

## ORIGINAL ARTICLE

# Analysis of the Televised Debate of the Presidential Election in Tunisia: Application of Aristotle's Ethos, Pathos and Logos

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## ABSTRACT

Politicians' speeches are carefully worded with the aim of conveying their messages effectively and achieving their objectives of gaining public support. Such speeches usually contain rhetorical devices used to emotionally and politically exploit people. There is a need to point out how politicians use rhetoric in their speeches to easily convince people of their ideas and policies. Therefore, this research seeks to address how rhetoric was operationalized in the televised debate of the second round of the presidential election held between two presidential candidates of Tunisia: Kaïs Saïed and Nabil Karoui. The debate that lasted about 120 minutes was manually transcribed. Content analysis on the data was processed through NVIVO 8 software with a focus on Aristotelian (2014) means of rhetoric-Logos, Ethos, and Pathos- to demonstrate how the politicians used rhetorical devices and linguistic items to convince the Tunisians of their views and manifestos. Findings showed both candidates used personal pronouns and possessive pronouns together with rhetorical devices in their arguments and counterarguments in relation to key national and international issues. Thus, both the political leaders used rhetorical elements persuasively.

**Keywords:** Ethos, logos, pathos, presidential election, televised debate, Tunisia.

## Introduction

This research study takes place against the backdrop of a burgeoning body of research on political speeches (Ali and Ibrahim, 2020; Kohn, 2020), including those focusing on rhetoric in political speeches (Budd, 2015; Latif, 2016; Drozdova and Robinson, 2019). Some researchers have deployed rhetoric elements, such as logos, ethos, and pathos to examine political speeches (Cheng, 2012; Opt, 2019; Heo and Park, 2016). Against the backdrop of the presidential election in Tunisia (see Map 1 of Tunisia), the second round of presidential debate (2019) between Kaïs Saïed and Nabil Karoui is viewed as a manifestation of political rhetoric. This study demonstrates the operationalisation of rhetorical elements in the two presidential candidates' second round debate. Our study employs

'Aristotelian triad' (logos, ethos, and pathos) as a theoretical lens to conduct data analysis. Many researchers have used this theoretical framework in different contexts (Ofori, 2019; Mack and Alexander, 2019; Duckett, 2019).

The concept of rhetoric was first popularized by Aristotle who identified and discussed rhetorical elements, such as logos, ethos, and pathos (see Aristotle, 2014). The use of rhetoric is an art of persuasion that has been used by political leaders throughout history in their speeches to convince their followers of their views and policies (Dylgjeri, 2014). Political leaders make conscious efforts to make their speeches rhetorically balanced and effective (see Ali, David and Manan, 2021). Such rhetorical or persuasive speeches are both argumentative and persuasive (Tamar, 2013). Within this theoretical framework,

this research investigates how rhetorical devices of persuasion operate in the second round of the presidential debate between Kaïs Saïed and Nabil Karoui.

In the context of this study, the presidential debate between Kaïs Saïed and Nabil Karoui is seen as a demonstration of rhetorical devices. Logos, ethos, and pathos are seen at the heart of the data analysis. We discuss how both politicians use logos, ethos, and pathos in the presidential debate to construct their arguments and counterarguments in relation to both national and international issues.

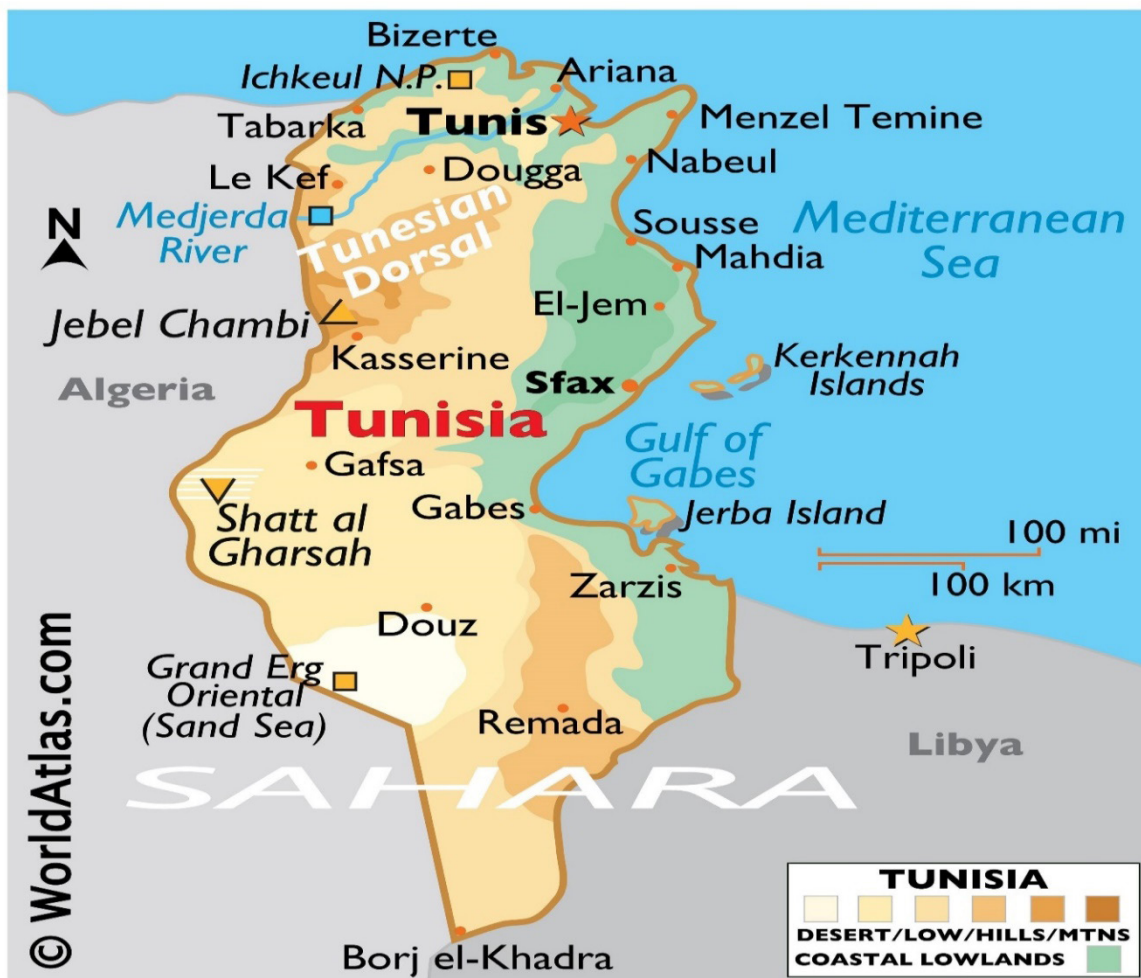
In the succeeding section, the presidential debate between Kaïs Saïed and Nabil Karoui is contextualized within the political landscape of Tunisia (see Map 1 of Tunisia).

### ***Contextualizing the presidential debate within the political landscape of Tunisia***

Tunisia is a North African country (see Map 1). In 2011, the number of political parties and political competition

for power in Tunisia significantly increased (Ottaway, 2021). Such a political competition can be witnessed between Kaïs Saïed and Nabil Karoui who rigorously campaigned and debated for their electoral success; the independent candidate Kaïs Saïed, who entered the political scene discreetly, secured 19% of votes in the first round of the Tunisian presidential election of 2019, and the candidate, Nabil Karoui, the president of the party “Heart of Tunisia”, businessman and founder of the private television channel *Nessma*, secured 15% of the votes, according to the Independent Upper Body for Elections (ISIE). Successful politicians are always able to combine their words with rhetoric to express their political opinions and persuade their audience to accept their ideas.

The strengthening of the credibility of candidates, Kaïs Saïed and Nabil Karoui for the presidential post of the first round was most of the time closely linked to the anti-system strategy. Therefore: “It was the anti-system strategy that won out”, said an ISIE member Brinsi (2019), while warning: “Nothing is over yet. Saïed and Karoui, who claimed their qualification, both campaigned on the rejection of political elites”.



**Map 1:** Shows that Tunisia is in northern Africa between Algeria and Libya. (Source World Atlas Maps)

### **Aristotle's means of persuasion: logos, pathos, and ethos**

Political discourse is a specific subject of interdisciplinary study and science, such as political science, sociology, psychology, sociolinguistics, and others. As a result, the analysis of political discourse is seen as a cross-sectional discipline, a discipline in which a wide range of other areas of reflection and study are part of (Dylgjeri, 2014). Throughout history, politics and the art of persuasion have been used. It is necessary to master the use of a range of rhetorical skills to achieve the goals or interests of political elites when addressing and debating policy issues (Hsiu-ching, 2015).

In an analysis of political discourse, two types of intentions must be considered: first, the intention of communication and then the intention of persuasion. Achieving these intentions requires successful persuasive-communicative action. The psychological, philosophical, and logical aspects derived from the pragma-rhetoric perspective are crucial for its applications in several practical areas (Dylgjeri, 2014). A kind of argument or persuasion is an attempt to influence the audience, to convince them of the validity of a speaker's or writer's thesis and to get them to participate in activities in favour of the speaker/writer (Tamar, 2013; Dylgjeri, 2014). Logos, ethos and pathos are important components of reasoning, and their combination allows an interlocutor to successfully achieve his/her goal (Hsiu, 2015).

The purpose of argumentative writing is to convince an audience that a writer's ideas are valid, or more valuable than someone else's. It consists of three important components: logos, ethos, and pathos. These elements of argument were presented by Aristotle (1973, cited in Dufour, 2003). Argument is effective when a speaker or author manages to support his/her claims in such a way as to encourage readers/listeners to change their minds and to make them act in favour of the speaker/writer. The speaker needs inductive and deductive evidence to defend his/her thesis, convince his/her interlocutors and have an impact on them (Mshvenieradze, 2013).

Aristotle defined rhetoric as the ability of persuading (Samuel-Azran, Yarchi, & Wolfsfeld, 2015). Persuading always means proving something. When we use language, we engage in a rhetorical act. Every time we use language, we have an intention: a message to communicate or a goal to achieve (Dylgjeri, 2014). In fact, rhetoric is simply the intentional use of language to influence an audience. It is clear that rhetoric is the backbone of political discourse (Dylgjeri, 2014). The analysis of argument

in speeches aims to describe and explain all these means and methods, with which a writer or speaker strives to have an impact on the public (Erisen & Villalobos, 2014). Aristotle (2014) states there are three fundamental ways to convince an audience: logos, ethos, and pathos. Although several new attempts and studies have merged these into the scope of discourse analysis, the triad, persuasive approach is still seen and examined as a crucial end element of political reasoning (Dylgjeri, 2014; Hsiu-ching, 2015; Tamar, 2013; Zhiyong, 2016).

Logos, as an important element of argumentative judgment, means persuading using reasoning, which includes critical cognition, analytical skills, good memory and determined behaviour (Mshvenieradze, 2013). For Aristotle, logos is rational, logical, and argumentative discourse. Using logos would mean quoting facts and statistics, historical and literal analogies, and quoting certain authorities on a subject. Evidence can also be cited as a fact and reason and evidence are used in a call to logic and all these must be consistent. Consistency means not changing the unstated rules or stated rules that support arguments, and this is essential for logic (Zhiyong, 2016).

Tamar (2013) explained that we tend to believe people we respect, people who are friendly and worthy of respect. In short, ethos is made up of correct attitudes, respect, favour, and, most importantly, ethics. Tamar (2013) argues that because of ethics the discourse appears more persuasive. In fact, the impact of ethos is often referred to as the "ethical appeal" of argument or "credibility appeal".

Aristotle believed that ethical appeal arose from the character of the speaker, especially since such characteristics were seen in the speech itself (Mshvenieradze, 2013). According to Aristotle (2014), ethos can be classified into phronesis, arete and eunoia. Phronesis means showing practical skills in specific aspects or wisdom, which demonstrates authority. The in-depth knowledge of a speaker makes them trustworthy, and the audience is willing to believe what they say. Arete is the speaker's essential goodness, and these characteristics help establish a speaker's credibility. Eunoia describes goodwill of a speaker towards the audience. Listeners prefer to follow a speaker who respects their interests or who shares common ground with them. In short, ethos helps the listener create an image of confidence in the speaker, and this results in the speech being persuasive (Zhiyong, 2016), and the audience being persuaded by the discourse of the speaker.

Pathos is a rhetorical device that can be used in an argument to attract the audience and help them connect

with an argument, and it indicates to the power with which the speaker's message helps the audience relate to the argument being made. A good speaker would know which emotion would have an impact on the audience, given their social status, age and other characteristics. Used correctly, pathos can bring a bland argument to life for the audience. Pathos offers the public a way to understand the subject through emotions, but it is important to determine when pathos will be practical (Zhiyong, 2016).

Pathos works in conjunction with logos (logic) and ethos (credibility) to help form a strong argument. However, not all arguments use all three rhetorical devices, and a proper balance must be maintained between the three. With too much recourse to logos, a speech can be full of facts and information but boring; with too much pathos, a speech can be passionate but unnecessary; with too much ethos, the speaker may appear too intelligent for the audience. Overall, each speaker should choose the combination of rhetorical devices that will work well with the audience and suit the chosen topic (Zhiyong, 2016).

## Research methodology

### Corpus of research

The televised debate of the second round of the presidential election between Kaïs Saïed and Nabil Karoui has been selected for data analysis. The candidates qualified for the second round of the presidential election and faced each other during the second round of the first presidential televised debate in Tunisia, on October 11, 2019, two days before the presidential election.

The debate that was broadcast on several television channels and on the radio was recorded. Several other television and radio channels also broadcast it, such as France 24 Arabic, Mosaïque FM, Shems FM, and Ibtissama FM. The full recording of the data was made available online, and it was in the French language. The debate was manually transcribed and translated into English and it was processed through NVIVO 8 software to identify general patterns and themes. The data collected from the debate

that lasted about 120 minutes were processed through content analysis that involves determining the presence of certain lexical and syntactic items in relation to the key concepts given in qualitative data. The processing of qualitative data was carried out using a coding procedure to demonstrate the rhetorical operationalization of the central ideas.

The various themes raised during the debate are given in Table 1.

The linguistic means used in the political debate are as follows Deictic; (indexical) words (Tamar, 2013): see Table 2.

## Results and analysis

In this section, the two debaters' speeches were analysed using Aristotelian concepts of logos, ethos, and pathos. In addition, linguistic elements, such as the use of personal pronouns (ours, we, I) were first identified and then discussed to determine how these constitute the speakers' rhetoric during the debate.

### Use of means of persuasion in the Tunisian political debate

Rhetorical means are widely used in the presidential debate between the two candidates in the second round of the presidential election. The debate presented by the two candidates Kaïs Saïed and Nabil Karoui was constructed in a logical and persuasive manner. Their discourse includes elements that signify their ethos. Many Tunisians were touched by the sincerity and emotion of each candidate. The power of rhetoric in this political debate is now described.

- Presentation of the two candidates:

The debate begins with a short presentation of the two candidates.

Introducing himself, **Kaïs Saïed** used **ethos** when thanking the Tunisian people for having confidence in him by

**Table 1:** Major themes

- First theme: security and defence
- Second theme: place for diplomacy and international relations.
- Third theme: powers of the president in relation to the executive and the legislature.
- Fourth theme: public affairs

**Table 2:** Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns	"I" first person singular
	"We" first person plural
Possessive pronouns	"My" first person singular
	"Ours" first person plural
	"One" indefinite pronoun

**Table 3:** Use of ethos

**Kaïs Saïed** introduces himself and begins by thanking the Tunisian people for their trust.

*"The Tunisian people returned to the streets through the ballot box, in a democratic way to make their voice heard".* **ETHOS (1)**

returning to the streets to make their voices heard. Ethos was used, and its purpose was to establish a relationship with the audience, to build credibility in the eyes of the audience by focussing in the beginning of the speech on **"the Tunisian people"**. Charteris-Black recommends that ethos must be typically employed by every orator in the introduction of the speech (Charteris-Black, 2018: 8).

In contrast, constructing ethos through pathos was seen in the opening of speech by Nabil Karoui. **Nabil Karoui** primarily uses **pathos** saying that it is everyone's dream to see a televised debate in the second round of the presidential election. "It's a dream; it's a privilege to be here at this incredible second round presidential election debate, which of course is the single debate that one doesn't get the chance to see every day. This is the absolute quintessential Tunisian success in the Arab world". The linguistic means used by Nabil Karoui to present pathos are personal pronouns, such as **"we", "my" and indefinite pronoun "one"**. He indicates "it is a dream for me and for we all of us and one doesn't get the chance to see such debate". Then, he uses **ethos** by saying that he is not a lawyer, he is a pragmatist who knows the terrain and the Tunisians perfectly. Nabil Karoui involves an appropriate amount of self with a stance spanning from confrontation as he is not a lawyer to flattery as he knows the Tunisian terrain. Ethos is used as a persuasive strategy through personality and stance, stressing the importance of the persuader and the self. The linguistic means used by Nabil Karoui to present ethos is personal pronoun **"I"**. He states, "I am not a classic candidate, and I am a pragmatist" (see Table 4).

### **First theme: security and defence**

Logos is an appeal to logic and reason and producing arguments that are solid, honest, and valid, rather than

**Table 4:** Use of ethos and pathos

**Nabil Karoui** introduced himself in his turn:

*"Today it is a dream for me and for we all of us because in the Arab world, one doesn't get the chance to see such a second-round debate on television every day".* **PATHOS (1)**

*"I am not a classic candidate. Do not expect the verbiage of a lawyer or the knowledge of a lawyer from me, but I am a pragmatist who knows the terrain and the Tunisians perfectly well".* **ETHOS (1)**

ones that are weak, false, and invalid. Kaïs Saïed and Nabil Karoui used logos in the range of diverse arguments on the first theme of security and defence. Both of the candidates use logos to stress the fight against terrorism, to discuss the Belaid and Brahmi assassination files and Ennahdha's secret apparatus and argue for the national security council and used ethos in their promises in relation to the last theme that relates to national security.

- Fight against terrorism

Based on the fight against terrorism, both **Nabil Karoui and Kaïs Saïed** use **logos**. Both candidates call for the need to apply the anti-terrorism law using logical arguments as proof. Logos is applied mainly in the **proof** part. In fact, the proof follows "the narrative (or it is sometimes integrated with it)" and it is "the main body of the speech where one offers logical arguments as proof" (Charteris-Black, 2018: 21). The appeal to logos is emphasized here. The most **persuasive means** of arguing used by Nabil Karoui is **sylogism**. "Sylogism is a structure in which there is a major premise (for example, difficulty with security), a minor premise (for example, complementary intelligence service) and a conclusion (for example, apply the anti-terrorism law), and acceptance of the conclusion is possible only if the audience accepts the premises" (Charteris-Black, 2018: 12). Moreover, Karoui's use of syllogism is made more effective through the use of inclusive first-person pronouns, such as "we", and "ours". This use of inclusive pronouns also shows how the political leader sees dealing with the security problem as a collective, national problem, and how this directly leads to the national duty of introducing a comprehensive intelligence strategy and anti-terrorism laws (see Table 5). **Kaïs Saïed** supports his opponent's conclusion using logos. He says, "The whole problem is law enforcement". He reinforces this using **"must be"**: "the law must be applied to everyone, without distinction". The linguistic means used by Kaïs Saïed to present logos is the use of inclusive pronouns **"we", "our" and an indefinite pronoun 'one'** in "How did one get there?" The use of the indefinite pronoun is also based on reason and logic since no specific person is blamed for terrorism and security rather these are seen as a collective concern of the Tunisian people. See Table 5.

- *Political Assassination Files of Belaid and Brahmi and the Secret Ennahdha Apparatus:*

Referring to the Belaid and Brahmi assassination files and Ennahdha's secret apparatus, **both candidates** use **logos**, they offer an alternative position (different opinion or

**Table 5:** Aristotelian elements of rhetoric

Nabil Karoui:

*"As in France or England, **one** found us in difficulty at the beginning but over time **our** security has been reinforced". LOGOS (1)*

*"What **we** lack today is a **comprehensive and complementary intelligence service**. By bringing it back under the control of the Presidency of the Republic, it will make it possible to be more efficient with a single command centre". LOGOS (2)*

*"**We must apply** the anti-terrorism law. It is not applied in a concrete way". LOGOS (3)*

Kaïs Saïed:

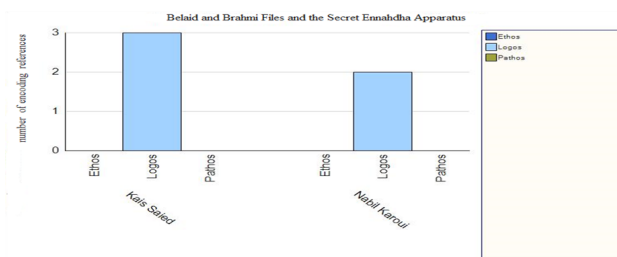
*"The **whole problem** is law enforcement. The law exists but it is not enforced". LOGOS (1)*

*"The law **must be** applied to everyone, without distinction, which is not the case". LOGOS (2)*

*"Many people talk about **information like a mundane sector** as if **one** were talking about mathematics (...) **How did one get there?**". LOGOS (3)*

solution to the counter-position) by mentioning that the problem lies in not knowing the truth.

Logos is applied mainly in the **refutation**. In fact, "The refutation can either be treated as part of the proof ... or as a separate part, where the orator tackles his opponents' arguments; this can involve naming the opponent, attacking his character or ethos, and presenting an opponent's argument prior to its rejection" (Charteris-Black, 2018: 24). The most **persuasive means** of arguing used by Kaïs Saïed and Nabil Karoui is **prolepsis**. **Kaïs Saïed** anticipates the objections to the problem of justice, and he forestalls them using "**it will be necessary**" to know the truth. **Nabil Karoui** uses the indefinite pronoun "**one**" as a linguistic means to present logos and generalize the objections stating "if one continues like this, one will never know the truth", and he forestalls this by saying "one **will create** a tribunal or a special ad hoc commission, which must investigate and find the truth about its cases". See Graph 1 and Table 6.

**Graph 1:** Belaïd and Brahmi Files and the Secret Ennahdha Apparatus**Table 6:** Saïed and Karoui's use of Aristotelian elements

Kaïs Saïed:

*"The **problem** is justice. Why are **some cases** investigated and others not?" LOGOS (4)*

*"In the civil field, **some cases** remain pending for 17 years". LOGOS (5)*

*"I am not in intelligence service to know if the history of the secret apparatus is true (...) But **it will be necessary** that the policy does not enter into independent justice, nor in the public domain". LOGOS (6)*

Nabil Karoui:

*"Chokri Belaïd was **my** lawyer.... If **one** continues like this **one** never knows the truth". LOGOS (4)*

*"Under the aegis of the National Security Council, **one will create** a tribunal or a special ad hoc commission, which must investigate and **find the truth about its cases**. They will work on these files". LOGOS (5)*

- *National security council*

Referring to the national security council the **two candidates** use **logos**, indicating that security is not only intended for the security component of the police, the army, or the customs but it must be extended to education, agriculture, water, economy, tourism in order to fight terrorism. Logos is applied mainly in the **proof** part. The most **persuasive means** of arguing used by both candidates is **sylogism**. The major premise is also backed by reason and /or analogy. The structure illustrated in the premise (for example, national security is not only aimed at the security aspect), reason (for example, extend security to education, agriculture, economy...) and conclusion (for example, to fight terrorism). Both candidates use "**must**" to extend the security aspect to education, technology, etc. to fight terrorism (see Table 7).

In addition to Table 7, Graph 2 also shows how both the politicians have used logical arguments to develop their polemics about security and counter-terrorism measures.

- *Promises of the two candidates on theme of security and defence*

The promises of the two candidates on the theme of security and defence focus on ethos. **Ethos** is a method of persuasion in which the **two candidates** attempt to persuade the audience by demonstrating their own credibility. Both candidates gain credibility and make their speech by using

**Table 7: Further examples****Nabil Karoui:**

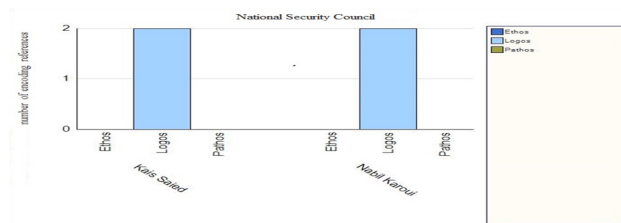
*"For me, national security is not only the police, the army or the customs; it is also the issue of water, technology and the dangers for citizens, health, agriculture, the economy". LOGOS (6)*

*"Tourism can also be part of national security. one must broaden the field of national security by including experts in these fields". LOGOS (7)*

**Kaïs Saïed** returns to Nabil Karoui's proposal to create a special tribunal:

*"Constitutionally, that is not possible". LOGOS (7)*

*"As for national security, it should not be aimed only at the security aspect. It must be extended to education to fight terrorism, to agriculture, to water ... LOGOS (8)*

**Graph 2: Logos and security factor**

ethos and making promises and proposals. Nabil Karoui uses personal pronouns, such as "I" and "we" to develop a personal bond with the Tunisian people that leads him to build rapport and credibility with the people by promising to enhance salaries of martyred soldiers. Also, he ethically talks of preserving the memories of the martyred personnel. Similarly, Kaïs Saïed claims to have proposed in 2014 a bill called "IFAD" International Fund for Agricultural Development concerning the creation of an institution responsible for taking care of martyrs and the wounded of the forces. Using the phrases **"benefit of his family"** by Kaïs Saïed and **"lose a son"** by Nabil Karoui, both candidates demonstrated sincerity to inform Tunisians that security and defence is the duty of every citizen (see Table 8).

### **Second theme: place for diplomacy and international relations**

In the second theme of place for diplomacy and international relations, Kaïs Saïed and Nabil Karoui use logos and ethos to relate to economic diplomacy and the Libyan crisis, while they use logos for the issue of normalization with Israel.

### **Economic diplomacy**

Regarding new developments in economic diplomacy, **Kaïs Saïed** appeals to facts to build Tunisian voters' confidence (logos). Citing facts, he persuades the people that there are conventions signed by the state and uses personal pronoun like **"we"** first person plural indicating "we are held like the conventions signed by the State" thus indicating that the "DCFTA "Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Areas" is still under negotiation" (see Table 9). He says "the problem cannot be solved without one solving our problems" using possessive first person plural pronoun **"our"** and the indefinite pronoun **"one"** by saying "One will not accept what goes against the interests of Tunisians". Quoting an anecdote on Bourguiba, Kaïs Saïed states the history to stress the strength of the Tunisians. He intends to convince the audience that extraordinary achievement was made by the Tunisians and more progress will be made. Listing facts of successful history, Kaïs Saïed has encouraged his people to keep on believing in Tunisia. He implies the enormous influence of the Tunisian government and demonstrates democratic attitude, generosity, and magnanimity of the government. He logically appeals to these facts to boost the confidence of the Tunisian voters.

**Nabil Karoui** uses **ethos** and attempts to persuade the audience by demonstrating his own credibility or authority. He gains credibility and makes his speech convincing his audience by exploiting ethos. Nabil Karoui created an image of a qualified and trustworthy country leader, using personal pronoun **"I"** (first person singular) by

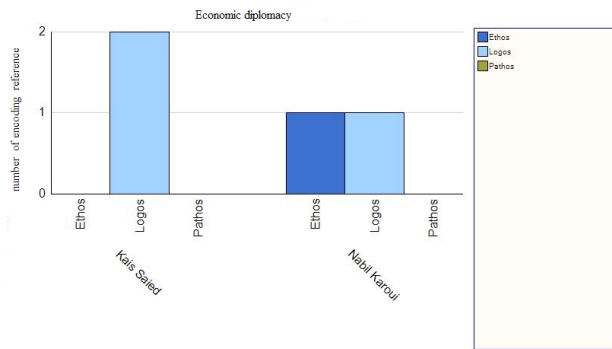
**Table 8: Ethos****Nabil Karoui:**

*"We want to triple the salaries of security personnel who have died so that their families have everything they need (...) I know what it's like to lose a son. It doesn't have to be just a number, or a tomb that one later forgotten". ETHOS (2)*

**Kaïs Saïed:**

*"I don't make promises but proposals". ETHOS (2)*

*"Whoever dies continues to receive his salary even if he is dead, for the benefit of his family and his promotion continues and with its advantages for the police, the military and the customs forces". ETHOS (3)*



Graph 3: Economic diplomacy

saying “I will be Tunisia’s first ambassador to find markets, bring back investments in Tunisia”. He adds that there is also digital diplomacy, that I will create an ambassador for GAFA “Google, Apple, Facebook and Amazon” (...) as these companies can come to invest in Tunisia and create jobs. Then, he uses **logos** to appeal to the logic or reason of the audience, citing for example, that “Tunisian production is in demand in Africa”. He then reinforces this by using the indefinite pronoun “one” in “one does not have the planes or the boats to export them because the state does not encourage this”. See Graph 3 and Table 9 which show how the politicians used ethos and logos to convey their message effectively.

- *Libyan crisis*

Focussing on the Libyan crisis, **Kaïs Saïed and Nabil Karoui** use **logos** mainly in the **refutation** section of their discourse. This involves presenting an opponent’s argument prior to its rejection (Charteris-Black, 2018). In fact, both candidates indicate appalling consequences due to the Libyan crisis.<sup>1</sup>

Nabil Karoui anticipates the objections or counterarguments of the crisis using the pronoun “one” by saying “One cannot move forward without the Libyan crisis coming to an end”. He uses proleptic meta-statements by using “**must be**” in “The solution must be made between the Libyans”, and using the personal pronoun “**we**” in “we will be able to bring the views closer between the two Libyan parties”.

<sup>1</sup>In 2011, as part of the protest movements in Arab countries, a rebellion broke out in Libya and turned into a civil war. With the support of international military intervention, rebels overthrew the Gaddafi regime, and Gaddafi was executed on October 20, 2011. Libya has since been unable to find political stability and establish the rule of law. A new civil war broke out in 2014 as the United Nations government faced a rebellion in the eastern part of the country. Several international conferences have been held to resolve the Libyan crisis in order to ensure stability in North Africa, reduce the spread of weapons and the flow of migrants.

Kaïs Saïed anticipates the objections or counterarguments of the crisis indicating a conference without the Libyans must be refused. He also forestalled them by proleptic meta-statements indicating that there is international legality and that there is a Security Council ruling on the Libyan crisis. He also uses **ethos** to convince the audience by demonstrating his own credibility or authority (see Graph 4). To illustrate his credibility, he uses personal pronoun “I” saying, “I would receive all the parties to the conflict to be a force of proposal on behalf of the Libyan people” and makes a statement by using “**must be**” that refers to ethical obligation in the sentence “Tunisia must be a land of dialogue”.

Both the candidates conveyed a clear and definite message to their audience that includes finding a solution to the crisis and enjoying the favours provided by the Tunisian government, which include strong military might, great convenience in traveling abroad, stable economic security and excellent social insurance (see Table 10).

- *Normalization with Israel*

Regarding normalization with Israel, **both candidates** use **logos**. Using the personal pronoun “I” as a rhetorical tool of building his credibility, Kaïs Saïed demands that whoever collaborates with the Zionist entity should be tried for high treason indicating “I will put it as high treason and sanction it in that way”. Nabil Karoui calls for a law that criminalizes normalization with Israel indicating “I am for a law that criminalizes normalization with Israel”. Citing historical facts, both the candidates appeared objective and provided facts. Facts provide strong evidence for both candidates that enabled them to reach their persuasive goals. Both the politicians relied on logos while discussing Israel and Jews (see Graph 5).

These examples in Table 11 are shown in Graph 5.

- *Promises, proposals from the two candidates*

Nabil Karoui focusses on logos and Kaïs Saïed uses ethos in their promises on the second theme called the place of diplomacy and international relations. Nabil Karoui uses **logos** in his arguments. Logos is about producing arguments in support of his statement. He indicates that foreign policy must be able to raise the country’s flag high and bring back investments, through digital diplomacy which will create jobs through certifications granted by GAFA (Google, Apple, Facebook, Amazon). He relies on bringing back investments and creating jobs.

**Table 9: Logos and ethos****Kaïs Saïed:**

*"There are bases by which **we** are held like the conventions signed by the State" before quoting an anecdote on Bourquiba and Algeria.*

**LOGOS (9)**

*"DCFTA is still in negotiation. The problem is that this cannot be solved without one solving our problems (...) **One** will not accept what goes against the interests of Tunisians".* **LOGOS (10)**

**Nabil Karoui:**

*"I will be Tunisia's first ambassador to find markets, bring back investments in Tunisia".*

*"There is also digital diplomacy. **I** will create an ambassador for the GAFA (...) These companies can come and invest here and create jobs to be ready for the 4th industrial revolution".* **ETHOS (3)**

*"The African markets are important (...) Tunisian production is in demand in Africa, but **one** does not have the planes or the boats to export them because the state does not encourage this".* **LOGOS (8)**

**Kaïs Saïed** uses **ethos** and attempts to persuade the audience by demonstrating his own credibility or authority. He declares that the young people have given their proposals for his programme using the possessive pronoun "**my**". Kaïs Saïed also created an image of being qualified and trustworthy using the personal pronoun "**I**". (See Table 12)

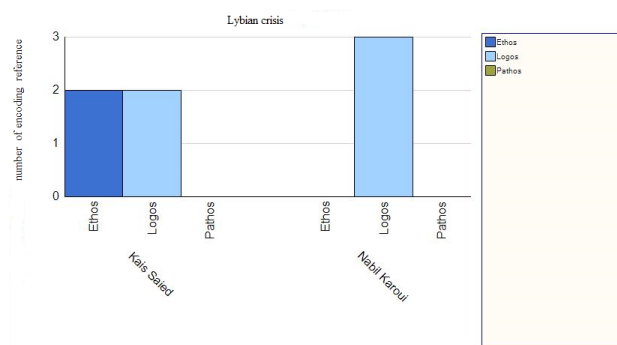
**Nabil Karoui** questions his opponent using **logos** that is applied mainly in the **refutation** section of his discourse. He questions his opponent's arguments. This can involve attacking his character or ethos and presenting the opponent's argument prior to its rejection. The most persuasive means of arguing used by Nabil Karoui

is **prolepsis**. Nabil Karoui anticipates the objections or counterarguments mentioning that if we do not understand the concerns of young people, the government will not be able to provide those jobs. In contrast, Kaïs Saïed's programme focusses on "the creation of popular committees in the regions" and stresses upon the need for change. **Kaïs Saïed** retorts using **ethos**, he suggests that the young people present their development plans for their delegations by explaining that he will present a proposal to the Assembly of the Representatives of the People to reform the constitution. He focusses on the young people belonging to different communities to get their support.

**Nabil Karoui** also uses **ethos**. He says if the ARP "Assembly of the Representatives of the People" refuses, will you stop there? So, you give up? He appeals to authority and expresses disbelief in the propositions of Kaïs Saïed. See Table 13.

### **Third theme: the powers of the president in connection with the executive and the legislature**

In the third theme of the powers of the president in connection with the executive and the legislature, Kaïs Saïed and Nabil Karoui use ethos in relation to the legislature and resignation, while they use logos to relate to the finance legislation. They use ethos and logos in their

**Graph 4: Libyan crisis****Table 10: Logos and ethos****Nabil Karoui:**

*"**One** cannot move forward without the Libyan crisis coming to an end".* **LOGOS (9)**

*"As long as Tunisia and Algeria are not part of the solution to the crisis, it will not be resolved. **We** are all three closely linked"* **LOGOS (10)**

*"There are Italy, France, the United States, Russia, Qatar, the Emirates and Egypt which are stakeholders in what is happening. The solution **must be made** between the Libyans but taking part in the discussions **we** will be able to bring the views closer between the two Libyan parties".* **LOGOS (11)**

**Kaïs Saïed:**

*"There is international legality (...) There is a decision of the Security Council on this subject".* **LOGOS (11)**

*"A conference is going to take place in Germany on this subject without the Libyans, which must be refused (...) **Hands off Libya**".* **LOGOS (12)**

*"I would receive all the parties to the conflict to be a force of proposal on behalf of the Libyan people".* **ETHOS (4)**

*"Tunisia must be a land of dialogue because it concerns Tunisia".* **ETHOS (5)**

promises, and proposals on this theme. Nabil Karoui also uses pathos.

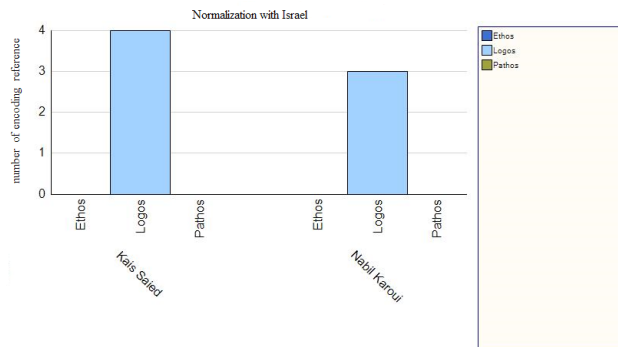
- *Legislative*

Regarding legislation, **Kaïs Saïed and Nabil Karoui** use **ethos**. Ethos is based on building credibility in the eyes

of the audience, offering solutions to fight against poverty. Both candidates use personal pronoun “I” to present ethos. Nabil Karoui proposes a comprehensive programme to eradicate poverty. Kais Said rhetorically states that “the State must regain its social role in education, health ...”, and that the political responsibility will be assumed by the deputies if they do not adopt his proposals. See Table 14.

- *Resignation*

In terms of resignation, **both candidates** use **ethos**. Ethos reflects the trust of the audience in both candidates. In brief, the characters of both the candidates are reflected through ethos. Both candidates created images of qualified and trustworthy country leaders. Both candidates use personal pronoun “I” to present ethos. Kais Saïed mentions that it is his national responsibility to speak truth to his people. Using “I” as a rhetorical tool,



Graph 5: Normalizing relations with Israel and accompanying rhetoric

Table 11: Logos

**Kaïs Saïed:**

“Let us be clear, this question does not concern the Jews (...)” he begins. **LOGOS (13)**  
 “Standardization with whom? The word normalization is wrong. This is a betrayal. Whoever does with the Zionist entity must be judged for high treason (...) **We are in a situation of war”.** **LOGOS (14)**  
 “**We do with the Jews, but we do not do with the Israeli government.** No, they will not return to Tunisia with an Israeli passport but with another passport yes”. **LOGOS (15)**  
 “**I will put it as high treason and sanction it in that way”.** **LOGOS (16)**

**Nabil Karoui:**

“**Our position must be modelled on that of the Palestinians (...)** **We support the Palestinians in their struggle”.** **LOGOS (12)**  
 “**I am for a law that criminalizes normalization with Israel”.** **LOGOS (13)**  
 “**I met someone who has a Canadian passport. I didn’t know he worked for the Israeli intelligence service. How did he get back to Tunisia if that was the case? Let’s be clear: who sent it to me?”** **LOGOS (14)**

Table 12: Logos and ethos

**Nabil Karoui:**

“Before when young people left school, they learned a manual trade. Today it’s digital, they’re learning coding, hacking”. **LOGOS (15)**

**Kaïs Saïed:**

“This is for the Tunisian people. **We are not in competition”.** **ETHOS (6)**  
 “Tunisians hate promises, I speak to Tunisians’ minds, I don’t make promises”. **ETHOS (7)**  
 “Young people want to be active citizens; they don’t want to be a ballot box. How did the revolution come about? They were asking for work, freedom, dignity, they were the ones who gave their proposals for my programme”. **ETHOS (8)**

Table 13: Logos and ethos

**Nabil Karoui:**

“If **one** doesn’t understand their concerns, how can we create jobs for them? The state must be there to give a vision” **LOGOS (16)**  
 “The creation of popular committees in the regions “. qualifies Kaïs Saïed ‘s program **LOGOS (17)**

**Kaïs Saïed:**

“The young people will present their development projects for their delegations. They have plans. These are not popular committees because it is based on elections” **ETHOS (9)**

**Nabil Karoui:**

“If the ARP refuses, it’s okay, will you stop there? So, you give up?”. **ETHOS (4)**

**Table 14: Ethos****Nabil Karoui:**

*"I will propose an initiative to fight against poverty. I will bring together all political parties and national organizations to dialogue and find a solution to fight poverty. We have 1 million poor and 2 million who are about to become poor". ETHOS (5)*

*"I have a full programme built on what I have seen on the ground (...) After this dialogue, an initiative will be proposed". ETHOS (6)*

**Kaïs Saïed:**

*"The State must regain its social role in education, health (...) Look at the state of the hospitals, and no need to go far, it is enough just to see the hospitals opposite the Ministry of Health". ETHOS (10)*

*"I will change the law governing public health, the law on social funds". ETHOS (11)*

**Table 15: Ethos****Kaïs Saïed:**

*"He who bears a responsibility before God, before the people and before History (...) I will address the people and tell them the truth" ETHOS (12)*

*"It's not a question of people but of proposals. What would I have proposed as legislative initiatives to the Tunisian people that are what I must be judged on?". ETHOS (13)*

**Nabil Karoui:**

*"If I find out that I am sick, and that no longer allows me to continue my mandate, I will announce it and I will resign. Otherwise, I will not abandon my people and continue the fight". ETHOS (7)*

*"We have one of the best constitutions in the world, but we have not been able to apply it (...) The Constitutional Court must be set up so that the laws that exist are in line with the constitution". ETHOS (8)*

he assumes the authority of knowing and speaking truth. Likewise, Nabil Karoui rhetorically asserts using personal pronoun 'I' that he will stand by his nation and using the inclusive pronoun 'we' assumes the national responsibility of using the constitution. See Table 15.

These examples in the above given table can be seen in Graph 6.

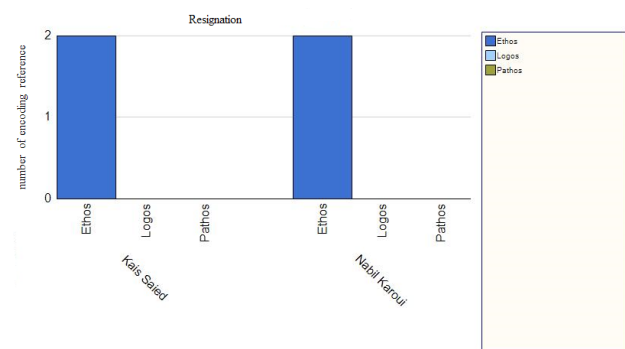
- Finance law

In terms of the finance law, **both candidates** use **logos** to produce arguments in support of their thesis statement that they are solid, honest, and valid. Both the candidates employ persuasive arguments in relation to introducing finance laws. Kaïs Saïed uses first person singular pronoun **"I"** "I will not rush" that shows his logical thinking and reasoning, while Nabil Karoui uses **"one"**, an indefinite pronoun in "if one does not adopt it, one can issue decrees so as not to affect the continuity of the State". This shows the use of reason and logic (see Table 16).

For details on their use of logos while discussing finance law see Graph 7.

- Promises, proposals from the two candidates on this theme

**Nabil Karoui** uses **ethos** that is a method of persuasion in which he attempts to persuade the audience by

**Graph 6: Resignation**

demonstrating his own credibility or authority. He gains credibility and makes his speech convincing by exploiting ethos. His duty must be clear, by stating that he has a project for poverty developed after a careful observation of Tunisian society. He creates an image of a qualified and trustworthy man using **"I"** and **"We"** to build rapport with the audience.

Then, drawing upon facts, he uses **logos** producing arguments in support of his statement that there are laws that overwhelm the Tunisian economy. Appealing to facts, Nabil Karoui tries to win the confidence of Tunisians.

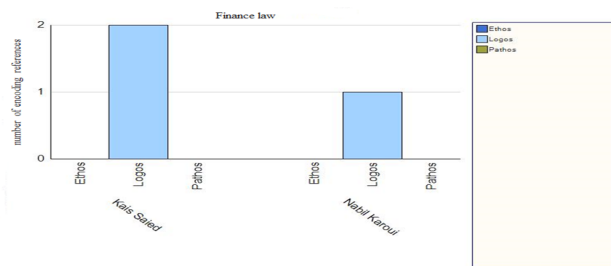
**Pathos** appeals are also found in Nabil Karoui's speech, he uses pathos to awaken emotion in the audience so as to induce them to make the judgment he desired. Adopting pathos, Nabil Karoui aroused the emotions of

**Table 16: Logos****Nabil Karoui:**

*"I will sign it. Then, there are complementary finance laws to adjust (...) I will not rush". LOGOS (18)*

**Kaïs Saïed:**

*"There is the finance law proposal that **one** can be passed. If **one** does not adopt it, **one** can issue decrees so as not to affect the continuity of the State (...) For me, the continuity of the State must take precedence, so I will sign and then **one** can always adopt a complementary finance law". LOGOS (17)*

**Graph 7: Finance law**

being happy and proud to be in the 21st century, and sadness of still being in the 20th century.

**Kaïs Saïed** uses **logos** that appeal to the logic of the audience and attempts to build their confidence. Citing facts, he tends to persuade the people by stating that the state must regain its social role, and that this encompasses human rights. Kaïs Saïed pointed out that maintaining the unity of a country is every citizen's duty, and this is demonstrated through the use of "we", an inclusive pronoun. Kaïs Saïed encouraged his people to maintain their belief in the the Tunisian state. He then uses **ethos** in which he attempts to persuade the audience by demonstrating his own credibility or authority. See detailed examples in Table 17.

Nabil Karoui challenges his opponent's arguments and presents an argument prior to its rejection. The most

persuasive means of argument used by Nabil Karoui is prolepsis. Nabil Karoui anticipates the objections or counterarguments of the problems faced by the programmes for the young suggested by his opponent, and so forestalls them by proleptic meta statements. In fact, Nabil Karoui uses logos offering an alternative position in a situation where the country is going through economic crisis and proposing a solution using personal pronoun "**we**" by mentioning that "there are parties that have programs that we have to deal with".

**Kaïs Saïed** responds using **ethos** and personal pronouns "**I**" that is based on building credibility in the eyes of the audience, by not only distorting the stances of his opponent, but also by offering miraculous solutions, that respond to the aspirations of the young people. See Table 18.

**Nabil Karoui** wonders ironically using logos along with the parallel sentence structure "...would you be able to grant it to them?". He made a list of all the consequences when granting young people what they want. These seemingly simple assertions conveyed a clear and definite message to his audience: Through programmes, young people can still enjoy the favours provided by the Tunisian government. These facts are convincing enough to make the Tunisian people follow the programmes of Nabil Karoui.

**Table 17: Ethos, logos and pathos****Nabil Karoui:**

*"I come with a project built on an observation that I experienced with Tunisians. The poor became poorer and so did the middle class (...) **We** brought together experts and put together one of the best programmes in this area". ETHOS (9)*

*"This also intends to liberalize our economy. **One** no longer produces, **one** no longer exports. There are laws that overwhelm the Tunisian economy. **We** are still dealing with old laws ". LOGOS (19)*

*"Tunisia needs to be in the 21st century. Unfortunately, **we** are still in the 20th century (...) **One** will make operational reforms within 2-3 months". PATHOS (2)*

**Kaïs Saïed:**

*"The state must regain its social role (...) It is part of human rights. **We** were talking about the children; **we** even stole their dreams from them". LOGOS (18)*

*"The Tunisian people know what they want; the young Tunisians know what they want. We have to give them the legal tools to go where they wants". ETHOS (14)*

**Table 18: Logos and ethos****Nabil Karoui:***"There are parties that have programmes that **we** have to deal with". LOGOS (20)***Kaïs Saïed:***"I will take legislative initiatives that respond to the aspirations of young people". ETHOS (15)*

**Kaïs Saïed** responds using **logos** to refute his opponent's arguments. The persuasive means of arguing used by Kaïs Saïed is prolepsis. Kaïs Saïed anticipates the objections or counterarguments to granting young people what they want. In fact, Kaïs Saïed used logos offering an alternative position; stating that the young people do not want the moon (see Table 19). He proposed a solution using personal pronouns "**we**" to imply that "the real constitution is written on the walls: we want to live like you".

Logos can be seen as an attempt by Kaïs Saïed to appeal to the logic or reason of the audience. Appealing to facts is utilized by Kaïs Saïed to build Tunisian confidence. Citing facts, he tends to persuade the people that the current political thought no longer matches the new political will of the young. In fact, young people want to take part in decisions concerning their economic, political, social, and cultural life. Inclusion of young people implies the availability of institutional channels for active participation in public and community life.

**Last theme: public affairs**

In the last theme public affairs, Kaïs Saïed and Nabil Karoui use logos to fight against corruption. They use ethos and logos to make links to purchasing power and to

certain political parties. They use ethos to make links to the press especially the public press, to funding of their campaign, and to election promises to be fulfilled in the first 99 days.

- *Fight against corruption*

Based on the fight against corruption, **both the candidates** use **logical** appeals in arguments which are based on reason. Logos is about producing arguments in support of both of the candidates' statements that are solid, honest and valid. Logos includes a range of diverse arguments to fight against corruption in the discourse; the structure of thought, which these arguments compose placing a strong state that applies the law; and, the sequence, coherence and logical value of these arguments to having all the laws and instruments necessary to fight corruption. See Table 20.

- *Purchasing power*

Regarding purchasing power, **Nabil Karoui and Kaïs Saïed** use **ethos** to gain credibility. According to Nabil Karoui, his ethical duty is clear about having a programme based on market control, and he uses an inclusive first person

**Table 19: Logos****Nabil Karoui:***"And if these young people ask you for the moon, would you be able to grant it to them?" LOGOS (21)***Kaïs Saïed:***"The real constitution is written on the walls: **we** want to live like you it is written in Kasserine, so they don't want the moon". LOGOS (19)**"The problem is not the constitution; it is the current political thought which no longer matches the new political thought demanded by young people". LOGOS (20)***Table 20: Logos****Kaïs Saïed:***"It needs an operational control of citizens over public officials (...) Legislative initiatives will not solve the problem, there are many laws against corruption, and it continues". LOGOS (21)***Nabil Karoui:***"**We** have all the laws and instruments necessary to fight corruption, money laundering and tax evasion. The problem is that the state is no longer there." LOGOS (22)**"**We must** put in place a strong state that applies the law. When **one** sees a CEO in an administration not coming for 6 months, what happens? Letting go sets in. It is the same at the state level, no one intervenes and therefore everyone does what they want ". LOGOS (23)*

**Table 21:** Ethos and logos**Nabil Karoui:***"We have a program based on market control". ETHOS (10)**"There are lobbies and mafias who have taken control of this (...) We need to put in place a control system. When **one** sees **one** imports potatoes when **one** can produce them in Tunisia ... You have to roll up your sleeves". LOGOS (24)***Kaïs Saïed:***"It is part of the social role of the state (...) Some people think that the Tunisian's bassinet is a means of pressure on him". LOGOS (22)**"The responsible **must be** controlled by the citizen". ETHOS (16)**"Whoever is responsible must be able to be controlled by the citizen, even the President of the Republic". ETHOS (17)**"Control operations are useless". LOGOS (23)*

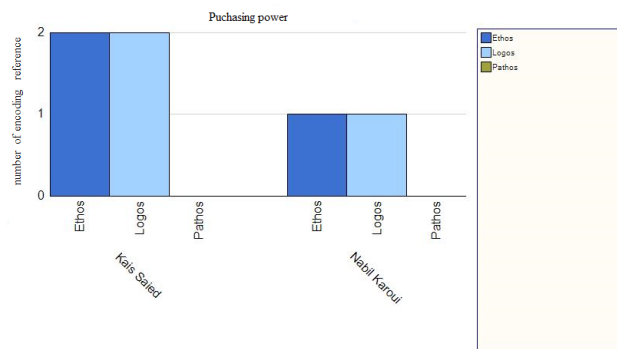
plural pronoun "we". For Kaïs Saïed, the responsibility is controlled by the citizens, and he emphasizes this by using 'must be' that refers to ethical obligation.

**Both candidates** also use **logos** to appeal to the logic or reason of the audience. Appealing to facts is utilized by both the candidates to build the Tunisians' confidence regarding purchasing power. Citing facts, Nabil Karoui tends to persuade the people that there are lobbies and mafias who have taken control of purchasing power, and Kaïs Saïed thinks that the Tunisians' bassinet is a means of pressure on them. Listing these facts, both candidates have relied on ethos and logos encouraging the audience to believe them. See detailed examples in Table 21.

For details on their use of logos and ethos see Graph 8.

- *Support for the press and especially the public press*

Relying on the press and especially the public press, **both the candidates** use **ethos**. Persuasion is achieved when the discourse is made in such a way as to make the audience believe in the candidates being trustworthy and credible. With the help of ethos, both candidates convince the audience that they possess sound knowledge and moral credibility to speak on this topic. By being a beneficiary of an interest in the public press, by using impressive arguments, both candidates are seen as knowledgeable and ethical. **Kaïs Saïed** states that freedom of speech and of the press **must be** protected and uses the personal pronoun "**we**", **he inclusively means to imply that** the Tunisians' thoughts are subjected to control by the mafia that controls the press. **Nabil Karoui** states that it is necessary to set up the constitutional body in charge of the media, the HACA "High Authority for Audio-visual Communication" in place of the HAICA "Independent High Authority for Audio-visual Communication", and he uses the personal pronoun "**I**" to indicate his personal credibility in relation to freedom of the press. For further details see Table 22 and Graph 9.

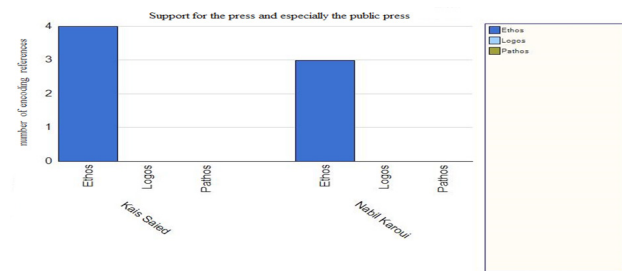
**Graph 8:** Purchasing Power

- *Funding of their campaign*

When it comes to campaign funding, **both the candidates** use **ethos** to express that they have obtained money from their families using the possessive pronoun "my" to ethically and implicitly imply that they have taken no funding from foreign donors. People do not see ethos as a static quality or as an attribute to a person, but as a dynamic and interpretive result of the interaction between the writer and the reader/listener through the discourse itself. Initial assumptions can be made that both the candidates use rhetorical devices to present their character through "ethos". The arguments they make can be interpreted by the audience as suggesting positive and ethical characters (see Table 23).

- *Links with certain political parties*

In questioning the links with certain political parties, the **candidates** use **ethos**. They gain credibility and make their speech convincing by exploiting ethos. Their duty is clear about the links with certain political parties. **Kaïs Saïed** uses the personal pronoun "**I**" as an attempt to absolve himself of an alleged meeting with a person from Ennahdha (see Table 24). Likewise, Nabil Karoui uses the personal pronoun "**I**" to demonstrate his credibility by deciding not to strike a deal with Ennahdha. Both the candidates created an image of being qualified and trustworthy which can be seen as

**Table 22: Ethos****Kaïs Saïed:***"Freedom of speech and of the press **must be** protected". ETHOS (18)**"Freedom of thought is the prerequisite for freedom of expression. Today **we** are subjected to thoughts that are imposed on us (...) The citizens are subjected to brainwashing from the lobbies who hide behind the media". ETHOS (19)**"History will take care of restoring the truth." ETHOS (20)***Nabil Karoui:***"It needs to put in place the constitutional body in charge of the media, the HACA in place of the HAICA". ETHOS (11)**"In Tunisia, 90% of Tunisians watch Tunisian Television against only 10% who watch foreign channels, thanks to the revolution, unlike other Arab countries. This proves that **Tunisians have confidence in their media**". ETHOS (12)**"I will never file a complaint against a journalist. Besides, **I never did**. **I will be** the first defender of journalists and bloggers". ETHOS (13)***Graph 9: Support for the public press**

an application of ethos. **Nabil Karoui** uses **logos** that is appealing to arguments based on reason. He produces arguments in support of his statement that are solid, honest, and valid, saying that the indictment chamber's decision was not legal (see Table 24).

- Election promises to be fulfilled in the first 99 days

By proclaiming election promises to be fulfilled in the first 99 days, **the presidential candidates** use **ethos**.

They gain credibility and make their speech convincing by exploiting ethos. Nabil Karoui promises to bring together parties and organizations to set up a project to fight poverty, to go to Gafsa and to bring together people working for the CPG "Gafsa Phosphates Company" to offer them solutions. Kaïs Saïed promises to restore the social role of the state and to present initiatives in this direction. He says he will also be the president of all the Tunisians so that they are united. Thus, both the candidates created an image of being qualified and trustworthy by using ethos (see Table 25 and Graph 10).

### **Use of linguistic means in the Tunisian political debate**

The linguistic methods used by each candidate to convey the three components of the argument - logos, ethos and pathos are discussed. Note that a deictic is a grammatical unit having a linguistic function. According to Dominique

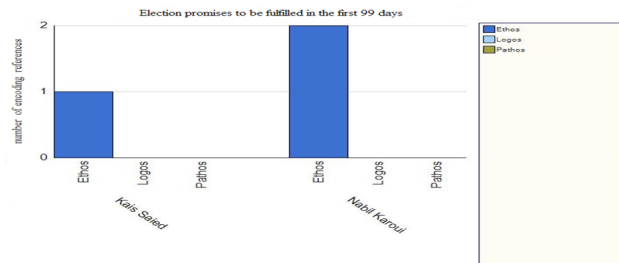
**Table 23: Ethos****Kaïs Saïed:***"I got 50 dinars to open the bank account for the campaign. **My** campaign money comes from **my** family and **my** friends, and I will give it back to them". ETHOS (21)**"**My** father is dead; **we** sold the property to buy an apartment for **my** mother and **my** brothers (...) I have a house which **I** own and for which **I** still pay the loan". ETHOS (22)*Regarding the financing of **Nabil Karoui's** campaign:*"**My** assets are frozen; **my** mother gave me the check to pay 10,000 dinars to be able to be a candidate". ETHOS (14)**"Who edited this story? Here is the question (...) Who paid for it to reach me? He says what he wants, that is not true". ETHOS (15)***Table 24: Ethos and logos****Kaïs Saïed:***"I am independent, and I will remain independent (...) I have never met anyone from Ennahdha neither before **my** candidacy nor after". ETHOS (23)**"Anyone who wants to support **my** project, may it be done with great good, anyone who does not want to support **my** project, it's the same". ETHOS (24)***Nabil Karoui:***"The court of cassation said the indictment chamber's decision was not legal. Why did I go to jail? Because one wanted to remain head of government and the second to head parliament". LOGOS (25)**"No deal has been made with Ennahdha, and I won't in the future". ETHOS (16)*

**Table 25: Ethos****Nabil Karoui:**

*"Kaïs Saïed has a Walt Disney program. There is a program that he cannot apply, there are parties like Ennahdha that he does not know but who want to propel him to Carthage, there are sponsored Facebook pages that push him, but he is not at running, and he is campaigning with a Capuchin (...). One has seen what Ennahdha did with Moncef Marzouki". ETHOS (17)*

**Kaïs Saïed:**

*"The young people behind me are not Walt Disney dolls, they have a real programme" Kaïs Saïed defends, claiming to be like a bird, free as the air. ETHOS (25)*

**Graph 10: Election promises**

Duffour (2003), deictic is an adjective which designates a word or an expression whose meaning depends on the context in which it is used. Among the linguistic means used in the political debate from an argumentative point of view, the following elements have been highlighted: Deictic words namely personal pronoun: "I" first person singular; "We" first person plural. Possessive pronouns: "My" first person singular; "Ours" first person plural and the indefinite pronoun "one".

In view of this analysis, Kaïs Saïed using ethos is the leader who was able to gain more votes in the presidential election. In fact, ethos is particularly important in generating public interest. The tone and style of the message were important. In addition, the character was influenced by the reputation of the arguer, regardless of the message.

Introducing themselves, Kaïs Saïed uses ethos, while Nabil Karoui uses both ethos and pathos. In the first theme security and defence, both candidates use logos to justify their fight against terrorism and talk about Political Assassination Files of Belaid and Brahmi and the Secret Ennahdha Apparatus, and the National Security Council. The promises of the two candidates on security and defence contain ethos. In the second theme, the place for diplomacy and international relations, and in terms of economic diplomacy, Kaïs Saïed uses logos, while Nabil Karoui uses ethos and logos; in terms of the Libyan crisis, Nabil Karoui uses logos, and Kaïs Saïed uses ethos and logos; in terms of normalization with Israel both the candidates use logos. In relation to promises from the two candidates on this theme, Nabil Karoui uses ethos, logos, and pathos, while Kaïs Saïed uses ethos. As for the

third theme, the powers of the president in connection with the executive and the legislature, both candidates use ethos on legislation and resignation; and they use logos on finance law. For promises, proposals from the two candidates on this theme, Kaïs Saïed uses ethos and logos, and Nabil Karoui uses ethos, logos, and pathos. As for the last theme, public affairs, both of the candidates use logos in relation to the fight against corruption; they use ethos and logos on purchasing power; they use ethos to show support for the press and especially, the public press, and funding for campaigns. With respect to certain political parties, Kaïs Saïed uses ethos, whereas Nabil Karoui uses logos. For election promises to be fulfilled in the first 99 days, both of the candidates use ethos.

The two candidates use different linguistic means. First, both candidates use a first person singular personal pronoun "I" as well as the first person plural personal pronoun "we" as a deictic. Then, as for the possessive pronoun in the first person singular "my" deictic, they sometimes use it. Nevertheless, we rarely meet the possessive pronoun in the first-person plural "our" as deictic. Finally, they use the indefinite pronoun "one", which corresponds to the activity of a team.

In the Tunisian political debate, it needs to be noted that the personal pronoun in the first person singular deictic "I" serves to present the personality of each politician in a positive way. Every politician emphasizes that he is aware of the problem, and that he is certain of his ability to solve it. Each of them informs the audience that they are aware of the mistakes made by the government and want to convince their citizens of the need to carry out their presidential agenda. They both try to convince the public that they are authorities on specific issues, and their plans are trustworthy. They present themselves as strong, competent, and reliable leaders, ready to overcome all difficulties and complexities, and who should be elected by the Tunisian citizens.

Each candidate uses the first-person plural pronoun "we", the plural possessive pronoun "our", the singular possessive pronoun "my" and the indefinite pronoun "one",

which allows the speaker to identify with the audience and to have an impact on their emotions. Thus, using the personal plural pronoun “we”, every politician views the current government, people, and public as a whole body. Through this method, every politician tries to gain more respect and trust from the people and to show them that as a future president, they are ready to lead the country. The use of the personal, singular pronoun “I” indicates that each politician has sent the whole message as a citizen and not as a political leader. This shows a close relationship between the speaker and the audience. In particular, the use of the personal plural pronoun “we” implies that the Tunisians must be seen and discussed as a whole. Each politician has defined common grounds with the public to show goodwill and exhibit ethos.

### Discussion and conclusion

In the words of Richard Andrews (2014), the use of rhetoric in speeches enhances their communicative goals. This research has manifested those rhetorical elements, such as logos, ethos, and pathos are tactically embedded in political speeches and debates to enhance their influence. The arguments and the counterarguments used by Kaïs Saïed and Nabil Karoui are manifestations of logos, pathos and ethos used along with personal pronouns and indefinite pronouns.

As presidential debates are political in nature, it is clear that the debate between Kaïs Saïed and Nabil Karoui is driven and activated by their desire to build credibility and persuade people to believe their views and vote for them in the presidential election of 2019. It needs to be mentioned that politicians who make good use of rhetorical devices are more successful at conveying their messages to their audience effectively and achieving their personal goals. This idea also reverberates with what Hsiu-ching (2015) has said in relation to the use of rhetoric in political speeches.

This study shows how the presidential candidates in Tunisia in 2019 not only resorted to rhetorical devices but also deployed lexical items, such as pronouns to build rapport with the Tunisian people. The debate presented by the two candidates, Kaïs Saïed and Nabil Karoui is constructed in a logical and persuasive manner. Both the candidates used different rhetorical elements in their own way (For further detail, see Table 26).

Their debate contains elements that signify the speakers' ethos. Pathos is rarely used by Nabil Karoui. Kaïs Saïed uses ethos more frequently as compared to Nabil Karoui.

**Table 26:** The use of Aristotelian triad

Presidential candidates	Aristotelian elements of rhetoric
1. Nabil Karoui	Economically used pathos. Used logos more frequently.
2. Kaïs Saïed	Used ethos more frequently. Used no pathos.

Kaïs Saïed establishes authority or credibility with his intended audience. The audience appear to see him as someone worth listening to—a clear or insightful thinker or at least someone who is well-informed and genuinely interested in the various themes raised during the debate. Nabil Karoui uses logos more frequently compared to Kaïs Saïed. He uses logical arguments that are well supported in terms of evidence. Nabil Karoui rarely uses pathos compared to Kaïs Saïed who never uses pathos. Nabil Karoui evokes emotions and feelings in his audience.

Further research could aim at a more detailed linguistic analysis at the micro level in terms of word choice, sentence choice and style of speech, syntactically and semantically. Most importantly, speakers and writers, including language learners, need to be aware of rhetorical devices and become familiar with them in order to produce persuasive discourse.

### Competing Interest Statement

All authors have declared that no competing interest exists.

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