

Analyzing logos, ethos, and pathos in the english Bukele's discourse to enhance second language oral skills in Panamanian university students

Analizando logos, ethos y pathos en el discurso político de Bukele en inglés para potenciar habilidades orales en universitarios Panameños

Analyse du logos, de l'ethos et du pathos dans le discours du Bukele anglais pour améliorer les compétences orales en langue seconde des étudiants universitaires Panaméens

Analisando logos, ethos e pathos no discurso de Bukele em inglês para aprimorar as habilidades orais em segunda língua de estudantes universitários Panamenhos

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.48204/contacto.v6n1.8793>

Recibido: 16/12/2025

Aceptado: 25/04/2026

ABSTRACT

This study examines how Najib Bukele employs logos, ethos, and pathos in one of his English political discourses. It is grounded in the rhetorical analysis and its relevance is in learning strategies to enhance oral skills among Panamanian university students. The research follows a qualitative methodological design focused on a case study of a selected Bukele's English discourse, and the integration of Corpus-Assisted Discourse (CAD), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and Aristotle's Rhetorical Theory, which introduces logos (logic), ethos (credibility), and pathos (emotions). The corpus of this study comprises a transcription of a Bukele's discourse delivered at the 2024 Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC), which used a stratified sampling method for the selection. The researcher employs software such as TurboScribe for transcription (Foged, 2024) and LIWC-22 for analysis (Francis & Pennebaker, 1992, as cited in Boyd et al., 2022). Drawing on Bukele's speech from a Rhetorical Theory under the CDA and oriented by the CAD approach, the analysis highlights its potential role as a resource for teaching English as a second language, especially in speaking courses adapted to the Panamanian university context. In short, this synergy may offer ESL educators a range of options, such as using discourse analysis as an ally

in their learning strategies and provides pedagogical recommendations that strengthen the development of oral and rhetorical skills in L2 learners.

Keywords: ethos, pathos, logos, political discourse, rhetorical skills

RESUMEN

Este estudio examina cómo el actual presidente de El Salvador, Najib Bukele, emplea logos, ethos y pathos en uno de sus discursos políticos en inglés. Se basa en el análisis retórico y su relevancia en estrategias de aprendizaje para mejorar las habilidades orales de estudiantes universitarios panameños. La investigación sigue un diseño metodológico cualitativo centrado en un estudio de caso del discurso de Bukele en inglés y en la incorporación del Discurso Asistido por Corpus (DAC), el Análisis Crítico del Discurso ACD y la Teoría Retórica de Aristóteles, que introduce logos (lógica), ethos (credibilidad) y pathos (emociones). El corpus comprende la transcripción de un discurso de Bukele emitido en la Conferencia de Acción Política Conservadora (CPAC) de 2024, cuya selección se realizó mediante un muestreo estratificado. El investigador utiliza programas como TurboScribe para la transcripción (Foged, 2024) y LIWC-22 para el análisis (Francis & Pennebaker, 1992, citado en Boyd et al., 2022). Basándose en el análisis del discurso de Bukele, la Teoría Retórica y del DAC focalizado con el DAC, se destaca su potencial como recurso pedagógico para la enseñanza del inglés como segunda lengua, especialmente en cursos de oratoria adaptados a entornos universitarios panameños. En resumen, esta sinergia ofrece a los docentes de ESL opciones pedagógicas utilizando el análisis del discurso como aliado en estrategias de aprendizaje y de recomendaciones para el desarrollo de habilidades orales y retóricas en estudiantes de L2.

Palabras clave: ethos, pathos, logos, discurso político, habilidades retóricas

RÉSUMÉ

Cette étude examine comment Najib Bukele utilise le logos, l'ethos et le pathos dans l'un de ses discours politiques en anglais. Elle s'appuie sur l'analyse rhétorique et sa pertinence pour l'apprentissage de stratégies visant à améliorer les compétences orales des étudiants panaméens. La recherche adopte une méthodologie qualitative centrée sur une étude de cas d'un discours de Bukele en anglais, intégrant l'analyse du discours assistée par corpus (ADC), l'analyse critique du discours (ACD) et la théorie rhétorique d'Aristote, qui introduit les concepts de logos (logique), d'ethos (crédibilité) et de pathos (émotions). Le corpus de cette étude est constitué de la transcription d'un discours de Bukele prononcé lors de la Conférence d'action politique conservatrice (CPAC) de 2024, sélectionnée par échantillonnage stratifié. La chercheuse utilise des logiciels tels que TurboScribe pour la transcription (Foged, 2024) et LIWC-22 pour l'analyse (Francis & Pennebaker, 1992, cités dans Boyd et al., 2022). S'appuyant sur le discours de Bukele issu d'une théorie rhétorique relevant de l'analyse critique du discours (ACD) et orientée par l'approche de l'analyse du discours assistée par ordinateur (ADAO), l'analyse met en lumière son potentiel en tant que ressource pour l'enseignement de l'anglais langue seconde, notamment dans les cours d'expression orale adaptés au contexte universitaire panaméen. En bref, cette synergie peut offrir

aux enseignants d'anglais langue seconde un éventail d'options, en utilisant l'analyse du discours comme un allié dans leurs stratégies d'apprentissage, et fournit des recommandations pédagogiques qui renforcent le développement des compétences orales et rhétoriques des apprenants de L2.

Mots-clés : ethos, pathos, logos, discours politique, compétences rhétoriques

RESUMO

Este estudo examina como Najib Bukele emprega logos, ethos e pathos em um de seus discursos políticos em inglês. Ele se fundamenta na análise retórica e em sua relevância para o aprendizado de estratégias que visam aprimorar as habilidades orais entre estudantes universitários panamenhos. A pesquisa segue uma abordagem metodológica qualitativa, com foco em um estudo de caso de um discurso selecionado de Bukele em inglês e na integração da Análise de Discurso Assistida por Corpus (CAD), da Análise Crítica do Discurso (ACD) e da Teoria Retórica de Aristóteles, que introduz os conceitos de logos (lógica), ethos (credibilidade) e pathos (emoções). O corpus deste estudo consiste na transcrição de um discurso de Bukele proferido na Conferência de Ação Política Conservadora (CPAC) de 2024, que utilizou um método de amostragem estratificada para a seleção. O pesquisador utiliza softwares como o TurboScribe para transcrição (Foged, 2024) e o LIWC-22 para análise (Francis & Pennebaker, 1992, citado em Boyd et al., 2022). Baseando-se no discurso de Bukele a partir de uma Teoria Retórica sob a ACD e orientada pela abordagem CAD, a análise destaca seu potencial como recurso para o ensino de inglês como segunda língua, especialmente em cursos de conversação adaptados ao contexto universitário panamenho. Em suma, essa sinergia pode oferecer aos professores de inglês como segunda língua uma gama de opções, utilizando a análise do discurso como aliada em suas estratégias de aprendizagem, e fornece recomendações pedagógicas que fortalecem o desenvolvimento das habilidades orais e retóricas em aprendizes de L2.

Palavras-chave: ethos, pathos, logos, discurso político, habilidades retóricas

Introduction

This investigative pilot study examines a selected discourse delivered by President Nayib Armando Bukele Ortiz at the 2024 Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) in Washington. Lozano (2022) describes Bukele as a well-known former marketing executive in El Salvador and an outstanding political leader in the region who became the youngest Salvadoran President in the country's history during the 2019 elections. In this remarkable election, President Bukele obtained 1,434,856 votes (53% of the voters) against Carlos Calleja, who represented the Alianza Republicana Nacionalista (ARENA) party in this presidential election. Calleja, a Salvadorian executive businessman, was the vice president of Grupo Calleja (a retail supermarket owner), a financial and real estate investor, and the President of the Calleja Foundation. (*Carlos Calleja – Inter-American Dialogue*, n.d., para. 1)

Moreover, Lozano (2022) describes that during Bukele's first months of administration, the crime rate decreased by sixty percent, a substantial change for Salvadorians' social situation. Bukele faced national and international criticism for his leadership style, starting with his radical authoritarianism, the use of armed forces, and harsh measures against gang members, which marked a differentiated administration in El Salvador. Despite these obstacles and challenges, his political and business expertise solidified Bukele's reputation, credibility in how people perceive his administration's policies based on results.

The previous scenario justifies a revision of Bukele's English rhetorical skills, which may inform the relevance of his discourse for designing learning strategies that enhance oral skills in Panamanian ESL university students. This analysis centers on Bukele's use of rhetorical appeals – ethos, pathos, and logos as conceptualized by Aristotle (as cited in Roberts, 1924, p. vii) to investigate how these strategies may function as a resource for enhancing oral skills in (ESL) learners.

Bukele's discourse fits into the Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) framework, which (Van Dijk, 2008, as cited in Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 17) argues that this type of discourse reflects and reproduces power dynamics in society. Beyond this conception, the study responds to The Rhetorical Theory and CDA approaches to explore how Bukele, as a non-native English politician, constructs persuasive discourses for audiences. Nevertheless, the researcher also employs the Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC-22) software described by Francis and Pennebaker (1992, as cited in Boyd et al., 2022), within the Corpus-Assisted Discourse approach, which provides empirical insights into the emotional, cognitive features applied to L2 Bukele's rhetorical skills centered on ESL pedagogical applications.

Riggenbach (1999, as cited in Al-Wasabi, 2016, p. 2066) notes that employing speaking activities such as discussions, speeches, and conversations in oral courses encourages learners to reflect on their speaking proficiency, which posits political discourses as valuable resources for ESL learners. Thus, Rao (2018) suggests that educators value students' linguistic needs and personal interests for designing communicative, meaningful, and engaging tasks to enhance learners' oral skills.

As this study includes the examination of ethos, pathos, and logos using the 2024 Bukele's CPAC discourse, this experience combines rhetorical and discourse analysis studies with a pedagogical orientation may inform oral learning strategies design for Panamanian university students.

Literature Review

Over the past decades, researchers have increasingly explored the intersection between rhetorical analysis and discourse studies (see, e.g., Medriano & De Vera, 2019; Haider, 2014; Olhova, 2016; Wabeen, 2022; Nurkhamidah et al., 2021). These contributions reveal the multifaceted nature of ethos, pathos, and logos in the political discourse of both native English speakers, such as Hillary Clinton, Barack

Obama, Joe Biden, Donald Trump, David Cameron, and non-native speakers, including President Rodrigo Duterte, Malala Yousafzai, Mahathir Mohamad, and Najib Razak.

President Nayib Bukele's political discourse has largely been studied within the second category, that is, as a non-native English speaker. However, this pilot study proposes a new angle by analyzing Bukele's rhetoric through a corpus-assisted discourse (CDA) lens to explore its pedagogical potential for enhancing oral skills among ESL learners. In this regard, Robert and Meenakshi (2022: 2430) indicate that qualified second language speakers should maintain an equal pace to engage, keep the audience's attention, and motivate throughout conversations.

Prior analyses of Bukele's discourses have shed light on his strategic use of rhetoric to construct authority and legitimacy. For instance, Bishop (2023) concludes that President Bukele creates an illusion of improved Salvadoran security in terms of gang activity through rhetorical strategies that proclaim authority and capacity to address challenges and overcome problems. Furthermore, Bukele trusts in his credibility and performance in defeating journalists and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) that criticize his influential connections with gangs and the data manipulation in the homicide rates. Similarly, Andersson and Ramirez (2024) discuss how Bukele, under the pretext of his authoritarian practices, utilizes populist language and rhetorical techniques in leadership campaigns against gang violence, thereby gaining public support to pass more authoritarian policies. In this regard, Bukele justifies a war against gangs by personalizing the Salvadoran population (us) against gangs (them), which warrants the expansion of national safety in the country.

According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997, p. 103), within the CDA framework, discourse is a systematic form of "social practice" in written and spoken language in use. Moreover, they also add that this process "implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s), and social structure(s) which frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them". By understanding discourses as a social phenomenon and their components, the results indicate that individuals have the capacity to influence and be influenced through this social interaction. Consequently, Wodak and Meyer (2001, as cited in Li & Zhangagree, 2019, p. 262) agree that CDA provides researchers with new applications and paradigms that tackle political discourse studies from different perspectives.

Tenorio (2011, p.188) considers CDA a potential approach for highlighting the controlling and scrupulous nature of discourses, which supports a better understanding of the communicative process. Tenorio (2011, p.198) also indicates that CAD informed CDA about the positive or mechanical discourse alignment, which is not only based on the limited context but also on lexical and verbal aspects, thereby reducing research bias in discourse analysis. Moreover, Tenorio (2011, p. 206) categorizes CDA as "infant discipline" for being under because it is constantly evolving, where strengths and weaknesses work together to ensure that it deserves a role in social science studies.

In a rhetorical analysis of Iris Montero's 2017 parliamentary speech for the Podemos party (Tenorio et al., 2019, pp. 28-30), consider that the rhetorical aspect, ethos, reflects the antagonistic

narrative behind linguistic constructions like “What a shame, ladies and gentlemen,” which stir conflict and polarization among involved parties. The feature of logos involves real arguments and facts, highlighting the opposing party's reputation. Nevertheless, the pathos aspect involves practical and accessible language aimed at all audiences, transforming the speech into a conversation that reinforces the characters’ antagonistic *personas* with devices like anaphora and repetition, such as “what a shame,” “Spain in the move,” and corruption issues that motivate people to protest the system, etc.

Using software like LIWC-22 or other tools to assist in CDA shifts, this approach into a more specialized field called CAD. Thus, Jordan et al. (2019, p. 3476) analyzed discourses of American presidents, non-U.S. leaders, and politicians, identifying meaningful LIWC measure categories described in the following section, such as clout, analytical thinking, and confidence for communicating with the audience and maintaining political trends over time. In this context, Jordan et al. (2019, p. 3477) used LIWC 2015 (an earlier version) to measure analytical thinking and clout scores, examining certainty and confidence versus hesitation and doubt in politicians' texts. During this process, researchers considered the text creation year, the LIWC-2015 scores, and individual text analysis to identify trends that explain changes in texts within their background and structure.

Ruiz and Alcántara (2019) analyze the new construction of meaning (the us vs. them) on Twitter, driven by populist and polarized discourse during Spanish electoral campaigns (2015-2016). These authors employed the Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies approach (Baker et al., 2008; Partington et al., 2013) with the Sketch Engine software to identify keywords and collocates in a corpus of 116,072 tweets. In this context, the frequency and collocations in selected Twitter accounts are determined by the number of times they appear, linking certain high-frequency words and collocates to specific semantic frameworks. The authors also note that repetition is a key factor where these elements meet, aligning with the Corpus Linguistics approach.

According to Hart (2020, p. 124), Corpus-Assisted Discourse Analysis is a type of CDA that employs computer software to perform textual analysis of a compilation of words or texts, commonly known as a corpus. In this vein, the employment of LIWC-22 software within the CAD aligns with research questions, which investigate concerns surrounding the research problem: How are logos, ethos, and pathos utilized in Nayib Bukele's political speeches? How can these rhetorical strategies improve oral skills in ESL students? By answering these questions, the study aims to assess and scrutinize Bukele’s rhetorical strategy in selected discourses, recognizing their potential role as authentic educational materials in learning strategies.

Data and Methodology

This article uses a transcription of English-language Bukele’s discourse, “*Just in: El Salvador President Nayib Bukele Warns Of 'Dark Forces' In Anti-Crime Speech at CPAC*”. This political speech was hosted at the Conservative Political Action Conference in National Harbor, Maryland, on February 22nd, 2024. The video was retrieved from the YouTube Channel @ForbesBreakingNews and transcribed

using TurboScribe.com. This study employs a stratified sampling method to select a representative of Bukele's English discourse, resulting in the one delivered at CPAC in 2024. In this regard, the researcher types phrases such as "Bukele's discourses in English" and "Bukele's speeches at forums" into the YouTube search bar to revise potential options; however, Sui et al. (2022) suggest including aspects like content, views, connections to research questions, and objectives to guide the selection and conduction of studies using YouTube videos. After implementing these suggestions, the selected discourse is transcribed, considering Robinson & Wilson (2022), who emphasize the need for accurate transcription methods to ensure reliability. As a result, the researcher will utilize the TurboScribe software for transcription, making necessary revisions to warrant accuracy. Thus, Foged (2024) describes TurboScribe as a type of artificial intelligence that converts and exports audio and video files into text, providing users with a convenient, fast, precise, and practical service.

In methodological terms, this research employs a qualitative methodological approach centered on a case study of Bukele's discourse: "*Just in: El Salvador President Nayib Bukele Warns Of 'Dark Forces' In Anti-Crime Speech at CPAC*". This analysis examines how Bukele employs Aristotle's logos, ethos, and pathos in this discourse, which is tackled from a Corpus-Assisted Discourse Analysis CAD, aligned with the Rhetorical Theory, and the Critical Discourse Analysis. The LIWC-22 software examines this transcription to retrieve, count, and categorize the data into relevant features displayed in the analysis (Francis & Pennebaker, 1992, as cited in Boyd et al., 2022). In this vein, Hart (2020) suggests incorporating three essential elements (keywords, collocates, and concordances) when analyzing discourses from a CAD approach. The results of these three elements provide the researcher with specific, identifiable data, highlighting the most outstanding linguistic patterns to support the general analysis and discussion.

According to Hart (2020, p. 130), *keywords* refer to the occurrences of words (repetitions) found in a specific corpus. The second aspect, *collocates*, "a word that often occurs near or next to another word and suggests that the two words share an important relationship" (Hart 2020, p.133). Finally, *concordances*, which Hart (2020) defines as "a list of all of the occurrences of a word, phrase, or sequence of word/tag combinations (if our corpus is tagged) in a corpus with each one occurring with a few words of co-text" (p. 135).

Concerning the identification of rhetorical modes, Boyd et al. (2022) indicate that LIWC-22 comprises four summary measures, which are automatically analyzed and labeled as *analytical thinking* (logos), *clout and authenticity* (ethos), and *emotional tone* (pathos). These measures are encoded as LIWC-22 variable algorithms from empirical research. Firstly, analytical thinking, which is reflected in the *logos rhetorical strategy* and involves the formal, logical, and structured nature of language that speakers/writers display in discourses. Secondly, the *clout and authenticity* are linked to the *ethos rhetorical strategy* for assessing perceived audience authority, leadership hierarchy, confidence, and social status, which speakers display through their word choices in discourses. Therefore, authenticity centers on the individual's originality and transparency reflected in discourses through the trustworthiness, honesty, and spontaneity. Finally, the emotional tone aligns with the pathos mode, which evaluates the

emotional and affective significance of speech by distinguishing between positive and negative emotional indicators.

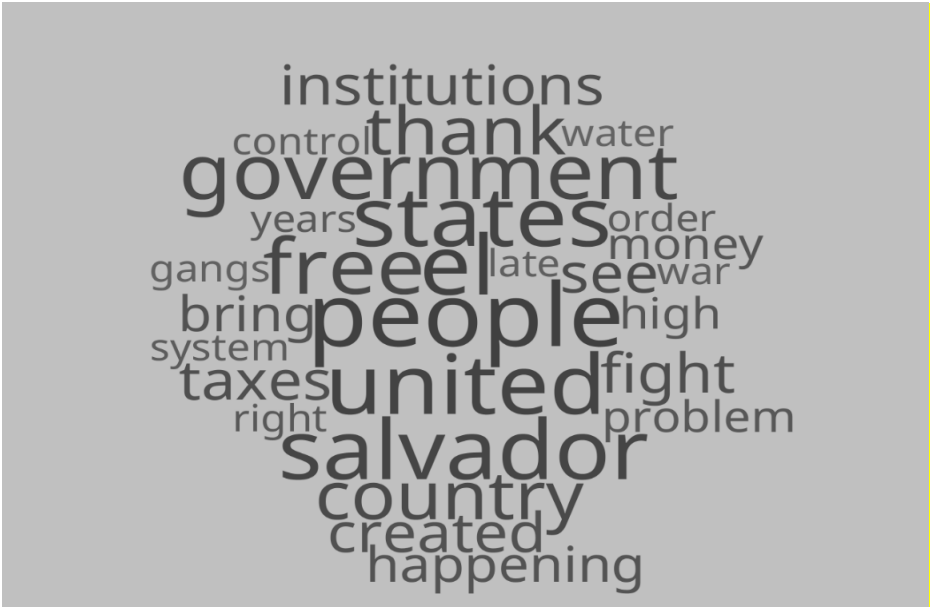
Generally, the analysis of the selected Bukele discourse uses LIWC-22 software to assess Aristotle's rhetorical strategies, identifying analytical thinking (logos), clout and authenticity (ethos), and emotional tone (pathos), which are measured through specific algorithms. This robust software also offers additional features to enhance comprehensive discourse analysis, such as collocations, concordances, word clouds, and frequency analysis. The combination of LIWC-22 with Rhetorical Theory permits CDA a better understanding of text patterns and rhetorical connections to a more specific CAD approach.

After using LIWC-22 to examine the measures described as *analytical thinking*, *clout* & *authenticity*, and *emotional tone*, the researcher organizes data to answer the research questions and complements the analysis with the Word Cloud, which is a tool that displays word frequency graphically and visibly, assisting the analyst's work. The researcher incorporates the obtained frequency list in the annex section to make an illustrative reference that complements the analysis. Regarding the ethical consideration component, the researcher is committed to transparency in the research process by documenting all steps taken during the study.

Results

The following results illustrate the use of the Word Cloud tool to understand the nature and behavior of word choice in Bukele's discourse using one of the basic LIWC22 tools.

Figure 1
Word Cloud retrieved from LIWC-22 analysis



Data obtained from the LIWC-22 analysis

After revising the Word Cloud and a brief revision of the word frequency (see annex), it is time to explore the four LIWC-22 measures: analytical thinking, clout, authenticity, and emotional tone to interpret the revealed values employed in the CAPAC Bukele's discourse. The measure variables range from 0 to 100 compared with the LIWC-22 dictionary. The overall analysis and results are displayed in the following Word Cloud after using the LIWC-22 software:

Tabla 1.

Overall results of the four LIWC-22 measures

Data

LIWC Analysis					
Dataset	Dictionary	Categories	Segmentation	<u>Results</u>	
Just X					
Filename	Segment	Analytic	Clout	Autheticity	Tone
Just X	1	39.88	76.48	46.01	22.85

obtained from the LIWC-22 analysis

Analytical thinking (logos)

The results indicate that the analytical thinking measure ranked 39.88 % in the selected discourse after running the LIWC-22 software. This percentage ranks 50% under the media, suggesting a low analytical thinking reflected in form and structure throughout the discourse.

As excerpt 1 from Bukele's discourse shows, the use of articles (*the, a, a lot of, an*), prepositions (*for, after, to, as, as, by, at, above, of, against, like, etc.*), and cognitive process words (*truly, which, but if...want, must not, identify, but, clearly because, changes, don't always recognize how, problem can, realize how, become, similarity, differences*) supports reasoning and thinking processes. Besides, the use of causation words like (*change, react, depends*) allows the audience to identify cause and effect relations. Regarding the insight aspect, Bukele employs verbs that demand a deeper comprehension analysis (*know, how, think, feel, etc.*).

Excerpt 1: *“Against all adversity, we transformed El Salvador from the most dangerous country in the world to the safest in the Western Hemisphere. We did it by defying the global elites. We told them no more.”*

In the same aspect, Bukele also uses quantifiers (*few, all, multiply, much, many, years, third, some, first, second, thousand, most, every, majority, etc.*) to support thinking, facts versus conclusions, and organizational details about why people in El Salvador should wake up through statistical numbers, as the following excerpt indicates:

Excerpt 2: *“They also gave us a super majority in Congress. More than that, 54 seats out of 60. 57 if we count our allies. That’s 95% of Congress. Let that also think in. The people of El Salvador have woken up, and so can you.”*

Clout (ethos)

The clout score for this discourse ranked 76.48 % out of 100, representing a higher speaker performance in his powerful leadership position. For instance, this propensity is commonly seen in politicians and celebrities. Results reinforce Bukele’s tendency to use a higher frequency of the first-plural personal pronoun “We” and its variants (us, our, ours) in this discourse, instead of the first singular personal pronoun “I”. In this vein, (Pennebaker, 2013, 8:35:42) points out that “The higher anybody is in status, the less they use 'I' words; the lower someone is in status, the higher they use 'I' words”, as shown in excerpt 3 below:

Excerpt 3: *“We were already boiled like the frog. And it took us 50 years, two wars, 250,000 lives, and a third of our population displaced, and a near miracle to get our country back. As your friend, I want to issue this warning so you don't make the same mistakes we did in the 60s and the 70s.”*

Therefore, Bukele’s discourse includes other linguistic elements such as function words (*you, everyone, some, everything, but, like when, someone, maybe just, or a, where the, without*) verbs (*thank, become, don’t realize, say, believe, depend, stand, open, were created, should, listen, would think, jump, solve, die, made, determine, etc.*) and specific ones for expressing affection (*mercy, honor, disposition, fight, freedom, win, courage, fair, glory, victory, success, fear, free, despise, abuse, persecute, criticize, etc.*), certainty (*truly, clearly, of course, merely, extremely, real, really, simply, etc.*), as well as social (*honor, our, opposition, they say, tell you, parties*), and power control (*presidential, elections, rights, control abuse, powers, political, dictator, defenders, strong, police, law, order, defend, powerful, denounce, government, etc.*). The combination of these words and structures employed in Bukele’s discourse supports the analytical thinking process, as identified in the LIWC-22 software's subcategories. So, based on the previously described elements, excerpt 4 fits into clout integration using words that evoke analytical thinking as follows:

Excerpt 4: *“But if you want globalism to die here too, you must be willing to unapologetically fight against everything and everyone that stands for it. Fight for your freedom. Fight for your rights.”*

Authenticity (ethos)

LIWC22 examines the authenticity measure by contrasting language features that show how honest or self-disclosing a speaker sounds in discourses. The authenticity percentage in this analyzed discourse is 46.01 % of 100, which suggests a low strategic and controlled authenticity level below 50; nevertheless, it is acceptable if we revise the overall discourse.

Bukele focuses on maintaining unity and power by using the first-person plural and distancing himself from susceptibility and weakness in his discourse. Nonetheless, Bukele ensures victory, power, control, and manipulation of the audience not from his own 'I' perspective, but from the collectives of 'us.' After applying the LWIC software to this Bukele's discourse, the results highlight words that encourage authenticity through process words (*than, control, thinking, almost impossible, believes, more than, something, why feel, cannot control*), first-person plural (*we, us, our, ours*), as well as those words that indicate negative tone (*bad, sick, tragic, hate, despise, fear, afraid*), and *positive one* (courage, enjoy, confidence).

Excerpt 5: “*We did the unthinkable to clean our society. We arrested the terrorists, but we have to remove corrupt judges, and corrupt attorneys, and prosecutors.*”

Bukele employs “We” to neutralize and reinforce group identity, creating a distance from the authentic 'I.' As a result, when the speaker employs high Authenticity vocabulary, the discourse is categorized as more personal, honest, emotive, authentic, and closer to the audience.

Excerpt 6: “*It is not easy to pull yourself back once you're in boiling water.*” *In fact, all the experts said it was impossible. And besides, you don't want to wait 50 years and maybe hope for a miracle to get out of hell.*”

The analysis of this Bukele's excerpt requires high cognitive processes through comparisons and metaphors in his discourse, which demand that listeners employ complex thinking to understand ideas expressed beyond the message (The comparison of being “in boiling water” refers to the problems they face.)

Emotional tone (pathos)

This measure obtained an overall of 22.85% of the emotional tone that Bukele expresses in his discourse. The software variable for this measure combines the positive and negative tones. These tones are in a range from 0 to 100, where 0–49 corresponds to the negative tone, 50 to a neutral one, and 51 to 100 for positive. Based on this scale, Bukele's discourse is under 50, which places his discourse in a negative emotional tone. Among negative emotions words, the software lists (*bad, sick, tragic, hate, despise, fear, afraid, etc*), and in a smaller size, the positive ones (*courage, enjoy, confidence*).

Excerpt 8: “*We changed the rules of the game.*”

It suggests a reasonable positive tone, demonstrating a position of confidence, change, progress, and victory. Thus, despite the Salvadorian social crisis in the last decades, President Bukele knew how to lead the country against these obstacles and criticism, resulting in a good administration. In general, Bukele's tone addresses the collective (group), enhancing nationalism and pride, which causes a sense of affiliation among citizens to govern the country from his magnificent power by controlling the narrative of his discourse and building his public image as a solid and true Salvadorian leader. In this concern, Bukele sometimes includes strong words like “pulverized” to boost the discourse; however, his final intention aims to maintain a controlled tone. However, negative tone cases are more salient than positive ones. Throughout the text, see the following cases:

Excerpt 9: “**Murder** capital of the world is a **tragic** title to hold.”

Excerpt 10. “The global elites, they **hate** our success, and they **fear** yours.”

Discussions

The analysis of Bukele’s speech delivered at the 2024 Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) comprises the Rhetorical Theory and the Critical Discourse Analysis from a Corpus-Assisted Discourse approach through LIWC-22 software, where the analytical thinking and authenticity correspond to *ethos*, the clout to *pathos*, and the emotional tone to *pathos*. The results indicate that the analyzed Bukele’s discourse combines rhetorical modes in different percentages as follows: analytical 39.88 %, clout 76.46 %, authentic 46.01 %, and 22.5%.

In short, this examination facilitates the extraction of linguistic features that embrace the dictionary that supports the LIWC-22 software. However, to obtain an accurate analysis of Bukele’s discourse, it is necessary to revise how this President exercises power, authenticity beyond word list, and here is where the rhetorical analysis and the human sense take relevance.

From the analysis revision, the ESL professor may focus on developing high analytic thinking skills in discourse (logos) by helping students to use cognitive verb processes (analyze, synthesize, infer, summarize, deduce), logical connectors to express ideas in sequence (however, because then, after). Besides, the analyzed data evidenced the use of statistical data to support facts, quantifiers to go straight to the point, with solid arguments to make the discourse more analytical. These findings can be extrapolated to the Panamanian university students to enhance oral skill strategies that focus on being aware of rhetorical modes and how they can be tackled to reinforce rhetorical skills in second language learners based on Bukele’s linguistic choices and language use.

Based on the relevance of this study, logos may be enhanced in ESL classes by exposing students to discourses in video or audio formats where they can identify patterns, words, and analytical thinking indicators to understand language choices and use in English second-language speakers. Besides, ESL educators may explore software like LIWC-22, Antconc, or manually tagging to revise patterns in given discourses, offering alternatives in discourse analysis. As *logos* is evidence-based on arguments and causation words, allowing the audience to identify correspondence.

For developing high clout (ethos) values in discourses, ESL professors may focus their methodology on encouraging students to understand Pennebaker’s phrase: “The higher anybody is in status, the less they use 'I' words; the lower someone is in status, the higher they use 'I' words.” This concern redirects students’ thoughts, addressing discourses to the selected target, so it helps develop critical thinking in analyzing and presenting arguments. Besides, using affection and certainty to evoke belonging, emotions, and security. Consequently, employing social and powerful words establishes connections for controlling the audience’s attention. On the other hand, authenticity within the (ethos) feature in discourses may be

developed in ESL classes by encouraging students to use honest or self-disclosing words in discourses elaboration, being aware of using the first-person plural to strengthen authenticity, and enhancing texts that demand cognitive processes such as comparison, metaphors, allusions, facts, details, and correspondence in discourses..

To develop pathos features in discourses, ESL professors may focus their teaching strategies on encouraging students to underline words that evoke negative or positive tones in provided discourses, using stories, anecdotes, and phrases that connect discourse to specific emotions. As a complement, ESL educators may mimic intonations to intensify emotions within discourses.

This scenario may generate more case studies delivered by other political figures who use English as a second language and examine their connection to the acquisition of oral skills at the university level. Thus, the CDA and the CAD through the LIWC-22 software assist in the analysis, but the rhetorical analysis contextualizes and complements findings from the human factor.

Conclusions and suggestions for future research

The analysis of Bukele's CPAC discourse in 2024 represents the tip of the iceberg, pointing to the need for a profound Critical Discourse Analysis employing rhetorical Theory to shed light on the adaptation of rhetorical modes to ESL education in the Panamanian context. This pilot study revises ethos, pathos, and logos from a CAD by using LIWC-22 software, which measures specific variables through the lens of clout, authenticity, analytical thinking, and emotional tones.

Results show President Bukele utilizes these measures by balancing clout and analytical thinking to reinforce his leadership and power, as well as his confidence. Moreover, the reduced employment of the authenticity measure is evident for the restricted manifestation of Bukele's self-emotions. Overall, the software identifies more salient instances in negative tone cases than in positive ones throughout the discourse. However, the positive emotional tone is found at low levels through feelings of optimism, victory, and triumph. So, this examination addresses the first research question: How do logos, ethos, and pathos are utilized in Nayib Bukele's political speeches?

From this analysis, the second research question aims to inform readers about how these rhetorical strategies can improve oral skills in ESL students? In this aspect, the current analysis provides valuable insights and practical recommendations for ESL educators who teach speaking courses at universities in Panama. This research informs the relevance of Bukele's discourse to enhance oral and rhetorical skills as an educational resource in speaking courses. Therefore, it may support learning and teaching strategies that improve ESL learning in Panamanian university students.

To summarize, this pilot study examines one aspect of Bukele's discourse. However, it may not fully capture the rich and meaningful contributions to rhetorical and oral skills, which connect L2 English discourse analysis to ESL education. Another limitation involves the software feature display, which lacks collocation filters, displaying occurrences randomly, and the coding color filters are limited to five options for analyzing word patterns. Future research should include more discourses to gain a broader understanding of Bukele's persuasiveness in English as an L2. In the educational field, the elaboration of well-structured lessons guides assisting professors to enhance rhetorical and speaking skills through political discourse.

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Annex

Table 2

Word Frequency List retrieved from LIWC-22

Word	Frequency	Frequency: Percent of Total Words	Docs with Word	Percentage of Docs with Word
people	14	1.5784	1	100
el	13	1.4656	1	100
united	13	1.4656	1	100
states	13	1.4656	1	100
salvador	13	1.4656	1	100
government	12	1.3529	1	100
free	12	1.3529	1	100
thank	10	1.1274	1	100
country	10	1.1274	1	100
see	8	0.9019	1	100
institutions	8	0.9019	1	100
fight	8	0.9019	1	100
taxes	8	0.9019	1	100
created	8	0.9019	1	100
bring	7	0.7892	1	100
happening	7	0.7892	1	100
high	6	0.6764	1	100
money	6	0.6764	1	100
problem	6	0.6764	1	100
right	5	0.5637	1	100
years	5	0.5637	1	100
order	5	0.5637	1	100
system	5	0.5637	1	100
control	5	0.5637	1	100
late	5	0.5637	1	100
war	5	0.5637	1	100
gangs	5	0.5637	1	100
water	5	0.5637	1	100

Data obtained from the analysis using LIWC-22, which indicates the word frequency.