

**Persuasive Strategies in Selected Speeches of Zine El Abidine
Ben Ali, Hosni Mubarak and Muammar Gaddafi**

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Abstract

The current paper is concerned with the analysis of political discourse, particularly the selected speeches of Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, Mohammed Hosni Mubarak and Muammar Gaddafi during 2010 and 2011 as a reaction to massive protests which are

regarded as the most critical incidents in their reign. The paper attempts to detect the persuasive techniques employed by Zine El Abidine Ben Ali (the former Tunisian president), Hosni Mubarak (the former Egyptian president) and Muammar Gaddafi (the former Libyan president) through building an eclectic model of linguistic analysis adopted from Aristotle's theory of persuasion, Halliday's systemic functional approach, critical discourse analysis, and pragmatics.

Key words: Rhetoric, positive self-presentation and negative other presentation, Systemic Functional Grammar, Transitivity processes, Person deixis, presupposition

1. Introduction:

Indeed, language is an essential engine in the implementation of successful political activities in any country. Political leaders have been able to extend their political influence through language in order to bring about change in political, economic, social and cultural fields. Taiwo (2009) maintains that language is the conveyor belt of power. It moves people to vote, admit or react. Therefore, it is a central criterion of political stability or polarization. Speeches, in general, are among the various kinds of spoken discourse. Political speeches, in particular, are considered one of the very interesting speeches to be analyzed by discourse analysts. This is because when delivering a political speech, the speaker is regarded as a representative of the whole community.

The paper is designed to explore how the social act of persuasion is realized linguistically in discourse. In particular, it attempts to point out how the three ex-presidents tried to convince people of their patriotism and their intention of reform as desperate attempts to stay as presidents. Therefore, the study holds a comparative analysis of the speeches delivered by the three former presidents to reveal how they attempt to utilize language to affect the public and attain their desired objectives. By incorporating these approaches; the research aspires to answer the following questions:

1. Have the ex-presidents used persuasive strategies in the text? If they did, what are they?

2. Who is the most persuasive president and who is the least one? Why?
3. To what extent, do the three presidents employ Aristotle's model of rhetoric ethos, pathos and logos?
4. How do presidents use some strategies of language to involve themselves in desired actions while they use other devices to detach themselves from undesirable actions?
5. How are the personal pronouns "I, you, we and they" used in the speeches employed by the three presidents?
6. Do Transitivity processes help in pointing out the ethos and pathos of speakers?
7. How can the tool of presupposition help in persuading the audience?

Actually, the most significant actions which the whole world in general and the Tunisians, Egyptians and Libyans in particular wait for are the reactions of the ex-presidents to their demands which will determine their destiny and their countries as well. That is why the current paper assumes significance in being preoccupied with investigating remarkable presidential speeches.

2. Methodology:

2.1. The Corpus and Sources of Data:

The texts forming the corpus of the study are concerned with only one kind of political discourse, namely political speeches, and in particular the English translations of nine political speeches given by the former presidents Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, Hosni Mubarak and Muammar Gaddafi during the revolutions against them and their regime at the end of 2010 and during 2011. The Arabic transcript texts of the data are accessed from the website www.youtube.com. The total counting of words in Ben Ali's three speeches, Mubarak's and Gaddafi's are 3515, 4331 and 1058 words respectively.

2.2. Procedures:

The present paper focuses on the approach of persuasion from the view of the three pillars of Aristotle's model of rhetoric, namely; ethos, pathos and logos in order to show how far the three leaders utilize language to convince and persuade their audience. To crystallize this perspective, the paper makes use of van Dijk's socio cognitive approach with particular emphasis on the strategy of positive self-presentation and negatives other presentation. Second,

the paper adopts Halliday's concept of transitivity process with particular emphasis on material, mental and verbal processes in addition to Yule's theory of presupposition and pronouns. These approaches represent four dimensional frameworks for investigating persuasion. As a matter of fact, these tools can be employed to enhance more than one item of ethos, pathos and logos simultaneously for reaching the main aim of how far each president adopted them in order to convince his audience of stopping their demonstrations and allow him to remain in presidency. In addition, the analysis of the selected data is performed through two steps: quantitative analysis followed by qualitative one in order to add more reliability and richness to the analysis.

3. Theoretical Framework:

Fundamentally, persuasion is a linguistic phenomenon which endeavors at modulating and stimulating changes in people's attitudes. Such change is being achieved mainly by the power of the word. A very prominent technique to fulfill the strategy of persuasion is suggested by the ancient Greek philosopher, Aristotle namely, rhetoric. Hence the study will adopt his approach to persuasion.

According to Frogel (2005), "Rhetoric" is still considered "a primary text for the study of rhetoric to this day" (p.23). Aristotle considered rhetoric as the basis of the progress and prosperity of any society as it is a tool in the propulsion of institutions in democratic societies. Actually, the success of public speaking has been vital targets since there have been a public and public speech. Therefore, the study of rhetoric is very substantial in political speech. It is Aristotle who proved that rhetoric is an art that could be learned. It can teach politicians how to speak well, how to present ideas powerfully and to persuade their audience of the validity of their views and how to conceal their real aims as well.

Aristotle's major achievement was his coining the three essential means of persuasion: ethos, pathos and logos which he considers the three props of rhetoric. Poggi (2005) emphasizes the existence of incorporating the three elements in any persuasive discourse. By ethos, Aristotle means the speaker's characteristics: his credibility, knowledge and experience. While pathos refers to the emotions the speaker can arouse in the audience's hearts. Inciting emotions in the audience, such as anger, love, enmity, fear, confidence and shame in an audience, is a way that enables the

speaker to keep the audience involved in the speech. Such involvement can provide more chances for persuasion. Furthermore, Aristotle believes that persuasion is mainly achieved through logical argumentation since the appeal to logic is the most effective way of persuading.

3.1. Pragmatic Approach to Persuasion:

Actually, pragmatics is a useful branch for deciphering the linguistic tools of politicians. The major contribution of this theory is that it enables linguists to discover the intentions of speakers, their assumptions as well as their aims. Person deixis and presupposition received thorough examination in the field of pragmatics because of their rendering in persuasion.

3.1.1. Person Deixis:

van Dijk (1998) asserts that ‘pronouns are perhaps the best known grammatical category of the expression and manipulation of social relations, status and power, adherence of underlying ideologies’(p.3).In the same context, Chilton (2002) stresses the importance of studying pronouns in political discourse as they "can be used to induce interpreters to conceptualize group identity, coalitions, parties and the like, either as insiders or as outsiders" (p.30).In addition, Pennycook (1994) maintains that the use of pronouns “opens up a whole series of questions about language, power, and representation (p.178).

Therefore, the best area to consider the relationship between language and society is through the use of person deixis. Political speeches are highlighted in relation to their use of person deixis, the pronouns which political speakers use to refer to either themselves or others are of great meaning to the persuasive message. In addition, Wilson (1990) maintains that politicians use person deixis to manipulate the audience, create coalition, attack, or reveal an ideological basis.

The word deixis is basically a Greek word.Beard(2000) defines pronouns as words substituting for nouns or noun phrases (p.24).They are mainly used for the sake of avoiding repeating previously mentioned noun phrase .Yule categorizes deixis into three kinds: Person deixis, spatial deixis and time deixis. The study pays attention to the first type that is used to refer to first person, second person and third person plural. The first person pronoun includes the speaker, the second person includes

the addressee, but the third person excludes both the speaker and the addressee.

There are sub-categories of personal pronouns such as subject or object pronouns, possessive, reflexive and indefinite (Collins, 1990). The study will focus on the first three types. Subject pronouns refer to the doer of the actions. These are 'I, he, she, it, we, and they'. While object pronouns are used to refer to people or things the speaker is talking to. These are 'me, us, him, her and them'. As for the possessive pronouns, they are employed to express persons or things belonging to others. These are 'my, your, our, his, her and their'. They are used to talk about how things or persons are connected to others. The pronouns that are analyzed thoroughly are 'I, you, we, they, my, your, our, their, me, us, them'.

Actually, the quality of personhood can only be applied to these pronouns. Hence they are considered the most significant ones in political contexts. Concerning the use of the first person pronoun 'I', it is used for enhancing ethos through pointing out the speaker's qualities, persona, authorities, contributions as well as his commitments towards decisions. However, the over use of first person singular pronoun "I" reveals that the speaker prefers a self-centered attitude. Regarding the use of the pronoun you, it establishes a relationship between the speaker and the addressee and, therefore, it aids in raising the pathos of the audience. Hyland (2005) provides four ways to engage readers. One of these ways is the use of "second person pronouns to direct the audience's attention and side with them" (p.151).

In addition, Levinson (1983) asserts that the first person plural pronoun 'we' can be employed either to refer to the speaker and the audience (inclusively) or to the speaker and other persons or just himself (exclusively). When used inclusively, it expresses unification with the audience and reinforces power relations with them and thus decreases the distance between the speaker and audience which, as a result, triggers feelings of pleasure and identification with the speaker for involving them in the speech. In addition, when there are unfavorable crises, the use of the inclusive 'we' helps in allotting the burden among the audience for sharing the speaker in the responsibilities in question. Whereas when used exclusively, it implies that the speaker ascribes the achievements to himself.

Regarding the function of the third person plural pronoun “they”, speakers use it to alienate themselves from others who may be responsible for misdeeds. In addition, Yule (1996) points out that “third person plural in replace of second person has the effect of communicating distance” (p.11)

3.1.2. Presupposition:

Another pragmatic tool politicians can utilize to convince their audience of their litigation is the technique of presupposition .This linguistic tool can be simply defined as implicit or unconscious assumptions deduced by the listener from the speaker’s explicit information. These assumptions are included in sentences which are taken for granted to be right. They convey meanings without clearly mentioning them and can make ideas which are questionable seem certain. Such tool makes it difficult for the listeners to identify the real intentions of the speaker and this in turn aid in the persuasion process.

Furthermore, van Dijk (1995b) observes that presuppositions have an outstanding function in discourse because they insert ideological propositions whose truth is not uncontroversial (p. 273). Moreover, Jones and Peccei (2004) emphasizes that the use of presupposition enables politicians to become successful. Whereas, Chilton (2004) points out that speakers can depend on presupposition for the sake of avoiding social threats as well as the cognitive adjustment of the hearers’ memory to adopt presupposition as actual representation of the world.

3.1.2.1. Types of Presupposition:

Indeed, Yule (1996) adopted the symbol “ $p \gg q$ ” (p.26) to represent the process of presupposition as in the following example:

1. Mary’s brothers bought a car. = p
2. Mary has a brother. = q
3. $p \gg q$

Additionally, he (1996) has identified various types of presupposition identified by some linguistic triggers which he consider as indicators of potential presuppositions (p.27)

1. Existential presupposition:

This type of presupposition enables the speaker to commit himself to the existence of the named entities. It is triggered by the following two constructions:

A. Possessive constructions: as in the example: Your smoking cigarettes will badly affect your health.
The underlined possessive pronoun enables the speaker to assume that the listener actually smokes cigarettes.

B. Definite noun phrase: as in the following example: these events are the acts of a minority of hostile people that are enraged by the success of Tunisia”
Through the above underlined definite noun phrase, the speaker assumes that Tunisia is a successful country.

2. Lexical Presupposition:

In this type, Levinson (1983) maintains that “the use of one form with its asserted meaning is conventionally interpreted with the presupposition that another (non-asserted) meaning is understood”, He also lists some triggers for this type of presupposition such as the following:

- a. Change of state verbs (e.g. stop, start, give up, take up)
Ex: This violence must stop.
>>There is violence .
- b. Iteratives : (e.g. return and again)
Ex: Mary returned Cambridge.
>>Mary was in Cambridge before.
- c. Implicative verbs :(e.g. manage)
John manages to stop stealing.
>>John tried t stop stealing . (p.181)

3. Factive Presupposition:

Besides, Yule (1996) states that factive presupposition refers to the fact that “the use of a particular expression is taken to presuppose the truth of the information that is stated after it” (p.28). This type of presupposition is triggered by words such as ‘regret, realize, be aware, and be glad that’. The following is an example.

e.g. She didn’t realize he was a thief. >>He was a thief.

4. Structural Presupposition:

According to Yule (1996), “certain structures have been analyzed as conventionally and regularly presupposing that part of the sentence is already assumed to be true” (28). Such structure is used by speakers through which they can treat information as true and hence to be accepted easily by the listener. Levinson (1983) elaborated on some other forms of structural presupposition. These are as follows:

A. Temporal clauses: (e.g. before, after, since) as in the following example "Before John travel, he left money for his family". (>>John travelled.)

C .Non-restrictive clause:

Ex: The man who killed the lady was arrested.
>> The man killed the lady.

D. Cleft sentences:

1. Cleft: as in the example 'It was Mona that typed the letter. >>Mona typed the letter.
2. Pseudo-cleft: as in the example: Education is what we consider our most important priority. >> We consider Education our most important priority.

E .Comparative and contrasts:

Ahmed is bigger than Hoda. >> Hoda is smaller than Ahmed.

F :Wh-questions : where the wh-word assumes that the information following it is definitely true as in the following example

Ex: When did he die? >>He died . (pp.182-184)

5. Non –factive presupposition:

Yule (1996) suggests that there is another type of presupposition which is presupposed not to be true particularly if it follows certain verbs like “pretend, dream, and manage .Therefore, he names it as non-factive presupposition.

Ex. He pretends to be happy. >> He is not happy.

6. Counter-factual presupposition:

According to Yule (1996), counter factual presupposition indicates that “what is presupposed is not only true, but is the opposite of what is true” (p29). This type is triggered by the counter –factual condition or the ‘If’ condition as in the following example 'If you told him the truth, he would have given you a prize. >>You didn’t tell him the truth.

3.2. Halliday’s Systemic functional approach to persuasion:

Functionalist grammarians analyze texts in order to reveal the ideologies underlying them through putting higher priority on its function. The most typical functionalist theory is known as

[‘Systemic functional grammar’](#) (SFG) or systemic functional linguistics (SFL). This approach is a model of grammar that was developed by [Michael Halliday](#) in the 1960s. According to Halliday’s view, the grammar of language and its meaning are inter-related. Therefore, the linguistic analysis of texts from this perspective can help linguists in finding out why some texts can be convincing than others.

As its name suggests, the theory presents grammar not as rules but as ‘systems’, on the basis that every grammatical structure involves a choice from a set of options. Worded differently, people do not talk to each other in order to exchange words, sounds or sentences. They exchange sentences in order to create meanings through which they achieve their needs. The mentioning of the word meanings not meaning is significant, for systemic linguists confirm that texts or producers of texts do not make just one meaning but rather a number of meanings at the same time. Therefore, speakers are able to select among the systems of language to express their intended meanings.

These grammatical systems function as resources of making meanings. This is the basis of Halliday’s claim that language is ‘metafunctionally organized’ (2002, p.29). The fundamental goal that language has emerged to serve is to enable us to make meanings with each other. According to Halliday (1985), language consists of a combination of three different structures derived from “distinct functional components” (p.158). These components or metafunctions, according to Halliday, are “the ideational, the interpersonal and textual meanings” (p.158). For the purpose of the study, the focus will be on the first component.

3.2.1. The Ideational Function:

Ideational meanings are about how we can embody experience in language meanings. Halliday (1971) points out that it is through this function that the speaker or writer expresses his experience of “his reactions, cognitions, perceptions, and also his linguistic acts of speaking and understanding” (p.332). Language serves to confirm and consolidate the organizations which shape it, being used to manipulate people, to establish and maintain them in economically convenient roles and statues, to maintain the power of state agencies, corporations and other institutions.”(Fowler et al., 1979, p.190). In systemic functional theory, the ideational meaning

is divided into two components: experiential meaning, which the present paper focuses on, and logical meaning.

3.2.1.1. Experiential meanings:

Participants can not establish a relationship without talking about something. Their talk has content, i.e. it has a topic. Thus, in order for people to share in interaction, they have to make experiential meanings. When we look at experiential metafunction, we are looking at the grammar of the clause as representation since clause is considered the most grammatical significant unit for representation. Clause as a representation means that one function of the clause is as representation of experience of both external and internal realities. There is one main system involved in this kind of meaning. It is the system of Transitivity or process type. Halliday and Matthiesen (2004) assert that the basic theoretical account for the representation of transitivity is composed of three elements:

1. "Process unfolding through time.
2. The participants involved in the process.
3. Circumstances associated with the process" (p.175).

Halliday has categorized the notion of process in relation to the participants' roles into the followings types: material, mental, verbal, relational, existential, and behavioral. The first three processes will be the target of the analysis.

I. Material process:

The material process expresses a process of doing, or action often concrete actions as in the example: I play tennis. In this sentence, we can see two participants: the first one is 'I'. It is called Actor. Actor is the person who is doing the action. This participant is obligatory. The second participant is 'tennis'. This participant is called 'goal' which is affected by the process of doing or at whom the action is directed. But this participant is not obligatory. In fact, when material process involves two participants, the process is called transitive. However, a clause can have one participant only 'the actor' as in 'he stood up'. In such clause, the process is called intransitive. A clause can also have a third constituent called the Beneficiary which is benefiting from the doing. Actually, this process is of significance in relation to measuring the power of the speaker. The more a person uses verbs of doing; the powerful he is. Hence such process will be the focus of the study.

II. Mental process:

Speakers do not only talk about what they do, but also on what they feel or think. Halliday names the process which carries meanings of thinking, perceiving or feeling as “mental process”. Mental process must have at least two participants. Halliday used the terms: senser and phenomenon to refer to these participants. Senser is the person that sees, perceives, feels or thinks. Phenomenon is the thing which is sensed, felt, thought or seen. Thus the mental clause is characterized by the configuration: process + senser +phenomenon .Halliday (1985) also subdivided the mental process into three classes:

- A. Cognition: It is related to verbs of thinking, knowing or understanding as in: I know his name.
- B. Affection: It is related to verbs of liking or fearing a in: They like their young sister.
- C. Perception: It is related to verbs of seeing and hearing as in: I saw him last night.

In the political speech, the politicians’ main goal is to influence the audience to accept his opinion. So, he must tell the listeners his own point of view, feelings. Hence, it is necessary to examine the mental processes employed by the three ex- presidents

III. Verbal processes:

It is a process of saying and exchanging information. Examples of verbal verbs are “ask command, offer, state, show, and indicate. Halliday (2004) asserts that this process is an important resource of “dialogic passages” (p.252). Therefore, the more the speaker uses verbal processes; the keener he is in talking to his addressee. Hence such process will also be a focus of the study. There are three participants related to this process. First, there is “the sayer”. It is the participant that is responsible for the verbal process .But sayer doesn’t have to be a human being as in the clause: ‘The notice tells you to stop smoking’. The second constituent is called the “receiver” (2004:255). While the third one is known as the “verbiage”(Halliday2004:255). The receiver is the person to whom the verbal process is directed .The verbiage is the verbalization itself, as in the clause: He told me the truth, where ‘me’ is the receiver and the ‘truth’ is the verbiage.

3.3. van Dijk’s Socio cognitive approach to Persuasion:

Language of politics has been dealt with a considerable number of linguists under the branch of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Actually, CDA is concerned with issues such as

dominance, power relations among social, political and cultural groups. Politicians are groups of people who are usually put in the center of the attention and use language to maintain social and political ideologies. Presidential speeches stand out from other types of political discourses because of the politician's high social status. Their major objective in making political speeches is to display themselves as people who can be relied on, meet the people's ambitions and desires and create stability. Politicians do not consider themselves as individuals, but as representatives of their countries. Therefore, it is very significant to do a critical discourse analysis of their speech which aids in revealing how far their statements are the product of their ideologies.

According to van Dijk(1997), the structure of political discourse "satisfies criteria of effectiveness and persuasion" (p.25). Therefore, lexical items are chosen carefully because they effectively emphasize or de-emphasize political attitudes and opinions, manipulate public opinion, manufacture political consent, or legitimate political power. In (1993b),he also adds that:

modern and often more effective power is mostly cognitive, and enacted by persuasion, dissimulation or manipulation, among other strategic ways to change the mind of others in one's own interests. Such mind management is not always bluntly manipulative. On the contrary, dominance may be enacted and reproduced by subtle, routine, everyday forms of text and talk that appear 'natural' and quite 'acceptable. (p.254)

In 1998, he further stresses that "if we are able to influence people's minds, e.g. their knowledge or opinions, we indirectly may control (some of) their actions, as we know from persuasion and manipulation." (p.355).These two notions are manifested through formal aspects of language which the research is interested to highlight. In addition, in (2006) he assumes that some discourse structures can be more influential than others through affecting the minds of the audience according to in the speaker's own interests. Consequently, he introduces twenty seven ideological strategies. Among fundamental strategies is the polarity of 'self positive-representation' and 'other negative-representation' .Positive self-representation or as van Dijk (2004) refers to as in-group favoritism is "a semantic macro- strategy used for the purpose of 'face keeping' or 'impression management' (p.793). Whereas

negative other-representation is also a semantic macro-strategy but concerned with in-groups and out groups, that is, their categorizing into “ ‘good’ and ‘bad’, superior and inferior, US and THEM” (van Dijk, 2004,p.738).Because of this strategy’s recurrence in the speeches of political speeches in general and in the selected data in particular, the paper adopts it since its overall strategy is to highlight the positive presentation of speakers as well as to attribute the negative things to their opponents such as war and instability.

4. Analysis

4.1. Pronouns:

One of the crucial devices that politicians mostly employ in their speeches is using personal pronouns. Looking across Ben Ali’s usage of personal pronouns, the study finds out that in the first speech there is only one instance of mentioning the first person singular at the very beginning of the first speech in order to set himself as still being the de facto president of the country. However, such pronoun soon turns into the first person singular with its objective and possessive derivatives “ us and our”, to fill the rest of the speech with 25 times where most of its implications are exclusive in order to ascribe the achievements to himself which has a negative effect on his ethos and pathos as exemplified in the following extracts

- “We have sought since the change for dialogue as a principle and method....”

While the underlined first person plural in the extract “It is a negative and anti-civil aspect that gives a distorted image of our country that hinders the flow of investors and tourists” is the only instance considered to be inclusive of the audience where such inclusion aims at triggering the emotions of patriotism in the audience which lead them to be convinced that the phenomenon of demonstrations actually deface the economic and touristic reputation of Tunisia which is the country of Ben Ali as well as of all citizens.

In addition, chart 1 reveals that in the second speech, there is quite tendency towards increasing the number of the first person singular and plural (inclusive) in order to establish strong ethos as well pathos respectively.

In contrast to the preceding two speeches, the third one witnesses a sharp increase in employing the first singular

pronoun “I” with the percentage of 40%. Such fact is significant as it reveals that Ben Ali resorts into a self-centered attitude as exemplified in the following extracts:

- ‘Each day of my life has been devoted to serving the country, and I offered sacrifices that I will not enumerate. You all know them....’

However, Ben Ali ultimately becomes aware of the importance of engaging the Tunisians with him in his speech resorting to a recurrent use of the second person pronoun where such inclusion leads to an upturn in Ben Ali’s pathos as in following extract:

- “I understood you. Yes, indeed I understood you”

In addition, Ben Ali recurrently applies the inclusive ‘we’ as in the following extract:

- “Our sons today are at home and are not at school. This is a sinful and a shame, because we are afraid for them from the violence of looting and robbery groups and assault on persons.”

Concerning the third person plural, the study finds out there is an introduction of the pronoun ‘they’ in the first speech in order to charge a certain group with the turmoil and the unrest. Examples are the following extracts:

- “We also regret the damages that these incidents have left, and the exaggerated dimensions that they took because of the political manipulation by some parties who do not want well-being to their homeland...”

In the above extracts, Ben Ali employs the pronoun “their” to alienate him from the circle of demonstrators as a hateful group.

Similarly, in the second speech, the pronoun “they” appeared in the following extracts to lay the blame of the chaos and violence to an out-group and not to members of his government or police forces.

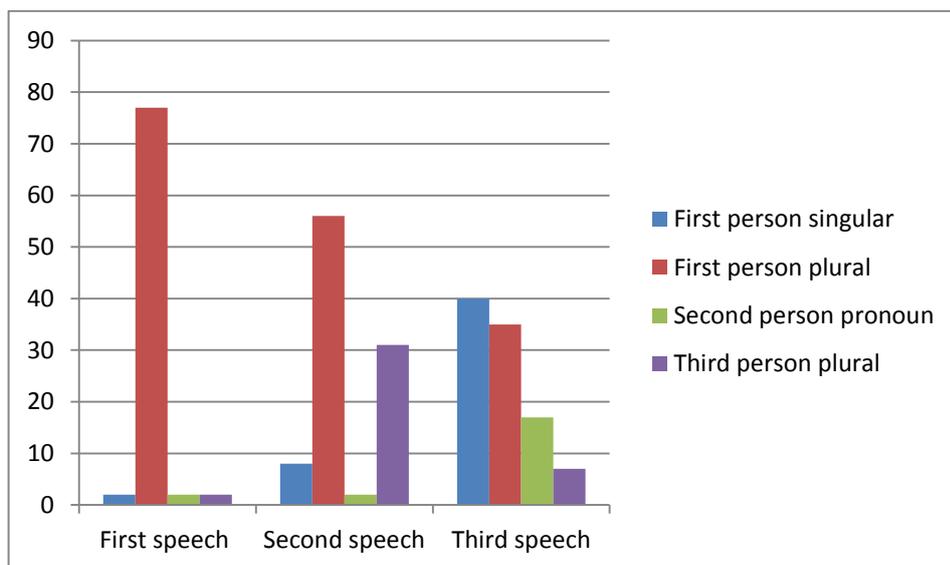
- “They unethically exploited an incident which we all regret and a state of despair having taken place in the city of Sidi Bouzid, two weeks ago ...”

In the above extract, Ben Ali employs the pronoun “they” to refer to the demonstrators who exploit the self-immolation of a Tunisian young man in order to spread chaos and disorder. However, in the third speech, Ben Ali turns the complaints and accusations from the demonstrators to members of his government. This is clear in the following extract:

- “Sometimes, they induced me into error by hiding the truth from me, and they will be held accountable. Yes, they will be held accountable.”

Such turn is an indication of deterioration in the power and the authority of Ben Ali since the stress and the calls of his stepping down increased. In addition, through this shift, Ben Ali tries to arouse the feelings of compassion, propitiation and unity of the audience towards him against his anti –protestors.

Chart (1) points pronouns in Ben Ali’s speeches



Concerning Mubarak, chart 2 indicates that the first person singular dominates other pronouns throughout the three speeches due to Mubarak’s overwhelming of talking about himself. However, the researcher believes that Mubarak’s insistence on employing the first person singular for talking about himself lead him to be perceived as narcissist and selfish. On the contrary, Mubarak used the first person plural infrequently. Even when sometimes used inclusively to share the audience’s feelings of sadness on the murder of some innocent demonstrators, he

excludes himself once he started talking about fear, anxiety and disturbance showing that these negative effects of demonstrations will only trouble the Egyptians and their relatives as in the following extract:

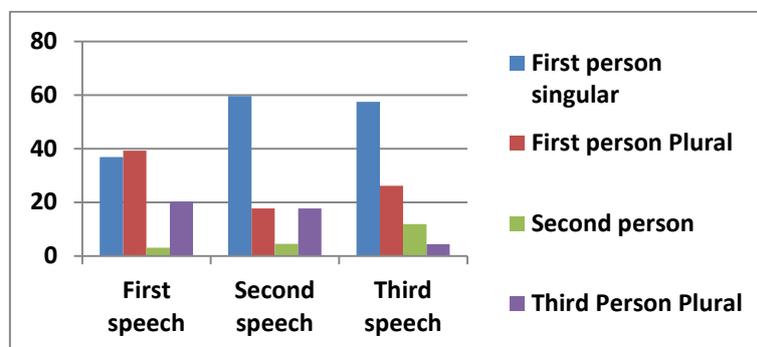
- “ We are living together painful days and what mostly pains our hearts is the fear that took hold of the vast majority of Egyptians and the disturbance, anxiety and obsessions that trouble them over what tomorrow will bring for them , their families and their relatives and the future and the destiny of their country.”

Actually, this exclusion detached him from being a cooperative but rather a selfish person who does not mind the sufferings of others. As a result, such exclusion further weakens Mubarak’s ethos.

As for the second person pronoun, Mubarak resorts to an increase in its usage only in the third speech. This infers that Mubarak finally starts to search for harmony and intimacy with the demonstrators as observed in the following extracts.

- “I address myself to you,”
- “I tell you that I am proud of you...”

Chart2 points out the pronouns in Mubarak’s speeches



Similarly, chart 3 points out that first person singular dominates Gaddafi’s speeches because of being very preoccupied of demonstrating his identity and authority as indicated in the following extract:

- “I am Muammar Gaddafi and an international commander who is defended by millions I will fight till the last drop of my blood. I will die virtuous and a martyr at the end.”

Concerning the use of the first person plural, the study shows that from the very beginning of his first speech, Gaddafi divides his nation into two groups. The first one represents his supporters

whom Gaddafi addresses his speech. Furthermore, the study detects that when talking about the achievements of the government, Gaddafi excludes the Libyans referring only to himself and his government. This is actually an indication of the dictatorial regime which he was adopting. As a result, his ethos is weakened. Examples are as follows:

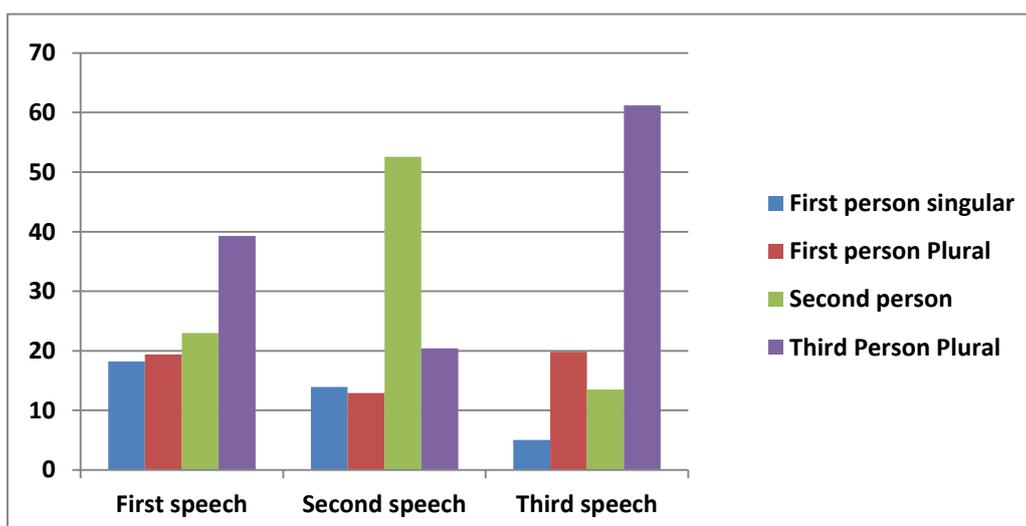
- “This is my country, country of my grandparents and yours .We planted it with our hands and watered it with the blood of our ancestors.”
- “We are more worthy of Libya from those rats and mercenaries.”

On the other side, the study finds out that when speaking about the destiny and the problems of the citizens, Gaddafi uses the inclusive “we” to engage the Libyans with him as exemplified in the extract:

- “We cannot allow Libya to be lost from our hands without justification in the void.”

In addition, the study discloses that the percentage of using the inclusive we increases sharply from the first to the second and the third speech which hints Gaddafi’s inclination towards seeking community with his supporters.

Chart (3) points out pronouns in Gaddafi’s speeches



As for the second group Gaddafi talks about, it is represented by the demonstrators whom Gaddafi speaks about through using the pronoun “they”. Concerning the first speech, the chart shows that the third person plural is the most used pronoun. Actually, Gaddafi accuses different parties of treachery and agency. First, he employs the pronoun “they” to criticize the media in other Arab countries. Examples are the following :

- “These Arab stations are the greatest enemies. They are gloating at you .They want you to destroy oil, freedom, the popular authority and Libya so that Libya will not be a global Castle. They are resenting from you, so they distort your image.”

In the above excerpt, the pronoun ‘they’ represents a negative out group .Another function of using the pronoun “they” is to criticize the pro-democracy demonstrators as in the following extracts:

- “Now a small group of young men given pills attack police stations here and there like rats. They attack safe and oblivious barracks because we are not in a state of war so that we intensify guardianship on our stores and on our camps.”

Concerning the second speech, Gaddafi makes use of the pronoun “they” in order to fill it with the role of the agents of the NATO. Examples are as follows:

- “If you want to find a solution to your dilemma, go to the Libyan people! Don’t depend on the traitors you dealt with .They have no feelings so they will never be accepted by any street in Benghazi, nor even any alley. Do not accept them..... Those traitors show themselves as if they were French soldiers. They are actually mercenaries for France...”

In the above extract, Gaddafi employs the pronoun “they” to threaten those who support the NATO ruling them out as undesirable group.

Concerning the second person pronoun, the study finds out that Gaddafi also focuses much on using the derivations ‘you’ and ‘your’ in the first speech in order to address his supporters which creates a kind of rapport among them .Examples are as follows :

- “You are the generation of the challenge and of the anger.”

In the above extract, Gaddafi begins his first speech using the pronoun “you” to direct his speech to his proponents in order to establish a linkage to them.

Thus, it can be said that while Gaddafi uses the pronoun “you” for evoking the emotion of boast, scare and hatred for others, he discarded the demonstrators thoroughly from the circle of the pronoun “you”. This in turn results in a diminishing in his personality.

Concerning the second speech, there is a noticeable employment of the pronoun you for the aim of talking directly to the representatives of the NATO as seen in the following extracts:

- “My friends in Europe: My poor defeated friend, Berlusconi, open the Libya channel, my poor friend ,Sarkozy ,open the Libyan channelbut I advise you to take tranquilizers before you open Libya channel, because you will be shocked, definitely shocked. Your weak nerves will not bear what you see in the channel of Libya, the challenge of Libyan people, the demonstrations of millions.”

In the above excerpt, Gaddafi employs the pronoun “you” with its derivations to arouse feelings of sarcasm towards the European presidents who are involved in their attacks on Gaddafi and his regime.

Concerning the third speech, Gaddafi employs the pronoun you to address his supporters and the Libyans in general as in the following extracts:

- "..... To the great Libyan nation, first of all, I greet you for EidAlfitr Al Mubarak ...you are stronger than them .You are masses .You are millions....You are very clever.

Through the above extracts, Gaddafi uses the pronoun “you” to establish a strong relationship between him and his Libyans through greeting them, and praising their strength, their number and their abilities.

4.2. Presupposition:

Concerning using presupposition as a tool for persuasion, the study finds out that Ben Ali uses the strategy of introducing some presuppositions in order to prove the factualness of his speech. For

example, the underlined “the” in the following extract is a type of existential presupposition whose aim is to presuppose the fact of the word following it.

- “Fellow citizens, these events are the acts of a minority of hostile people that are enraged by the success of Tunisia”

Through the above underlined article, Ben Ali presupposes that Tunisia is a successful because of being ruled by him. Such presupposition supports his ethos as a successful president.

Besides, Ben Ali employs other types of presupposition such as lexical presupposition through using iterative words such as the word “restore” as in the following extract:

- “Each one of us is responsible, from his position, for restoring its security, its stability, and for healing its wounds...”

Through using the above underlined presupposition, Ben Ali endeavors to consolidate his ethos via presupposing that under his regime, the country has been experiencing safety but lost due to the demonstrations.

In addition to that Ben Ali applies structural presupposition through using non-restrictive clauses, cleft construction and comparative constructions. For example through the following underlined non-restrictive clause, Ben Ali aims at strengthening his ethos through presupposing that he is supporting higher education

- “Establishing higher academic institutions in the entire regions of the country without exception is a fact which we support at every stages ...”

Furthermore, Mubarak also relies on the technique of presenting different types of presupposed phrases in order to cover his speech with credibility as exemplified in the following extract:

- “It (Egypt) will react to the slyness of the conspirators and the glee of the gleeful.”

Through the above underlined definite noun phrase, Mubarak presupposes that there are actually cunning persons who are conspiring against the interests of Egypt and gloating its fortunes.

Besides, Mubarak employs other types of presupposition such as lexical presupposition by using iterative words such as the word “more” in following the extract:

- “These demonstrations have come to express legitimate aspirations for more democracy and more speed in the efforts of ending unemployment and improving the standard of living, fighting poverty and facing up corruption firmly.....”

In addition to that, Mubarak applies structural presupposition through using non-restrictive clauses, cleft construction and comparative constructions. For example, through the following underlined change of state verb Mubarak seeks to strengthen his ethos by presupposing that he has actually started steps of reform in most of the fields of life

- “My conviction is steady and unshakeable to continue the political, economic and social reforms for the sake of a free and democratic Egyptian society...”

Whereas when looking at Gaddafi’s usage of presupposition, the study finds out that he does not manage to exploit this strategy as much as he employed other tools. Among the few examples he mentions is the usage of the underlined non-restrictive clause in the following extract:

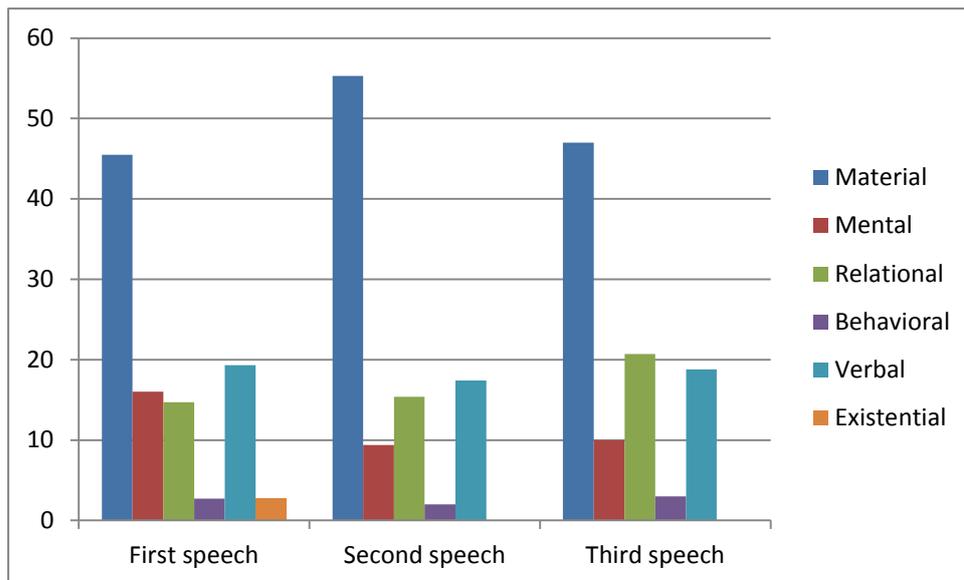
- “ tomorrow or tonight, you have to go out from all Libyan cities, villages and oases who love Muammar Gaddafi, because Muammar Gaddafi is the glory.....Till now there is normal arrest operations, but right now , all men and women who support me should go out of their houses ,secure the cities, oases and villages, do not believe them and do not let them laugh at you.....I am Muammar Gaddafi and an international commander who is defended by millions.”

Through the above underlined non-restrictive clauses, Gaddafi asserts that he is loved, supported and defended by many Libyans in order to consolidate his ethos.

4.3. Transitivity processes’ approach to persuasion:

The present paper focuses on three main types of processes .These are material, mental and verbal processes. The following chart is representation of all the processes used in Ben Ali’s three speeches:

Chart (4) points out the processes types in Ben Ali’s speeches



The above chart indicate that throughout the three speeches, there is a higher concentration of material clauses which is quite suggestive in relation to power relations. Actually, the more speaker uses verbs of doing, the more influential his speech is. This is obvious in the following extracts where Ben Ali uses process of doing in order to shed light on what he achieves and will achieve for the interests of the country.

- “I have followed with concern what Sidi Bouzid witnessed during the last few days...”

Moreover, when material process is employed, it is crucial to identify the doer of that action. The study finds out that most of the choices of the actors suggest that Ben Ali attributes the achievements to himself and his government as an attempt to reinforce his ethos.

In addition, there are some occurrences that employ the demonstrators as the doer of the action .However, whenever they got the role of the actor, their role is a uncivilized as clarified in the examples:

- “We say to all who deliberately harm the interests of the country and imperil our youth, sons and daughters at schools and institutes and drive them to the riots and chaos.....”

Throughout the above extracts, Ben Ali puts the demonstrators as the actors of the material verbs “ did not qualm , harm and imperil” which have negative implications in order to trigger pathos of hostility against these actors.

Concerning the mental process, chart four indicates that there is less employment than of material verbs. Such fact indicates that Ben Ali is not much concerned with adopting mental tactics for persuading his audience. As for the first speech the only emotive verbs he mentions to express his sympathizing with the unemployed and with the losses is underlined in the following extract.

- “We also regret the damages left by these incidents”

While in the second speech, there is a step forward towards employing mental verbs more in order to arouse the pathos of the audience. Such fact is exemplified in the following excerpts:

- “They unethically exploited an incident which we all regret ...”
- “We share them their pain and sadness and console them with our honest love for all our sons.”

Through the above underlined verbs, Ben Ali seeks to appeal to the audience’s hearts through sympathizing with the case of Mohammed Bouazizi who set himself on fire as well as with the families of the dead.

Moreover, in the following underlined verb, Ben Ali employs an emotional verb to prove his welcoming of facing the problems of his society.

- “We prefer confronting difficulties and challenges by cultured nation rather than to illusory hope.”

Furthermore, through the following underlined verbs, Ben Ali addresses the minds of the audience in order to enhance his ethos as endeavoring for solving the problems of his citizens.

More crucially, throughout the preceding extracts, the sensor of the above underlined mental verbs is recognized as Ben Ali and his government. Whereas in the following two extracts, the sensor is chosen by Ben Ali as the audience to induce them to adopt the belief that he endeavors to solve the problems of his citizens.

- “Everyone knows how many efforts we exert for employment....”
- “All know how great our attention is for high degrees holders....”

It is in the third speech that he exploits the verbs of emotion mostly as a final attempt to appeal to the audience’s hearts. Examples are as follows:

- “We felt pain for the fall of victims and the harm of persons,…”
- “The change that was announced now will be in response to your demands, I have reacted with and I suffered much pain from what happened.”

Through the above underlined verbs, Ben Ali points out his grief on the death and the injury of innocent civilians in order to reinforce his ethos as president who is anti-blood shedding. Meantime, he is trying to trigger pathos of hatred against the violent acts which led him to suffer. Through such repetition of the mental verb “understand” and of himself as the senser, Ben Ali emphasizes that he started realizing the demonstrator’s calls in order to trigger emotions of sympathy towards him as a president who admits of his mistakes and at the same time enhance his ethos in expressing his intention to comply with their requests.

- “I understood you. Yes, indeed I understood you. I understood everyone……I understood you and understood all……As for the political demands; I told you that I understood you. Yes, I understood you. I understood you.”

Concerning the verbal processes, the table indicates that they represent the least proportion among the selected processes. Regarding the first speech, it is found that there is no mentioning of direct address to the Tunisians. The underlined examples in the following extract asserts this fact.

- “So, we call on the administration when dealing with the difficult cases into avoiding any failure in contacting with them .
- “ Fifth, in addition to all the efforts that will be exerted for work, I decided to exempt each new working project …”
- “There is no possible way, in spite of our understanding, that we accept the exploitation of isolated cases, or any event or a emergency mode for achieving political pranks at the expense of the national community’s interests…”
- “…… activate regional development through successive programs of investment including all regions of the country the latest of which is what we have decided in the current council today …”

In the above extracts, the audiences are not identified as the receiver of the verbal message. This indicates that Ben Ali is not

concerned with identifying himself with the Tunisians which leads to a weakness in his ethos.

Whereas in the second speech, the percentage of using verbal processes increases. This is quite significant since it reveals that he starts to consider the Tunisians as receivers for his messages. Examples are underlined in the following extracts:

- “I address you today following what some villages and towns, in a number of internal regions, have witnessed.”
- “We call upon parents and all citizens to protect their children...”

Such above underlined verbs denote an outset towards establishing an interlocutor with the Tunisians as an attempt to win their support. Still, there are some references of the manifestation of his own prerogatives and responsibilities as a president in the below underlined verbs.

- “We have decided the following”
- “A few days ago, we authorized the prime minister to contact businessmen and meet the Tunisian Union of Industry....”
- “I decided the exemption of every new working project....”

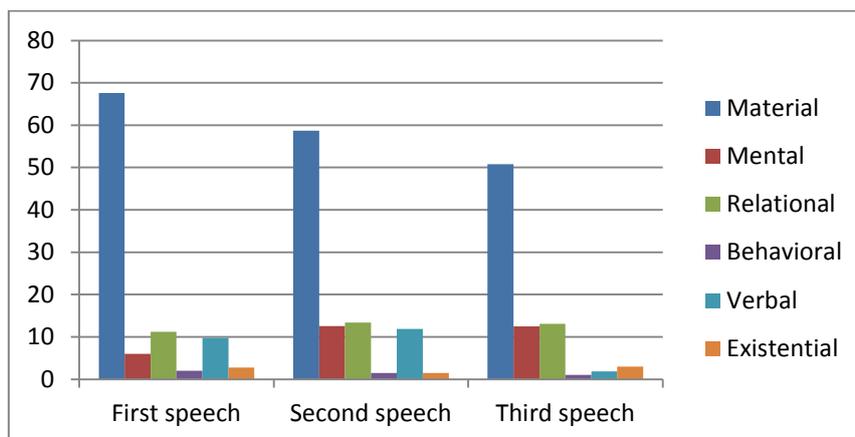
While in the third speech, there are more occurrences of verbal processes realized through the verbs ‘talk, speak and tell’ which are employed in every day conversation. Therefore, the speech tends to be affectionate and more acceptable to the audience, particularly the speaker himself adopt the role of the sayer as in the following extracts:

- “People of Tunisia, I talk to you today. I talk to you all, in Tunisia and abroad. I speak to you in the dialectal variety of all male and female Tunisians .I am talking to you now.”
- “As for the political demands, I told you that I understood you.”

The above underlined verbs indicates more graduation in Ben Ali’s attitude towards providing more opportunities of setting dialogues between him and the Tunisians which consequently raises his ethos and their pathos.

Concerning Mubarak’s employment of material, mental and verbal processes, the following chart illustrates the percentage of their usage.

Chart (5) for distribution of Process and their types in Mubarak's three speeches.



The above chart indicates that throughout the three speeches, Mubarak predominantly concentrates on material clauses which is quite revealing in relation to power relations. Actually, the more the speaker employs verbs of doing, the more persuasive his speech is. This is obvious in the following extracts where he uses process of doing in order to shed light on what he achieves and will achieve for the interests of the country. Meanwhile such processes are attempts to arouse the Egyptian's reliance on Mubarak and his government in order to get their support against the demonstrators.

- “I will defend Egypt's security, its stability and the aspirations of its people.”
- “I am working daily to solve them.”

Throughout the above underlined material processes, Mubarak asserts that although demonstrations continues in the streets, he is commanding and issuing decisions in order to strengthen his ethos as still being the appropriate president of the country. In addition, it is quite obvious that the doer of the action is Mubarak himself. He makes use of the above underlined material verbs in order to show his strong determination.

In addition, the chart shows that the second and the third speeches witness a decrease in the usage of the examples of material process which marks a decrease in his power. Examples of material process are:

- “I took the initiative to form a new government with new priorities and commissions I have spent enough years of my life in the service of Egypt and its people.”

Concerning the mental process, the table shows that there is less employment than of material verbs. Such fact indicates that Mubarak is not as much preoccupied with adopting mental tactics in persuading his audience as in showing his power which results in a weakness of his ethos.

The only emotive example he mentions in the first two speeches are underlined in the following extracts:

- “I felt extremely sorry for the innocent victims who occasioned from among the demonstrators and the police forces.”
- “what mostly pains our hearts is the fear that took hold of the vast majority of Egyptians and the disturbance, anxiety and obsessions that trouble them over what tomorrow will bring for them...”

Through the above underlined mental processes, Mubarak shares the demonstrator’s feelings of fear and insecurity in order to prove that he is a sympathetic president. However, the study finds out that it is the third speech where Mubarak appealed to the emotions of his audience frequently in order to gain their sympathy as a final attempt since he finds himself at the brink of fall in front of millions of demonstrators. Examples are underlined the following extracts.

- “ I have been extremely aggrieved about them as much as you were pained .”
- “my heart was as much pained as yours .”
- “In addition to that concerning what we have lost of the martyrs of the sons of Egypt in sad tragic events which aggrieved our hearts and shook up the conscience of the homeland...”

Through the above underlined mental processes, Mubarak asserts his feelings of sadness and grief on the death of some demonstrators. In addition, the following verb “pains” arouses feelings of compassion towards him for suffering from the mistreatment of the protestors.

- “It pains me what I find from some of the sons of my country today”

Thus, it can be said that there is a gradual increase from the first to the third speech towards empathizing with the victims and their grieved families as a goal of enhancing his ethos.

Concerning the verbal process, Mubarak does not depend much on its application in the first and the second speech showing that he is not very interested in directing his speech to the Egyptians since he is much involved in entrenching his ethos. However, it is in the third speech where Mubarak relies much on verbal process as an indication of his recognition of the importance of taking into his consideration the demonstrator's voices, calls and messages as in the following extract "I address myself today to the youth of Egypt in Tahrir Square...."

- "I address myself to you all with a talk from the bottom of my heart...."

Through the above underlined verbal processes, Mubarak attempts to intensify his relationship with the demonstrators in order to encourage them to receive his message. In addition, in the following underlined verbal verb, Mubarak directs his speech to the demonstrators in order to commit himself with the task of punishing the responsible of killing the martyrs.

- "I tell you that the blood of your martyrs will not go in vain....."

Moreover, through the next underlined verbal process, Mubarak proves that he is also keen on establishing an emotional bond between himself and the grieved families.

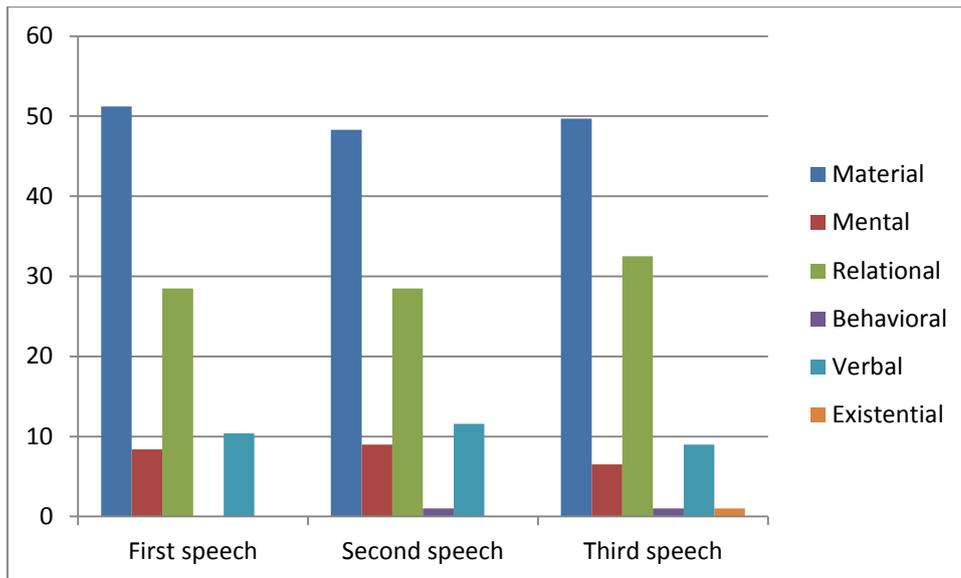
- "I tell the families of those innocent victims that I have been extremely aggrieved about them ..."

In addition, in the following extract, Mubarak uses the same previously mentioned verb 'tell' in order to crystallize his willingness to communicate with the demonstrators.

- "I tell you that my responsiveness to your voice, your messages and your demands is a commitment on my part that I will never go back on"

Concerning Gaddafi's employment of material, mental and verbal processes, the following chart illustrates the percentage of their usage.

Chart (5) for distribution of process and their types in Gaddafi's three speeches.



The above chart indicates that the most used process is the material process. Actually, Gaddafi employs this process for different functions. First, he uses it to portray the negative actions of the demonstrators. Examples are the following:

- “They left shame to their children if they have children. They also left shame to their tribes if they have tribes.”

Through the above underlined verb, Gaddafi depicts the shame as something material that can be left in order to create feelings of aversion towards the children.

- “They torture your image in front of the world.”

Through the above underlined verb, Gaddafi materializes the image of the Libyans as something that can be distorted in order to prove how evil the Arab stations are.

Second, he uses the material process to illustrate his positive deeds and that of his family. Examples are the following:

- “This is my country; country of my grandparents and yours. We planted it with our hands and watered it with the blood of our ancestors.”

In the above underlined verbs, Gaddafi materializes the Libyan country as plants whom Gaddafi and his family irrigate by the blood of their ancestors. Through Such materialization, Gaddafi seeks to strengthen his ethos by proving that they exert much effort for building the country.

- “I paid the price of my staying here.”

Furthermore, through the above underlined verbs, Gaddafi likens remaining in presidency to a commodity that he paid its cost. Such materialization is attempt on the part of Gaddafi to gain the support of Libyans in his seizing on power.

Concerning the second speech, Gaddafi employs the material process for different purposes. First, he applies it to praise the efforts of his supporters as underlined in the following extract

- “This nation is able, in one day, to enter the battle to the Mediterranean and can transmit it to Europe, where it may trespass your homes, your offices and your families to be legitimate military targets as you turned our offices, our headquarters, our houses and our children into legitimate military targets.”

Through the above underlined verbs, Gaddafi emphasizes the abilities of his supporters in standing and resisting to the forces of NATO.

Second, Gaddafi used the material verbs to warn his opponents as in the following extracts:

- “My friends in Europe: My poor defeated friend, Berlusconi, open the Libya channel, my poor friend, Sarkozy, open the Libyan channel, but I advise you to take tranquilizers before you open Libya channel.

In the above extracts, Gaddafi uses the material verbs “open” before the object “the Libyan channel” and “take” before the object “tranquilizers” to arouse the feeling of sarcasm and mockery towards his adversaries.

Third, Gaddafi employs the material verbs to praise the political system in Libya as in the following extract where he demonstrates that the Libyan political system is the most suitable one since it can bring any politician in time of need. Such materialization is an attempt on the part of Gaddafi to strengthen his ethos.

- “If 100 Ambassadors escape, the Libyan people are able to bring 1,000 Ambassadors the next day But in Libya, if anybody resigns, this is not significant, as the nation and the popular conferences can bring a number of other secretaries.”

As for the third speech, Gaddafi considerably exploits the material verbs in order to point out the negative actions of the traitors as in the following extract:

- “The enemy is weak because it conceals the truth and shows the sides through which it defends itself.”

Through the above underlined verb, Gaddafi portrays the truth as something material that can be hidden in order to prove that the NATO are vicious.

In addition, in the following underlined verbs, Gaddafi materializes the Libyan country as plants which the Libyan citizens irrigate by their blood in order to show how far the Libyans love their country.

- “I present glorification for the families of the righteous martyrs whose blood irrigated the land of Libya and still irrigate it to prevent it from falling in the hands of France and others like NATO.”

Concerning the mental process, the study finds out that in the first speech, Gaddafi uses examples that belong to the category of affection in order to win the approval of his supporters. Examples are the following:

- “Do you want America to occupy you They want your insult so we want to respond now actually on the ground and in the square. This is the glory they want to distort Is this how you want Benghazi to become destructed?”

Through the above underlined mental verb, Gaddafi aims at triggering feelings of outrage and grudge in the audience against the demonstrators who represent insecurity and danger to their country. However, in the following extracts, Gaddafi employs the same mental verb “want” to arouse feelings of boast of the Libyans’ victory in the past in order to increase their hatred towards the demonstrators who symbolizes a threat to such victory.

- “The one who wants glory has to remember the evacuation of Italians, Americans, and of the British. He has also to remember the great manmade River..... If you want pride, dignity and glory, you have to get out of your homes ...”

Concerning the second speech, the study finds out that Gaddafi relies on mental verbs that belong to the category of perception to persuade the whole world of the great number of his supporters as underlined in the following:

- “Listen the world. Listen to the voice of the free nation This crowd you see is an armed... Your weak nerves will not bear what you see in the channel of Libya.... Open Libya channel if your nerves bear what you

will see Look at the children. Look at the families, look at the women. Who asked them to come? Look, the streets are full of masses! , whereas the streets of Europe are full of people who are against their rulers! I challenge you. Look at my people, Look at the streets overcrowded by Gaddafi's pictures.”

Through the above underlined verbs, Gaddafi seeks to prove that there are actually many people who support him as an attempt to reinforce his ethos. Furthermore, the following underlined mental verb “want”, Gaddafi triggers the feelings that Gaddafi is not a dictatorial or tyrannical president as he offers the European presidents chances of negotiating with the Libyans instead of attacking them.

- “ Go to Libyans if you want anythingWe advise you that if you want peace, and you want matters to return to what it was before 100 days agoSo, if you want peace or the solution , come to Libyans 89 .“ .If you want oil ,come and negotiate with them but do not occupy us .If you want the Libyan land, the Libyans will not give upIf you also want democracy, come and negotiate with them.”

Concerning the third speech, Gaddafi also relies to a little extent on applying some verbs that belong to the category of affection as in the following extract:

- “They are traitors and agents for colonization which is hated by the Libyans. In addition, colonization is disliked by all nations.”

Furthermore, through the following underlined verbs, Gaddafi attempts to arouse feelings of hatred against colonization. In addition, Gaddafi mentions the following underlined verbs that belong to the category of perception in order to give the impression that he is very powerful to the extent that his enemies are afraid of his voice. Such device is an attempt on the part of Gaddafi to reinforce his ethos.

- “If they hear my voice, it will be dangerous for them..... Why does it scare them when Libyan people are listening to the voice of Muammar? The enemy is weak and afraid. In addition, they say “Donot let them talk to each other or communicate with each other .Destroy their channels. Please let just our voices be heard so that we overcome the Libyans”.

As for the Verbal process, the study indicates that in the first speech, Gaddafi relies considerably on using the verbal process to address his supporters as indicated through the following underlined processes:

- “I salute you, the youth of conqueror, nationalism, Fatimia, and the youth of challenge. I salute you while you present the real picture of the Libyan people to the world by gathering around the revolution.I address you from this steadfast place. I call the Libyan people to form a new popularities and new municipalities.”

Through the above underlined verbs, Gaddafi asserts that he directs his speech to the Libyans in order to set up relationship among him and his supporters. As for the second speech, Gaddafi uses the verbal process to direct his speech to the NATO. as can be seen in the following extracts:

- “My poor friend ,Sarkozy ,open the Libyan channel, but I advise you to take tranquilizers before you open Libya channelAs for you, my son Obama ,I am speaking to you directly . Ask your employers at the White House to show you Libyan channel in order to see the facts.....but we advise you to withdraw before a disaster....We advise you that if you want peace, and you want matters to return to what it was before 100 days ago then deal with the Libyan people. ”.....So, I advise you to stop your aircraft, your efforts and your losses.

Through the above underlined verbs, Gaddafi tries to warn the European presidents from supporting the NATO in order to trigger feelings of threat and menace in his opponents.

As for third speech, there are few references of the uses of verbal verbs but they do not play role in the persuasion process.

4.4. Positive self- presentation and negative other presentation

Indeed, Ben Ali resorts to the device of lauding himself as an endeavor to enhance his ethos through presenting himself as an efficient leader who manages to solve problems, pledging steps of reform, admitting of faults, respecting the constitution and recalling his glorious past. Meanwhile, Ben Ali employs the strategy of positive self -presentation in order to heighten the logos

of his argument through forming credible committees responsible for reformations, promising of peaceful transfer of power. Such two aims of enhancing Ben Ali's ethos and logos gave rise consequently to feelings of happiness, pleasure, trust and relief among the Tunisians.

On the other side, Ben Ali used classic techniques of attributing evil and criminals qualities to the demonstrations .From the very beginning of his first speech, he assigns them the responsibility for the events as in the following extracts:

- “We also regret the damages that these incidents have left and the exaggerated dimensions that they took because of the political manipulation by some parties who do not want well-being to their homeland and resort to some foreign television channels...”

In such above extracts, Ben Ali points out how the demonstrations result in desolating the facilities of the country, the death and injury of guiltless in order to create emotions of hatred in the audience against the demonstrators and as a result convince them that such demonstrations threaten their life as well.

Mubarak also ascribes to himself noble qualities throughout the three speeches such as honor, loyalty, sacrifice, defending the land in order to reinforce his ethos as in the following extract:

- “I am not talking to you today as only president of the Republic, but also as an Egyptian who fatefully endured the responsibility of this country and who spent his life for it in war and peace.”
- “The happiest day of my life was when I lifted the flag of Egypt over Sinai. I faced death many times as a pilot, in Addis Ababa, and many others. I never submit to foreign pressures or dictations. I preserved the peace. I worked for the security of Egypt and its stability. I worked hard for its revival and for its people. I never one day sought for power or fake popularity. ”

Through the above extracts, Mubarak creates from himself a model of sincerity and valor through mentioning his heroism, diligence, confidence, taking part in October war as well as establishes a good picture of himself .Therefore, he stimulates the citizens to back up him in keeping his position.

Thus in wading into speaking about responsibilities, obligations, accomplishments and autobiography, Mubarak does not stress mentioning the concerns and the interests of Egypt. Actually, this overemphasis on self-powers has a negative impact on Mubarak's ethos and pathos as well. By recalling that he has special powers and experiences, he disassociates himself away from his audience.

Meanwhile, Mubarak resorts to the strategy of negative description of the demonstrators in order to discredit their actions and create emotions of hatred against them. Such negative depictions are apparent in the following extracts:

- "Egypt is going through difficult times which we should not allow to continue which have made us and our economy suffer damage and loss daily and the situation in Egypt of the youth who called for change and reform will be the first victims."

In the above extract, Mubarak triggers the emotions of intimidation through putting the blame on the demonstrators for the loss in economy and the lack of security.

In addition, in the following extracts, Mubarak accuses the demonstrators of burnings, causing anarchy and threatening the security of the country as a way for breaking up the demonstrators and creating emotions of hatred in the audience against them.

- "Setting fires and attacking private and public property will not achieve the aspirations of Egypt and its sons."

Furthermore, Gaddafi bases his speeches around the duality of the lord and the slave. Therefore, he bestows holy qualities to himself such as superiority, absolute power, knowledge, wisdom and support. Concerning his first speech, Gaddafi fills it of recounting his [heroism](#), sacrifice and courage. Examples are the following:

- "But today, when you say Libya, people reply 'Yes, Libya is Gaddafi .Libya is revolution..... Revolution means all material and moral gains, It means glory, pride, and Muammar Gaddafi."

In the above excerpt, Gaddafi equalizes himself to the country and to the revolution.

- "Look at my people, Look at the streets overcrowded by Gaddafi's pictures." Second speech

Additionally, in the above extract, Gaddafi shows indirectly that Libyans love him therefore; they carry his pictures to support him and not to protest against him.

Moreover, in order to gain the side and the upholding of his supporters, Gaddafi finds himself in need to extol and praise them as in the following extract:

- “I salute you, the courageous. I salute you, the youth of conqueror, nationalism, Fatimia, and the youth of challenge .You are the generation of the challenge and of the anger. I salute you while you present the real picture of the Libyan people to the world by gathering around the revolution.

In the above excerpt, Gaddafi compliments his supporters on their gathering in the first of July to support him against the pro - democracy demonstrators. Therefore, he likens them to the conquerors, the challenger and courageous.

On the other hand, Gaddafi bestows gruesome labels to the demonstrators suc

- “We are more worthy of Libya from those rats and mercenaries....God's curse is for them This historic victorious march cannot be disrupted by a bunch of deviated mercenaries of cats and rats which jump from street to another and from alley to another here and there like rats. They attack safe and oblivious barracksWhy are the fear and horror from these gangs ?They are like rats that do not represent anything.”

In the above extracts, Gaddafi insists on describing the demonstrators as rats. Such depiction is perceived as being tyrannical and deposit leader which consequently diminishes his ethos. Furthermore, in the following extract, Gaddafi depicts the demonstrators as non-adult, insane and armed in order to persuade the other Libyans to disbelieve the demonstrators.

- “They are drunken hallucinated children who have weapons and machine guns.”

Moreover, Gaddafi attributes vice qualities to other parties whom he believes are the real reason behind the occurrence of demonstrations as in the following extract:

- “But there are few sick infiltrated groups in cities who give pills; and sometimes even money for these adolescents young men to push them in these side battles....They

drive your sons and give them pills telling them “go ,bring a weapon; raid and burn .”

Concerning the second and third speeches, Gaddafi castigates the European presidents for their support of the NATO so that he can convince his audience of the evil image of foreign intervention. In addition, he flouts them for being protested against and not for being supported .Such rebuke, which is apparent in the following extracts, aims at provoking feelings of hatred and sarcasm towards the allies of NATO.

- “My friends in Europe: My poor defeated friend ,Berlusconi, open the Libyan channel , my poor friend ,Sarkozy ,open the Libyan channel, but I advise you to take tranquilizers before you open Libya channel, because you will be shocked, definitely shocked. Your weak nerves will not bear what you see in the channel of Libya, the challenge of Libyan people, the demonstrations of millions ”

5. Conclusion:

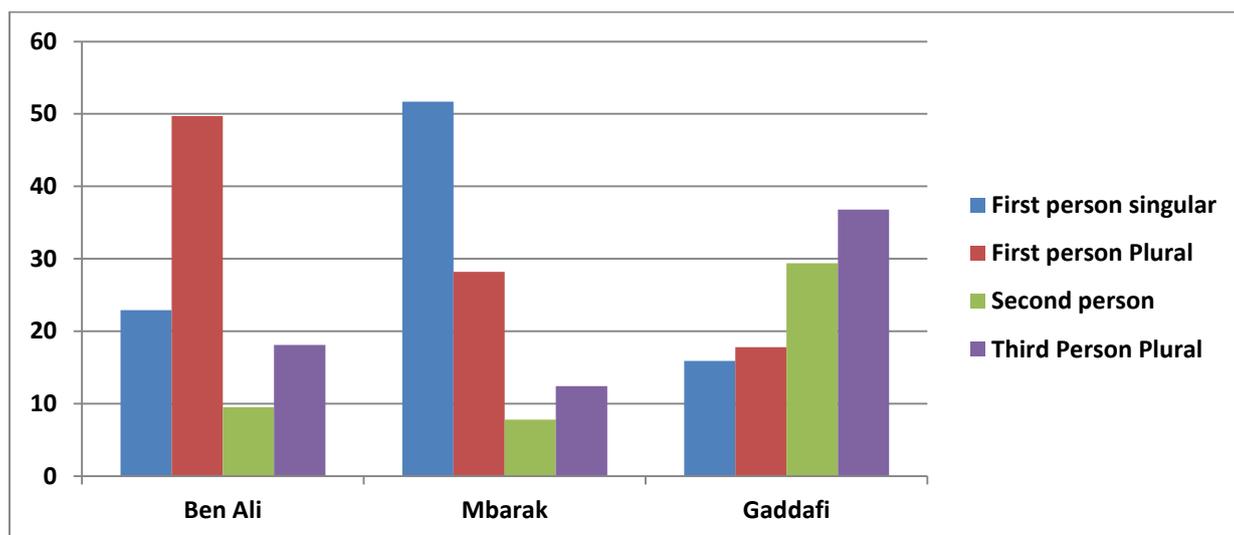
On the level of differences and similarities among the three ex-presidents, the study finds out that applying a quantitative analysis of personal pronouns reveals that unlike Mubarak and Ben Ali, Gaddafi clearly divides the Libyans into two groups. The first group represents his supporters whom Gaddafi praises and therefore he gains their support. On the contrary, both Mubarak and Ben Ali do not provide enough spaces for addressing their audience. Therefore, they have not obtained much sympathy except in their final speeches when they excessively used the second person pronoun in their final speeches.

The second group represents Gaddafi’s anti supporters. Therefore, Gaddafi has negatively presented them much through using the third person plural. Actually, such over negative presentation of others results in feelings of disrespect and contempt towards Gaddafi instead of being respected and sympathized with. On the other hand, Ben Ali and Mubarak employed the third person plural with adequate. Therefore, they have not received the same feelings of disdain Gaddafi received.

In addition, as the chart seven indicates Mubarak uses the pronoun “I” excessively more than Ben Ali and Gaddafi which denotes that Mubarak takes more into consideration his selfhood therefore; he is perceived as narcissist and selfish.

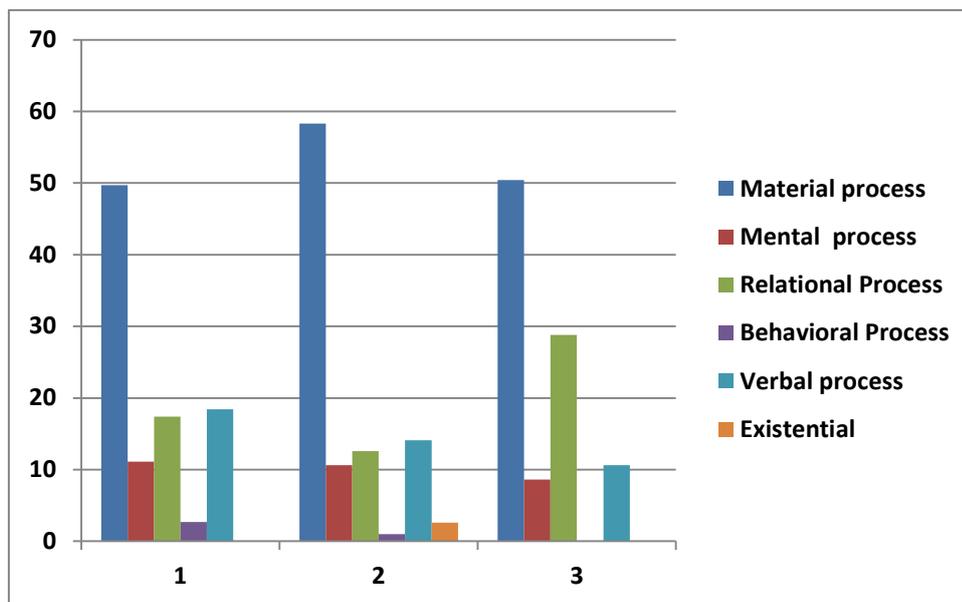
Furthermore, the study shows that Ben Ali was the highest president in terms of employing the inclusive we which indicates a sharp turn in his personality.

Chart 7 for the percentage of pronouns in the three ex- presidents' speeches



Besides, looking at the three processes employed by the three ex-presidents, the study infers that Ben Ali's speeches occupy the first position in relation to the percentage of verbal processes. This is a quite indicator of the notion that Ben Ali realized the significance of taking into his consideration the demonstrator's voices, calls and messages more than Mubarak and Gaddafi did .However, in relation to material process, the following table and chart indicate that all the three ex-presidents gave priorities to pointing out their contributions and future decisions to the extent that material processes represent nearly half of the percentage of the whole processes and exceeded the half in the case of Mubarak (58.3%). Whereas mental processes receive little attention and concern from the three ex- presidents which is a marker of underestimating the mentality and the feelings of their audience particularly in the case of Gaddafi. Thereupon, this gives rise to deterioration in the pathos of their audience.

Table five points out the percentage of processes in the speeches of the three ex-presidents



Ben Ali Mubarak
Gaddafi

In addition, the study detects that all the three ex-presidents provide for themselves considerable opportunities to speak about their history and their service to their countries. Moreover, it is noticed that when reviewing the achievements of the government, the three ex-presidents rule out their nations referring only to themselves particularly Gaddafi. This is actually a marker of the dictatorial regime the three ex-presidents were adopting. However, the study notices that Ben Ali and Mubarak considerably confessed their being misguided and the necessity of the existence of economic reforms in all fields of life. Such confessions raised their ethos and the pathos of their addressee as

well. Whereas Gaddafi portrays himself as a holy figure who cannot be criticized or misled. As a result, he loses credibility and the sympathy of the Libyans who rather insist on his stepping down.

Concerning using presupposition as a tool for persuasion, the study finds out that both Mubarak and Ben Ali use the strategy of introducing some existential, lexical and structural presupposition presuppositions in order to assert the factualness of their speech. On the contrary, Gaddaif does not reckon on this strategy, an implication that he was much preoccupied of other strategies.

In a nutshell, the study detects that both Mubarak and Ben Ali have adopted uncompromising strategies at the beginning but finally turned to conciliatory ones. Such reconciling tones raised their ethos and the pathos of their audience as well and it was about to suppress their outrage but actually such strategies were too late to stand to the increasing number of protestors and the death of many protestors. However, the study deduces that Mubarak is the highest president in terms of employing the persuasive strategies which justifies the interpretation that he is considered the most one who arouses the pathos of his audience and won their sympathy. On the contrary, Gaddafi remains defiant, aggressive and challenging from the beginning till the end of his speech. Such offensive tone received the mockery and underestimation of the Libyan demonstrators and consequently a sharp decline in the evaluation of his personality.

Finally, the study recommends the application of van Dijk's socio cognitive approach, Halliday's concept of transitivity process, Yule's theory presupposition and pronouns for investigating persuasion in any kind of discourse in general and in political speeches in particular such as the speeches delivered by Ali Abdullah Saleh and Bashar al-Assad as reactions to massive protests in their countries during 2011 and 2012.

مستخلص

يهدف هذا البحث الي استخراج استراتيجيات الاقناع اللغويه بخطب زين العابدين بن علي ومحمد حسني مبارك ومعمر القذافي أثناء اندلاع الثورات في بلادهم في نهايه عام ٢٠١٠ وخلال عام ٢٠١١ وذلك من خلال بناء نموذج انتقائي متبني من مفهوم أرسطو للاقناع ونظريه هاليدي للنحو الوظيفي وتحليل الخطاب وعلم البراجماتيه. وقد توصلت الدراسه الي أنه بينما تبني مبارك وبن علي استراتيجيات متشده في البدايه الي أنهم اتجوا الي استراتيجيات تصالحيه في النهايه وذلك أدي الي تعاطف الجمهور معهم وتحسين من صورتهم ولكن نتيجة لتأخر الوقت وازدياد المحتجين بشكل كبير وانسحاب الأمن من الشوارع وازدياد عدد الشهداء والمصابين لم تجدي محاولاتهم . علي النقيض من ذلك ظل القذافي متمردا ومحتجا علي مطالب

شعبه بل والمضي في ذمهم والذي أدي الي تصميم الشعب علي رحيله من الحكم بل
ومن الحياه أيضا.

الكلمات المفتاحيه : الاقناع -البلاغه- التقديم الايجابي للنفس والتقديم السلبي للآخرين
-نظريه النحو الوظيفي الضمائر الشخصيه -الفرضيات

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