنة ألفين وربعطاش في إطار وفاق مدني فعلي و جو من الحوار الوطني.
- 49 و بمشاركة الأطراف الوطنية في المسؤوليات.
- 50 تونس بلادنا الكل، بلاد كل التوانسة. تونس نحبوها و كل شعبها يحبها و يلزم نصونها. فلتبق إرادة شعبها بين أيديها
- 51 و بين الأيادي الأمينة التي سيختارها لتواصل المسيرة، المسيرة التي انطلقت منذ الإستقلال والتي واصلناها منذ سنة
- 52 ١٩٨٧.
- 53 و لهذا، سنكون لجنة وطنية نترأسها شخصية وطنية مستقلة لها مصداقية لدى كل الأطراف السياسية و الإجتماعية للنظر
- 54 في مراجعة المجلة الانتخابية و مجلة الصحافة و قانون الجمعيات، إلى غير ذلك. و تقترح اللجنة التصورات المرحلية
- 55 اللازمة حتى إنتخابات سنة ألفين وربعطاش بما في ذلك إمكانية فصل الإنتخابات التشريعية عن الإنتخابات الرئاسية.
- 56 تونس لنا جميعاً، فلنحافظ عليها جميعاً. و مستقبلها بين أيدينا، فلنأمنها جميعاً و كل واحد منا مسؤول من موقعه على إعادة
- 57 أمنها و استقرارها و ترميم جراحها و الدخول بها في مرحلة جديدة تأهلها أكثر لمستقبل أفضل.
- 58 عاشت تونس، عاش شعبها، عاشت الجمهورية والسلام عليكم و رحمة الله و بركاته.

## APPENDIX C

### Letter from Hakim Karoui to President Ben Ali

(French)

<http://www.webdo.tn/2011/02/08/h-el-karoui-lhomme-qui-soufflait-aux-oreilles-de-ben-ali-aujourd'hui-au-service-de-ghannouchi>

Paris, le 12 janvier 2011

*Note*

**A l'attention de Son Excellence le Président Ben Ali**

Objet : un scénario de sortie de crise

Même si la situation commence à s'apaiser, la sortie de crise n'est pas encore acquise.

Un scénario volontariste pourrait être le suivant: Changer profondément le gouvernement et l'équipe de vos conseillers à Carthage avec plusieurs objectifs:

- Sanctionner des responsables qui ont mal fait leur travail ;
  - Crédibiliser votre annonce sur les 300.000 emplois à créer (il faut changer profondément beaucoup de choses pour que ce qui n'a pas été possible hier soit une réalité aujourd'hui)
  - Donner un coup de jeune et de dynamisme en nommant des quadras issus de la société civile et du monde économique, qui ont fait leurs preuves dans leur domaine.
2. Donner un signal clair et fort sur ceux qui, se revendiquant de votre entourage, sont à l'origine du sentiment d'injustice ressenti par la population
  3. Envoyer un message de compassion aux familles des victimes  
Même s'il y a de la manipulation, même s'il y a des terroristes infiltrés, vous êtes le Père de la nation et le Père de la nation doit être aux côtés de ses fils quand ils souffrent.  
En plus du message au Parlement, une prière à la Grande mosquée de Carthage pour la Tunisie et pour ses fils pourrait être ce signal.
  4. Donner un message politique  
La crise actuelle n'est pas qu'une crise sociale : il lui faut, à froid, une réponse politique.  
A moyen terme, à froid, en mars ou en avril, une réflexion pourrait être menée sur une éventuelle dissolution de l'Assemblée nationale qui permettrait d'y faire monter des têtes nouvelles, plus efficaces et plus représentatives de la Tunisie moderne.

**H.E.K.**

## APPENDIX D

### Translated Letter of Hakim Karoui to President Ben Ali

Paris, January 12, 2011

Note

#### **To the Attention of His Excellency, President Ben Ali**

Object: A strategy for avoiding a crisis

Even though the situation is beginning to calm down, a crisis has not yet been avoided.

One plan to choose, voluntarily, would be the following:

Completely overhauling the government and entirely changing the advising staff in Carthage, with several objectives in mind:

- Sanctioning those in positions of responsibility for not doing their jobs properly
- Giving credibility to your announcement of the intent to create 300.000 jobs (a lot of profound changes must be made in order to make a reality today that which was not possible yesterday)
- Introducing a degree of youthfulness and dynamism by appointing senior executives from civil society and the economic world, who have a proven record of competence in their fields of expertise.

2. Giving a clear and strong signal about those taking advantage of being part of your entourage, and who have given rise to the feelings of injustice felt by the people.

3. Sending a message of compassion to the victims' families

Even though there is manipulation, even though terrorists have infiltrated the country, you are the Father of the nation and the Father of the nation must be found at his sons' side when they are suffering.

In addition to this message to the parliament, a prayer for Tunisia and for her children at Carthage's Great Mosque could serve as this signal.

4. Giving a political message

The current crisis is no more than a social crisis: an unemotional political response to it is required.

In the short term, unemotionally, in March or April, a reflection could lead to the eventual dissolution of the National Assembly, which would allow for the entry of new faces, more effective and more representative of modern Tunisia.

**H.E.K**

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- Arabic Fulbright Foreign Language Teaching Assistant (FLTA), Department of Foreign Languages, Missouri Southern State University, 2007-2008
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#### **ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE**

- Academic Counselor: Tunisian Fulbright Society, 2010 to Present
- Member at the Steering Committee of Arabic Foreign Language Teaching Assistants, 2009
- Advisor of the Arabic Club, Missouri Southern State University, Department of Foreign Languages, 2007-2008
- Faculty Advisor: The Southwest Model Arab League, Wesleyan University, Fort Worth, TX, 2008
- Organization of the Arabic Section: St. John's Hospital Cultural Fair, Joplin, MO, 2008
- Elaboration of Medical English Syllabi: The High Institute of Nursing Sciences, Sfax, Tunisia, 2006