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## **Deciphering the Discourse of Livestreaming E-commerce in China: From the Perspective of Classical Rhetorical Persuasion**

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# Deciphering the Discourse of Livestreaming E-commerce in China

*From the perspective of classical rhetorical persuasion*

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**ABSTRACT:** This paper aims to analyze the discourse strategies in the live-stream sales in China, by a case study of the streamer Dong Yuhui. It reveals Dong Yuhui's sophisticated uses of the traditional rhetorical techniques to achieve better persuasive effect. In particular, it shows that in his live-stream discourses Dong Yuhui deliberately establishes his good ethos and prefers to use good logical arguments, and he also uses narrative strategies to sentimentally inspire the audience's resonance.

**KEYWORDS:** classical rhetoric, e-commerce, ethos, livestreaming, logos, pathos, persuasion

## 1. INTRODUCTION

As an online shopping method, 'livestreaming E-commerce' refers to a new form of e-commerce in which an anchor tries to recommend some products by means of video live broadcast. At present, China's livestreaming E-commerce has developed for more than 7 years, creating a trillion-level market scale with a huge market value and many significant social effects. In 2021, The *Time magazine* included two famous Chinese anchors of Taobao platform, *Weiya* and *Li Jiaqi*, as the Top 100 influential figures for the year, and they are classified into the category of "innovators". When introducing them, besides reporting their achievement of hundreds of millions of dollars in sales in one year, the *Time magazine* has also stressed on their promotion of agricultural products during the pandemic, and their charity works in poverty alleviation as well.

Although the livestreaming e-commerce market in Europe and the United States is not as big as in China, it has also been developing rapidly. For example, Amazon is

vigorously developing its streaming media platform, *Amazon Live*. According to Forbes, the platform is extremely similar to the Taobao Live streaming. Following Tmall's November 11-Singles Day shopping festival, it launches the Prime Day, inviting celebrities such as the comedian Kevin Hart and the Australian model Miranda Kerr to engage in e-commerce live streaming. Recently, *YouTube* has also partnered with the e-commerce platform *Shopify* to add product links in its live broadcast, short videos and long videos. Now its users can use *Shopify* to directly purchase items on the page. As a global trend, livestreaming has become an emerging e-commerce model that is more and more influential in China and all over the world. One of the crucial reasons for its great success is simply that the information conveyed by the streamer through his/her specific words and well-designed expressions in the livestreaming are well accepted by the audience, and thus achieved a better persuasive effect. Accordingly, we believe that the livestreaming e-commerce can be easily taken as an interesting phenomenon to be analyzed from the perspective of Rhetoric, for rhetorical studies center on persuasion and provide us with adequate tools for analyzing how language and other symbolic means can be effectively used to enable the audience to accept the persuader's opinions.

In argumentation theory, the rhetorical approach has normally been traced back to the western classical rhetoric, in which Aristotle was certainly one of its most important figures. This paper is an attempt to offer an analysis of the discourses in the livestreaming sales in China from the Aristotelian classical rhetorical perspective. In particular, it will focus on a case study of the New Oriental's streamer *Dong Yuhui*, exploring his persuasion strategies in terms of Aristotle's famous "three means of persuasion" - *ethos*, *logos* and *pathos*. The rest of the paper is structured as follows. In the next section we will first briefly introduce Aristotle's classic rhetoric theory, and then review some existent researches that have used Aristotle's framework to analyze discourses in various fields. After that, in section 3-5 we will take Dong Yuhui's charitable e-commerce live streaming as research material, and use text analysis and case study to reveal (a) how the anchor builds his own character through his discourse,

(b) how he uses logical arguments to meet the audience's rational thinking, and (c) how he has cleverly appealed to emotion to stimulate the audiences' association and resonance. In the last section, we conclude that means of *ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos* coexist in successful livestreaming e-commerce discourses, and in order to accomplish the desired persuasive effect they need to be used in a balanced way.

## 2. ARISTOTLE'S THREE MEANS OF PERSUASION AND THEIR USES IN ANALYZING DIFFERENT DISCOURSES

According to Aristotle, the "technical" means of persuasion can be divided into three sub-categories: the first depends on the personal character of the speaker; the second relies on the trust of the audience through factual argument, logical reasoning or apparent proof that is provided by the words of the speech itself; and the third depends on putting the audience into a certain frame of mind, by arousing the emotions and

feelings of the audience for persuasive purposes (van Eemeren *et al.* 2014, p.117). In other words, Aristotle believes that the persuasive effect can be well determined by the three elements of *ethos*, *logos* and *pathos*.

*Ethos*. The means of *ethos* refers to the use of the speaker's character. If a speech relies on the character of the speaker, then it will be credible to the listener. Because "we believe good men more fully and more readily than others: this is true generally whatever the question is, and absolutely true where exact certainty is impossible and opinions are divided" (*Rhet.*, I.2, 1356a6-8). Moreover, according to Aristotle, it should be stressed that the speakers must accomplish these effects by what they say in the speech, for a pre-existing good character cannot be part of the technical means of persuasion. Aristotle remarks that "there are three things which inspire confidence in the orator's own character-the three, namely, that induce us to believe a thing apart from any proof of it: good sense, excellence, and goodwill" (*Rhet.*, I.2, 1378a6-8). If they displayed none of them, the audience would doubt that they are able to give any good advice at all. However, if they have displayed all of them, as Aristotle concludes, it cannot rationally be doubted that their suggestions are trustworthy.

*Logos*. The means of *logos* is through the argument itself. Taking the distinction between deduction and induction as a starting point, Aristotle divides the logical means of persuasion into enthymemes and examples. In enthymemes, something is proven in a deductive way by means of probabilities or signs; in examples, something is proven in an inductive way. Aristotle observes that in the rhetorical context of a speaker addressing an audience, the deductive argument employed in the enthymeme does not have to be complete (*Rhet.*, I.2, 1356a16-19), because the audience in the target group will usually be able to add the missing parts with the help of their background knowledge regarding the issue at hand.

*Pathos*. The third one, *pathos*, refers to the means of putting the audience into a certain frame of mind. According to Aristotle, it is a psychological fact that "our judgements when we are pleased and friendly are not the same as when we are pained and hostile" (*Rhet.*, I.2, 1356a15-16). Therefore, he further specifies several forms of emotion (such as happiness, pity, fear and other such kind of emotions), and advises the speaker to appeal skillfully to the audience's emotional responses in order to establish in their minds certain attitude or understanding about some concepts, values, behaviors and situations.

At present, Aristotle's three means of persuasion has been widely used as a framework to analyze discourses in political speech, court mediation, commercial advertising, e-commerce products and many other fields. We have summarized some existing works in Table 1 below.

Table 1 Researches using Aristotle's three means of persuasion

| Research field             | Research context                                                                              | Research methods     | Research questions                                                                                         | Impact Effect                                                                                          | Reference                     |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Politics and policy        | Presidential candidate 's Facebook page                                                       | Content analysis     | How the ethos/logos/pathos elements in Facebook posts influence the campaign                               | The uses of the three means of persuasion enhance the persuasive effect of the campaign text           | Bronstein (2013)              |
|                            | Institutional Change (Australian Senate Committee Report)                                     | Case analysis        | How to choose rhetorical strategies to persuade managers to take action                                    | The three means of persuasion are conducive to improving the persuasive effect of institutional change | Brown <i>et al.</i> (2012)    |
| Controversies and disputes | Letter of complaint (a student's complaint case at the University of Jordan )                 | Qualitative analysis | What are the main strategies that students use to persuade the addressee to take action?                   | The three means of persuasion are conducive to persuading managers to take action                      | Al-Momani (2014)              |
| Commercial advertisement   | Real commercial advertisements and sample advertisements recommended to advertising companies | Content analysis     | How to choose rhetorical strategies to make commercial advertisements achieve the desired publicity effect | By using the combination of the three means of persuasion, the ideal publicity effect can be achieved  | Romanova <i>et al.</i> (2019) |
| E-commerce products        | Crowdfunding platform                                                                         | Content analysis     | What rhetorical skills should crowdfunding entrepreneurs use                                               | The crowdfunding project using the three means of persuasion has the greatest persuasion effect        | Tirdatov (2014)               |

Rhetoric plays a key role in explaining the persuasive effects and the symbolic means used in different forms of discourse. Table 1 shows that the classic Aristotle's framework of *ethos*, *logos* and *pathos* can be used as a general tool to analyze different persuasions in various fields. Till now, most of the studies on discourses in livestreaming E-commerce in China have mainly focused on the credibility of the persuader, the content structure, and the characteristics of the audiences (Peng 2020). We believe that it is also promising to use the *ethos*, *logos* and *pathos* framework to analyze the persuasive discourses in livestreaming E-commerce. And in this paper, we choose to focus particularly on the discourse in charitable e-commerce livestreaming, for in such a context the anchors are normally marketing some public welfare products, thus they will need to take more efforts to convince the audience of the quality of the products, and sometimes they will have to try various means in order to provoke the purchase willingness from the audience.

Since livestreaming E-commerce is becoming a vital part of China's internet and digital economy, more and more commercial organizations are gradually getting involved. Among them, the New Oriental company is a very famous example. the New Oriental company used to be a giant company in the field of education and training in China, but in 2021 the Chinese government has implemented the "Double Reduction" policy which forbids almost all the outside class training, so the market value of New Oriental fell by 90%. 60,000 employees were dismissed, and the total cash outlay for tuition fees and rent refunds from teaching stations, etc. reached nearly 20 billion yuan. Then, the company chooses to turn to the livestreaming sales to save its own business. The New Oriental's six months (From June to November 2022) of Gross Merchandise Volume (GMV) reached again \$4.8 billion. However, this would not be possible without the contribution of its most famous streamer, *Dong Yuhui*. At present, the number of followers in Dong Yuhui's e-commerce live streaming room has reached 1126 million. So in this paper we choose to carry a case study on Dong Yuhui's discourses in his charitable e-commerce livestreaming, especially, his live-stream sales on agricultural products and books during June to September 2022.

### 3. "A YOUNG MAN WHO IS STRUGGLING IN A BIG CITY LIKE YOU AND ME"

Aristotle believes that the impression of a person's personality is an important factor for persuasion. As mentioned above, to be convincing, a speaker needs to have three qualities in character: good sense, excellence, and goodwill. Dong Yuhui's growth experience is inspirational and touching. From the last place in the English exam when he was a child, he eventually became an eminent English teacher in New Oriental who had taught 500,000 students. Because of his love of reading, he became popular on the Internet years later with his solid literary foundation. When he was a teacher, he found a way to subsidize poor students without telling them. He asked for nothing in return and only wanted them to grow up happily. Dong Yuhui's abundant experience, tenacity,

kind and upright character are consistent with the good qualities that people yearn for, which has aroused broad value recognition in his audience.

After receiving a widespread attention, Dong Yuhui still identifies himself as “*a farmer’s child, a young man who is struggling in a big city like you and me*”. “*As a former teacher and a current e-commerce streamer, it is my blessing, honor and mission to impart knowledge, make people love reading, and finally love life.*” In the face of the New Oriental crisis, Dong Yuhui did not shrink back or leave, but instead remained steadfast in his original intention of teaching and educating people, and integrated his personal goals with the larger national picture. As one netizen commented: “*Selling goods is secondary. Dong Yuhui’s correct values and transparent outlook on life are what ordinary people pursue.*” For many netizens, following Dong Yuhui’s live broadcast room means a status symbol and value recognition, indicating “taste”, “cultivation”, “style”, “never give up”, etc.

Moreover, *Ethos* appeal emphasizes that the speaker must establish his or her own character through words, implying and constructing his or her professionalism and goodwill between words. It can be seen that Dong Yuhui himself also tries to build his own image of a streamer with both morality and talent through his own words to help consumers make an overall evaluation on his credibility and personality.

Example 1: *Why does helping farmers win the hearts of people? First of all, it is in line with the social morality of “To ordain conscience for Heaven and Earth. To secure life and fortune for the people.” “I have heard that dukes and senior officials are beset with worries not about their poverty, but about lack of equal shares, not about the scarcity of sustenance in their regions, but about the stability and peace of their populace’s life.” So that is “From those to whom much has been given, much is expected.”* (Source: Special charitable e-commerce live streaming of Yunnan trip in Dong Yuhui’s live broadcast room in September 2022. Products: Yunnan Sunshine Rose Grape)

Here Dong Yuhui has talked about his views on supporting agriculture in the live streaming. He began by referencing Zhang Zai’s “Heng-qu’s four dicta” in the Northern Song Dynasty to express that supporting farmers is in line with social morality. “To ordain conscience for Heaven and Earth” refers to establishing a spiritual value system for society with morals like “benevolence” and “filial piety” as the core. That is to say, to make the world full of “benevolence and righteousness”, we must first possess these qualities ourselves. In the second half of the sentence (To secure life and fortune for the people), “people” refers to the masses, while “life” pertains to the fate of the masses. This involves the issue of “settlement of life” that Confucianism has been paying attention to. “To secure life and fortune for the people” implies that officials should prioritize the safety and well-being of the citizens. In this example, Dong Yuhui initially highlighted the importance of supporting agriculture, and linked it to the idea of “To ordain conscience for Heaven and Earth. To secure life and fortune for the people”, reflects his commitment to social responsibility and dedication to China’s public welfare undertakings. In the second sentence, quoting the famous sayings of “*People*

*do not suffer from poverty but from inequality*” from *the Analects of Confucius*, Dong Yuhui illustrates that the distribution of social wealth is a major problem for any country and society. This also shows his concern for others and social equity. Dong Yuhui believes that people with talents, property status, power and opportunities should do something beneficial to society and human beings. Therefore, he quoted the third ancient famous saying, “*From those to whom much has been given, much is expected*”, showing his noble sentiments and spirit of serving the people. These character traits are constantly pursued and adhered to by him in public welfare undertakings. In the previous example, he used three well-known sayings in a row to answer the question “Why do helping farmers win the hearts of people?” This showed his profound understanding of traditional Chinese culture. The excellent character and noble sentiments he showed in the e-commerce live streaming are based on erudite and versatile qualities.

#### 4. “TO REVERE NATURE IS TO REVERE OURSELVES AND HUMAN BEINGS”

Dong Yuhui has also preferred to use the power of *logos* to generate persuasive effects. He excels at adducing good reasons to convince the audiences, and this, in turn, also makes him so particular as a successful streamer. Most Chinese streamers, even the top ones like *Li Jiaqi*, like to persuade their audiences by simply emphasizing the discount in price, and by quoting their own personal experience of using the product. Their contents of live streaming are typically as follows: introducing the characteristics of the product, emphasizing the price advantages, reporting inventory time and again, and using repeatedly the iconic slogans like “Oh my god!” “Buy it! Buy it! Buy it!” to stimulate the audiences’ nerves to encourage buyings.

The following two passages are example of the reasons *Li Jiaqi* used to persuade the audience to buy his products.

Example 2: *This color is extremely fashionable. On my god! This color reminds me of a female star, Angelina Jolie. It's really beautiful and special. I have never thought that a dark berry lipstick could make people look so white. Be sure to buy this color!* (Source: Li Jiaqi's Taobao live streaming room on April 1, 2021. Product: M.A.C lipstick)

Example 3: *Bestore still has 6,000 boxes of small walnut kernels. Now, 4000 boxes left. It is a real bargain and everyone is rushing to buy it, and there are only 2,000 boxes left. Although it costs 89 yuan per box, you will definitely feel highly cost-effective.* (Source: Li Jiaqi's Taobao live streaming room on December 25, 2021)

In Example 2, the reason why Li Jiaqi recommended lipstick was that it can make people look whiter and fancier. In order to express his affirmation of the value of the product, he incorporated English words such as “oh my god”, “special” and “low” in

between the Chinese sentences. This livestreaming mode creates a humorous atmosphere through code-switching (such as Chinese to English), so as to be psychologically closer to the audiences in the live streaming room. In example 3, Li Jiaqi stimulated the audience's desire to purchase the product by emphasizing the price advantage and repeatedly reporting on the inventory, thus prompting audiences to buy the product as soon as possible.

In contrast, the reasons offered by Dong Yuhui are always more subtle. To illustrate this point, we will make a comparison between the live streaming discourses of Dong Yuhui and another famous streamer Liu Yuanyuan. They happen to have recommended the same book "*The Natural History Book*" respectively in their live streaming rooms at different times.

Table 2 A comparison between Liu Yuanyuan's and Dong Yuhui's live streaming discourses (Example 4)

| Product in live streaming   | <i>The Natural History Book</i>                                                                                                                                                                                             | <i>The Natural History Book</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Source of discourse         | Liu Yuanyuan's TikTok live streaming room on September 6, 2021                                                                                                                                                              | Dong Yuhui's New Oriental live streaming room on June 16, 2022                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| Discourse in live streaming | <i>This book can now be seen as a classic work, the price of which will not easily be cut. Originally priced at 460 yuan, it is currently available for only 168 yuan, representing an incredible discount of 300 yuan.</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· This book helps children understand how to revere nature<br/><i>The elements of our bodies are as old as the blue planet beneath us. For example, 70% of our body is water, and the hydrogen that makes up water comes from the Big Bang. The rice and flour we eat is essentially carbon, which comes from nuclear fusion inside the earth. Additionally, our bodies contain iron, which when combined can form a nail approximately 7cm long. Therefore, from this perspective, we are no different from rocks, flowers and trees, as well as birds and beasts. Only by revering nature can children be friendly to nature. To revere nature is to revere ourselves and human beings.</i></li> <li>· This book tells children not to complain too much when they are having trouble. <i>Children will encounter numerous changes during their growth, but the only thing that remains unchanged is change.</i></li> </ul> |

|  |  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|--|--|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|  |  | <i>When children read The Natural History Book, pictures of species one after another made them obviously feel the change. It's critical to remind them that when their own circumstances change, they shouldn't excessively complain, but rather adapt their mindset accordingly.</i> |
|--|--|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

In the above example, Liu Yuanyuan only emphasizes the original price and the current discount before sharing the link of the products. This approach, known as “price stimulus” in marketing, taps into consumers’ psychology of seeking lower prices. Unlike the low-cost purchase gimmick prevailing in the live streaming e-commerce market, Dong Yuhui’s live streaming persuasion is extremely different from pure “consumerism”. When recommending the same book, Dong Yuhui used parallel sentences to popularize hydroxide and nuclear fusion to the audience in the live streaming room, and then he swiftly transitioned into a philosophical discussion by asking, “Why do we feel a sense of familiarity when we see these?” Because we have the same composition as rocks, flowers and trees, birds and beasts, and human beings themselves are biophilia. We should therefore make our children revere nature, ourselves and human beings. The reason offered by Dong Yuhui for buying the book is that the book is not just a simple encyclopedia of natural collection, but it also tells the children what the true meaning of life is. By reading this book, children unconsciously expand their horizons and develop a disciplined cognitive system. As a result, although he did not emphasize the low price at all, more than 30,000 copies of the book were sold on the day of his live streaming.

As a successful anchor, Dong Yuhui has gained popularity among his audience. He knows well that repetitive and emotional discourses cannot attract the audience’s for long periods of time. He tries to share his own insights of the product with his audience, rather than merely introducing products. He never imitates other streamers, and his discourses are always unique, reason-based and culturally embedded.

## 5. “IN FACT, IT IS NOT THE CORN YOU ARE MISSING, BUT YOUR FORMER SELF”

Empathy is the link between the streamer and the audience, and Dong Yuhui has shown remarkable skills in evoking emotional experiences and in establishing an emotional connection with his viewers. He is good at finding a relationship between the products and the viewers by excavating the hidden knowledge of products, their childhood memories and life situations. He likes to describe a real life scene to resonate with the audiences. During these moments, the audiences began to re-examine the value of the products and establish a favorable link between the products and themselves. For example, when selling northeast Nongsao corns, Dong Yuhui gave a lively description of the following scene:

*Example 5: You often remember that in the midsummer wind, you sit in the yard to enjoy the cool night breeze. The leaves were rustling, one or two unknown birds occasionally flew by, making a crisp sound. You were eating a corn poked with chopsticks, and holding in your hand the cooled watermelon just taken out of the well. Adults were busy talking, sometimes whispering and sometimes laughing. You didn't care what they were talking about because you don't know any about human affairs at that time. Many years later, you can barely remember the taste of that corn, but you clearly remember those midsummer nights, stars shining, breeze blowing, and leaves rustling. You were young at that time, without having a headache or cervical spine problem that would make you toss and turn in the sleepless night, or make you feel dizzy in the morning when you wake up. At that time, your parents were still in good health, they were young and your grandparents were with you. In fact, it is not the corn you are missing, but your former self. (Source: Dong Yuhui's New Oriental live streaming room on September 22, 2022, product: Northeast Nongsao Corn)*

In this example, Dong Yuhui talked about a person's typical childhood memories, such as the sunshine in the alley, the occasional birds flying into the yard, and the many stars in the sky, all of which evoke the emotional memory of consumers. And then he linked the product with the viewers' reminiscent feelings. By incorporating emotional storytelling and evoking childhood memories, he creates a deeper connection with the audience. This connection helps to foster empathy between Dong Yuhui and his viewers.

Here are two other examples of Dong Yuhui's sophisticated use of *pathos*:

*Example 6: "Never had I shown you the snow on the Changbai Mountain, nor had I taken you to experience the breeze blowing in the field in October, nor had I shown you the heads of grain which bends down like a wise man. I haven't taken you to witness all this, but honey, I want you to taste the rice that resemble them." (Source: Dong Yuhui's New Oriental live streaming room on July 26, 2022, product: Heilongjiang Wuchang Paddy Rice)*

*Example 7: In explaining why the price of agricultural products sold in his live streaming room are sometimes higher, Dong Yuhui says that: "Cheap grain harms the peasants. If an agricultural product is completely unprofitable, fewer people are opting to farming. Therefore, the price of agricultural products cannot be too low. However, it also cannot be too high, because we should be responsible to consumers. It costs 20 yuan for a box of apples, which is not expensive. But the money for selling 1,000 boxes of apples in one night will be sufficient for the farmer's child to go to college, enough for his living expenses, and enough for the medicine cost of elderly*

*people in rural areas."*

In both passages Dong Yuhui is appealing to the audiences' emotional feelings. The first would be our hoping to make the best for our lover whenever we can; and the second is our natural sympathy to the hardworking farmers living in a poor situation in rural areas, it makes us feel that every order they placed was a good deed to farmers. In general, Dong Yuhui's selling discourses tend to provide sentimental value for the audiences. He uses various rhetorical devices such as parallelism and antithesis to create vivid and engaging visualizations that can enhance the audience's experience. And his uses of picture narrative techniques create a special atmosphere that brings to the audience much pleasure and a sense of beauty. By immersing the audience into his narratives, he enhances emotional resonance and strengthens the connection between the audiences and his products.

## 6. CONCLUSION

The classical three means of persuasion proposed by Aristotle have been widely used to study the effective persuasions in various fields. In this paper we also adopt this Aristotelian framework to analyze the discourses in Chinese livestreaming e-commerce, focusing particularly on a case study of the very famous and successful streamer Dong Yuhui. It is shown that Dong Yuhui has appealed regularly and deliberately to *ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos* in order to engage his audience and to convey his message persuasively. In terms of *ethos*, Dong Yuhui effectively shapes himself with a respectful personality that is appropriate and compelling for his audience. Regarding the means of *logos*, his arguments are always well-organized and can better cater to the audience's thinking. Moreover, he pays attention to the structure and coherence of his reasoning, ensuring that his audience can follow along and understand his messages. At last, Dong Yuhui also excels at appealing to *pathos* in his livestreaming, he prefers to use narrative tactics to evoke emotions and to inspire association and resonance among his audience. Streamers commonly use various linguistic tools and techniques to influence their audience's preferences, attitudes, and responses without forcefully imposing an idea on them. Our analysis of Dong Yuhui's case makes it clear that the effective uses of *ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos* are crucial for a good streamer. And it also indicates that Dong Yuhui's success cannot come down to any of these three means alone, a successful streamer need to apply all of them to create a balanced and more compelling persuasion.

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