

Persuasive Personae: The Appeal to Religion and the Construction of Ethos in Political Discourse
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Abstract *Politicians have often managed to influence an audience and win their support through appealing to religion and creating a positive self image that exhibits personal wisdom, virtue, and integrity. Building on Aristotle's modes of persuasion, appeals to ethos, logos, and pathos, explicated in van Eemeren, et al. (1996), the present study investigated the appeal to religion as a rhetorical strategy pertinent to the construction of ethos. Within the theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (van Dijk 1993; 1998; 2000; Fairclough 1992; 1995; 1997), the paper analyzed Sadat's Speech to the Israeli Knesset (1977), as a remarkable example of persuasive discourse. The study revealed that the appeal to religion was the most dominant rhetorical strategy of building ethos in Sadat's speech. This ideology was manifested in three main parameters: firstly, establishing virtuousness and integrity; secondly, the appeal to universal humanistic values and the call for peace; and thirdly, drawing attention to the common grounds shared with the audience.*

Keywords: political discourse – Critical Discourse Analysis -appeal to religion - ethos - persuasive discourse- emotive language

Introduction

Religion, ethos, and politics have regularly been interrelated throughout history. Since the time of Plato and Aristotle, religion has been employed strategically in the construction of ethos, specifically by politicians. The appeal to religion, as a transcendent, eternal source of authority, has often bestowed legitimation to the imperfect, mortal political power. The present study is concerned with uncovering the link between the appeal to religion, as a persuasive strategy and the linguistic/rhetorical construction of ethos in political discourse. In the present study, political discourse is viewed as a cultural tradition that comprises the linguistic tools as well as the rhetorical strategies brought into play to shape the convictions of a particular audience and sustain a positive image of the public speaker.

Aim of the Study

Through analyzing Sadat's "Speech to the Israeli Knesset" (1977), this paper examines the various linguistic resources and rhetorical strategies through which political figures can appeal to religion in the discursive

construction of ethos. In political discourse, linguistic tools as well as persuasive and rhetorical strategies are integrated to manufacture the consent of the public and shape the convictions of the audience. Politicians, in delivering public speeches nationally or internationally, often tend to manipulate language to suit their political and ideological agendas. Such consent needs to be gained voluntarily through verbal representation. The study, therefore, aims to integrate the rhetorical appeal to religion, which is a persuasive aspect, in the discourse analytical study of the political speech. It explores the elaborate ways in which language can be used to influence an audience and win their support through the construction of ethos, or the creation of a positive self image that exhibits virtue and credibility. The study, thus, attempts to answer the following questions:

1. How far is the appeal to religion employed in the discursive construction of ethos?
2. What are the linguistic devices and rhetorical strategies adopted by the speaker in his appeal to religion?

Data and Research Methodology

The methodological framework of the present paper is based upon CDA (van Dijk 1993; 1998; 2000; Fairclough 1992; 1995; 1997) and Aristototele's modes of persuasion, appeals to ethos, logos, and pathos, explicated in van Eemeren, et al. (1996). Drawing upon these models of analysis, the researcher analyzed Sadat Speech to the Knesset which was delivered in Arabic. The text analyzed in the present paper is the original Arabic text. It was downloaded from Sadat's archival website http://sadat.bibalex.org/Historic_Documents/Historic_Docs_All. The length of the speech is, according to *MS Word*, 4019 words. The English translation of selected parts of the speech is provided by the researcher for illustration.

Context

Since the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, Arab as well as Israeli political discourse has revealed a propensity to positively represent the Self and negatively depict the Other. In such an antagonistic atmosphere, Arab perceptions of Israelis, as indeed Israeli perceptions of the Arabs, have been characterized by various prejudices. To the astonishment of most of the world, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat announced on November 9, 1977, that he would be willing to travel to Israel to pursue peace. Israel's Prime Minister, Menachem Begin, who was antagonistic to the idea that Israel should return any land to the

Arabs, accepted Sadat's proposal and invited him to visit the Knesset. On November 20, 1977, Sadat visited Jerusalem and delivered his speech. It was the first time ever that an Arab leader had openly visited Israel. One of the conditions laid down by Sadat for his visit to Jerusalem was that he be allowed to make a public speech from the Knesset. More than two thousand representatives of the mass media from scores of countries converged on the Holy City. The television coverage, like the event, was spectacular (Eidelberg, 1979).

Meetings between Sadat, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, and US president Jimmy Carter resulted in the Camp David Accords in 1978, which led to the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty in 1979. Both Sadat and Begin gained international respect and were joint winners of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1978.

Sadat's speech to the Israeli Knesset has been set in a socio-political context of mutual suspicion, rejection, and animosity. In this paper, I attempt to investigate how Sadat manages, through the appeal to religion, to build a positive self-image, and ultimately to win the trust and support of a fundamentally hostile and adversary audience.

Theoretical Framework

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

CDA is an interdisciplinary model of analysis that focuses on the linguistic and rhetorical dimensions of discourse and on the political nature of discursive practice. CDA has made the study of language into an interdisciplinary tool that can be used by scholars with various backgrounds (sociology, history, cultural theory, and media studies). It is interdisciplinary in the sense that it brings together language and rhetoric as two disciplines related to the investigation of socio-political issues and phenomena.

CDA is mainly concerned with the way ideology and power are encoded and decoded in discourse within the socio-political context. CDA has a politicized view of language. It is an attempt to bridge the gap between the micro relations of language and the macro relations of society. This model explains how language embodies, explicitly or implicitly, the ideologies of its users and how it reflects, reproduces, retracts, or resists the power relationships obtaining in a political context (Mazid, 1999, p. 9).

CDA conceives of discourse as a form of '*social practice*'. Discourse is socially constitutive of situations, objects of knowledge, social identities

of, and relationships between, people and groups of people. It is constitutive, both in the sense that it helps sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it (Fairclough, 1992, p. 62; Wodak, 1996, p. 15) Political discourse is a type of *strategic discourse*, "oriented to instrumental goals, to getting results", in contrast to *communicative discourse*, "which is oriented to reaching understanding between participants" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 198). In this sense, the present study is concerned with the strategic, rather than the communicative, discourse.

Drawing on Fairclough & Wodak (1997), and Van Dijk (1993, 1998), the main principles of CDA can be summarized as follows:

- CDA focuses primarily on social problems and political issues.
- CDA studies the ways ideology operates through discourse.
- CDA regards discourse as historical; consequently it studies discourse in context and pays attention to intertextuality.
- CDA is interpretive and explanatory; it not only describes discourse structures but also tries to explain them in terms of properties of social interaction and especially social structure.

The appeal to religion in the discursive construction of ethos is a manifestation of speaker ideology, a concept which plays a crucial role in van Dijk's analytical model. Ideologies are defined by van Dijk (1995, p. 248) as "basic frameworks of social cognition, shared by members of social groups, constituted by relevant selections of socio-cultural values". Besides their social function of sustaining the interests of groups, "ideologies have the cognitive function of organizing the social representations (attitudes, knowledge) of the group, and thus indirectly monitor the group-related practices, and hence also the text and talk of its members" (248).

The researcher believes that the discursive appeal to religion in the construction of ethos can be systematically analyzed using the tools and tenets of CDA. Central to CDA is the belief that language is a social phenomenon that can not be studied in isolation of its socio-historical context. It is treated as a functional rather than a merely referential tool. Through language, we construct our identity (ethos), we express, consciously or unconsciously, our ideas, beliefs, or worldviews, i.e. our ideologies. Elaborating such a dialectic relationship, Fairclough maintains that Language use "is always simultaneously constitutive of (1) social

identities, (2) social relations, and (3) systems of knowledge and belief (representations)... That is, any text makes its own contribution to shaping these aspects of society and culture. . . Language use is, moreover, constitutive both in conventional ways which help to reproduce and maintain existing social identities, relations and systems of knowledge and belief, and in creative ways which help to transform them” (1995, p. 55).

The Concept of Ethos

The analysis carried out in the present paper is draws upon Aristotle's modes of persuasion, appeals to ethos, logos, and pathos, explicated in van Eemeren, et al. (1996). According to Aristotle’s rhetorical modes of persuasion, the speaker addresses the audience through the appeals to logos, pathos, and/or ethos. Logos (logic) is used when the speaker aims at persuasion through sound reasoning and strong, compelling arguments. Pathos (sentiment) is used when the discourse plays on the audience's emotions. Speakers aim at swaying their audience along by a rhythmic flow of words and sounds so that they eventually empathize or identify with the speaker’s point of view. In order to evoke a particular feeling among an audience, the speaker needs to understand the emotions, sensitivities, and disposition of his/her audience (van Eemeren, et al., 1996, p. 43).

Ethos, which means character in Greek, is employed when the speaker manages to influence an audience and win their support through creating a positive self image and exhibiting personal wisdom, virtue, authority, or credibility. In Aristotle’s sense, ethos involves making the speaker seem credible, since by doing so, the audience judge that the propositions put forward by the credible speaker are true or acceptable. Aristotle later added to this definition of ethos the idea that we are more likely to be persuaded by someone who is similar to us. The speaker seeks to find common traits that he shares with the audience and highlights them.

Building upon Aristotle, Ducrot (1984) believes that the effectiveness of speech is located *inside* the verbal exchange: “ethos is attached to L, the speaker [*locuteur*] as such: it is insofar as he is the source of the utterance that he sees himself as decked out with certain qualities which consequently render this utterance acceptable or repellent” (Amossy 2001, p. 4).

According to Grize (1996), the discursive construction of ethos reflects the image the speaker forms of the knowledge, values, and attitudes

dominant among the audience. To construct an appropriate representation of ethos in his/her discourse, the speaker selects a presentation of self as fulfilling the expectations of the audience (Amossy, 2001, p. 7).

Sharing the same view of ethos as a discursive entity, Maingueneau (1999) maintains that the construction of the speaker's self-image is conditioned by 'the scene of the utterance', which comprises three dimensions. Firstly, the *global scene* refers to the type of discourse (political, literary, religious, etc.). Secondly, the *generic scene* refers to the subtype of the genre. The electoral speech, the parliamentary debate, and the press conference are subtypes of political discourse, for example. Thirdly, the *scenography* refers to the scenario the speaker chooses for the text. For example, a sermon, as a genre related to religious discourse, can be presented through different scenographies: it can be pedagogic, prophetic, etc. (Amossy, 2001, p.3).

Ethos, according to the *New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry & Poetics* (1993, p. 389-389), is the "audience's assessment of a speaker's moral character (e.g. honesty, benevolence, intelligence) primarily as reflected in the discourse although at least secondarily dependent upon the speaker's prior reputation". The *prior ethos*, or what Maingueneau (1999) calls 'prediscursive ethos', precedes the construction of the image in the discourse. Speakers attempt to either confirm their prior images, or rework and transform them so as to produce an impression that befits a particular socio-historical moment. The prior idea that the audience forms of the speaker as well as the image of self that the speaker constructs in discourse are both linked to shared representations, cultural models, and collective schemata.

Review of Literature

References to religion have been constantly deployed by politicians in their rhetoric as framing devices in conjunction with references to a shared past and future. The appeal to religion has usually been an attempt to persuade a broad audience with emotive cues that inspire ethos. Appeals to religious authority in political discourse offer the ideological justification needed by the politician to gain the audience support. They also enhance the speaker's ethos (in Aristotle's triangular study of persuasion). The following paragraphs review selected previous studies that have investigated the use of religious appeals as a rhetorical tool in political discourse.

Littlefield (1987) examines three speeches by Sadat, two addressing the Egyptian National Assembly (1971, 1973) and one the Israeli Knesset (1977) in order to trace Sadat's rhetorical choices addressing different cultural audiences. He argues that as Egypt's position improved, "Sadat's use of ornate language increased, and as he became more powerful and important in the settlement of the Mideast conflict, his speeches contained more personal references". He also contends that Sadat established a positive basis for his strong ethos in his speeches through his sincerity and belief in God.

Abu Khalil (1994) studies fatalism (al-jabriyyah) in the political speeches of Gamal Abdel Nasser and Saddam Hussein and inspects the two leaders' use of vocabulary related to destiny as a means of rationalizing and justifying defeat. Al-Rashid (1996) analyzes a speech by King Fahd on the semantic and conceptual levels with a view to showing how it embodies a triangular relationship between God, The King, and the Saudi people. Mazid (1999) explores ideology and control through an analysis of the textual aspects of transitivity, modality, metadiscourse and presupposition in Sadat's Speech to the Israeli Knesset. He concludes that Sadat's Speech exposes an "inclusive, mutual, affiliative, and centripetal ideology of win-win compromise" (p. 295).

The rhetorical relationship between religion and American political discourse is investigated by Lee (2002), who analyzes Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "Letter from Birmingham Jail", Dan Quayle's family values speeches, Bill Clinton's explanations of the Lewinsky affair, and George W. Bush's inaugural address. He argues that the appeal to the transcendent element of religion has a great influence on contemporary politics. King's narrative structure "is formed from a deeply religious vision" (p. 11), Vice-president Dan Quayle's social-conservatism discourse is "understandable only in relation to the sacred", Clinton's political apologia "moves away from the secular language of rights to the religious language of sin and reconciliation" (p.13), and Bush's inaugural address is "constructed around the parable of the Good Samaritan" (p.17).

Zickmund (2003) analyzes the political identity formulated during Iran's revolution in relation to the anti-imperial discourse of Ayatollah Khomeini that made opposition to the Shah into a religious cause and sought inspiration in Shi'ite Islam. She argues that in order to propel Iranians to oppose the Shah, Khomeini defined himself as good and the Shah as evil, thus drawing on the symbolic and mythic religious dimensions of Shi'a Islam. He shaped these to oblige Iranians to enact a

jihad against the Shah, and he strengthened their revolutionary spirit through the rhetorical use of ritualization.

A study that explores the process of transforming and recreating prior ethos is conducted by van de Mierop (2010) who analyzes Hillary Clinton's concession speech after she lost against Obama in the Democratic Primaries (2008). Clinton successfully reconstructs her ethos from an opponent to a supporter and draws on the similarities between herself and Obama. She stresses the fact that they are both members of two powerless groups: namely that of women and African Americans, which is a highly persuasive technique that creates unity between the two former opponents. In this way, van de Mierop argues, the concept of *ethos* serves the argumentational goal of discursively repositioning oneself. Clinton constructs herself as a woman, a mother, daughter and wife, "as such presenting herself as emblematic of the family metaphor" (p.237).

Religious rhetoric in political discourse "can overwhelm citizens with an array of different emotions, leading individuals to identify with a broad and varied range of groups and interests" (Chapp, 2012, p.18). American political rhetoric has tended to "construct religious identities as a superordinate concept in order to assert a politics of religious commonality", what Chapp calls "civil religion" (p.18). Civil religion rhetoric stresses "a transcendent religious ethos that unites Americans". Kennedy's Inaugural Address (1960) is an example: "Let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own" (Bellah, 1967, p.1) Using appeal to religious faith, Kennedy employs civil religion to construct his ethos. As seen in Kennedy's speech, collective pronouns such as "we," "our," and "us" are often used to underscore unity. Shared destiny in a promising future and shared history in ideals set forth by the founding fathers are used in order to invoke collective identity.

Chapp (2012) notes Obama's tendency to include the Muslim and Jewish traditions more frequently in his political discourse, forming a more "Abrahamic" tradition for the American civil religion. Obama's Inaugural Address (2009) exemplifies this tendency: "We are a nation of Christians and Muslims, Jews and Hindus - and non-believers...we seek a new way forward, based on mutual interest and mutual respect". By using religious appeals as a rhetorical strategy, Obama manages to deliver to groups of varying faiths his overall message of cohesion, cooperation, and unity. By

invoking collective identity, those groups can eventually fold into the implied collection of civil religion.

Analysis of the Speech

Building on the concept of ethos, explained earlier in this paper, it is argued that the appeal to religion, as the essential component in Sadat's construction of ethos, serves multifaceted purposes: namely, to create a positive self image, to displace his suspicious prior image, and to win the support of his audience. I propose that Sadat's appeal to religion is built on three basic parameters: first, his virtuousness and integrity; second, his appeal to universal humanistic values and his genuine desire for peace; and thirdly, the common grounds he shares with the audience. This is illustrated by Figure (1):

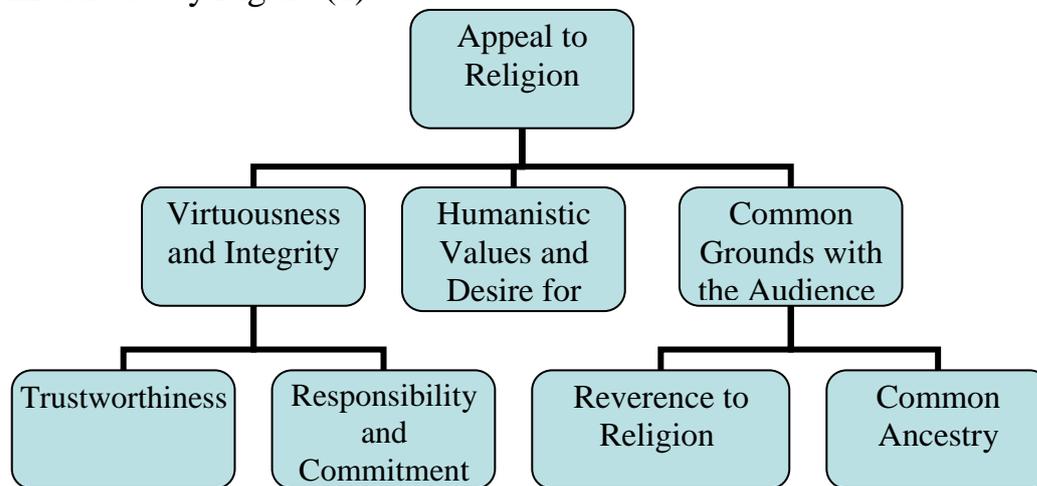


Figure (1) Sadat's Appeal to Religion: The Three Basic Parameters

Sadat's Virtuousness and Integrity

The linguistic construction of Sadat's ethos is largely dependent on his success in establishing his religiosity and accentuating a positive image of himself as a man worthy of trust. The audience is more disposed to be persuaded by a speaker whom they find trustworthy. Sadat projects himself as a religious person who enjoys virtuousness and integrity. He recognizes that in order to gain credibility, he has to overcome two obstacles: firstly, his prior ethos, or his prediscursive stereotype, as the president of Egypt, Israel's stern antagonist in the Arab world, and secondly, the audience's suspicion about his motives for addressing Israel. Sadat manages to construct his ethos as a man of *integrity*, an honest political leader who values the truth and who can act as an ideal mediator in the Arab-Israeli conflict. It should also be noted that Sadat's

speech was designed to have maximum impact on public opinion in the United States, Israel's major ally and military supplier.

The parameter of virtuousness and integrity is lexically encoded in Sadat's frequent explicit references to God: the word "الله" (God) is repeated 23 times throughout the speech, 15 times in the introduction and 8 times in the concluding part. In the first ten sentences of his speech Sadat employs the name of God ten times. This instantly and forcefully evokes the image of Sadat as a religious person. As Eidelberg (1979, p.8) puts it, "Surely a Godfearing man would not lie". Sadat opens and closes his speech with the salutation of Islam, thus adopting a remarkably sanctified style, *السلام عليكم ورحمة الله، والسلام لنا جميعا، بإذن الله* (Peace and the mercy of God Almighty be upon you and may peace be for us all, God willing). Moreover, the speech abounds with references to Prophets, religious incidents (the feast of sacrifice), direct citations from the Qur'an, and indirect verbalizations of Qur'anic verses.

The parameter of virtuousness and integrity is also detected in the use of positively-charged lexical items related to the semantic field of religion, such as prayers, worship, God's will, pulpit, the straight path, honesty, faith, and believers. These lexical items emphasize the speaker's uprightness, truthfulness, and deep faith, as illustrated in Table (1):

The Lexical Item in Arabic	The translation in English	No. of Occurrences
الله	God	23
صادق □ صدق	honesty/truthfulness	30
ابراهيم	Abraham	2
موسى	Moses	2
سليمان	Solomon	1
داود	David	1
زكريا	Zachariah	1
يعقوب	Isaac	1
اسحق	Jacob	1
عيسى	Jesus	1
الطريق المستقيم	straight path	3

Table (1)

Lexical Encoding of the Parameter of Virtuousness and Integrity

Sadat's Appeal to Humanistic Values and His Desire for Peace

In his speech to the Knesset, President Sadat manages to construct a positive-self image by emphasizing the idea that he is calling for peace

and for universal values, which tend to be common among all humanity. Sadat portrays himself as compassionate to all humanity, since the victims of wars are human beings, regardless their religious affiliations. These values, borrowed from a *humanist credo*, stress the dignity of *all mankind*. As part of a common worldview, they are intended to make a favorable impression on the audience (Amossy, p. 11). The semantic field of humanistic values is exemplified in such lexical items as peace, justice, and mankind. Sadat's lexical choices stress the meanings of commonality, partnership, and harmony, thus evoking in the minds of his audience the schematic category of world peace with all its properties and associations. This is shown in Table (2):

The Lexical Item in Arabic	The Translation in English	No. of Occurrences
السلام	peace	81
عدل □ عادل	justice	21
الانسان	mankind	20
المسئولية	responsibility	13

Table (2)

Lexical Encoding of the Parameter of Humanistic Values and Desire for Peace

This parameter is also revealed in Sadat's projection of his image as a man bestowed with wisdom, good judgment, and discernment. Sadat makes constant use of aphorisms, which are defined by the *Encyclopedia Britannica* as concise expressions of doctrine or principle conveyed in pithy, memorable statements. Aphorisms are powerful summaries that create a memorable impression and constitute a guide to action. Over time, such phrases may become slogans, which echo an underlying idea or philosophy. Politicians often use aphorisms to summarize a vision, capture a mood, or set the tone for change. These can provide a social 'script', highlighting shared cultural knowledge. The following are some examples: ولا يَسُوغُ أن تطلبوا لأنفسكم ما تنكرونه على غيرك (It would not be right for you to demand for yourselves what you deny to others) لا سعادة لأحد على حساب شقاء الآخرين (No one can build his happiness at the expense of the misery of others) إنَّ المواجهة المباشرة والخط المستقيم، هما أقرب الطرق وأنجحها (Direct confrontation is the nearest and most successful method to reach a clear objective).

Sadat's appeal to humanistic values is linked to his high sense of responsibility and commitment. On the lexical level, lexical items such as

responsible, leader, duties, and obligations are recurrent throughout the speech. It should be noted that Sadat uses the non-religious term 'responsibility' in a religious sense. He asserts that he has come to Jerusalem 'on solid ground' and introduces himself as the president of the biggest Arab state, which bears the heaviest burden and the main responsibility pertaining to the cause of war and peace in the Middle East. He states:

أمانة المسؤولية أمام الله، وأمام الشعب، تفرض عليّ أن أذهب إلى آخر مكان في العالم، بل أن أحضر إلى بيت المقدس، لأخاطب أعضاء الكنيست، ممثلي شعب إسرائيل، بكل الحقائق التي تعتمل في نفسي وليفعل الله بنا، بعد ذلك، ما يشاء (The obligation of responsibility before God and before the people has made it incumbent upon me that I should go to the far corners of the world, even to Jerusalem to address members of the Knesset Following this, may God Almighty determine our fate).

Sadat declares that he has come to Jerusalem to convey the message of peace of the Egyptian people, who live together - Muslims, Christians and Jews - in a state of cordiality, love and tolerance. He is simply a messenger of peace to humankind. He constructs his peace proposal to exemplify religious virtue. By linking his peace initiative to religion, Sadat attempts to convince his audience that it is consistent with God's wishes. This is illustrated in the opening lines, in which he states: السلام لنا جميعا، على الأرض العربية وفي إسرائيل، وفي كل مكان من أرض هذا العالم الكبير، المعقد بصراعاته الدامية... التي يصنعها الإنسان، ليقضي بها على أخيه الإنسان. وفي النهاية، وبين أنقاض ما بنى الإنسان، وبين أشلاء الضحايا من بني الإنسان، فلا غالب ولا مغلوب، بل إن المغلوب الحقيقي دائما هو الإنسان، أرقى ما خلقه الله. الإنسان الذي خلقه الله، كما يقول غاندي، (Peace to all of us ... upon Arab land and in Israel ... and everywhere in this wide world entwined in bloody conflicts ... made by man to destroy his fellow man. Finally ... there is no loser and no winner for the real loser is always man, the highest of God's creation. Man whom God created - as Gandhi, the Saint of Peace said - "to endeavor on his two feet, to build life and to worship God)

Sadat enjoins his audience to follow God's will and negotiate for peace by believing in the wisdom of God conveyed to us in Solomon's Proverbs and David's Psalms, two prophets common to Muslims, Christians, and Jews. Relating Islam to the two preceding monotheistic religions, Judaism and Christianity accentuates the humanistic aspect in Sadat's construction of ethos:

"العش في قلب الذين يفكرون في الشرّ. أما المبشرون بالسلام، فلهم فرح" . . . إليك، يا رب، أصرخ. لا تجذبني مع الأشرار ومع فَعلة الإثم، المخاطبين أصحابهم بالسلام، والشرّ في قلوبهم. أعطهم حسب فعلهم، وحسب شر أعمالهم."

(From Solomon's Proverbs: Deceit is in the heart of those who devise evil, but those who plan good have joy. . . And from King David's Psalms: To thee, O Lord, I call ... Take me not off with the wicked with those who are workers of evil who speak peace with their neighbors, while mischief is in their hearts).

Similarly, Sadat concludes his speech with an invocation of religious authority by referring to numerous Messengers of God:

ألا هل بلغت؟ اللهم فاشهد. اللهم إنني أردد مع زكريا قوله: " أحبوا الحق والسلام. " وأستلهم آيات الله - العزيز الحكيم - حين قال: " فُلْ أُمَّناً باللهِ وَمَا أَنْزَلَ عَلَيْنَا وَمَا أَنْزَلَ عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَإِسْحَاقَ وَيَعْقُوبَ وَالْأَسْبَاطِ وَمَا أُوتِيَ مُوسَى وَعِيسَى وَالنَّبِيُّونَ مِنْ رَبِّهِمْ لَا نُفَرِّقُ بَيْنَ أَحَدٍ مِنْهُمْ وَنَحْنُ لَهُ مُسْلِمُونَ " صدق الله العظيم. والسلام عليكم.

(I have delivered the message and may God be my witness. I repeat with Zachariah, "Love right and justice." I quote the following verses from the holy Koran: "We believe in God and in what has been revealed to us and what was revealed to Abraham, Ismael, Isaac, Jacob, and the tribes and in the books given to Moses, Jesus, and the prophets from their lord. We make no distinction between one and another among them and to God we submit). By linking his peace proposal to God, Sadat creates a situation in which a denial of his request would be synonymous with a rejection of God's will. Thus, religion is skillfully employed to enhance Sadat's positive ethos as a man who calls for universal humanistic values and has a genuine desire for peace.

Sadat's Common Grounds with the Audience

Rather than fueling ideological disputes and aggravating cultural clashes, Sadat highlights the shared aspects that exist between the Arabs and Israelis. Here, similarity between the speaker and the audience, as a crucial dimension in the Aristotelian construction of ethos, is highly utilized. The audience is more likely to being persuaded by someone with whom they can identify. Sadat manages to establish his ethos by stressing the common grounds between Arabs and Jews, by emphasizing the points of similarity rather than difference. He establishes his ethos among his Israeli audience by laying emphasis on the similarity in reverence to religion and in the common ancestry.

Against a background of political and ideological differences, Sadat underscores one of the few similarities which exist between Arabs and Jews – fundamental reverence for religion - in an effort to persuade his

audience that they are on common ground with him: وكلنا على هذه الأرض، أرض الله، كلنا، مسلمين ومسيحيين ويهود، نعبد الله ولا نشرك به أحدا. وتعاليم الله ووصاياه هي (All of us on this land, the land of God: all of us Muslims, Christians and Jews, worship God, and we associate no other with Him. The teachings of God ... and His commandments are love, sincerity, purity and peace). Religion is, thus, introduced to create a bond between Arab and Israeli values, and, consequently, to present Sadat as someone the audience can easily unite with.

Furthermore, the construction of ethos through the appeal to religious values is obvious in Sadat's reference to the common ancestry of Arabs and Jews, namely, Abraham. He highlights the fact that his "trip of peace" coincides with the Islamic feast of Al-Adha:

عيد التضحية والفداء، حين أسلم إبراهيم - عليه السلام، جدُّ العرب واليهود. أقول حين أمره الله، وتوجّه إليه بكل جوارحه، لا عن ضعف، بل عن قوة روحية هائلة، وعن اختيار حرٍّ للتضحية (The Feast of Sacrifice when Abraham - peace be upon him - great-grandfather of the Arabs and Jews, submitted to God; I say when God Almighty ordered him, and to Him Abraham went, with dedicated sentiments, not out of weakness, but through a giant spiritual force and by a free will, to sacrifice his very own son). Sadat discursively frames the coincidence as a unifying force for the Arabs and the Jews، ولعلّ هذه المصادفة، تحمل معنى جديدا في نفوسنا جميعا، لعله يصبح أملا حقيقيا في تباشير الأمن والأمان (a genuine aspiration heralding security and peace). It is worth noting that Sadat subtly avoids mentioning the name of Abraham's son; since this is a point of disagreement between Muslims and Jews. From Islam's point of view, it was Ismael while in the Old Testament it was Isaac.

On the pragmatic level, establishing common grounds between Sadat and his audience, as part of the appeal to religion, is realized in the pronominal system, particularly in the subtle use of the plural realizations of the first person pronouns (we, us, and our) in their inclusive sense. First person plural pronouns imply that "the source claims to speak of and for himself and on behalf of someone other than himself" (Fowler and Kress, 1979, p. 201). These pronouns come in two forms; exclusively and inclusively. In the exclusive form, the speaker refers to himself and some other person(s) *excluding* his addressees. In the inclusive form, the addressees are included in the content of the message, hence giving more intimacy and solidarity to the discourse.

By using 'we' in its inclusive form, Sadat lays emphasis on the values of convergence, communality, and shared aims between the Egypt and Israel. The acclaimed purpose of Sadat's Knesset speech is to seek a peaceful relationship with the Israelis. The subtle distribution of pronouns is one of the linguistic tools adopted in creating connections and establishing affiliations between the Arabs and the Israelis, as an integral part of the construction of speaker ethos. This is illustrated in the following excerpts in which Sadat calls on his audience: *السلام لنا جميعا يجب أن نرتفع جميعاً فوق ... نظريات التفوق البالية. ومن المهم ألا ننسى أبداً أن العصمة لله وحده.* (We should rise above all forms of obsolete theories of superiority, and... never to forget that infallibility is the prerogative of God alone). He asserts: *إنّ الأطفال الأبرياء، الذين يفقدون رعاية الآباء وعطفهم، هم أطفالنا جميعاً، على أرض العرب، أو في إسرائيل، لهم علينا المسؤولية الكبرى في أن نوفر لهم الحاضر الهانى، والغد الجميل.* (Innocent children who are deprived of the care and compassion of their parents are **ours**, be they living on Arab or Israeli land. They command **our** full responsibility to afford them a comfortable life today and tomorrow). The underlying theme is that: *كلنا على هذه الأرض، (We are all on this land, the land of God, we all, Moslems, Christians and Jews, worship God).*

Conclusive Remarks

Building upon the framework of CDA and Aristotle's modes of persuasion, the appeals to ethos, logos, and pathos, the present study has examined the interplay between the appeal to religious authority and the construction of ethos in Sadat's speech to the Knesset (1977). The paper has purported to answer two research questions. Regarding the first question, namely how far the appeal to religion is employed in the discursive construction of ethos, it has been revealed through the discursive linguistic analysis that the appeal to religion is the most dominant rhetorical strategy of building ethos in Sadat's speech. In fact, it constitutes almost one third of the speech, according to Salem-Babikian (1980, p. 13). Sadat's religiosity has been revealed in three main parameters: the first one is establishing his virtuousness and integrity, which is brought into light through stressing his trustworthiness, responsibility, honesty, and wisdom; the second parameter is his appeal to universal humanistic values and his call for peace; and the third parameter is drawing attention to the common grounds that he shares with his audience.

The second research question was concerned with the linguistic devices and rhetorical strategies adopted by the speaker in his appeal to religion. It has been shown through the analysis and discussion that the speaker's rhetorical themes and ideologies are encoded lexically in the overt religious references, the direct quotations from the Holy Qur'an to support the speaker's point of view, and the recurrent use of emotive language. They are also revealed pragmatically in the subtle use of person deixis.

This paper has attempted to explore political discourse as a dynamic process in which socio-cultural and linguistic elements are closely connected to construct speaker credibility and sustain a positive image of the politician. Through the appeal to religion in his speech to the Israeli Knesset, Sadat succeeds in displacing or modifying his prior image as a supporter of military force, and recreates a discursive ethos in which he appears as a responsible politician capable of playing the role of mediator in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Sadat's speech actively contributes to the projection of a positive ethos, an ideal advocate of peace. The speaker's presentation of self gives the speech its credibility and its force.

Based on the above discussion, it becomes obvious that the appeal to religion creates an instant unity between the politician and the audience, adds legitimacy to the speaker's propositions, and gives them what Smith (1987) calls a deistic background, a divine urgency, and obligation (Mazid, 1999, p.203). Thus, it can be concluded that from a rhetorical point of view, religious appeals enhance the speaker's ethos and validate the politician's decisions and ideologies.

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