

**THE POLITICAL-INTERACTIONAL IMAGES
(THE CASE OF AZIZ AKHANNOUCH'S GOVERNMENT)**

*LES IMAGES POLITICO-INTERACTIONNELLES
(LE CAS DU GOUVERNEMENT DE AZIZ AKHANNOUCH)*

*AS IMAGENS POLÍTICO-INTERACIONAIS
(O CASO DO GOVERNO DE AZIZ AKHANNOUCH)*

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Abstract. During each interaction, each of the interactants tries to enhance their image in order to protect their territory. This is closely related to pathos, the impact created can be positive or negative, which determines the process of exchange. Indeed, the politician presents themselves to the public in person (deputies, ministers, etc.) or remotely (the people) as an actor who aims for the public/state interest. Their position in the majority or opposition impacts their discursive chain in the context of valuing the governing self and devaluing the opposing other. This political dichotomy and competition disappear when the issue concerns a common objective, essentially, the question of Moroccan Sahara (the personal territory = the Moroccan territory). Henceforth, to understand the functioning of ethos in a political context, we have opted for a pragmatic analysis, namely interactional pragmatics. Saying and doing are intertwined with the aim of carrying out a performative political action, the set of speech acts constituting the conversation determining on the one hand the praise of the self, on the other hand the intended impact of the production.

Keywords: interactional image; ethos; politics; media communication; saying and doing.

Résumé. Durant chaque interaction, chacun des inter-actants essaye de valoriser son image afin de protéger son territoire. Cela est en relation étroite avec le pathos, l'impact créé peut être positif ou négatif, ce qui détermine le processus de l'échange. En effet, le politique se présente face au public en présentiel (députés, ministres, etc.) ou à distance (le peuple) en tant qu'actant qui vise l'intérêt public/étatique. Son positionnement dans la majorité ou l'opposition impacte son enchaînement discursif dans le cadre de la valorisation du soi gouvernant et la dévalorisation de l'autre opposant. Cette dichotomie et concurrence politique disparaissent au moment où la question porte sur un objectif commun, essentiellement, la question du Sahara marocain (le territoire personnel = le territoire marocain). Dorénavant, pour comprendre le fonctionnement de l'ethos dans un contexte politique, nous avons opté pour une analyse pragmatique, à savoir la pragmatique interactionnelle. Le dire et le faire se mêlent dans le but de mener une action politique performative, l'ensemble des actes de langage constituant la conversation déterminent d'une part l'éloge du soi d'autre part l'impact visé de la production.

Mots clés: l'image interactionnelle ; l'éthos ; la politique ; la communication médiatique ; le dire et le faire.



Resumo. Durante cada interação, cada um dos interlocutores tenta valorizar sua imagem para proteger seu território. Isso está intimamente relacionado com o pathos, o impacto criado pode ser positivo ou negativo, o que determina o processo de troca. De fato, o político se apresenta ao público presencialmente (deputados, ministros, etc.) ou à distância (o povo) como um ator que busca o interesse público/estatal. Seu posicionamento na maioria ou na oposição impacta sua cadeia discursiva no contexto da valorização do eu governante e da desvalorização do outro opositor. Essa dicotomia e concorrência política desaparecem quando a questão se refere a um objetivo comum, essencialmente, a questão do Saara Marroquino (o território pessoal = o território marroquino). Doravante, para compreender o funcionamento do ethos em um contexto político, optamos por uma análise pragmática, ou seja, a pragmática interacional. O dizer e o fazer se misturam com o objetivo de realizar uma ação política performativa, o conjunto dos atos de linguagem que constituem a conversa determinam, por um lado, o elogio do eu e, por outro, o impacto visado da produção.

Palavras-chave: imagem interacional; ethos; política; comunicação de mídia; dizer e fazer.

1 INTRODUCTION

Political action is an interactional form that attracts the attention of a wide audience of linguists, semioticians, pragmatists, semiologists and others. The relationship between saying and doing requires discursive aestheticization, which is achieved by staging an interactional image that meets discursive requirements. So, how does the politician exploit the various forms of ethos to protect his or her political-interactional image? To this end, we have examined the different forms of ethos exploited by politicians to stage their socio-political ideology in an institutional setting, namely parliamentary debate. They use one form or another in relation to the socio-economic context, their personal-political objectives and the strategic vision of the state. The choice of the right ethos form has a clear impact on the illocutionary and perlocutionary¹ action of the inter-actors. In most cases, any inappropriate choice leads to discursive failure (discourse as speech, an individual reality²), marked by non-performativity. Henceforth, intelligence, prudence and clarity are influential in terms of political-discursive competition.

2 THE LITERARY MAGAZINE

2.1. The ethos of seriousness

L'ethos de « sérieux » dépend évidemment des représentations que, dans chaque groupe social, on a de ce qui est sérieux ou non. Il se construit à l'aide de divers indices. Des indices corporels et mimiques: une certaine raideur dans la tenue du corps, une expression rarement souriante du visage³.

Logos, pathos and ethos are the three rhetorical components that intermingle during an interaction, so that the speaker-subject marks his territory via the image he gives of himself by implementing a preferred sequence of speech acts while aiming for the territory (emotion + reflection) of the interlocutor. In fact, Charaudeau distinguishes between the speaker as a social actor and the enunciator as a discursive actor; ethos is positioned between the two, i.e. at the moment of enunciation, the speaking subject tries to give the image that associates with collective representations, aiming to compete with pathos (convince or persuade) in terms of sincerity. As a result, the ethos of seriousness is part of the pathos of credibility, highlighting

¹ Searle John Rogers, Les actes de langage: essai de philosophie du langage, Ed. Hermann, Paris, 1972, p.61

² Maingueneau Dominique, Initiation aux méthodes de l'analyse du discours, HACHETTE, Paris, 1976, p.05

³ Patrick Charaudeau, Le discours politique: les masques du pouvoir, Ed. Lambert Lucas, Paris, 2014, p. 92



several complementary and not interdependent conditions: the condition of sincerity or transparency – the condition of performance – the condition of effectiveness. The first relates to the intention to fulfill a promise, the second is the implementation of that promise, and the third is obviously the effect produced by the doing. What's more, the ethos of seriousness is conversational, gestural and tonic. Verbal (the sequence of reciprocally preferred speech acts) and non-verbal (gestures, tone, smiles, grimaces, etc.) merge to expose sincerity or the pretence of sincerity without being perceived as such. Pretending is a game of social masks, with each conversational situation corresponding to a particular social mask or persona, according to Carl Gustave Jung, i.e. the persona is what the speaker pretends to be. This staging is hypocritical if the speaker is trying to push his interlocutors towards a particular ideology.

2.2. The ethos of virtue

L'ethos de « vertu » est également nécessaire à l'homme politique, car, représentant du peuple, il est censé donner l'exemple. Cet ethos exige qu'il fasse preuve de sincérité et de fidélité, à quoi doit s'ajouter une image d'honnêteté personnelle. [...] Parfois, ces actes sont explicités à l'occasion d'interviews ou de débats : « Moi, je ne suis pas comme d'autres. Je ne renie pas mes engagements⁴.

Still in the context of ethos related to the credibility of inter-actors, the virtue ethos implements moral and ethical conduct that reflects an excellent self-image, the virtue-vice oxymoron is often exploited during a conversation with a polemical scope: debate, election campaign, etc. In this sense, to win the debate, it's necessary to benefit from points that enhance one's image in terms of virtue, and execute costs that devalue the interlocutor's image in terms of vice (the ideal me vs. the abominable you). Sometimes, this ethos of virtue is not exhibited by the speaker himself, but by his interlocutors: testimony is a very important act in the face of X's assertion of his virtue. The conversational exchange between inter-actors is the empirical phase of intentional honesty or dishonesty. Admittedly, some acts take too long to perform to be verified, but good faith governs the exchange until proven otherwise. Henceforth, interactional transparency is a verbal and non-verbal operation through which the speaking subject explicitly exposes his or her intention; the pretense of virtue, honesty and transparency will take on manipulative dimensions in order to achieve personal objectives and interests, or those of a collective to which the speaker belongs and which he or she represents.

2.3. The ethos of competence

L'ethos de « compétence » exige de quelqu'un qu'il possède à la fois savoir et savoir-faire : il doit avoir une connaissance approfondie du domaine particulier dans lequel il exerce son activité, mais il doit également prouver qu'il a les moyens, le pouvoir et l'expérience nécessaires pour réaliser concrètement ses objectifs en obtenant des résultats positifs⁵.

Everyone who speaks, whether in an ordinary conversation on any subject (soccer, politics, the media, education, etc.) or a formal one (parliamentary debate, media debate, etc.), tries to show that he or she is competent in the matter. In this sense, in order to highlight an image of a competent inter-actor, it is essential to have knowledge, a cognitive library that favors the

⁴ Patrick Charaudeau, *Le discours politique : les masques du pouvoir*, Ed. Lambert Lucas, Paris, 2014, p. 94

⁵ Patrick Charaudeau, *Le discours politique : les masques du pouvoir*, Ed. Lambert Lucas, Paris, 2014, p. 96



achievement of reliable and justified assertions, and know-how and a verbal and non-verbal attitude that allows the proper use of knowledge so that it is the source of benefits to oneself and to the collective. Know-how, then, is clearly linked to experience and the power of doing, while knowledge highlights the essential means that stimulate the will to act. Without knowledge, we can't think about know-how. In ordinary conversation (in a café, between two students, in back alleys, etc.), we can find interactions that deal with the notion of knowledge: are you sure? Where did you read that? I doubt this information, but in a formal conversation, it's know-how that's being accused, since knowledge is presupposed to be acquired, given the position occupied by the inter-actors. The accusation, criticism or examination of know-how involves a number of justification procedures to show the ethos of credibility more generally. These procedures include recusation (denying P by devaluing her without justifying her attitude), superior reason (X accomplished A in the interest of the State), non-intentionality (intention to accomplish A, but it was B that was realized).

2.4. The ethos of power

L'ethos de « puissance » est vu comme une énergie physique qui sourd des profondeurs terrestres, anime et propulse le corps dans l'action. Il nous renvoie l'image d'une « force de la nature », force tellurique contre laquelle on ne peut pas grand-chose⁶.

The question of the ethos of power is placed between the existential dichotomy of being and essence: was X born powerful, or did he become powerful? From a physical point of view, men are more powerful than women, but can this physical power influence other powers? The ontology of power takes on the dimension of natural power. X knows how to convince and persuade his audience, so he possesses oratorical power. In pedagogy, the theory of intelligences emphasizes the differential aspect of learners/individuals: if X is talented in A, then he possesses the power to carry out A, but Y is talented in B, possessing the power to carry out B. X and Y are different, and each is powerful or weak, depending on the field of competition that brings them together. In addition, Charaudeau emphasizes the difference between power and might: on the one hand, might is an individual force based on natural maxims; on the other hand, might is a collective and institutional force, requiring legal or illegal access to power in order to possess it.

2.5. The ethos of character

L'ethos de « caractère » participe de cet autre imaginaire de force qu'il ne faut cependant pas confondre avec le précédent. Il s'agit ici davantage de la force de l'esprit que de celle du corps, comme quand on dit de quelqu'un qu'« il a du caractère ». Cela peut apparaître à travers diverses figures⁷.

Between the physical body reflecting masculine versus feminine power, and the character highlighting the psycho-cognitive power of the individual, the latter resorts to one of the two ethos in order to enhance and promote his self-image during an ordinary or official interaction. In the first instance, mentality, strong personality and self-esteem depend on the person's psycho-social construction, a result that can be modified according to a precise procedure; in the second instance, character depends on the characters positioned in front of oneself, A has a stronger character than B, B has a stronger character than C, and so on; however, this is not a deductive relationship that leads to the conclusion that A has a stronger character than C,

⁶ Patrick Charaudeau, *Le discours politique : les masques du pouvoir*, Ed. Lambert Lucas, Paris, 2014, p. 106

⁷ Patrick Charaudeau, *Le discours politique : les masques du pouvoir*, Ed. Lambert Lucas, Paris, 2014, p. 107



consequently, it involves several intra-conversational elements: the gender of A, B and C, the place of A, B and C, their interest, their relationship, etc. In addition, character ethos is a verbal and/or non-verbal manifestation of vituperation, blame, criticism, contempt and measured insults designed to threaten the face of the inter-actor; it is a psycho-interactional operation that seeks to establish a hierarchy, a dominance of one character over another. What's more, the two cases cited by Charaudeau to illustrate the conflict of characters are those of polemic (the debate between two debaters, an opposing position) and provocation (the direct or indirect call to action = the warning). Furthermore, the implementation of an ethos of character can be announced via a quiet attitude: the inter-actor who possesses the means of control attracts more attention in a turbulent situation of a heated subject, yet in a quiet situation, being quiet has no effect (turbulent situation / quiet character = wisdom - stable situation / vituperative character = courage).

2.6. The ethos of intelligence

L'ethos d' « intelligence » fait partie des ethos d'identification dans la mesure où il peut entraîner chez l'autre admiration et respecte, et faire adhérer les esprits à la personne qui en fait montre. L'intelligence est une caractéristique de l'homme bien difficile à définir, mais il s'agit ici de la considérer comme un imaginaire collectif qui témoigne de la façon dont les membres d'un groupe social la conçoivent et la valorisent⁸.

Intelligence is the cognitive operation of processing data, a process that differs from one individual to the next; each of us possesses mental tools for processing this or that data, whether innate or acquired. The ethos of intelligence is then a verbal or non-verbal act through which the speaker presents to his interlocutor this intelligence that distinguishes him from others (the call to caution) or from the interlocutor (the threat). First and foremost, the ethos of intelligence is a way of highlighting one's academic background, experience in a particular field, etc. It's institutional proof: studying or working there means belonging to the collectives of the intelligent according to the social imaginary. In this sense, to demonstrate intelligence, it is essential to be a cultured man and to possess the documents that justify this. Secondly, the ethos of intelligence is a ruse, like a fox that integrates itself into a group in order to achieve its individual interests; lies, insincerity and concealed intent are put to use. This attitude of a cunning speaker is difficult to identify, since the person who opts for such behavior considers all interlocutors to be adversaries, not trusting any intra- and/or extra-collective member: it's absolute conversational skepticism. On the other hand, a cunning attitude can be judged positively (the whole collective benefits) or negatively (the single person benefits), hence the oxymoron skill-duplicity.

2.7. The leader's ethos

La figure du guide suprême est une nécessité pour la survie d'un groupe social. Comme si, conscient de son incapacité à se déterminer par lui-même et à voir quel est son destin, celui-ci avait besoin de susciter l'existence d'un être supérieur qui soit capable de le guider au milieu des hasards du temps, des aléas de la vie et des péripéties du monde⁹.

During a conversational exchange, especially an official one, each of the inter-actors tries to dominate the interaction by enhancing his or her image or destroying that of the other. Ethos

⁸ Patrick Charaudeau, *Le discours politique : les masques du pouvoir*, Ed. Lambert Lucas, Paris, 2014, p. 112

⁹ Patrick Charaudeau, *Le discours politique : les masques du pouvoir*, Ed. Lambert Lucas, Paris, 2014, p. 118



is an interdependent relationship between the debaters, between the speaker and the effect of his or her verbal and/or non-verbal speech on the direct or indirect interlocutor. This dominance is immediately linked to leadership: I dominate, I lead. In this sense, the person who puts the leader's ethos on stage can be described by three figures: the guide - the sovereign and the commander. In the first instance, the supreme guide may be flesh and blood, such as the Christian belief in Jesus, or abstract/spiritual, such as God in monotheistic religions. The shepherd-guide is a similarly wise man who knows how to guide and manipulate the flock, someone who relies on the ideology of the collective to lead them as the ideal model of their imaginary. The prophet-guide is a person who shares semantic traits with the shepherd-guide, whereas the shepherd-guide is based on earthly interactional elements, and the prophet-guide is a being who aims for the hereafter, the eternal and the paradisiacal world. Secondly, the sovereign leader is a figure who presents himself as the guarantor of the homeland and protector of the people. He doesn't stoop to polemics about social issues (a few sub-chiefs take care of that), but he does present himself to communicate strategic visions of the state: he is the political, spiritual, ideological, economic and social leader, the state in the flesh. Finally, the ethos of the leader is illustrated in the figure of the commander, i.e., a person who forges links with a leader who can initiate or call upon war in order to protect his territory, the leader is then an aggressive, severe, daring and brutal inter-actor.

2.8. The ethos of humanity

L'ethos d' « humanité » est également un imaginaire important pour l'image de l'homme politique. « Être humain » se mesure à la capacité de faire preuve de sentiments, de compassion envers ceux qui souffrent, mais c'est aussi savoir avouer ses faiblesses, montrer quels sont ses goûts, jusqu'aux plus intimes¹⁰.

The conversational staging is a key element in the politician's image. Conversational staging is a set of linguistic, sociological, pragmatic, psychological and cognitive procedures. Inter-actors belonging to the same society and environment share to a great degree many commonalities (cultural, ideological, religious). In this sense, inter-influence depends on the intention of each of the two participants, while ethical and moral universals are exploited to achieve a particular interactional goal. In addition, emotional intelligence is a conversational skill that emphasizes the power to control not only one's own emotions, but also those of one's interlocutor. Henceforth, to talk about feelings, it's essential to establish an atmosphere of mutual trust, which is why the speaker may opt for a confession to communicate the opening of territorial boundaries and personal space. This interactional technique can be deceptive: one step back to make two steps forward, access to the interlocutor's trust (emotionally) means having the key to destroying it (conversational competition). Moreover, the ethos of humanity is a dominant use of the pathetic register, so as to elicit pity, compassion and empathy without implying or demonstrating weakness: you have to be human and powerful.

2.9. The ethos of solidarity

L'ethos de « solidarité » fait de l'homme politique un être qui non seulement est attentif aux besoins des autres, mais les partage et s'en rend comptable. La solidarité se caractérise par la volonté d'être ensemble, de ne pas se distinguer des autres membres du groupe et surtout de faire corps avec eux dès l'instant que ceux-ci se trouvent menacés¹¹.

¹⁰ Patrick Charaudeau, *Le discours politique : les masques du pouvoir*, Ed. Lambert Lucas, Paris, 2014, p. 114

¹¹ Patrick Charaudeau, *Le discours politique : les masques du pouvoir*, Ed. Lambert Lucas, Paris, 2014, p. 125



The notion of solidarity is an interaction that depends on an action that calls for an attitude of solidarity, it's a behavior that comes on top of an unfortunate state, a death or natural events (earthquake, volcano eruption, floods, etc.). We're talking about a human action that involves immediate support without income, helping to help, which can be between Man => Man, Man => Animal, a group of Men => Man, Man => a group of Men, and so on. Furthermore, the ethos of solidarity is a conversational manifestation that announces and asserts a personal or collective commitment to helping a particular group/person in need. Moreover, a figure who is endowed with responsibility presents himself in solidarity to imply that he deserves the position he occupies, to protect it and to expand his territory by attacking the emotions of interlocutors. Henceforth, to present one's support, one needs to be aware of it, and the first step in solidarity-based action is listening, enumerated by Charaudeau in the following manner: "listening", "knowing how to listen", "being attentive". Consequently, during a crisis, adopting a discreet attitude or not expressing oneself about the subject will be misinterpreted and bring costs to its face, and for this reason, it is preferable to express one's inability to support politely instead of keeping silent.

3 THE METHOD

We have opted for a pragmatic analysis, more precisely an interactional approach highlighting the appropriate scientific tools in order to objectively interpret a political speech whose objective is the valorization of the angelic self in the face of the diabolical other. Indeed, exchanges within parliament highlight an institutional opposition based on election results. This makes the majority and the opposition two clans in perpetual conquest of power.

Our corpus is made up of a set of speech acts collected via the Moroccan parliament's official YouTube page, highlighting the mediatization of Moroccan political action. On this scale, politics exploits digital platforms to widely influence different social categories, particularly young people, who view social networks on a daily basis.

In this sense, the impact of the staging of this or that ethos depends essentially on the linguistic, pragmatic and social skills of the political speaker. In fact, the use of signs is linked to the intention that poses enormous difficulty in terms of identification, for this reason, the political discourse highlights the front of the page (manipulation) and the back of the page (development and reform).

4 RESULTS

Table 1. Political and Economic Dialogue: Transcription and Translation of Speeches and Statements

Texte en alphabet phonétique	Traduction in English
« [wa lyawm yatabayyan bilmalmu:s `anna l-ḥuku:ma `iḥtārat ṣṣidq wa l-wāqi `iya wa naḥnu `alā wa `yin kasā `ir duwal l`ālam naḡtāzu marḡala min lā yaqi:n l`iqtisādi: wa mina ṣṣadamāt lmutatāliya llati: yumkinu `an tufannida kulla l-faraḡiyāt] » ¹²	And today, it is clearly seen that the government has chosen seriousness and realism, moreover, we are also aware as all the states of the world that we are going through a period of economic uncertainty and successive blows that can invalidate any economic hypothesis
« [ṣaḡi:h `annanā fi: qalbi marḡalatin `aṣi:ba yamurru minhā l`iqtisād l-māḡribi: wa l`ālam: wa lā ṣakka `anna l`azma rrusiya wa l`ukrāniya wa marḡalat mā ba `da kuvi:d wa tadā `iyāt ḡu fttasāquḡāt sayaku:nu lahā ta `tir `alā ttawāzunāt l-māliya wa l`iqtisādiya lākin mina llāzim `an `u`akkida lakum `anna l-ḥuku:ma mutamassika bikulli ltizāmātihā l-wārida fi: lbarnāmaḡ llaḡi: ḡaṣala `alā tiqatikum] » ¹³	Certainly we are in the midst of an arduous Moroccan and global economic period, and no doubt this Russian-Ukrainian crisis, as well as the post-Covid period, not to mention the lack of rain will have effects on the financial and economic balance, but it is necessary to affirm to you that the government is sticking to all its commitments indicated in the program granted thanks to your trust.
[ḡḡāma l-kubrā ḡiya dda `m ttarbawi: fi: `iḡār barnāmaḡ `awrāṣ wa ḡādihi kārita sayyid ra `i:s l-ḥuku:ma ḡannadtum mu`aḡḡali:n fi: ḡiḡā `ḡassās kayāḡ `alāḡ b-manzu:mat ttarbiya wa ttakwi:n bidu:ni takwi:n wa lā kafā `a tē`li:miya `u masāḡaḡtu:ṣ ḡad l-məra ssin wa ṣufu daba] » ¹⁴	The major disaster is that of educational support under the Awrach program, and that is a catastrophe Mr. Head of Government. You have mobilized unemployed people in a sensitive sector associated with education and training without them having a teaching skill and this time with no age limit, so explore your decisions well.
« [nantahizu ḡādihi l-munāsaba fi: l-fari:q l`iṣtirāki: linuḡammīna ddināmiya l-qawiyāya lissiyāsa l-ḡāriḡiya lilmamlaka wa llati: saḡḡalat taḡta l-ḡiyāda l-ḡāki:ma liṣāḡhib l-ḡālalāt l-malik muḡammad ssādis `intiṣārāt siyyāsiya wa diplu:māsiya wa maydāniya kāna `āḡiruhā tadṣi:na marḡalatin ḡādi:da fi: l`ālāḡāt l`istrāti:ḡiya `almaḡribiya l`ispāniya] » ¹⁵	We take this opportunity in the socialist team to highlight the powerful dynamics of the kingdom's foreign policy which has achieved under the wise leadership of His Majesty King Mohammed 6 political, diplomatic and realistic successes, including most recently the inauguration of a new period in Moroccan-Spanish strategic relations.
« [māli makatku:ṣ l-mā`lu:ma kayku:n ta `wi:l sayyi `ḡiw l-ḡāqi:qa l-mālmū:sa wa lāḡri:ba mān l-muwāḡin lasami:r `lāṣ maḡḡadamāṣ `laṣ ḡad l-bu`bu` bayābqa dā `iman mayfāḡmu:hṣ nnās -- aa ri:r ṣərḡu:nna `u nta mamā `ni:ṣ] » ¹⁶	When information is absent, interpretation will be proven wrong, share with the public the real truth that affects their daily lives. Why doesn't SAMIR work? Why

¹² Interaction by Aziz Akhannouch with MPs during a parliamentary session of monthly oral questions on 18/04/2022 (21 : 56 => 22 : 15) URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IsbPVR74Qw4>

¹³ Interaction of Aziz Akhannouch with MPs during a parliamentary session of monthly oral questions on 18/04/2022 (29 : 04 => 29 : 32) URL : <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IsbPVR74Qw4>

¹⁴ Interaction between Aziz Akhannouch and Ouzzine Mohammed during a parliamentary session of monthly oral questions on 18/04/2022 (1h33min38s => 1h33min55s) URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IsbPVR74Qw4>

¹⁵ Interaction of Abderrahim Chahid with deputies and head of government during a parliamentary session of monthly oral questions on 18/04/2022 (55min46s => 56min07s) URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IsbPVR74Qw4>

¹⁶ Interaction of Abderrahim Chahid with deputies and head of government during a parliamentary session of monthly oral questions on 18/04/2022 (1h02min51s => 1h03min07s) URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IsbPVR74Qw4>



	will this monster remain incomprehensible to the public? - We're only asking for explanations, and you, you're not concerned
« [bhal li kat'arfu had ssana kaygi 'amaliyat marhaba fi: siyaq hās [...] kadgi f-had ssana ma'a tanzi:l hāriḥat ṭtari:q l-mu'lan 'anhā fi: l-bayān l-muštarak l-mağribi: l'spāni: llađi: 'aqiba 'istiqbāl ġalālat l-malik muḥammad ssādis našarahu llāh lira'i:s l-wuzarā' l'ispāni: fi: 07 'abri:l 2022] » ¹⁷	As you know, the Marhaba operation is carried out under special conditions. [...] It is being carried out this year in parallel with the implementation of the roadmap announced in the joint Moroccan-Spanish communiqué that followed the royal reception from His Majesty King Mohammed 6 to the head of the Spanish government on 07 April 2022
« ['almağrib l-yawm yuṭammin l-mawqif l'almāni: li'annahu mawqif mutawāzin li'annahu mawqif munsāğim ma'a dawr l'umam l-muttaḥida wa li'annahu mawqif munsāğim kađālika ma'a qarārāt mağlis l'amn] » ¹⁸	Morocco today appreciates the German positioning because it is a balanced positioning, a positioning in harmony with the role of the united nations and it is a positioning in harmony with the decisions of the security council.
« [fi: 'itār ttawāšul dyalkum sayyid l-wazi:r brina n'arfu mənkuḥ b-šari:h l'ibāra had l-qadıyya dyal l'adā' dyal l'ağər ššəhri dyal šhər səb'a lifā'idat l-mdāris l-ḥušu:šiya ntuma kat'arfu mukrahun 'ahāka lā baṭal] » ¹⁹	As part of your communicative strategy Mr. Minister, we want to know from you and directly this matter of the payment of monthly tuition fees for month 7 for private schools. You know very well: he's a hero in spite of himself.
« [nā ḥawel had l-mawḍu: 'brit n'əkkəd bi'annah ttəm wāḥəd l'ada:d dyāl l'iğtimā'āt lā ma'a lqiṭā' l-ḥušu:ši: wa lā ma'a ġam'iyat l'ābā' wa l'awliyā' baš lqaw ḥulu:l 'u baš nqārbu wiğḥāt nnazar dyal kul l'aṭrāfli hiya mə'niya] » ²⁰	On this subject, I can tell you that a large number of meetings have been held either with the private sector or with parents' associations to find solutions and reconcile the points of view of all the participants involved.

¹⁷ Nasser Bourita's interaction with MPs during a parliamentary session of weekly oral questions on 30/05/2022 (1h36min46s => 1h37min22s)

URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bnyM3Hs6km8&t=5806s>

¹⁸ Interaction between Nasser Bourita and Annalena Baerbock during a press conference on 25/08/2022

URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g8OtuXE3OeE>

¹⁹ MP interacting with Chakib Benmoussa during weekly oral questions on 27/06/2022 (1h21min37s => 1h21min52s) URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aWkW6YYJXe0>

²⁰ Chakib Benmoussa interacting with an MP during weekly oral questions on 27/06/2022 (1h22min17s => 1h22min34s) URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aWkW6YYJXe0>



5 DISCUSSION

Referring to the electoral program, the Head of Government signaled that the governing majority remained optimistic in the face of the successive crises that had shaken the socio-political and socio-economic context of the States. In fact, he follows this up with the use of two intentional terms “*ṣṣīdīq wa l-wāqī‘īya* = truth and realism”, which dramatize the serious ethos of the head of government and consequently of all members of the majority. On the one hand, the speaker-subject as social actor is well aware that reality presents real constraints and obstacles in the face of the economic take-off planned by the government and the people; on the other hand, the enunciator-subject tries to show himself serious by announcing part of the reality linked to the crises justifying the second reality on which the enunciator does not put the emphasis back, namely the weakening of purchasing power and the excessively high prices of all local or imported products. As a result, the mask of a serious head of government is challenged by a section of the people having announced as early as February 12, 2022 the hashtag “*ارحل_أخوش*”, which was collectively shared on social networks and even Ben Kiran accomplished a media outing calling on the government to communicate with citizens to invite the latter to avoid this hashtag relying on Akhannouch's short duration of governance. The head of government's attitude is therefore a verbal production of the condition of transparency, whereas the condition of performance and efficiency is apparently contested by part of the population.

Virtue, ethics and politics are a complex trilogy that takes on a paradoxical socio-political dimension. A politician can never be a man of ethics, as Max Weber noted when he distinguished between the learned man and the politician. Morality is not the first-born daughter of politics; it is practiced in church, synagogue or mosque. The difficult game involves rules and counter-rules, and the politician does not produce a speech or engage in an ethical debate because it is not in his interest to do so. The head of government highlights a formula accentuating his honesty “*ṣaḥī:h ‘annanā fi: qalbi marḥalatin ‘aṣi: ba* = honestly, we are in difficult times”, the socio-economic reality asserted by Akhannouch is not the assertion of a reality but the assertion of a sincere attitude towards a people who are suffering economically: X asserts a previously asserted reality = X does not lie to conceal this reality = X is honest. This discursive strategy clearly marks the ethos of virtue that is exploited by the politician to enhance his image and mark his territory. In this way, the head of government consolidates this image by emphasizing his continued commitment to fulfilling the electoral program despite the economically shaken global context. Indeed, “*mina llāzim ‘an ‘u’akkida* = it's necessary that I assert”, the necessity relates to the assertive act and not necessarily to the assertion of fulfilling previously advanced promises, yet the Head of Government's interaction suggests that the majority is opting for a sincere, virtuous and transparent attitude.

Mohammed Ouzzine's (MP) intervention in terms of competence showcases his ethos of competence by criticizing/accusing the government of not living up to one of the main slogans announced after the September 2021 elections, namely: the government of competence. First of all, when confronted by the head of government, Ouzzine refers to a contradictory and evil decision taken by the Ministry of Education (Chakib Benmoussa), notably the Awrach program, which offers specific job offers to unemployed people replacing contract teachers at a time when the latter are on strike and clamoring for their rights. Secondly, this decision is marked by a lack of know-how, since the same Minister who imposed the age requirement for access to the teaching competitive examination, does not require it in the Awrach program to do the same job. Furthermore, Ouzzine insists on the lack of know-how (*savoir-enseigner*) of these people who have entered public establishments, since they have not completed any pedagogical or didactic training to practice teaching. As a result, Ouzzine denounces the “government of skills” formula, with decisions that imply an absence of competence and know-

how. Finally, in the face of these accusations, Akhannouch sides with Ouzzine's critics, focusing on issues concerning energy security and the purchasing power of Moroccan citizens.

Following the Morocco-German crisis, to which we'll return later, the Moroccan state entered into a political crisis with its neighboring state, Spain, a crisis which essentially touches on the single issue preoccupying the King and the people: the uniqueness of Morocco and its sovereignty over the lands of the South. In fact, Morocco's new repositioning in Africa and the Maghreb region has prompted several global forces to activate the alarm system, since the United States strongly supports the Moroccan solution to the Southern lands issue. In this sense, as soon as Spain received the head of the Polisario Front on the sly (before Morocco demanded this action) for health reasons, Morocco decided to suspend its bilateral relations with Spain (trade, immigration, Marhaba, etc.), until further notice. A decision that has caused much ink to flow, and a large number of broadcasts and interviews have been produced to debate and analyze the causes, consequences and horizons of this crisis. April 07 and 08, 2022 was a landmark date for the two neighboring states: after a royal speech calling for transparency, the President of the Spanish Government was received by His Majesty King Mohammed 6 at the Royal Palace in Rabat, where he organized a collective Iftar announcing a new beginning for a friendship based on collaboration and transparency. The deputy from the Union Socialiste des Forces Populaires (Socialist Union of Popular Forces) began his interaction by highlighting the royal ethos of power, which has accomplished several diplomatic feats, notably in the face of the country of Cervantes. What's more, being king breeds power, and since Morocco has managed its international crises well, it has the power to do so. We're dealing here with a powerful country with diplomatic power stemming from the UN's institutional declarations.

MP Abderahim Chahid, after emphasizing the new beginning that has marked bilateral relations between Morocco and Spain, returned to the heart of his speech, which focused on inflation and the unprecedented rise in prices of all products: diesel, petrol, vegetables, fruit, meat, etc. On this scale, several people on the street were very concerned. On this scale, several people on social networks (Youtube, Instagram, Facebook) began to discuss the reasons for the inflammation of prices, linking the price of petroleum products to the Russian-Ukrainian war and also to local decisions, namely the closure of SAMIR. In a loud, angry and vituperative voice, Chahid criticizes and blames the government for its silence on the SAMIR affair, a situation that requires interaction, not silence, according to the MP. As a result, he argues that the interpretations (deemed erroneous by the government) made by the people and parliamentarians in the face of this silence are logical, and he justifies this by the total absence of interaction explaining the economic and legal situation of the Samir affair. Chahid's sequence of attacks and in-your-face threats is met with an attempt to interrupt, but the MP warns the speaker with his index finger as a sign of warning (character ethos) not to interrupt his intervention and reproaches him for his attempt to intervene when he is not concerned “*nta mamə'ni:š = you are not the target*”, a successful warning.

First of all, Foreign Minister Nasser Bourita is a laureate of the FSJES in Rabat, where he obtained a degree in public law, a certificate in international affairs and a DES in public international law, diplomas that highlight an intelligent statesman recognized by state institutions. Secondly, his ethos of intelligence is put into practice through Morocco's exploits in international diplomacy, with all the coups and conflicts in which the state has been involved having been successful. American support, normalization with Israel, support for the Palestinian affair, the Moroccan-German conflict, the Moroccan-Spanish conflict, etc., are all benefits that the Moroccan state has been able to manage over a period of time that has been striking for Morocco's adversaries. This ethos of intelligence is highlighted by Nasser Bourita's assertion that Operation Marhaba 2022 will take place on the Moroccan-Spanish borders, unlike 2021 (suspension of entry via Spanish territory), which caused huge economic losses in the land of Cervantes. On the other hand, the Moroccan Foreign Minister's ethos of intelligence



is presented as a ruse (lies, dishonesty, false promises) in some neighboring countries without any proof, at a time when Morocco continues to sign conventions, open consulates and fortify its alliances. At this level, we are dealing with an intelligent, honest and sincere attitude, a skilful person who knows how to do his job, an intelligent minister as the head of a strategic vision.

After Pedro Sanchez's reception of the German President's letter to His Majesty the King in December 2021, the German Foreign Minister's visit adds to the diplomatic successes Morocco has enjoyed since Moroccan Foreign Minister Nasser Bourita took on this responsibility. As power increases, so does responsibility. The Moroccan Sahara issue has been the subject of much ink, even prompting neighboring Algeria to threaten Morocco with war, and the President of Algeria to present himself as a commander, but this time not to protect his Algerian lands, but to attack those of his neighbors. Moreover, Nasser Bourita is wearing the hat of a sovereign leader who is defending Morocco's primary territorial concern by calling on states to maintain and officially announce their support for Morocco and not to remain in the gray or neutral zone, relying on the direct appeal of the kingdom's supreme guide, King Mohammed 6, who asserted that any ambiguous positioning will be refuted by Morocco: either you will be with us or you will be against us, far from any cunning neutrality. On this scale, the King of Morocco and the Minister of Foreign Affairs highlighted conversational manifestations of the leader ethos, each according to his position and power, a collaboration that marked a regional, continental and international diplomatic success.

One of the subjects debated towards the end of June was the school fees that parents had to pay to private schools during July, since the start of the school year had taken place in October instead of September. Some schools had taken September's fees and coveted July's as well, so instead of being paid for 9 months, they would receive an 11-month payment, triggering parents' anger. In effect, the MP implicitly attacks the performance of the Ministry of Education by asserting that parents opt for private schools because of the catastrophic situation of public schools, the endless conflicts between the teaching staff and the Ministry, etc. Then, via a humanitarian appeal, and because of the socio-economic situation of Moroccan families, he asks Chakib Benmoussa to put forward solutions that correspond to the requests of the citizens concerned. The ethos of humanity is then a posture adopted by the MP to stimulate the emotion of his interlocutor, so that he feels the pain in which Moroccan families are living (the health crisis, the economic crisis, the impact of the Russian-Ukrainian war on their purchasing power) in the face of the demands of private schools that have threatened not to issue baccalaureate diplomas to those who have not paid the school fees. Will the Minister of Education show solidarity with these families?

Faced with the call for humane behavior, a demonstration of ethos of solidarity towards families in economic crisis, and the demand that private schools pay July fees, the Minister of Education appeared before parliament to debate the issue. Indeed, the fact that he was there to interact with concerned citizens on this distressing subject is a positive sign, as Chakib Benmoussa suggests that he is the model minister who aims to identify and reform the pain and suffering endured by the sector. In addition, there is talk of "knowing how to listen", a process the speaker performs to give the image of a supportive politician who feels the discomfort of protesters. In this sense, Chakib Benmoussa asserts that he has held, and is currently holding, exchange meetings with representatives of private schools and parents' and guardians' associations, with the aim of exchanging views on the various positions taken and discussing probable and possible solutions. However, listening is often a call to respond to the needs of the person who is suffering, and any discussion will be seen as an attempt to abandon this person, who is demanding, alone in the face of the private schools and their demands. We can speculate that the Minister of Education is pretending to be empathetic and supportive, yet he

can do nothing to the private schools, and we recall his inability to put a legal margin on tuition fees (a subject debated at length after Covid-19 because of distance learning).

6 CONCLUSION

To conclude, throughout our analysis we have tried to highlight the different forms of ethos performed by Moroccan political actors representing akhannouch's government (the majority and the opposition). Each actor tries to protect his or her territory by opting for the appropriate ethos in order to appeal to the pathos of the interlocutors, i.e. the Moroccan people. In fact, by studying the politico-interactional images, we have staged trend themes, including: the electoral program - the Moroccan Sahara issue - school fees and education. In addition, and depending on the conversational situation, the inter-actors resort to different types of ethos, namely: the ethos of seriousness, the ethos of virtue, the ethos of competence, the ethos of power, etc., in relation to so many political events: Pedro Sanchez's royal reception, the German minister's visit, and so on. What's more, each participant exposes his or her ethos through expressive devices that range from the spoken word²¹, to the loud, the quiet and the local, in order to express a political position linked either to purchasing power, to the soaring prices of petroleum products or to the consequences of the Russian-Ukrainian war. This is done within the framework of a pragmatic protection of personal space and territory, two notions that are variable and invariable depending on the interactional theme.

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²¹ Ducrot Oswald & Jean Marie Schaeffer, *nouveau dictionnaire encyclopédique des sciences du langage*, Ed. Editions du Seuil, Paris, 1995, 166

