Political Diplomatic Tone in Presidential Inauguration

Address of the USA President Donald Trump: A Critical Discourse Analysis

A Thesis Submitted to the Department of English, Al-Andalus University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for Master Degree in Linguistics

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DECLARATION

I am Mohammed Ali Saeed Ali an MA student at Alandalus University for Sciences & Technology, Faculty of Arts & Humanities, Department of English Language studies & literature, here by, confirm that my study entitled Political Diplomatic Tone in Presidential Inauguration of the USA President Donald Trump: a CDA, under the supervision of Dr. Abdullah Ali Al-Iryaniani is entirely the results of my own work and has been carried out to the best of my knowledge. I have faithfully acknowledged all the sources either in text-references or at references pages.

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Dedication

To the queen of the world whose inspiration shines through every page of this study,
my mother.

To the inspired man who enlighten my path by his prayers, My Father.

To my wife who always stands with me in all my Circumstances.

To my brothers and sisters who supported me along my passage.

To my beloved son, Qais and my beloved daughter Noof who were born, during my
MA Program.

To all my family and friends.

I dedicate my study.
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Abstract

Donald Trump’s emergence as a leading candidate, elected to be the president of the USA, has become an issue of debate and division in U.S. political sphere. For many politicians, Trump’s inauguration speech has been a source of controversy and enthusiasm across America and throughout the world. His inauguration speech has introduced him as a fresh political character worthy of individual scrutiny. CDA is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. CDA not only focuses on the linguistic dimensions of language, but also maintains a strong political agenda in reference to how the language is used. On these bases, this study aimed at investigating the political diplomatic tone in the presidential inauguration speech of the USA president Donald Trump and exploring the use of linguistic categories in his inauguration speech. For this purpose, the researcher used the descriptive analytical approach that is mainly based on a qualitative and quantitative method of data collection. The source of the data was taken from the recorded video and a script of Trump's inauguration speech. In collecting the data, the researcher used the observational method by doing a direct observation of the language used in this speech and, then, employed inferences from the text deductively and inductively by a note taking technique. The study results showed that Trump's inauguration speech seemed to be formal and up to the diplomatic tone level from the beginning to the end in accordance with the usual conventions followed by diplomats. Moreover, the study results revealed that the enormous linguistic categories included in Trump’s speech were used successfully and purposefully, which further signified that this political addressor performed various actions through his speech and setup as a guide in evaluating the sincerity and functionality of his administrative policy.
CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1. Preliminaries

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of analytical discourse research that primarily studies the way in which social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 352). CDA is "an approach to language analysis which concerns itself with issues of language, power and ideology", "CDA focuses on language as a form of "social practice." (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258).

The study of political discourse analysis is one of the areas of discourse analysis that covers a broad range of a subject matter, and draws on a wide range of analytic methods. The term political discourse is suggestive of at least two possibilities: first, a discourse which is itself political; and second, an analysis of political discourse as simply an example discourse type, without explicit reference to political content or political context. However, things may be even more confusing. Given that on some definitions, almost all discourses may be considered political, then all analyses of discourse are potentially political, and, therefore, on one level, all discourse analysis is political discourse (Shapiro, 1981). This potentially confusing situation arises, in the main, from definitions of the political in terms of general issues such as power, conflict, control, or domination (cf. Fairclough 1992a, 1995; Van Dijk 1993; Chilton & Schaffer 1997).
The study of political discourse has been around for as long as politics itself. The emphasis the Greeks placed on rhetoric is a case in point. From Cicero (1971) to Aristotle (1991) the concern was basically with particular methods of social and political competence in achieving specific objectives. While Aristotle gave a more formal twist to these overall aims, the general principle of articulating information on policies and actions for the public good remained constant. This general approach is continued today (Wilson, 2003, p. 399)

The object of CDA is public speech such as advertisement, newspaper, official documents, laws, regulation and political propagandas and so on. CDA aims to explore the relationships among language, ideology and power. Political discourse analysis is one of the areas of CDA because it has a great influence on the public.

One of the core goals of political discourse analysis is to seek out the ways in which language choice is manipulated for specific political effect. Hence, the present study is devoted mainly to analyze the political language of the inauguration speech by Donald Trump, the current president of United States of America (USA), and its influence on the audience. The speech is showed on screen in many TV channels.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The deployment of linguistic facilities in political campaigns is the first determiner of the acceptability of most candidates who impose their ideology on others in their quest to win the people’s mandate. They win this mandate by naturalizing and neutralizing their ideologies, making them seem part of the ‘knowledge-base’ of their social institution, and hence an acceptable and incontrovertible ‘order of discourse’, and part of ‘common sense’. These ideological
issues are ‘hidden’ in texts such that even those who suffer as a consequence are ignorant of them and may contribute to their sustenance.

Political speech is almost characterized by its diplomatic tone that leaves great influence on the public whether positively or negatively. As diplomatic tone is one of the prominent features of political speech, some politicians have been gifted by God to stir different feelings and emotions on the public. That is why politicians have been immortalized by their political speeches such as, Abraham Lincoln, Mahatma Gandhi, and even Barack Obama. As long as the speech of the president Donald Trump is concerned, this research is an attempt to investigate Trump's political diplomatic tone in his inauguration speech. However, it is important to mention that the intention here is not to provoke the political issues included in Trump’s speech, but to examine the manipulated linguistic categories from critical discourse analysis angle.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

The present research seeks to achieve the following objectives:

1. Investigating the political diplomatic tone of Donald Trump in his inauguration speech.
2. Exploring the linguistic categories in Trump’s inauguration speech.

1.4. Questions of the Study

The present study attempts to answer the following questions:

1. How was political diplomatic tone represented in Donald Trump’s inauguration speech?
2. What are the linguistic categories that form the political diplomatic tone in Trump's inauguration speech?

1.5. Significance of the Study

Human beings are essentially political creatures whose political instincts are always manifesting in their choice and use of words. A conscious attempt must, therefore, be made to critically assess the ideological and political undertone behind their utterances. The Critical Discourse Analysis, generally speaking, goes beyond linguistic analysis to project socio-political messages inherent in linguistic expressions and its consequences on the hearer. The great interest in this research is a new contribution to the analysis of political discourse in general. The work intends to create awareness and raise the consciousness of all language scholars, and particularly discourse analysts, to the potentials of discourse and texts to mediate dominant political practices. These scholars will gain insight into the peculiar power and ideological structures implicit in diplomatic speeches.

To text producers and consumers, this study will provide the inspiration on how to use and accept certain political practices which have hitherto become the order of discourse. They would come to terms with the fact that the so-called common sense ideological formations could be deconstructed in texts because discourse has the potentials to establish these ideological positions or to subvert them. Finally, politics has remained a veritable source of human activities where language, whether spoken or written, is ideologically patterned. As a dynamic social process and an interactive forum, it involves a lot of linguistic negotiation that continuously yield fresh data that can be used for sociolinguistic research. To this end, language experts would be more
critically aware of the dynamics of language. As such, the study will be an addition to existing scholarship in this area of investigation.

Moreover, this research would contribute as an addition to the researches in this field and provide more insight into the way discourse sustains the connections between language, power and ideology. This can therefore expose the transformations in language and enlighten us on how it shapes and reshapes the given reality.

1.6. Limitations of the Study

This study is limited to an in-depth critical discourse analysis on:

- The political diplomatic tone of Donald Trump’s presidential inauguration speech.
- The inauguration speech is delivered on January 20th, 2017.
- The speech is delivered in White House, Washington, United State of America.

Out of the various issues concerned in CDA, this research is limited to the investigation of the diplomatic tone in this political speech via analyzing its formality and framing. In addition, the study will be limited to the analysis of the linguistic categories found in Trump’s inauguration speech. The other aspects of political discourse analysis are not concerned in this research for the limitation of time and space given to the researcher. The study is going to be conducted in the academic year 2017/2018 in the Department of English at Alandalus University.

1.7. Rationale of the Study

No one can ignore or deny the significance of the American political mode, nationally and internationally. This mode is usually represented through the speeches
of the American leaders and politicians, particularly during presidential election campaigns and inauguration ceremonies. Such speeches are broadcasted and viewed across the globe through the different means of media. One of the latest and most prominent speeches in the American political setting is the one addressed by the current American president Donald Trump in his inauguration speech on 20/1/2017. His speech in front of the American people was an address to all people beyond borders as well.

Due to the consequences of the president Donald Trump's attitudes related to immigration regulations which were against the immigrants to the USA, specially the Arabs and Muslims, to stop the continuous flow of these immigrants from entering the USA as immigrants, especially after hearing Trump's inauguration speech on January 20th, 2017 in which he mentioned implicitly "America is built by American hands and American labors". In this moment, the researcher is inspired by this inauguration speech which arouse his feelings of contempt towards this unfair policy taken by the President Trump against immigrants to the USA, especially Arabs and Muslims. This led the researcher to investigate the diplomatic tone of Trump's speech and its influence on the public.

1.8. Thesis Outline

The first chapter states the research problem and the research objectives and questions. It also states the significance, the rationale and delimitations of this research. At the same time it offers brief background knowledge on the definitions of the main terms, providing the grounds which are relevant to this thesis. Chapter two puts forward the theoretical framework on which this study is built and makes a
thorough discussion of the main issues of critical discourse analysis. In addition the chapter offers the previous studies which are relevant to the current study.

Chapter Three presents the research methods of this research stating each of the related topics such as the research methodology, data collection procedures and the framework for data analysis. Chapter four presents the analysis of the results and findings reached in this study. Chapter five summarizes the main findings and conclusion, discusses these findings in terms of the research objectives and offers recommendations for further researches.

1.9. Definition of Key Terms

Discourse

There are a number of different definitions for what a discourse is and quite of-ten the same author may use the concept to mean different things.

Reisigl and Wodak (2001, p.66) define discourse as “a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts, which manifest themselves with and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral or written tokens, very often as texts that belong to specific semiotic types i.e. Genres”. Indeed, as Fairclough (1989) explained, discourse is part of social practice and contributes to the reproduction of social practice. It is constructed through time by the interrelations between texts, changes and new forms in texts, and new systems of distributing texts (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 5).

For the sake of conceptual and methodological clarity, it is prudent to follow Reisigl and Wodak’s (2001) definition of a discourse given above.
Political Discourse

For van Dijk (1998) political discourse is a socially constituted set of genres, associated with a social domain or field. Regarded as a sub-category of discourse, Schaffner (1996) provides that political discourse is concerned with the (re)production of political dominance, political hegemony, power abuse and legitimization or de-legitimization of social phenomena (political events are considered as a part of social phenomena), and moreover, with resistance to any of these. According to Woods (2006) political discourse leans heavily on devices frequently used in advertising discourse at the levels of sound, words and syntax which are key elements in arranging political messages for maximum desired effect.

Discourse Analysis

Discourse Analysis is a more generic name for a set of methodological approaches which are utilized to examine language in use, either written or oral, in various social sciences, namely psychology, sociology, linguistics, anthropology and communication studies. In general, from a broad perspective, discourse analysis holds reference to various meanings and activities within disciplines ranging from, for instance, sociolinguistics to computational linguistics. Despite the fact that these linguistic areas differ in approach, they all share the fundamental view of discourse analysis as the analysis of language use. Moreover, it is not only the study of linguistic forms, but also a study of their purposes within a communicative situation (Brown & Yule, 1983, p.1).
Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis as an interdisciplinary method of text/speech analysis as well as a subfield of applied linguistics is a recently-established school within DA (Fairclough, 1995). The “critical” aspect of CDA makes it different from other branches of DA. Within its critical paradigm CDA reveals underlying ideologies such as inequality, power asymmetry or struggle and social change, brought about by language (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000).

According to van Dijk (1998) "Critical Discourse Analysis is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (p. 352). CDA not only focuses on the linguistic dimensions of language, but also maintains a strong political agenda in reference to how the language is used (Coffin, 2001 p. 99)
CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This chapter comprises two sections; the first presents the theoretical framework on which this study is based on and accounts for the overall theory of CDA, in general, and in political discourses in particular. The second section is dedicated for reviewing the available previous studies that have been conducted on CDA of political discourses in relevance to the topic of this current study.

2.2. Theoretical Framework

2.2.1. The Notion of Discourse

Fairclough (1995) uses the word discourse to describe a particular way of representing aspects of the world, i.e. the processes, relations and structures of the material world, but also thoughts, feelings, beliefs and so on. Discourse is an interrelated set of texts and the practices of their production, dissemination, and reception that bring an object into being (Parker, 1993; in Phillips & Hardy. 2002). Indeed, as Fairclough (1989) explained, discourse is part of social practice and contributes to the reproduction of social practice. It is constructed through time by the interrelations between texts, changes and new forms in texts, and new systems of distributing texts (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). (Fairclough, 1989) uses the word discourse to refer to the whole process of social interaction. What is meant by 'process' is the production of text (where text is the product) and the interpretation of text (where the text is the resource).
Therefore, different discourses are different representations of the world (Fairclough, 1995) at different levels of abstraction. To illustrate this particular notion of discourse, Fairclough (2000) analyzed the discourse of the Third Way, which is a political discourse attached to a particular position within the political field. Liberalism, Communism or Thatcherism, are all examples of discourses that could be found within the political domain (Fairclough, 1995). Those are all discourses at a high levels of abstraction which develops as an articulation of different discourses.

2.2.2. Political Discourse

The category of public discourse that will be explained in relation to the topic of this research is that of political nature. A clash of interests, a struggle for power superiority, a desire for presenting the prevailing attitudes as commonsensical and a tendency for inculcation of specific beliefs in the mind of in/out-group members are found across multiple social domains. Of all the various social spheres, the world of politics features the aforesaid properties the most (Bayram, 2010; Sajjad, 2015; Matic, 2012). Regarded as a sub-category of discourse, political discourse is concerned with (re)production of political dominance, political hegemony, power abuse and legitimization or de-legitimization of social phenomena (political events are considered as a part of social phenomena), and moreover, with resistance to any of these (Bello, 2013; Fairclough, 1995; Van Dijk, 1993). For Graber (1981, p. 200), political discourse is “when political actors, in and out of government communicate about political matters for political purposes”. Politicians seek to win power struggles to meet their intended targets, to set guidelines on the values shaped in a society and to obtain regulatory authorization over the resources distribution and decision-making
process (Sajjad, 2015; Bayram, 2010). To achieve this, politicians need their ideology to triumph in ideological conflicts. On this subject, van Dijk (2005) states:

If there is one social field that is ideological, it is that of politics. This is not surprising because it is eminently here that different and opposed groups, power, struggles, and interests are at stake. In order to be able to compete, political groups need to be ideologically conscious and organized. (p. 732).

Van Dijk (2005) claims that “if the political field is thoroughly ideological, then so are its political practices, and hence its discourses” (p. 732). For him, there is a bilateral relation between political ideologies and political discourses in which political discourses are not only the product of political ideologies but are also central to the (re)creation of the ideologies (Van Dijk, 2005). According to Van Dijk (2005) and Ghazani (2016), ideology explicitly permeates all political activities, such as political campaigns, rallies and elections; it is mostly expressed implicitly in rhetoric.

A discourse is considered to be political if it meets two criteria. Firstly, it must be functional. This means that it arises in politics, within special historical and cultural frameworks. Secondly, it must be thematic and relevant to politics (Schaffner, 1996). For van Dijk (1998, cited in Jalali & Sadeghi, 2014, p. 11), political discourse is “a socially constituted set of genres, associated with a social domain or field”. According to another definition of political discourse, “agnostic ability (competitive nature of political discourse), aggressiveness, ideological character and theatricality” (Kenzhekanova, 2015, p. 197) are the essential features of a political discourse.

The art of effective language utilization, by which politicians gain their intended political advantage, is of the essence in the world of politics: “the connection between language and politics is strong as political action itself is carried out through
language” (Bello, 2013, p. 86). Fairclough (2006) also highlights the importance of language to the politics: “[language can] misrepresent as well as represent realities, it can weave visions and imaginaries which can be implemented to change realities and, in some cases, improve human well-being, but it can also rhetorically obfuscate realities, and construe them ideologically to serve unjust power relations” (Fairclough, 2006, p. 1). And finally, Van Dijk (2005) states that “it is largely through discourse that political ideologies are acquired, expressed, learned, propagated, and contested” (p. 732).

To sum up, political discourse is an instrumental tool in the hands of politicians to establish certain objectives for their audience, recruit support, place value on their political views, secure power, shape the general deportment of the society, and more importantly, to spread the dominant ideology. In this way, political discourse enables politicians to inculcate their thoughts and ideas into the mind of society and consequently, persuade the society to believe in whatever the politicians want (Bayram, 2010; Bello, 2013; Jones & Peccei, 2004; Matic 2012).

### 2.2.3. Diplomatic Tone in Speeches

What distinguishes speeches in the diplomatic context from the business, military, education or legal context is the content that is required in each section of the speech compared to speeches in other domains where the speaker can vary the language, style and substance of their speeches in differing contexts. The language used in the genre of speeches in the arena of international diplomacy includes some specific and obligatory sections. These sections are naturally, part of every speech in any context, with the opening salutations, the introduction, the body and the conclusion. However, in diplomacy, diplomatic language is expected to consistently
contain language that promotes mutual cooperation over conflict and divisiveness even if no specific outcome is ultimately achieved despite the mooting of several plans of action.

To elaborate, as cited in (Crane, *Texture in Text: A Discourse Analysis of a News Article Using Halliday and Hasan’s Model of Cohesion*) and (Burhanudeen, 2006, p. 37) "speeches in the international diplomacy domain generally have four sections. The first section is the opening salutation. This section is followed by the greetings and praise section, the summoning cooperation section, and finally the conclusion section". These sections will be described in turn below.

**Section 1: Opening Salutations**

Opening salutations in speeches are a must in the diplomatic discourse community. Knowledge of protocol is also essential in determining the rank and file of addressees present to ensure the order of salutations in the opening is proper and correct. Although this type of salutation was regarded by the interview team as unconventional in the international diplomacy context, it reflects the vestige of an egalitarian communist society where everybody is considered equal.

**Section 2: Greeting and Praise**

The international diplomatic discourse community also demands that appropriate language choices be used in the obligatory section following the salutations. The language choices used in this section are expected to convey praise for the host country’s leader in addition to extending greetings from the peoples of the speaker’s country.
Section 3: Summoning Cooperation

The mandatory praise and warm fuzzy greetings over, the middle section of the genre of speeches in international diplomacy focuses the goal of summoning a sense of commonality, of cooperation, of compromise, of consensus over differences among peoples. This is where conventional diplomatic language is at its best, with the deliberate use of words and phrases so pregnant with meaning and reflection to achieve the primary purpose of continually enacting mutual goals in international diplomacy. These aspects, so important, to the survival of the diplomatic discourse community are often repeated and emphasized in various throughout the text.

Section 4: Conclusion

The final part of any speech is the conclusion. In the diplomatic discourse community, speeches are expected to end with a final emphasis on cooperation among member states. Here, the presentation of long, complex sentences and the use of inspiring (cooperation, determination, unity, solidarity, resolve, revitalize, vision, positive returns) language prevail. However, in contrast to earlier sections, words or phrases that portray negative images are absent in the conclusion.

So far, all these could suggest a confirmation of the challenging art of becoming a true diplomat, that is having the ability to cajole and manipulate language to achieve the goals of the community. Indeed, such linguistic norms and values force diplomats to communicate amicably despite issues of ethnolinguistic vitality, cross-cultural differences as well as to soften sharp differences in opinions between the political leaders of their nations.
2.2.4. Discourse Analysis

One of the major roles of social research is to understand and interpret socially produced meanings. For instance, discourse analysis focuses on the processes whereby the social world is constructed and maintained (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Researchers, especially the ones operating within a discourse analytic framework, seek to highlight the historically specific rules and conventions that structure the production of meanings in particular historical contexts (Howarth, 2000). According to Phillips & Hardy (2002) and Fairclough (1992), discourse analysis explores the relationships between texts, discourse, and context. This helps understand, through the analysis of the historical and social context, how meanings are constructed and how a broader reality is constructed and experienced by people. The meaning of social life is central in the discourse analysis methodology. Discourse analysis seeks to explore the way in which the social reality is produced, and holds the assumption that the world cannot be known separately from discourse (Phillips & Hardy, 2002).

At its base, discourse analysis is the academic study of language as a form of social interaction. As such, discourse analysis is cross-disciplinary and, as Johnstone (2002) notes, discourse analysis researchers may situate their work within linguistic departments or other departments in the humanities and social sciences, similarly, their research questions may be linguistic or socio-cultural. Beyond this, it can be stated that discourse analysis is generally the analysis of language above the level of the sentence which sets this broad field of study apart from previous approaches to linguistics and language systems. Discourse analysis is concerned with larger ‘chunks’ of language and how these create and communicate meaning. It is important though to point out that sentences, whether spoken or written, consist of syntactically
arranged grammatical and lexical items and so for analyses of discourses to be conducted rigorously, the construction of sentences also needs to be investigated. This is what can be termed an analysis of micro-linguistic structures. As Fairclough (1995) rightly notes, the form and texture of a text - the phonological, syntactical, lexical, and clause levels - need to be taken into account otherwise, we are in danger of being left with merely content analysis (Duszak & Fairclough, 2008).

As a further nuance to the definition, it can also be added that because discourse analysis looks at language as a form of social interaction, the context within which a discursive event takes place should also be taken into account when analyzing a discourse. The extent to which context is important open to considerable debate. It can mean the direct context of the discursive event – for example the purpose of the discourse participants and how it is communicated – or it can pertain to wider contexts such as gender, social class, time and place in history. For those who work with discourse from a critical perspective, a major contextual factor is power relations and how this affects the production and reception of texts and discourses. It is not though merely the case that discursive events are influenced by the context in which they occur, but also that these very same discursive events impact upon the context in which they occur. This is what Fairclough and Wodak (1997) refer to as the socially constituted and constitutive nature of discourse and sets DA apart from, on the one hand, conversation analysis which agitates for an analysis of only what is said and directly analyzable, and on the other hand, syntax and other systemic linguistic approaches which deal with the ‘ideal’ speaker/recipient and non-naturally occurring language. Johnstone (2002) offers an extremely clear and user-friendly heuristic for discourse analysis and the analysis of the context in which discursive events are situated. The list below indicates the different contextual levels that should be thought
about and used as possible reference points when ‘doing’ discourse analysis (Johnstone, 2002, p. 10):

- Discourse is shaped by the world, and discourse shapes the world.
- Discourse is shaped by language, and discourse shapes language.
- Discourse is shaped by participants, and discourse shapes participants.
- Discourse is shaped by prior discourse, and discourse shapes the possibilities for future discourse.
- Discourse is shaped by its medium, and discourse shapes the possibilities of its medium.
- Discourse is shaped by purpose, and discourse shapes possible purposes.

Together, the levels point to the importance of studying wider socio-political contexts and questions of power relations (people/purpose) as well as the diachronic and synchronic nature of discourses.

2.2.5. CDA

In its general sense, discourse analysis holds reference to various meanings and activities within disciplines ranging from, for example, sociolinguistics to computational linguistics. Though these linguistic areas differ in approach, they all share the essential view of discourse analysis as the analysis of language use. Besides, it is not only the study of linguistic forms, but also a study of their purposes within a communicative situation (Brown & Yule, 2003). In other words, discourse analysis is not merely the knowledge of semantics, but rather a multifaceted knowledge of language in order to understand the practice of effective communication.
CDA is a branch of discourse analysis that focuses on inequality, social and power relations embedded in a political context, in often times. Then, it is interested in uncovering power relations and hidden ideologies in social contexts. However, it is important to keep in mind that CDA is an interdisciplinary perspective that can be applied to many areas of discourse analysis, as one of the key elements is for the analyst to be conscious of his/her position in culture and society (van Dijk, 2008, p. 85).

In relation to concern of this thesis, Fairclough and Wodak (2006), summed up the following main ideas of CDA. First, it addresses social problems, i.e. language is viewed as a tool in social processes where the analysts target the linguistic core of cultural and social constructions. Next, power relations are discursive, as CDA underlines linguistic and discursive elements in social relations by which these relations are mirrored, mediated and reproduced by discourse. In addition, discourse constitutes society and culture in the sense that the relationship between them is dialectical and thus society and culture are constructed through the use of discourse and vice versa. Moreover, discourse does ideological work, meaning that ideologies through discourse represent and construct society and culture. Therefore, looking only at the text is not sufficient, the analyst must also take the perlocutionary effect into account. Furthermore, discourse is historical because it always refers to something done or said before. As such, to gain the full understanding of the discourse one must fully understand the reference in the context. Finally, the critical discourse analysts are responsible for determining the amount of contextual knowledge needed for interpretation, meaning that the understanding of discourse is always dependent on context and recipients.
When carrying out the analysis it is important to keep in mind that the above points should not be seen as separated elements, but as contributing factors to an analysis as a whole. Combining the points allows the analyst to conduct an analysis both on a micro and macro level. To illustrate, while a micro level analysis focuses on grammatical aspects, such as lexemes, phrases and sentences, the macro level analysis places the discourse in a social and cultural context. This idea has been conceptualized by Fairclough in his three-dimensional model (Fairclough, 2001, p. 21).

(Figure 2.1.) The three-dimensional model of Fairclough.

At the first level, represented by the inner box, the analyst conducts a syntactic analysis of the discourse focusing on grammatical aspects or other points that can be read directly from the text, which ultimately requires as much objectivity as the analyst can master. Therefore, as (Fairclough, 2001, p. 91) proposes “the first level is a description of the object of analysis”. The second level represents the semantic part
of the discourse analysis, and involves interpreting the meaning of the text in its communicative situation. In other words, from this perspective the discourse is seen as a communicative action where the focus is on the sender and the receiver. The third level, represented by the outer box, focuses on placing the text in a sociocultural context. This is done by “combining the analytical data from the two previous levels and explaining their significance contextually” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 91).

### 2.2.6. Major Directions in CDA

Rather than being just a methodological approach or framework in itself, CDA is an umbrella term covering a multitude of approaches that have been developed by critical analysts, including: the discourse-historical approach by Wodak (1996, 1999, 2001) which focuses on the historical perspective of discourse in the process of interpretation and explanation; the socio-cognitive discourse approach by van Dijk (1993, 1995, 1996) and is biased towards a cognitive view of discourse; and Fairclough’s (1992, 1995, 2001) textually-oriented model that draws heavily on Hallidayan linguistic study of discourse. Also, there is an aspect of socio-cognition in Fairclough’s approach which he calls Members’ Resources (MR) which deals with aspect of text production and interpretation.

Furthermore, a variety of existing methods of analysis have been employed in CDA research, while many draw to some extent, a systemic functional grammar framework, others adopt the Conversational Analysis (CA) to form the basis for subsequent macro-level critique. In fact, van Dijk (1996) argues that CDA can be combined with any approach and sub-discipline in the humanities and social sciences. Out of these approaches, Critical Linguistics (CL) is the earliest and one of the most influential linguistically-oriented critical approaches to discourse analysis.
In this concern, Fowler (1985) focuses on the media representation of events, the linguistic analysis of that representation and the ideology encoded by it. He is primarily concerned with ‘mystification’ analysis of hard news texts.

Mystification, it is argued, occurs with the use of certain grammatical structures which are thought to obscure certain aspects of reality, thus encoding ideology. Hodge and Kress (1993) provided some transformations such as transitivity, nominalization, negative incorporation and agentless passive with the last one having received most attention. They argued that drawing on these transformations; one can reveal intentions subtly disguised in complex structures, concealments and deceptions incorporated in transformational derived sentences. Having inherited the analytical methodologies of CL, Fairclough wrote about the social theories supporting CDA and developed his socio-cultural analysis in his seminal work Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language in 1995.

1. Norman Fairclough’s Approach to CDA

Fairclough's approach to Discourse Analysis assumes a dialectical relationship between particular discursive practices and the specific fields of actions (including situations, institutional frames and social structures), in which they are embedded.

The situational, institutional and social settings shape and affect discourses, and discourses influence discursive as well as non-discursive social and political processes and actions. Power, which is produced by the elite, institutions or groups, results in dominance and discourses reproduce this dominance or challenge it. In this condition, an analyst examines the structures, strategies and other properties of the text or discourse to see how they work and (re) produce this dominance. This work adopts this view of language as a social practice, a social process and a socially
conditioned process. Fairclough focuses upon social conflict in the Marxist tradition and tries to detect its linguistic manifestations in discourse, in particular elements of dominance, difference and resistance.

According to Fairclough (1995), every social practice has a semiotic element. Productive activity, the means of production, social relations, social identities, cultural values, consciousness, and semiosis are dialectically related elements of social practice. He understands CDA as the analysis of the dialectical relationships between semiosis (including language) and other elements of social practices. These semiotic elements of social practice are responsible for the constitution of genres and styles. The semiotic aspect of social order is called the ‘order of discourse’. Fairclough (1998) talks about particular ideologies being naturalised - that is becoming accepted as common sense, forming an 'orderliness' which, he claims, reproduces social power at the level of discourse. His approach to CDA oscillates between a focus on structure and a focus on action which he elaborates as text, interaction and social context as the three elements of a discourse. He drew a distinction between three stages of CDA: (i) description of text (ii) interpretation of the relationship between text and interaction (iii) explanation of the relationship between interaction and social context. Fairclough (1998) draws upon the principles of systemic functional linguistic which analysis language as shaped by the social functions it has come to serve.

In other words, Fairclough’s three dimensional approaches to discourse analysis are text analysis, discourse practice analysis, and social process analysis. Fairclough (1998) identifies three central tenets of CDA namely: social structure (class, status, age, ethnic identity and gender): culture (the generally accepted norms of behavior in
society) and discourse (the words we use). The goal of CDA is to determine the relationship between these three central tenets.

The first analytical focus is on text. Analysis of text involves linguistic analysis in terms of vocabulary, grammar, semantics, the sound system and cohesion organization above the sentence level which controls the discourse; what the reality is and how it is distorted through delicate and skillful use of language. A reading of these aspects can provide insights into the knowledge systems, beliefs, values or perceptions regarding social relationships and identities that are embedded in discourse.

Meanwhile, social process analysis is concerned with revealing the social issues and practices that are embedded in discourse through its dialectic relationship with the nature of texts and discourse practices, as previously discussed. In short, such analysis aims at revealing the reason why an addresser produces a particular discourse (Fairclough, 1998). Following the Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) principles, Fairclough also views text from a multi-functional perspective. According to him, any sentence in a text is analysable in terms of the articulation of these functions which he relabelled - representations, relations and identities:

- Particular representations and contextualization of social practice (ideational function) perhaps carrying particular ideologies.
- A particular construction of the relationship between writer and reader (as, for instance, formal or informal, close or distant).
- Particular constructions of writer and reader identities (for example, in terms of what is highlighted—whether status and aspects of identity, or individual and personality aspects of identity.)
Fairclough (2001) creates a theoretical framework which provided guidelines for future CDA research. He deems it important to accept discourse as a social process because (a) discourse reflects an action, in which the way a man acts or reacts towards the world, and especially to each other, may be a form of representation (b) there is a dialectical relationship between discourse and social structure in which social structure determines and creates social process. He attempts to uncover ideological and power patterns in texts in his research method of analysis. Fairclough (2001) defines the relationship between power and language and shows how texts mediate ‘orderliness’ and ‘naturalness’ and how these ‘orders of discourse’ depend on naturalized ideologies; how taken for granted background knowledge (BGK) is actually ideological representations which have come to be seen as ‘non-ideological common sense’, how ‘appropriate’ and ‘expected’ behavior and usages are actually ideologically motivated, every social institution assigning these norms which frame participants roles, leading to the institutionalization of what he termed ‘ideological-discursive formations’. In fact, Fairclough’s analysis has gone beyond the ‘whatness’ of the text description towards the ‘howness’ and ‘whyness’ of the text interpretation and explanation.

By studying the forms of the language, one can discover the social processes and also the specific ideology (hidden agenda) embedded in them. Fairclough’s (2001) work incorporates the micro, meso, and macro-level analysis. According to him, these three dimensional framework for studying discourse (micro, meso, and macro level) include respectively the analysis of (spoken or written) language, lexical and grammatical features, metaphorical structures and certain rhetorical devices; the analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution and consumption, focusing on how power relations are enacted); the analysis of discursive
events as instances of sociocultural work. This last level involves inter-textual understanding and contextual background knowledge that affect the text.

2. Wodak’s Approach to CDA

Wodak belongs to the Vienna School of CDA. Her major contribution in the field of CDA is the importance of a historical perspective to the analysis of any discourse/text; what she called the ‘discourse historical approach’, (Wodak & Meyer, 2002). The discourse historical approach is interdisciplinary and problem-oriented and analyses changes in discursive practices overtime and in various genres (Wodak, 2001). She applied the approach mostly to political discourse. She also showed that context of the discourse had a significant impact on the structure, function and context of the anti-Semitic utterance. This emphasis on the historic (diachronic) aspect of the discourse makes her method different from other direction of CDA especially from that of van Dijk.

In their analysis Wodak and Ludwig (1999) assert that this method entails at least three things, namely: (1) Discourse always involves power and ideologies. No discourse or social interaction can be found in which there is not the matter of power and hierarchy and privilege. (2) Discourse is always historical. Synchronically and diachronically, they are connected with other communicative events, which are happening, or already they have happened. (3) Dependant on the background knowledge and information and the position of individuals, different interpretations of the same communicative event is possible. The second stipulation of Wodak's method is so similar to Fairclough's intertextuality. She asserts that:

The discourse historical approach attempts to integrate a large quantity of available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the social and
political fields in which discursive events are embedded. Further, it analyses the historical dimensions of discursive actions by explaining the ways in which particular genres of discourse are subject to diachronic change… Social theories are then integrated to be able to explain the context of discursive event (p. 65).

Wodak’s research focus is the study of racism and anti-Semitic discourse in the media and other public places (Wodak & Busch, 2004). She has advocated interdisciplinary approach in all CDA works and her works exemplified this approach.

While Fairclough describes the possibilities of particular ideologies being naturalized - that is, becoming accepted as common sense, forming an „orderliness” which, he claims, reproduces social power at the level of discourse, Wodak takes a slightly different approach. Wodak is convinced that there are possibilities of ‘disorders of discourse’ within institutions; clashes that occur as a result of differing expectations on the part of members of institutions and the ‘outsiders’ that come in contact with those institutions. She describes these clashes as result[ing] from gaps between distinct and insufficiently coincident cognitive worlds: the gulfs that separate insiders from outsiders, members of institutions from clients of those institutions, and elite from the normal citizen uninitiated in the arcane of bureaucratic language.

3. van Dijk’s Approach to CDA

Van Dijk is one of the most recognized figures of CDA and his ideas seem to be very important to this study since if not in all but in most of the resources used for preparing this study there are references to his works and probably elaborating on his works will define the features of the socio-cognitive direction of CDA. van Dijk (2001) calls for a multidisciplinary approach that incorporates all original critical works from different disciplines. He sees CDA as ‘not a direction of research’, ‘not a
method’ and ‘not a theory’ but ‘a critical perspective in doing scholarship’, ‘a discourse analysis with an attitude’, which focuses on social problems especially on the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse and domination. CDA, therefore, assumes explicit ‘solidarity with the oppressed’ and opposition and dissent against the oppressor. Van Dijk’s (2001) research perspective is called the “socio-cognitive approach” (p, 97). It focuses on the psychology of text processing. Cognition is seen as an interface between social practice and discourse. This concept has been conceptualized in the form of a triangle ‘the discourse-cognition-society triangle’.

The most important characteristic of van Dijk works is that he elevated the analysis of structures to something more than the mere analysis and interpretations of structures of texts that is the analysis of the grammatical components of the text. Rather he has dealt with the production and reception process of the news. Van Dijk (2004) believes that "Discourse is not simply an isolated textual or dialogic structure; rather, it is a complex communicative event that also embodies a social context, featuring participants (and their properties) as well as production and reception processes" (p. 2). These practices are taken –for- granted to be not only influential on the process of making news but also determinative for the major policies of the institute, which produces news.

Reception process refers to the way that news is comprehended and understood by the addressee. Thus, van Dijk (2004) proposes three levels of analysis, structure, production and reception and comprehension. He tries to tie these levels together and make smooth criteria for analyzing the text. These relationships according to him take place in two levels of Macro structure versus Micro structure levels. Micro level
comprises language, discourse, verbal interaction and so on, while macro level has to do with power relation, such as inequality and dominance (thematic/topic structure of news stories and their overall schemata).

Van Dijk (1988) defines schemata as a pattern that contains a headline, story and consequences. This last one is the final comment and conclusions that exists within the news and regarding this part he thinks that headlines and lead paragraphs more or less contain the most general information and addressee memorizes them better. In addition, CDA plans to wed the macro and the micro levels, since in actual interaction one cannot separate them from each other; social power in this approach, is viewed as a means of controlling the mind and actions of other groups.

The social power by itself may not be negative, but what in fact is of significance to CDA is the inappropriate use of power, which would bring about inequality in society. The other major notion that has investigated so much is the notion of ideology and analyzing the discourse analysis as ideology analysis. He says “ideologies are produced and reproduced in discourse and communications even in the non-verbal semiotic texts like pictures and so on can have an impact in this re(production)” van Dijk (2006c, p. 118) . He takes ideology as the attitude a group of people hold towards certain issues.

In order to uncover ideology generated in discourse, van Dijk (2006b) resorts to social analysis, discourse analysis and cognitive analysis of the text. The social analysis is adopted to context analysis and discourse analysis is adopted to the text analysis in the traditional method of interpreting the text. However, the new gift of van Dijk is the third level of analysis, the cognitive analysis. He defines cognition as ‘the system of mental representations and processes of group members’. Following
his definition of cognition, he defines ideology as "systems" that "indirectly influence the personal cognition of group members”, van Dijk (2006b, p. 161).

The notions of ideology and context bring about the notion of ‘model’. Mental representation of individuals within a social action or interaction is called a model. Defining the meaning of cognitive model, he writes that "the meaning or contra of discourse is controlled by subjective interpretations of language users of the situation or an event the discourse is about, that is, by their mental models" (p. 165). These models are so important in analyzing the role of ideologies within the society. They determine the norms within society and the way that individuals think, behave and move.

One immediate result caused by recognition of individual’s mental representation within society is the possibility that helps to categorize the two major groups of ‘Us’ versus ‘Them’ where the participant or speaker generally tends to present oneself or one’s group in the positive terms and other groups in the negative terms. By selecting some socially shared mental model with negative connotation in a text (such as the use of the word ‘persecution’ in van Dijk’s sample text (A Petition against Persecution of Microsoft), the speaker can represent those responsible for the persecution, ‘them’ as bad and ‘us’ as good. In exploiting the global and local meanings, speakers and writers emphasize certain meanings, control comprehension and influence the formation of other mental models of their audience/readers, their opinions and attitudes, hence they allow for influence and manipulation.

Van Dijk (2006b) posits that:

CDA research is often interested in the study of ideologically biased discourses and the ways these polarize the representation of “us” (in group)
and “them” (out group). Both at level of global meaning and local meaning analysis, we thus often witness an overall strategy of positive “self” presentation and negative “other” presentation in which our good things and their bad things are emphasized and our bad things and good things are de-emphasized (p. 170).

CDA is concerned with how social relations, identity, knowledge, and power are constructed and reproduced through words which may be written or spoken in communities, schools, the media, political and other social arena (Luke, 2008). In this approach of CDA, there are three analytical focuses in any communicative event (interaction) and they are text (example, a news report), discourse practice (example, the process of production and consumption) and socio-cultural practice (example, social and cultural structures which give rise to the communicative event. Though the three approaches of these scholars differ, their major pre-occupation has been the studying of implicit ideology in discourse. Ideologies are common-sense assumptions that people bring into the interpretation of texts.

Fairclough resorts to an eclectic approach that incorporates both the productive and interpretative processes of text analysis. Formal traces of texts could be traces of the productive process which serve as cues in the process of interpretation. Also, MR is drawn upon in the process of interpretation. MR refers to the background knowledge which is drawn upon to interpret texts. Fairclough (2001), asserts that this background knowledge is cognitive because it resides in peoples head. He states “People internalize what is socially produced and made available to them, and use this internalized MR to engage in their social practice including discourse” (p. 20).
Dealing with the essential linguistic, social and political information, van Dijk's (2004) framework has been approved to be a comprehensive and precise conceptual framework in providing the researchers with the nuances of ideological manipulation. His seminal work (2004) describes the political discourse as the most ideological and contends that:

It is not sufficient to observe… that political discourse often features the well-known political pronoun we. It is crucial to relate such use to such categories as who is speaking, when, where and with/to whom, that is to specific aspects of the political situations (p.13).

This design is a combination of argumentation, political strategies, rhetorical devices, semantic strategies and stylistic information and consequently an accurate tool for discovering the distortion of realities in the process of discourse production. Furthermore, taking such disciplines as politics, sociology and history into consideration, van Dijk's framework (2004) has become a thorough, all purpose and worthwhile design with respect to the value attached to the concept of 'interdisciplinary' recently.

To conclude, and in respect to the purpose of this study, there is the need to understand how did Donald Trump use such speech event (discourse) in language to address his audience(s). There is also the need to understand how the use of lexicalization and meaning are employed by him to deliver his own messages. For example, there is the need to understand whether the use of certain discursive strategies achieve their ends above others.
2.2.7. Principles of CDA

CDA starts with the assumption that ‘language use is always social’ and that ‘discourse both reflects and constructs the social world’ (Rogers, 2004). A critical analysis might explore issues such as gender, ideology and identity and how these are reflected in particular texts. According to Clark (1995), this might commence with an analysis of the use of discourse and move from there to an explanation and interpretation of the discourse. From there, the analysis might proceed to deconstruct and challenge the text, tracing ideologies and assumptions underlying the use of discourse, and relating these to different views of the world, experiences and beliefs (Clark, 1995).

There is no single view of what CDA actually is, so it is difficult to present a complete, unified view on this (Paltridge, 2006). Fairclough and Wodak (1997), however, describe a number of principles for CDA which underlie many of the studies done in this area. These include:

1. Social and political issues are constructed and reflected in discourse. CDA addresses social and political issues and examines ways in which these are constructed and reflected in the use of discourse.
2. Power relations are negotiated and performed through discourse. This kind of analysis how power is brought into play, and performed, through discourse.
3. Discourse both reflects and reproduces social relations. According this principle, discourse not only reflects social relations, but is also part of, and reproduces, social relations. That is, social relations are both established and maintained through the use of discourse.
4. Ideologies are produced and reflected in the use of discourse. This includes ways of representing and constructing society such as relations of power, and relations based on gender, class and ethnicity.

2.2.8. Doing CDA

“Critical discourse analysis includes not only a description and interpretation of discourse in context, but also offers and explanation of why and how discourses work” (Roger, 2004, p.2). Researchers working within this perspective: “are concerned with a critical theory of the social world, the relationship of language and discourse in the construction and representation of the social world, and a methodology that allows them to describe, interpret and explain such relationships” (Roger, 2004, p.3).

A critical analysis, then, might commence by deciding what discourse type, or genre, the text represent and to what extent and in what way the text conforms to it(or not). It may also consider to what extent the producer of the text has gone beyond the normal boundaries of the genre to create a particular effect (Paltridge, 2006).

The analysis may consider the framing of the text; that is, how the content of the text is presented, and the sort of angle or perspective the writer, or speaker, is taking. Closely related to framing is the notion of foregrounding; that is, what concepts and issues are emphasized, as well as what concepts and issues are played down or backgrounded in the text. Equally important to the analysis are background knowledge, assumptions, attitudes and points of view that the text presupposes (Huckin, 1997).
At the sentence level, the analyst might consider what has been *topicalized* in each of the sentences in the text; that is, what has been put at the front of each sentence to indicate what it is ‘about’. The analysis may also consider who is doing what to whom, that is, *agent-patient relations* in the discourse, and who has the most authority and power in the discourse. It may also consider what agents have been left out of sentences, such as when the *passive voice* is used, and why this has been done (Huckin, 1997).

At the word and phrase level, connotations of particular words and phrases might be considered as well as the text’s degree of formality or informality, degree of technicality, and what this means for other participants in the text. The choice of words which expresses degree of certainty and attitude may also be considered and whether the intended audience of the text might be expected to share the views expressed in the text, or not (Huckin, 1997).

It is worth mentioning here that the procedure an analyst follow in this kind of analysis depends on the research situation, the research objectives and/or questions and the texts that are being studied. What is essential, however, is that there is some attention to the critical, discourse and analysis in whatever focus is taken up in the analysis (Roger, 2004).

CDA, then, takes us beyond the level of description to a deeper understanding of texts, and provides, as far as might be possible, some kind of explanation of why a text is as it is and what it is aiming to do. It looks at the relationship between discourse and society and aims to describe, interpret and explain this relationship (Roger, 2004). As van Dijk (1998) has argued, it is through discourse that many ideologies are formulated, reinforced and reproduced. CDA aims to provide a way of
exploring this and, in turn, challenging some of the hidden and ‘out of sight’ social, cultural and political ideologies and values that underlie texts.

2.2.9. CDA and Functional View of Language

Language is a social practice and CDA views discourse as a form of social practice. It argues that all linguistic usage encodes ideological positions, and studies how language mediates and represents the world from different points of view. CDA relies heavily on insights from functional grammar because functionalistic theory of language studies how linguistic forms can be systematically related to social and ideological functions.

Scholars like Fairclough, Teun van Dijk, Wodak and others working in the area of CDA recognize the Systemic Functional Theory (SFT) as a powerful explanatory and evaluative framework for analyzing language use in context. This framework sees discourse in speech and writing as strategic meaning-making and text- forming resources which enable people to accomplish their purposes in life, make sense of their experiences in the world and act out their personal and group relationships (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004).

SFT is an approach to language developed by Halliday (1985). This approach is now used particularly in language education and for purposes of discourse analysis. While many of the linguistic theories in the world today are concerned with language as a mental process, SFT is more closely aligned with sociology since it explores how language is used in social contexts to achieve particular goals. SFT addresses the discourses we produce (whether spoken or written), and the contexts of the production of these texts because it is concerned with language use and places higher importance on language function than on language structure.
The fundamental concept of the theory is that language is part of the social semiotic - a resource for the social man/woman for making meaning by choosing and this meaning resides in specific contexts and in the systemic patterns of choice of linguistic items. Moreover, a basic assumption of SFT is that “meaning implies choice”. The language system provides the language user with a rich inventory of alternative choices which are in paradigmatic relationship with one another. The choice the language users eventually make from the totality of other choices open to them will depend on their position in the context of situation and on the function that particular choice will perform in their lives.

Thus, from the earliest period, the importance of context has been emphasized. According to Halliday (1985), context is the environment in which the text comes to life. Since context is outside language (extra linguistic), it means that the grammar of a language has to interface with what goes on outside language, with the happenings and conditions of the world and with the social processes we engage in (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Thus, the stratified linguistic system (semantics, lexicogrammar and phonology) is embedded in context. The product of a sequence of choices is a text and the choices realized in texts are themselves the realization of contextual dimensions. Texts are said to relate to the context in these two ways: namely, genre and register, and these contextual factors imbue the text with generic coherence and registeral coherence respectively (Egginis, 2004).

To sum up, Halliday's (1985) systemic functional theory treats language as fundamental for construing human experience. It seeks to explore the working of language within social context. The key point in this approach is the “context of situation” which is attained through a systemic relationship between the social
environments on the one hand and the functional organization of language on the other (Teich, 1999). Since CDA depends on insights from functional grammar, which studies how linguistic forms can be systematically related to social and ideological functions, the following subsections discusses some of the main issues in relevance to this view and to the analysis of the study data.

2.2.9.1. Framing

In discourse, frames are the way we mentally structure background knowledge to make sense of a discourse, but also to produce a discourse. They can also be described as systems and structures that represent stereotypical situations. When we encounter a situation we mentally select a frame that helps us understand and interact with the situation. Frames are thus a part of our memories and help us make sense of the world around us.

The cognitive linguist George Lakoff (2004, p. xv) writes, “frames are mental structures that shape the way we see the world.” He argues that because frames shape the way we see the world, they also shape our goals, our plans, the way we act and how we deem our actions. Moreover, Lakoff explains that we cannot either see or hear frames, as they are a part of our ‘cognitive unconsciousness’, which are “structures in our brains that we cannot consciously access, but know by their consequences: the way we reason and what counts as common sense” (Lakoff, 2004, p. xv). Frames are also present in language, meaning that when we hear a word, the frame to which it belongs is activated in the mind, and thus language activates frames.

Framing can also be used in politics, where they influence social policies and the institutions that carry out those policies. Furthermore, framing is an important part of politics, as it shapes the way the public sees the world. The basic principle of
framing in politics is never to use the same language as the other party, as language evokes certain frames, and in political discourse, language is always arranged to evoke certain frames, which are considered part of the party’s ideology: “don’t use their language. Their language picks out a frame – and it won’t be the frame you want” (Lakoff, 2004, p. 3). Framing becomes a way of shaping the world as well as viewing it, and it becomes a powerful political tool.

Lakoff (2004, p. xv) explains the concept of reframing (in politics) as “reframing is changing the way the public sees the world. It is changing what counts as common sense. Because language activates frames, new language is required for new frames. Thinking differently requires speaking differently”. Thus framing and reframing are tools that must be understood and considered when looking at political discourse.

2.2.9.2. Linguistic Categories in CDA

One of the main differences between CDA and other methods is the focus on specific linguistic categories into its analyses. While other methods do use linguistic categories, CDA focuses on elements such as deixis (e.g. demonstratives, adverbs, pronouns), of prime importance for the critical approach (Meyer, 2001), because their analysis highlights the characteristics of cohesion and coherence in texts and discourses. This does not mean that topics and contents play no role at all, but that the core operationalization of discourse depends on linguistic concepts, such as actors, mode, time, tense, argumentation (Meyer, 2001), since they are the basic working components constituting texts and discourses (Titscher et al., 2000). Among the various linguistic categories, the grammar of modality; transformations; and texture coherence will be given more space for their relevance to the purpose of this research.
1. The Grammar of Modality

Fowler and Kress define the grammar of modality this way: “This covers linguistic constructions which may be called ‘pragmatic’ and ‘interpersonal’. They express speakers’ and writers’ attitudes towards themselves, towards their interlocutors and towards their subject-matter; their social and economic relationships with the people they address;” (1979, p. 200). In other words, the grammar of modality deals with deictic categories. Likewise, Chilton and Schäffner (2002, p. 30) claim that the linguistic resources used to perform deixes are ‘indexical expressions’. Thus interpreters or listeners generate meaning by relating the indexical expressions to the deixes. Similarly, Meyer (2002) asserts that the categories like deixis and pronouns can be the object of the analysis in any linguistic method, but he proclaims that “they are crucial for CDA. Explicitly or implicitly CDA makes use of a concept of the so-called linguistic surface” (Meyer 2002, p. 16).

"Many critical discourse analysts claim that the use of pronouns in political discourse is significant and manipulative, since it generates political stands." (Fowler & Kress: 1979, Fairclough: 1989, Wilson: 1990, Chilton & Schäffner: 2002, van Dijk: 2002, etc.).

To specify, deixis is expressions in language that point out or identify their referent(s) in any given context. They can be divided into different subcategories, relevant to this thesis are; person, spatial and temporal deixes. To elaborate, pronouns and person deixis are closely intertwined deixes “is the most obvious way in which the relationship between language and context is reflected in the structures of language themselves” (Levinson, 2012, p. 54). Person deixis is the main communicative function of personal pronouns. It focuses, basically, on the
participants in a communicative situation, also, it determines who are included or excluded in the social context. “Pronouns, especially the first person plural (we, us, our) can be used to induce interpreters to conceptualize group identity, coalitions and parties and the like, either as insiders or as outsiders. Social indexicals arise from social structure and power relations, and not just from personal distance” (Chilton & Schäffner 2002, p. 30).

The spatial deixis is defined as follows: “that aspect of deixis which involves referring to the locations in space of the communication act participants; it is that part of spatial semantics which takes the bodies of the communication act participants as significant reference objects for spatial specification” (Fillmore 1982, p. 37). More specifically, it focuses on expressions that consist of demonstrative pronouns, namely ‘this’, ‘that’, ‘these’ and ‘those’, demonstrative adjectives and deixis adverbs of space (Huang, 2014, p. 151). Their references can be either within the same context (a near reference) or it can refer to an external situation (a distant reference). Political discourse analyst sees the spatial deixes through the light of a political connotation. They do not refer merely to the conventional physical location, but “spatial indexicals relate to political or geopolitical space” (Chilton, Schäffner 2002, p.30). Spatial deixis serves to understand the remoteness of hearers from the speaker, who is typically equal to the deictic center.

Temporal deixes, on the other side, bear the same political purport, they do not simply indicate a temporal point (see figure 1). “Temporal deixis can have a political significance. It can require one to assume historical periodization - for example nowadays, today, or just now could require to be understood as ‘after the revolution’,
‘after the fall of the Berlin Wall’, ‘after the election of New Labor’, or some such.” (Chilton, Schäffner 2002, p. 30).

To conclude, Chilton (2004) argues that while positioning themselves both temporarily and spatially in the deictic center, the utterers position the interpreters or the people to whom they address, near to or somehow remote from the deictic center. “The concept of deictic center is sometimes used to denote the implied ‘anchoring’ point that utterers and interpreters construct or impose during verbal interaction” (Chilton 2004, p. 56). Thus deixis play an important role in mapping the other political actors, or situating them as distinct or similar entities. “Language as a distinction-making machine can create both distance and solidarity between two entities” (Meadows 2007, p. 4).

2. Transformations

Syntactic transformations that have been useful to the critical discourse analyst are nominalizations and passivizations. Nominalizations is the syntactic transformations in which “nominals are derived from sentences or parts of sentences- to put it another way, nominal expressions of concepts for which an expression involving a verb or an adjective would have been available to the writer or speaker” (Fowler & Kress 1979).

The discourse fragments that comprise this study corpus are going to be checked in order to find examples of nominalizations. The reason for preferring nominals instead of other grammatical classes is related to the impersonal style. The impersonality is marked by the deletion of participants in the nominalized processes or the deletions of participants.

The logic that stands behind the deletion of the participants is the same as for passivizations. “Passivization allows a noun denoting an affected participant, a non-
agent, to be placed in the subject position in the sentence, the left-hand noun-phase slot which is conventionally regarded as the theme or topic of the sentence.[…] This device allows a writer or speaker to emphasize his thematic priorities, to emphasize what a text is ‘about’.” (Fowler & Kress 1979, p. 209).

A typical example of a passive structure from the study corpus is this one: “The wealth of our middle class has been ripped from their homes and then redistributed all across the world.” In this sentence what is put in the first place is the topic, which is informationally important to the speaker. As to those (who ‘has ripped the wealth of the middle class American) they are hidden, not mentioned and simply left out! Either to avoid an open attack on them, or not to give them too much importance, as to the speaker “the wealth of the middle class American” is the topic – or what it is being talked about. Similarly, the passive sentences or structures present in the speech that comprise the study corpus will be found and then analyzed as a typical critical analyst would do.

3. Text Coherence

Texture is the basis for unity and semantic interdependence within text and a text without texture would just be a group of isolated sentences with no relationship to one another. Eggins (1994, p. 85) refers to the term as “sequential implicativeness” which proposes that language follows a linear sequence where one line of text follows another with each line being linked or related to the previous line. This linear progression of text creates a context for meaning. Contextual meaning, at the paragraph level is referred to as ‘coherence’ while the internal properties of meaning is referred to as ‘cohesion’. Coherence has both ‘situational’ coherence when field, tenor, and mode can be identified for a certain group of clauses and ‘generic’
coherence when the text can be recognized as belonging to a certain genre. Cohesion relates to the ‘semantic ties’ within text whereby a tie is made when there is some dependent link between items that combine to create meaning. Therefore, texture is created within text when there are properties of coherence and cohesion, outside of the apparent grammatical structure of the text.

Structure in text is provided by grammar therefore cohesion is considered to be outside of the structure. Cohesion refers to the “non-structural text-forming relations” (Halliday and Hasan 1976, p. 7). The concept of cohesion in text is related to semantic ties or “relations of meanings that exist within the text, and that define it as a text” (ibid, p. 4). Within text, if a previously mentioned item is referred to again and is dependent upon another element, it is considered a tie. Without semantic ties, sentences or utterances would seem to lack any type of relationship to each other and might not be considered text. Halliday and Hasan (ibid, p. 4) refer to this intertextual link as “the presupposing” and “the presupposed”. Using the authors’ example, “Wash and core six cooking apples. Put them into a fireproof dish.”: The word “them” presupposes “apples” and provides a semantic tie between the two sentences, thus creating cohesion. The elements that play a major role in creating text coherence are referencing, substitution and ellipses, conjunctions and lexical cohesion.

1. **Referencing**

Referencing functions to retrieve presupposed information in text and must be identifiable for it to be considered as cohesive. In written text, referencing indicates how the writer introduces participants and keeps track of them throughout the text (Eggins 1994). There are three general types of referencing: homophoric referencing, which refers to shared information through the context of culture, exophoric
referencing, which refers to information from the immediate context of situation, and endophoric referencing, which refers to information that can be “retrieved” from within the text. It is this endophoric referencing which is the focus of cohesion theory. Endophoric referencing can be divided into three areas: anaphoric, cataphoric, and esphoric. Anaphoric refers to any reference that “points backwards” to previously mentioned information in text. Cataphoric refers to any reference that “points forward” to information that will be presented later in the text. Esphoric refers to any reference within the same nominal group or phrase which follows the presupposed item. For cohesion purposes, anaphoric referencing is the most relevant as it “provides a link with a preceding portion of the text” (Halliday & Hasan 1976, p. 51).

Functionally speaking, there are three main types of cohesive references: personal, demonstrative, and comparative. Personal reference keeps track of function through the speech situation using noun pronouns like “he, him, she, her”, etc. and possessive determiners like “mine, yours, his, hers”, etc. Demonstrative reference keeps track of information through location using proximity references like “this, these, that, those, here, there, then, and the”. Comparative reference keeps track of identity and similarity through indirect references using adjectives like “same, equal, similar, different, else, better, more”, etc. and adverbs like “so, such, similarly, otherwise, so, more”, etc. (ibid, pp.37–39).

2. Substitution and Ellipsis

Whereas referencing functions to link semantic meanings within text, substitution and ellipsis differs in that it operates as a linguistic link at the lexicogrammatical level. In Bloor (1995, p. 96), substitution and ellipsis is used when “a speaker or writer wishes to avoid the repetition of a lexical item and is able to draw on one of the
grammatical resources of the language to replace the item”. The three types of classification for substitution and ellipsis: nominal, verbal and clausal, reflect its grammatical function. When something in text is being substituted, it follows that the substituted item maintains the same structural function as the presupposed item. In nominal substitution, the most typical substitution words are “one and ones” and they substitute nouns. In verbal substitution, the most common substitute is the verb “do” and is sometimes used in conjunction with “so” as in “do so” and substitute verbs. Halliday and Hasan (1976) point out that “do” often operates with the reference items “it” and “that” but still have the main function as a verbal substitute because of its grammatical role. In clausal substitution, an entire clause is substituted and though it may seem to be similar to either nominal or verbal substitution, the difference is the presupposed anaphoric reference.

Though substitution and ellipsis are similar in their function as the linguistic link for cohesion, ellipsis differs in that it is “substitution by zero”. (ibid, p. 142). Ellipsis refers to a presupposed anaphoric item although the reference is not through a “place-marker” like in substitution. The presupposed item is understood through its structural link. As it is a structural link, ellipsis operates through nominal, verbal and clausal levels. Halliday and Hasan further classify ellipsis in systemic linguistic terminology as deictic, numerative, epithet, classifier, and qualifier.

3. Conjunctions

Conjunction, as described by Bloor and Bloor (1995, p. 98) acts as a “cohesive tie between clauses or sections of text in such a way as to demonstrate a meaningful pattern between them”, though Halliday & Hasan (1976, p. 227) indicate that “conjunctive relations are not tied to any particular sequence in the expression”.

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Therefore, amongst the cohesion forming devices within text, conjunction is the least directly identifiable relation. Conjunction acts as a semantic cohesive tie within text in four categories: additive, adversative, causal and temporal. Additive conjunction acts to structurally coordinate or link by adding to the presupposed item and are signaled through “and, also, too, furthermore, additionally”, etc. Additive conjunction may also act to negate the presupposed item and is signaled by “nor, and...not, either, neither”, etc. Adversative conjunctions act to indicate “contrary to expectation” and are signaled by “yet, though, only, but, in fact, rather”, etc. Causal conjunction expresses “result, reason and purpose” and is signaled by “so, then, for, because, for this reason, as a result, in this respect, etc.”. The last conjunctive category is temporal and links by signaling sequence or time. Some sample temporal conjunctive signals are “then, next, after that, next day, until then, at the same time, at this point”, etc.

4. Lexical Cohesion

Lexical cohesion differs from the other cohesive elements in text in that it is non-grammatical. Lexical cohesion refers to the “cohesive effect achieved by the selection of vocabulary” (Haliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 274). The two basic categories of lexical cohesion are reiteration and collocation. Reiteration pertains to the repetition of a lexical item, either directly or through the use of a synonym, a superordinate or a generally related word. Collocation pertains to lexical items that are likely to be found together within the same text. Collocation occurs when a pair of words are not necessarily dependent upon the same semantic relationship but rather they tend to occur within the same lexical environment. The closer lexical items are to each other between sentences, the stronger the cohesive effect.
2.3. The Previous Studies

In this part, the researcher presents review of pervious related studies so as to figure out the similarities and differences between them and this research.

Abdel-Moety (2014) in her paper research entitled "American Political Discourse as Manifested in Hillary Clinton's Interviews: A Critical Approach" is concerned with American political discourse of interview genre. The study was based on an analysis of a number of TV interviews with the former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. It adopted a CDA approach that draws on work from different disciplines, namely, genre theory, systemic functional grammar, and CDA. Results of the study indicated that American interview genre as exemplified in Clinton's interviews incorporates some characteristics of casual conversations such as the use of fillers, informal or casual style, humor, vocatives, grammatical incompletions, ellipsis, and deixis. They also showed that Clinton's discourse has certain specific features. These features include the use of long, compound and complex sentences, the strategic and manipulative use of personal pronouns and modality features, and the use of combination of elements of political discourse with ordinary life and experience. In addition, results indicated the use of power in the interviews. Finally, the analysis revealed Clinton's political and ideological positions through the use of specific analytical categories. These categories include lexicalization, implication, authority, evidentiality, consensus example/illustration, distancing, polarization, and national self-glorification.

Adamec (2011) in his thesis entitled "Persuasion in Political Discourse" investigated on the examples of Barack Obama's speeches which methods he used in order to reach the main purpose of this genre to persuade the others about the validity
of politician's suggestions and make them willing to act according to him. The thesis showed that the main device of persuasion is entailment because it prevails in all of the speeches. And although there are some differences between speeches it seems that these differences are influenced predominantly by particular occasion or event than purely by the fact whether the speech is domestic or foreign one. The analysis thus approved the hypothesis which was stated at the beginning of the practical part of the thesis.

Al-Abed Al-Haq & Al-Sleibi (2015) in their study entitled "A CDA of Three Speeches of King Abdullah II" aimed to determine the main linguistic strategies that King Abdullah II, King of Jordan, uses in his speeches. The study showed that there are different strategies that King Abdullah uses to deliver his message and get his audience believe in them. The strategies used by King presented the main ideology involved in the speeches which is the mutual correlation between the different parties.

Almajali (2015) in his study entitled "Discourse analysis of the political speeches of the ousted Arab presidents during the Arab Spring revolution" explored the salient linguistic features of political speeches of ousted Arab presidents during Arab spring revolutions. The method he used in this research was the Halliday and Hasan's framework of cohesion (1976). The result of the study revealed that the political speeches which were delivered during the Arab spring revolutions had their distinctive features which are different from those features of the usual speeches of the presidents during the normal circumstances.

Berg (2014) in his thesis entitled "Framing America: A case study of the metaphorical language used by Democrats and Republicans in inaugural addresses" investigated the conceptual metaphors use of four (former) prominent American
politicians in representing their worldviews. He showed that Democrats and Republicans arguably apply different cognitive models to structure their worldview via the use of metaphorical language. For him, Democrats and Republicans showed dissimilarities in their metaphorical language, the language of both Democrats and Republicans primarily represent the shared worldview of American exceptionalism.

Crespo-Fernández (2014) in his research entitled "Euphemism and Political Discourse in the British Regional Press" revealed that euphemism plays an important role in the “self-promotion” of regional politicians, who employ euphemism – mostly by understatement, litotes and underspecification for a variety of purposes, namely sensitivity to audience concerns, avoidance of expressions that can be perceived to marginalize socially disadvantaged groups, polite criticism and mitigation – even concealment – of unsettling topics.

Gnanaseelan (2008) in his study entitled "A Discourse Analysis of Ethnic Conflict and Peace in the Editorials of English Newspapers Discourse" revealed that CDA constitutes power in constructing ideational, textual and interpersonal constructs which are ideological. It can transmit and even legitimize power in society. This case study uses Social Constructionist approach (qualitative), mainly discourse analysis, which aims at the shared meanings and on how they are produced on ethnic conflict and peace by investigating the themes, structures and strategies of an editorial of national newspapers to arrive at its linguistically embedded ideological and attitudinal positions. According to the researcher all these above studies have a relation and similarities with this current study.

Kazemian & Somayyeh Hashemi (2014) in their thesis entitled "CDA of Barack Obama's 2012 Speeches: Views from Systemic Functional Linguistics and
Rhetoric” the study aimed to investigate and analyze Barack Obama's 2012 speeches in the light of Halliday's Ideational Grammatical Metaphor, Rhetoric and CDA. The results represent that nominalization, parallelism, unification strategies and modality have dominated in his speeches. There are some antithesis, expletive devices as well as passive voices in these texts. Accordingly, in terms of nominalization, some implications are drawn for political writing and reading, for translators and instructors entailed in reading and writing pedagogy.

Lande (2010) in his Master’s Thesis “The Role of Critical Discourse Analysis in the Translation of Political Texts” based on the integration of CDA in Translation Studies (TS). For him, CDA has become an independent field within linguistics and it is continuously adapted to new phenomena, one of them being TS. The results obtained in this research proved the fact that the application of CDA for the analysis of the ST and TT helps the translator to become aware of the genre conventions, social and situational context of the ST and TT, and outlines the formation of power and ideological relations on the text-linguistic level.

Leimbigler (2014) in his thesis entitled "Mixed frames of Obama-care: a CDA of the Intertwining of Rights and Market Framing Discourse Surrounding the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act" investigated the complex relationship between political institutions and health care policy through framing techniques employed in political discourse in the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (PPACA). It addressed how rights and market framing interact in the development, passage and further discourses on the PPACA. President Obama’s discourses are analyzed using qualitative CDA of five remarks and addresses given between 2009-2013. These speeches were unpacked and categorized to illustrate the change in
framing techniques over time. Three main findings of this study were presented after the analysis portion: market framing is used more frequently in the developmental stages of the PPACA, mixed rights and market framing are largely conveyed through anecdotes, and the “right to affordable health care” is forwarded as an argument. These findings supported the main argument that rights and market frames have a high level of interaction in the development of the PPACA.

Rasmussen (2009) in his study "Discourse Analysis of EU Public Diplomacy Messages and Practices" examined the EU public diplomacy and its implications for the wider EU diplomatic efforts. Drawing on discourse theory, public diplomacy is conceptualized as a modality of diplomacy that seeks to influence specific elements within foreign political discourses. The influence sought by the EU through its messages relates to the projection of its identity as an actor and to the diffusion of its own normative foundation, and it is argued that these are potentially conflicting objectives. EU public diplomacy is characterized by its decentralized nature, where the delegations of the Commission in third states are the most important actors in the network ‘doing’ EU public diplomacy, since they plan and execute specific initiatives. This paper argues that the traditional and public diplomacy of the EU are complementary sets of practices that are closely linked and influence each other. They are also both fundamentally restrained by political disagreement among member states about the nature and roles of the EU. Finally, this paper argues that the network organization of EU public diplomacy, although giving rise to important problems of coherence, is better adapted to current patterns of diplomatic interaction and more effective in the pursuit of EU strategic objectives than a more hierarchical organization able to speak with one voice and act in a more concerted manner.
To sum up, it has been found that there are some similarities between the above studies and this research in terms of methodology, objectives. However, there is no study conducted on the diplomatic tone of Trump's inauguration speech. This research can be considered as a new contribution to the field of CDA, in general, and political discourse analysis, in particular.
CHAPTER THREE

Research Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This chapter shows the methodology that the researcher use to achieve the research goals. This study aims, in general, to attain a CDA of Donald Trump’s inauguration speech through examining this speech from different perspectives, namely: its formality, framing and the available linguistic categories. In order to achieve the research objectives, this chapter presents the study empirical framework and the instruments that best suited to examine the research questions underpinning this study. It also describes the procedures of data collection and data analysis and the criteria of each procedure. The theoretical part presented in chapter two has helped, by providing an overview of the most relevant literature and previous studies, to establish the empirical part for this research.

3.2. Method of the study

This research is descriptive and analytic in nature as it is mainly based on a qualitative approach. The qualitative approach will be used to detect discursive structures within the transcript of Trump’s speech and discover the ideologies and power structures underlying it. The major concern of qualitative research is the ability to capture the essence of individual expressions, actions and thoughts in everyday life in order to give them meaning (Wodak & Busch, 2004). The researcher employed inference from the text deductively and inductively.
3.3. Procedures for Data Collection

The main criterion for the speech (Trump’s inauguration speech) selection is the context. This certain political speech would be selected as appropriate since it was given to a political gathering, where the speaker talked about the American political situation. Another criterion for data selection was that of representativeness. A speech can be assumed to be representative of its genre, as it is given by a high profile politician. The politician is the president of the USA. As it has been already pointed out, this research is predisposed to be a qualitative one. In addition, the typical way of building a corpus in CDA is also taken into account. The corpora of CDA are not too broad, and the texts analyzed are among the prototypical ones of the selected discourse. “Although there are no explicit statements about this issue, one might assume that many CDA studies (perhaps with the exception of Teun van Dijk & Ruth Wodak) mostly deal with only small corpora which are usually regarded as being typical of certain discourses” (Meyer, 2002, p. 25).

In the context of this study, the process of gathering relevant data involved library research, discussions with experts in the fields of CDA (especially political discourse) and sociolinguistics. Relevant critical writings and several publications that provided useful insights into this study were consulted as well. The source of the data was taken from the recorded video and a script of Trump's inauguration speech. In collecting the data, observational method was used, which is the method of collecting data by doing an observation of the language that was used in this speech directly. Note taking technique was used as well for the same purpose.

In the process of collecting the data, there were some procedures which have been used. The researcher has attempted to use transcripts of the U.S inauguration
Speech. Then, the researcher listened and watched the recorded video of Trump's inauguration speech. Also the researcher read the transcript of the speech repeatedly in several times and took a general overview of the speech.

3.4. Population, Sample and Sampling Technique

A population has to do with the elements to which the results or the outcomes of the investigation are generalizable. Nworgu (1991, p. 106) states that "a population refers to the limits within which the research findings are applicable". The population for this study is the inauguration speech addressed by Donald Trump in his presidential inauguration ceremony on 20/1/2017.

A sample is a smaller group of elements drawn through a definite procedure from a specified population for inclusion in a study and from which the researcher hopes to gain generalizable knowledge about the whole population. It is the selection of some members or elements from the population for actual investigation. For this end, purposive sampling technique will be used to do the selection. Purposive sampling technique means the selection of specific elements for research investigation. In purposive sampling, specific elements which satisfy some predetermined criteria are selected. Although the criteria to be used are usually a matter of the researcher’s judgment, he exercises this judgment in relation to what he thinks will constitute a representative sample with respect to the research purpose (Nworgu, 1991).

The data that constitutes this corpus was collected by the technique of convenient sampling. That is because this study is interested in scrutinizing the speech of political genre. Thus the convenient sampling technique is quite relevant, as far as
the aim is not to make generalizations regarding a large population, as the random or stratified sampling tends to do.

3.5. Research Instrument

In this research, one major instrument is adopted; the use of written record. The corpus for this study consists of the inauguration speech presented by the newly elected president of America, Donald Trump. The selected speech was recorded live, as well as converted into transcription. It will be analyzed to show how social relations, identity, knowledge and power are constructed and reproduced through words.

The written record of the speech under research contains relevant analytical categories which are adequate to explain the features and meanings of the significant expressions of the addressee, Donald Trump, and the motivation for their use during the inauguration ceremony. Discourse analysis of written texts as a method provides the tools for describing the ideas and the relations among the ideas that are present in a text.

3.6. Procedures for Data Analysis

CDA scholars believe that CDA can be undertaken effectively by employing one theoretical framework or method of analysis, given its grounding in issues which relate to the social and political lives of language users. These framework usually adopt a combination of different levels of analysis and different analytical tools for political texts, what they called a 'multi method approach'. Texts are not simply products of a sender who has embedded a certain message intended for a receiver, but a representation of a complex set of rules and influences which are sometimes visible
but most often not. The first part of the name for this type of analysis is the word ‘critical’ which requires the analyst to observe the invisible relations between people expressed in language. The reader therefore not only has to be critical of his subject of investigation, but also of his own context.

Several aspects of the data will be analyzed to achieve a proper Political Discourse Analysis. The linguistic categories that are going to be analyzed are not too broad, as the aim is to accomplish a qualitative research, but also not to depart from the distinctive CDA methodological approach which is that of considering a restricted number of linguistic categories (Meyer 2002).

It is worth mentioning that the linguistic forms used in the politicians’ speeches are not arbitrary and that they serve specific functions. “The selections which speakers make from among the total inventory of forms and processes are principled and systematic. […] The selection of one form over other points to the speaker’s articulation of one kind of meaning rather than another.” (Fowler, Kress 1979, p. 188). In their seminal article “Critical Linguistics” Fowler and Kress (1979) provide the critical analysts with a useful checklist of linguistic features with five headings which are relevant to pursue a critical analysis. The linguistic features which will be analyzed using the headings of Fowler and Kress’ checklist are: Transformations, The grammar of Modality and Text Cohesion.

To put together, in this study, both the meanings produced through the formal linguistic elements and those produced using the background knowledge or information, what Fairclough (1995) calls ‘Members’ Resources’ are considered complementary for the total description and interpretation of the data. This framework proceeds from identification of lexical choices, the communicative situation and the
functions of the speeches including the mental model representation to specific social situations to which they correspond and highlight their functions simultaneously all within the CDA framework.
CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Introduction

This study aims to provide a CDA of Trump’s speech in his presidential inauguration ceremony. For this end, two major aspects of his speech namely; the representation of political diplomatic tone and the linguistic categories included in this speech will be subjected to a thorough analysis to attain the objectives underpinning this research. These two aspects go in line with the research objectives which will be re-mentioned here for more elucidation with analysis processes.

1. Investigating the political diplomatic tone of Donald Trump in his inauguration speech.
2. Exploring and analyzing the use of linguistic categories in Trump’s inauguration speech.

The purpose of this chapter is, then, to offer a thorough CDA to Donald Trump's inauguration speech as it appeared on many news websites. It is known that, in order to represent and defend their country’s national interests; diplomats use a ‘diplomatic’ language which is particularly formal, courteous, respectful, more acceptable, often ambiguous and wordy, or illusive. For example, Nicolson (1939) argues that a diplomatic language should enables diplomatists and ministers to say sharp things to each other without becoming provocative or impolite. He also argues that there are seven virtues the ideal diplomat should possess, namely “truthfulness, precision, calmness, good temper, patience, modesty, and loyalty” (p. 104).
4.2. Data Analysis

The analysis of the study data will be proceeded in two sections. Section one is meant to analyze the representation of political discourse in Trump’s inauguration speech, while the second section addresses the linguistic categories found in the speech. It is worth mentioning that the written text of Trump’s speech has been fragmented into numbered lines, as in Appendix 2, for the purpose of simplifying analysis procedures. Line number appears in between brackets at the end of every line provided in the analysis below.

4.2.1. The representation of political diplomatic tone of Tramp's inauguration speech

The two main aspects that form the diplomatic tone in Trump's inauguration speech are formality and framing. As such, the next two subsections provide a detailed discussion of these two phases.

4.2.1.1. Formality

Formality in discourse is to make the address formal and according to the used form. The degree of formality depends on the purpose of the message and the relationship you have with the reader. For example, a memo reporting the results of a meeting will be more formal than an email inviting someone for a cup of coffee. Similarly, an email to your friend will be less formal than an email to your employer. A note is often written in a very informal style. Formal language conveys respect, politeness and distance. On the other hand, informal language can convey familiarity and friendliness.
Having a deep look at Trump's Inauguration Speech, it has been found that Trump's uses a tactful policy in his speech represented by addressing all the American people in general, and the most important decision makers in the United States, in particular, to rebuild their country and determine the course of America and the world. Trump's inauguration speech seems to be formal and up to the diplomatic tone level from the beginning to the end, set on the following rules which followed by diplomats. As cited in (Crane, *Texture in Text: A Discourse Analysis of a News Article Using Halliday and Hasan’s Model of Cohesion*) speeches in the international diplomacy domain generally have four sections; Greeting and Praise, Opening Salutation, Summoning Cooperation and The Conclusion.

1. **Greeting and Praise**

To show a remarkable consistency with the conventions of political discourse, Trump starts his speech by ‘thank you’ the Chief Justice, President Carter, President Clinton, President Bush, President Obama, fellow Americans, and people of the world to recognition of the last president and to show the high position of the USA by addressing the people of the world. He uses short, elliptical sentences that instantly draw him close to the audience and makes him one of them. He states:

Chief Justice Roberts, President Carter, President Clinton, President Bush, President Obama, fellow Americans, and people of the world, thank you. […]

Every four years, we gather on these steps to carry out the orderly and peaceful transfer of power, and we are grateful to President Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama for their gracious aid throughout this transition. They have been magnificent. Thank you (Trump, 2017).
2. Opening Salutation

It has been known that the ‘opening salutations’ in speeches are a must in the diplomatic language. Further, knowledge of Protocol is also essential in determining the rank and file of addressees present to insure the order of the salutation in the opening is proper and correct. Unlike most Romanian political discourses, which tend to be rather long and sophisticated, Donald Trump's inauguration speech stands out in its apparent simplicity but it is very catchy and stimulating, entertaining even. A close analysis of the linguistic techniques used in his speech shows how deeply rooted they are in the Diplomacy Protocol in which they occur and also how manipulative language can be.

3. Summoning Cooperation

This is the third section in international diplomacy speeches. International diplomacy can be appeared in Trump's speech through calling for commonality, cooperation, compromise, consensus over differences among peoples. Trump, in his speech, promises to be open for all nations, hold new friendships, renew the old once, and reinforce old alliance and form new once i.e.:

We the citizens of America are now joined in a great national effort to rebuild our country and restore its promise for all of our people. Together we will determine the course of America, and the world, for many, many years to come. We will face challenges. We will confront hardships, but we will get the job done. We will seek friendship and goodwill with the nations of the world, but we do so with the understanding that it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first. We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example. We will shine for
everyone to follow. We will reinforce old alliances and form new
ones, and you unite the civilized world against radical Islamic
terrorism, which we will eradicate completely from the face of the
Earth (Trump, 2017).

4. The Conclusion

The fourth section of the diplomacy speeches is the conclusion.
Speeches must have a conclusion part to summarize the whole speech
and to focus on the main points that needs to be emphasized like
cooperation, unity, defence, equality, and people's needs. Donald
Trump has employed these points in his last two parts of his speech.
He says:

So to all Americans, in every city near and far, small and large, from
mountain to mountain, from ocean to ocean, hear these words. You
will never be ignored again. Your voice, your hopes, and your
dreams will define our American destiny. And your courage and
goodness and love, will forever guide us along the way. Together,
we will make America strong again. We will make America wealthy
again. We will make America proud again We will make America
safe again, And yes, together, we will make we will make America
great again. Thank you. God bless you. And god bless America.
Thank you. God bless America (Trump, 2017).

To conclude, Donald Trump, in his inauguration speech, has
provided the political diplomatic tone successfully as a result of the
consistent use of the above mentioned aspects.
4.2.1.2. Framing

This subsection is meant to analyze the aspect of framing, which is a major factor in Trump’s discourse and his communication of his values. As mentioned in the theoretical framework in chapter two, frames are mental structures that we use to compartmentalize and thereby understand the world. Frames help us make sense of situations and once a frame is created it can be very hard to change. Nevertheless, sometimes we have to change our frames as we are placed in new situations and experience things that force us to alter our ideas of the world, this is also referred to as reframing.

Trump works very directly to change the frame of what we believe a President of the United States to be. If he wants to present himself as a president, it is paramount that he succeeds in changing or adding to that frame. As he has never before been a man of political interests, the new narrative or frame he intends to provide is that of a president, a strong father figure, who protects the nation. Therefore, in this ceremony, Trump is using a range of implicit messages to try to reframe that narrative. He has to create a narrative about himself that fits with the narrative of a president, while also slowly changing the existing narrative of what a president is, or perhaps more importantly who a president is.

During his Inauguration Speech, he evokes different frames in order to make sure that all his listeners get as accurate an insight into his beliefs, goals and visions as possible. Frames work implicitly within the mind, and are evoked through language, that means that we are never consciously aware of the frames (unless we really look for them, as in this analysis). They slip in and out of our minds whenever they are triggered by something we hear or see that we associate with the frames. Therefore,
framing is a powerful tool when constructing political speeches, and thus the frames used in Clinton’s speech are meant to have very specific effects on the listeners.

Trump uses a range of different frames, where some of the strongest are the economy frame, the defense frame, the equality frame, the prosperity frame and the international frame. The following subsection will be dedicated to the analysis of these frames in detail.

1. Economy Frame

The economy frame is one of the frames Trump uses the most. He uses it when he talks about issues of wealth, industry, trade, taxes, employment and infrastructure in America. By evoking the economy frame, he wants to inform his listeners that he will employ his long experience in business for the good of his people only, as he explicitly says ‘…from this day forward: a new vision will govern our land, from this day forward, it’s going to be only America first’. He is also making sure that when he talks about economy, everyone knows exactly what kind of values he is referring to. The frame is evoked when he uses expressions such as ‘buy American’, ‘hire American’ and ‘we will make America wealthy again’.

Looking at the speech as a whole, Trump switches between addressing the topics of wealth, employment, industry and infrastructure within the frame of economy. Therefore, when he addresses all these issues in his speech, we must assume that he is doing it to achieve a certain effect, namely, to make his arguments more appealing to the listeners.

Trump uses the noun Wealth five times in his Inauguration Speech. He mostly uses it in the middle part of the speech, when he is presenting his visions and goals for America, but he also uses it in both his introductory part of the speech concerning the
reforming of Government, and in the speech conclusion where he calls people to join him in his new vision for America. Trump, in the introductory part, says:

“Washington flourished, but the people did not share in its wealth.” (11),

and in the middle of his speech he states:

“[…] while the wealth, [...] has dissipated over the horizon.” (37),

“The wealth of our middle class has been ripped [...]” (39) and

“We will bring back our wealth [...]” (50)

while, in the concluding part, he says:

“We will make America wealthy again.” (85)

By his frequent use of this concept for many times during the different parts of his speech, Trump intends to confirm the importance of the economical superfluity of America and the American people.

Regarding Employment, Trump mentions the word ‘job’ as an essential need for four times in his speech for different ends. The first and second times he uses it are in his introductory part regarding government reforming as he says:

“Politicians prospered, but the jobs left and the factories closed.” (12), and,

“Americans want […] and good jobs for themselves.” (26)

As he moves on in his speech to talk about his goals and visions for America, he also uses the word ‘job’ two times when he says:

“We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries […] destroying our jobs.” (44)

“We will bring back our jobs.” (48)

The taxes in his inauguration speech. He promises that every decision on taxes will be only for the benefit of the American worker and American families. Comments around overseas taxes on US exports could be interpreted as
corroborative of a border adjustable tax. Under this regime, US-made goods would receive favorable tax treatment but companies with high import costs would be penalized. The market will be looking for greater clarity on Trump's tax plan; particularly reductions in the corporate rate and cash repatriation. These tax changes alone would provide a significant potential boost to earnings.

With respect to Infrastructure and Industry, Trump calls for reforming this important component of the national economy through investing trillions of American dollars for infrastructure investment and rebuilding the United States of America in five different positions in his speech. For example, he states:

“Politicians prospered, but the jobs left and the factories closed.” (12)

“For many decades, we've enriched foreign industry at the expense of American industry.” (34)

“And spent trillions and trillions of dollars overseas, while America's infrastructure has fallen into disrepair and decay.” (36)

“We will build new roads and highways and bridges and airports and tunnels, and railways, all across our wonderful nation.” (51)

“We will follow two simple rules: buy American, and hire American.” (53)

In the first three sentences above (12, 34, 36), Trump criticizes the old policies towards the national economy as a preliminary step to provide his new vision for the future. As in the last two sentences (51, 53), he provides his forthcoming plans to reform the American economy.

2. Defense Frame

With respect to Defense, the second category of framing, within the speech Trump emphasizes the necessity and the importance of this component for
America and the American people through using many terms and expressions related to protection and defense. The frame of defense is used with reference to the local and international levels of this subject in many situations during Trump’s speech. The following examples are taken from the speech to illustrate this point.

1. “For many decades […] subsidized the armies of other countries, while allowing for the very sad depletion of our military.” (34)
2. “We've defended other nation's borders while refusing to defend our own.” (35)
3. “We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries[…]” (44)
4. “Protection will lead to great prosperity and strength.” (45)
5. “I will fight for you with every breath in my body […]” (46)
6. “We will bring back our borders.” (49)
7. “We are protected, and we will always be protected.” (64)
8. “We will be protected by the great men and women of our military […]” (65)
9. “And most importantly, we will be protected by God.” (66)
10. “Together, we will make America strong again.” (84)

3. Equality Frame

Regarding the third frame characterizes this discourse, Equality, Donald Trump dedicates this issue enough attention in his speech. To signify his rejection of discrimination against or in favor of any party in the American society, he frequently refers to the sense of equality from the beginning to the end of his speech. The examples below demonstrate Trump’s claim of equality among all the American citizens.

1. “It belongs to everyone gathered here today, and everyone watching, all across America.” (17)
2. “We are one nation and their pain is our pain.” (30)
3. “Their dreams are our dreams and their success will be our success.” (31)
4. “We share one heart, one home, and one glorious destiny.” (32)

5. “[…]that whether we are black, or brown, or white, we all bleed the same red blood of patriots.” (77)

6. “We all enjoy the same glorious freedoms, and we all salute the same, great American flag.” (78)

7. “And whether a child is born in the urban sprawl of Detroit or the windswept plains of Nebraska, they look up at the at the same night sky, they fill their heart with the same dreams and they are infused with the breath of life by the same almighty creator.” (79)

8. “Together, we will make America strong again.” (84)

As part of his political speech and through these expressions of equality, Trump provides himself as the president of all Americans regardless of their ethnicities, colors.

4. International Policy Frame

As being a political speech addressed in his inauguration ceremony, Donald Trump as a new president of America allots enough space for the international policy that he will follow in his plans for the future. This from is located exclusively in the medial part of his speech (between sentences 36-57). However, there are some remarkable observations about Trump’s vision for the new international policy he provides in his speech to be discussed after presenting the example statements of this frame below.

1. “For many decades, we've enriched foreign industry at the expense of American industry, subsidized the armies of other countries, while allowing for the very sad depletion of our military.” (34)

2. “We've defended other nation's borders while refusing to defend our own.” (35)
3. “And spent trillions and trillions of dollars overseas, while America's infrastructure has fallen into disrepair and decay.” (36)

4. “We've made other countries rich while the wealth, strength and confidence of our country has dissipated over the horizon.” (37)

5. “[…] from this day forward: a new vision will govern our land, from this day forward, it's going to be only America first.” (41)

6. “America first.” (42)

7. “Every decision on trade, on taxes, on immigration, on foreign affairs will be made to benefit American workers and American families.” (43)

8. “We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries […].” (44)

9. “We will seek friendship and goodwill with the nations of the world, but we do so with the understanding that it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first.” (54)

10. “We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example.” (55)

11. “We will shine for everyone to follow.” (56)

12. “We will reinforce old alliances and form new ones, and you unite the civilized world against radical Islamic terrorism, which we will eradicate completely from the face of the Earth.” (57)

The way that Trump presents his vision for the American forthcoming international policy, as given in the examples above, reveals the following noticeable denotations. On the one hand he shows his loyalty and patriotic sense for the benefit of America as he states in statements (34, 35, 36, 37, 41, 42, 43 and 44) where America is given the outmost priority. Although he talks about the relations of friendship and goodwill with the others as in (55 and 56), these relations are based on the superiority of America only. On the other hand, he refers to the issue of cooperation with the other countries only one time as in statement (57).
5. Prosperity Frame

The last significant frame comprised in Donald Trump’s inauguration speech is his visualization of prosperity, mainly via addressing issues such as protection, success, pride, and greatness. Through this frame Trump seeks to show the difference that he will make for the American people during his residence in the white house. The following instances demonstrate how the fame of prosperity was addressed in different ways.

1. “Protection will lead to great prosperity and strength.” (45)
2. “We will shine for everyone to follow.” (56)
3. “We will not fail. Our country will thrive and prosper again.” (74)
4. “A new national pride will stir our souls, lift our sights and heal our divisions.” (76)
5. “We will make America proud again […] we will make we will make America great again.” (86)

In example one, Trump provides the concept of prosperity as the outcome of protection, while in the second example he provides the same concept as a model for others to follow. In example three prosperity is interconnected with success, though prosperity has been claimed to be regained. This view for prosperity as something which is lost, appears again in example five where Trump insists that America will be made proud and great again.

4.2.2. The Linguistic categories in Trump's inauguration speech.

Within a language, there are possible choices at various levels (graphic, syntactic, semantic) that may seem arbitrary, but they are not. We can express the same idea using different structures (passive or active voice) or use synonyms for a certain word without changing its basic meaning. But we do this for different
purposes as we use language in different contexts, otherwise the alternative structures would disappear from the language as they would be considered redundant or obsolete. Therefore, there cannot be truly synonymous words or truly synonymous surface structures and if these alternative structures exist, if the grammatical set of conventions allows their existence, it obviously means that they serve different functions (Johnstone, 2002).

Discourse analysts have drawn attention to others by presenting the very important aspect of language such as the use of linguistic choices for the purpose of conveying alternative meanings, a different view of how the world is organized, social ideologies or cultural beliefs. According to Fairclough (1995), people use language to convey meanings for a certain purpose in a certain social context but at the same time they place themselves in the social organization according to their ideologies and power. Thus, language is invested with social, political and cultural beliefs.

The aim of this section is to point out the linguistic mechanisms employed by Trump to manufacture discourse that endowed him. Several linguistic aspects of the data will be analyzed to achieve a proper CDA of Trump’s inauguration speech. The linguistic categories that are going to be analyzed are not too broad, as the aim is to accomplish a qualitative research, but also not to depart from the distinctive CDA methodological approach which is that of considering a restricted number of linguistic categories. As Meyer (2002) points that once more we want to accentuate our point of view that the linguistic forms used in the politicians’ speeches are not arbitrary and that they serve specific functions. “The selections which speakers make from among the total inventory of forms and processes are principled and systematic. […] The selection of one form over other points to the speaker’s articulation of one kind of meaning rather than another.” (Fowler & Kress 1979, p. 188).
The use of linguistic manipulative techniques is very important in political speeches. Trump's inauguration speech holds an amazing number of linguistic manipulative techniques such as 1) Transformations (including passivization and nominalization), 2) The Grammar of Modality (including personal deixes, temporal deixes and spatial deixes) and 3) Cohesion (including referencing, ellipses, substitutions, and lexical cohesion). All these three linguistic categories will be analyzed in the following subsections respectively.

4.2.2.1. Transformations

1. Passivizations

Regarding the use of active and passive voices with semantic roles, in English it is possible to make distinctions between who does an action and who suffers the effect of an action by means of passive or active voice. Such a representation of action or events has clearly mapped onto grammatical structures. Thus the role of agent in an active sentence is mapped onto the position of sentence subject while the role of the patient – the one who suffers the action – is mapped onto the position of grammatical object. Placing less emphasis on one semantic role or another via grammatical choice is a way of changing focus on one item or another according to speaker’s opinion on the matter, thus influencing reader’s/listener’s interpretation. “Passivization allows a noun denoting an affected participant, a non-agent, to be placed in the subject position in the sentence, the left-hand noun-phase slot which is conventionally regarded as the theme or topic of the sentence.[…] This device allows a writer or speaker to emphasize his thematic priorities, to emphasize what a text is about”. (Fowler and Kress 1979, p. 209).
Table 4.1. Passive Forms in Trump’s Inauguration speech

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passive Form</th>
<th>Annotation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[...]the jobs left and the factories closed. (12)</td>
<td>In this passive structure agents are rendered anonymous. The ones that left jobs and the ones closed factories are obscured. Thus the responsibility is veiled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[...]but whether our government is controlled by the people. (20)</td>
<td>In this passive from the agent is actually given, the people, but as their role in this concern is under question, the passive structure puts more priority to the patient, the government via fronting it to the subject position.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 20th, 2017 will be remembered[...]. (21)</td>
<td>As far as the important entity in this ceremony is the time of the inauguration, Trump prefers to hide the agent to perform a potential effective speech by placing January 20th, 2017 in the subject position.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The forgotten men and women of our country, will be forgotten no longer. (22)</td>
<td>Here the patient occupies the concern of Trump by transferring the forgotten men and women to the subject position via passivization and the agent is left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The wealth of our middle class has been ripped from their homes[…]</strong> (39)</td>
<td>unspecified because it would not have been appropriate to point specifically to the real agents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>We are protected, and we will always be protected.</strong> (64)</td>
<td>The passive construction emphasizes the theme role rather than the agent role. In addition, the agent is not present at all. Trump chooses to expose the theme regardless of who did it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>We will be protected by God.</strong> (66)</td>
<td>To confirm the informationally important topic of protection, Trump prefers to passivize the statements related to this topic. Here the agent is hidden, but the patients who are the concern of Trump are fronted to the subject position.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>You will never be ignored again.</strong> (81)</td>
<td>Again, to reconfirm the importance of protection for the American people, this passivized form fronted the patients ‘We’ but with the presence of the Agent in this case.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The addressees, who are the American people in this context, are given more consideration by fronting them to the subject position. This passivization style servers Trump in enhancing the political</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Nominalization

Another way of manipulating the representation of events, actions or actors is by means of nominalization, which means the choice to use in the role of grammatical subject noun words that can also be other parts of speech such as verbs or adjectives, thus emphasizing either on the event or on the agent. Nominalizations is the syntactic transformations in which “nominals are derived from sentences or parts of sentences—to put it another way, nominal expressions of concepts for which an expression involving a verb or an adjective would have been available to the writer or speaker” (Fowler & Kress 1979, p. 207).

Table 4.2. Nominalization in Trump’s Inauguration speech

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominalization</th>
<th>Annotation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[...] for their gracious aid throughout this transition. (6)</td>
<td>For emphasizing the process under consideration, Trump here preferred to nominalize the procedure ‘transit’ into ‘transition’. This grammatical form assigns more attention to the process than to the agents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This is your celebration [...] (19)</td>
<td>Instead of the action the verb ‘celebrate’ presents, the nominal form ‘celebration’ is chosen in order to emphasize the thematic priority of the ceremony.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[...] but for too many of our citizens a different reality exists. (27)</td>
<td>Nominalizing the adjective ‘real’ into ‘reality’ in this statement confirms the menace of the situation (poverty, corruption, etc.) he refers to in this context.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We assembled here today our issuing a new decree [...] (41)</td>
<td>The nominalization of the verb ‘issue’ in a sentence like ‘We assembled her to issue our new decree’ highlights the significance of the event along with people who do it as in ‘our issuing’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries *making* our products, *stealing* our companies and *destroying* our jobs. (44)

This may be a simple stylistic choice because the subject ‘other countries’ is already present. Another way of putting this phrase would be: ‘…of other countries who make our products, steal our companies and destroy our jobs.’ These nominalizations serve to offer a static and result meaning.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Protection will lead to great prosperity and strength. (45)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Through this construction, protection has been nominalized in this statement by placing it in the subject slot. The purpose of this nominalization is to suggest that protection has a thematic priority over prosperity and strength.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>America will start <em>winning</em> again, <em>winning</em> like never before. (47)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Instead of saying 'America will start to win again' the nominalization of the verb as 'winning' is used to refer to the event with a dynamic and process meaning.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>…<em>rebuilding</em> our country with American hands and American labor.(52)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>As in the previous cases, nominalizing the verb ‘build’ here gives more attention to what should be done for the betterment of America and its people.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.2.2.2. The Grammar of Modality

Meyer (2002) asserts that the categories like deixis and pronouns can be the object of the analysis in any linguistic method, but he proclaims that “they are crucial for CDA. Explicitly or implicitly CDA makes use of a concept of the so-called linguistic surface” (p. 16). Under the heading analysis of the Grammar of Modality the results of the person deixis which show the use of pronouns in Trump’s political speech will be presented first. These deixis are going to be presented in tables and followed by discussions. Next, the results for the spatial and temporal deixis in the same speech will be presented and discussed.
1. Personal Diexis

Table 4.3. Frequency of Personal Diexis in Trump’s Inauguration speech

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>Times used</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I (or other first person singular related pronouns)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We (or other first person plural related pronouns)</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You (or other second person related pronouns)</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They (or other third person plural related pronouns)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Personal pronouns (diexis) can be divided into categories depending on number, person and gender. Personal pronouns all have different functions in a communicative situation depending on how the speaker uses them, some are including others are excluding.

The 1st person singular functions as ‘I’ in the subject case ‘me’ in the object case and the possessive pronouns ‘my’ and ‘mine’ by which ‘my’ is a determiner. 1st person pronouns refer to the speaker or writer. From the table (4.1) above, it can be noticed that Trump used this category only for four times only, which is the least frequently used category. Here, Trump excludes others by making a personal point of view, and by using 1st person deixis the communicative function he intends to perform is to have focus on him. For instance, when he says:
“The oath of office, I take today, is an oath of allegiance to all Americans” (33)

he adds subjectivity to the speech and gives himself a personal voice which shows commitment. By using this personal pronoun, Trump becomes personal, which can have a positive effect and outcome on the audience, because the audience can see an actual person with potentially shared ideologies and commitment to the given context.

In another position he says:

“I will fight for you with every breath in my body, and I will never, ever let you down.” (46)

so as to make himself fully accountable for what is said. Furthermore, by excluding others and only referring to oneself, Trump shows that he is in a power position, where he is the doer talking to the recipient(s) and has the authority in the communicative situation.

To sum up, the 1st person pronouns refer to the speaker only. Trump makes personal references by referring to himself, which illustrates personal involvement. Thereby, these personal references can have consequences only for Trump if the context is not right, but if it all goes well then he can get all the credit because of the personal commitment.

The 2nd person singular and plural ‘you’ can both function in the subject and object case, both pronouns refer to the addressee(s). ‘You’ can be either singular or plural, and in order to clarify who ‘you’ refers to the speaker might have to specify it by a following nominal expression, because it is not always well-defined whether it refers to one or more persons. The possessive pronouns ‘your’ and ‘yours’ are both in the 2nd person, where ‘your’ functions as a determiner and ‘yours’ functions as an autonomous pronoun. In general, the communicative function of 2nd person deixis
‘you’ is used when addressing a specific person or person(s) spoken to, where the personal pronoun appeals to empathy from the hearer (Bibler et al. 2015). In this political speech, ‘You’ and its derivatives are used by Trump for about 26 times, which is the second frequently used pronoun, as generic pronouns, for the purpose of addressing all the potential addressees’ identities without any specification. By using 2nd person deixis, Trump acknowledges the addressees as people to represent his political position as their president.

Trump in his speech, by using 2nd person pronouns, passes on his practices and perceptions, and creates solidarity between the addressees and himself. He uses these pronouns to personalize a message to the recipients as in the following examples:

1. “Their victories have not been your victories.” (14)
2. “This is your day.” (18)
3. “Everyone is listening to you now.” (23)
4. “I will fight for you with every breath in my body, and I will never, ever let you down.” (46)
5. “Your voice, your hopes, and your dreams will define our American destiny.” (82)

The 1st person plural is ‘we’ in the subject case, and ‘us’ in the object case. The pronouns ‘we’ and ‘us’ can both function as including and excluding. Meaning, ‘we’ can be inclusive by including the addressee(s), namely ‘I’ + ‘you’, but ‘we’ can also function as exclusive by excluding the addressee(s), although including other people, namely the speaker + the speaker’s family, or the Government (Bibler et al., 2015). Like with the pronoun ‘you’, ‘we’ is also used to refer to people in general. According to (Maybin et al., 2007.), ‘we’ can have four different including functions, “(a) the speaker and one other person; (b) the speaker and a group; (c) the speaker and
an entire country; (d) the speaker as a whole” (p. 52). It can be argued that (c) could also concern an entire part of the world, for instance ‘the west’, so one might say that (c) is a subtype of (a). Also, the possessive pronouns ‘our’ and ‘ours’ are both in the 1st person plural, in this case ‘our’ functions as a determiner, and ‘ours’ functions as an autonomous pronoun.

From the results calculated in table (4.3) above, it can be noticed that this kind of personal pronouns was the most frequently (103 times) used by Donald Trump in his inauguration speech. By using the 1st person plural pronouns ‘we’, ‘us’, ‘our’ and ‘ours’ Trump means to demonstrate many things. First, as in examples 1 and 2 below, he wants to demonstrate who has the authority, because he is speaking on behalf of others, hence he has the authority to speak for others. Second, the pronouns ‘we’ and ‘us’ can be considered as Trump’s way of showing identification with the people included in the social context such as the American people, the Republicans or the Government, and it creates solidarity between him and his recipients, as in examples 3 and 4 below. Third, by using the pronouns ‘our’ and ‘ours’, examples 5 and 6 below, Trump intends to convey to all the American people (his recipients), along with him, that they become one unit, who might have the same beliefs and ideologies, where the potential distance between him and them is reduced. The following examples from Trump’s inauguration speech disclose these practices.

1. “**We** the citizens of America are now joined in a great national effort[...]” (2)
2. “**We** share one heart, one home, and one glorious destiny.” (32)
3. “**We** will follow two simple rules: buy American, and hire American.” (53)
4. “**We** will shine for everyone to follow.” (56)
5. “**We** will not fail. **Our** country will thrive and prosper again.” (71)
6. “We will get our people off of welfare and back to work, rebuilding our country with American hands and American labor.” (52)

The 3rd person plural is ‘they’ in the subject case and ‘them’ in the object case, while the possessive pronouns are ‘their’ and ‘theirs’, where ‘their’ is a determiner and ‘theirs’ is an autonomous pronoun. ‘They’ and ‘them’ are used by the speaker when referring to people outside the ‘in-group’, they can be used as words for othering. The spokesman may implicitly or explicitly refer to ‘they’ and ‘them’ as the ‘other people’, not you or me (Bibler et al., 2015, p. 96). Thereby, it can be said that Donald Trump used this category of personal pronouns to create solidarity between the in-group members (All American people) and distances the in-group from the out-group, namely referred to by ‘they’ and ‘their’. The 3rd person plural pronouns appears in Trump’s speech for 16 times. He used this discursive strategy in preparation for creating different social groups, where the out-group perhaps seems inferior in some way to the in-group. The examples below demonstrate this point of view.

1. “[…]while they celebrated in our nation's capital, there was little to celebrate for struggling families all across our land.” (15)
2. “Their victories have not been your victories.” (14)
3. “[…] it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first.” (54)

From these examples it can be observed how the impersonal pronouns ‘they’ and ‘their’ function as excluding elements, while the members of the in-group are included in the context. In addition to creating distance, they also imply two groups, namely ‘us’ and ‘them’ relating to Othering presented above.

The 3rd person singular was not found in Trump’s inauguration speech as this kind of pronouns has a gender distinction, namely masculine, feminine, and non-
person. By using the 3rd person pronouns, the speaker points to participants who are the addressee(s). The addressees in this context are all the American people, at least, and the speaker is the president of America. Therefore, using 3rd person pronouns in such political context is not of that need.

2. Spatial and Temporal Diexis

Chilton (2004) argues that while positioning themselves both temporarily and spatially in the deictic center, the utterers position the interpreters or the people to whom they address, near to or somehow remote from the deictic center. Temporal and Spatial deixes are crucial to a PDA because the speakers situate themselves and the listeners through their speech regarding a certain time and place. Trump in his speech anchors himself in a deictic center, from where he evokes the others (be they people or places), the past events, and the future expectancies or goals. To represent the temporal and spatial deixes in tabulating forms, the temporal deictics are placed on three columns. The column on the left is the past, and the one on the right of the table there is the future, whereas the middle column is the deictic center (the present).

On the other hand the spatial table serves to illustrate how Trump positions other places with respect to their assigned space where he stands. It is noteworthy to keep in mind that when placing the mentioned entities along a table, we cannot simply measure distances. “It is not that we can actually measure the “distances” from Self; rather, the idea is that people tend to place people and things along a scale of remoteness from the self, using background assumptions and indexical cues” (Chilton 2003, p. 58). For this, the categorization of spatial deixes will be put on three columns. The first, to the left is for Internal Entities, the second is for Deictic Centre and the third, to the right, is for External Entities.
Table 4.4. Temporal Diexis in Trump’s Inauguration Speech

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Deictic Center (Present)</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>for too long, before (2 times),</td>
<td>now (4 times), every four years, today</td>
<td>many years to come, from this day forward,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for many decades, the past, the</td>
<td>(5 times), this moment, January 20\textsuperscript{th}</td>
<td>no longer, tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>time is over</td>
<td>right now (2 times), this moment,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>January 20\textsuperscript{th}, the day,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>it’s time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the data presented in table 4.4 above, it can be observed that the temporal deictic assume a historical periodization divided on three parts. The first part is the past which includes the period before Trump becomes the president of America. According to the temporal diexis presented in table 4.4 above, this period extends from many decades ago to the very recent past. The main purpose for using such references to the past is to criticize and attack the previous policies of the American governments at the national and international levels, as in examples 1 and 2 below. Besides, Trump uses the references to the past, in examples 3 and 4, as preliminaries to what is going to be done in the future under his administration. The following examples illustrates these points.

1. “For too long, a small group in our nation’s capital has reaped the rewards of government, while the people have borne the cost.” (10)

2. “For many decades, we’ve enriched foreign industry at the expense of American industry, subsidized the armies of other countries, while allowing for the very sad depletion of our military.” (34)

3. “But that is the past, and now we are looking only to the future.” (40)

4. “America will start winning again, winning like never before.” (47)
For the future which embraces long-lasting strength, prosperity, loyalty and reform at the national and international levels, Trump makes use of temporal diexis such as many years to come, from this day forward and no longer. The following statements from Trump’s speech demonstrate these concepts.

1. “Together we will determine the course of America, and the world, for many, many years to come.” (3)
2. “[…] from this day forward: a new vision will govern our land, from this day forward, it's going to be only America first.” (41)
3. “We will no longer accept politicians who are all talk and no action, constantly complaining but never doing anything about it.” (69)

Concerning the Deictic Center, which refers to the time between the past and the future, it can be noticed from table 4.4 above that Donald Trump invests his speech to derive the attention to the importance of this moment. This moment is the time when he becomes the president of America. Most of the used temporal diexis refer to this period as a changing point in the history of America. From the beginning to the end of his speech and for more than fifteen times, Trump makes use of present time diexis to attain this end. For more illustration, the following example from Trump’s speech are given.

1. “We the citizens of America are now joined in a great national effort to rebuild our country and restore its promise for all of our people.” (2)
2. “Today's ceremony, however, has very special meaning, because today we are not merely transferring power from one administration to another, or from one party to another, but we are transferring power from Washington, D.C., and giving it back to you, the people.” (9)
3. “But that is the past, and now we are looking only to the future.” (40)
4. “Now arrives the hour of action.” (71)

Table 4.5. Spatial Diexis in Trump’s Inauguration Speech

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Internal Entities</th>
<th>Deictic Center</th>
<th>External Entities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>all across our land, all across America, in our inner cities, across the landscape of our nation, behind, their homes, in every city, all across our wonderful nation, in America, in every city</td>
<td>here (3 times), right here</td>
<td>overseas, over the horizon, all across the world, in every foreign capital, in every hall of power, there,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the other side, the spatial deictics listed in table 4.5 above provides the internal interests as the main targeted space or destination which has to be reached by Trump. Half of the used spatial deictics refer to the internal entities and concerns. This destination is not necessarily near to him, but it becomes reachable through peace, political stability, cooperation, unity and reconciliation. The overuse of internal entities deictics shows that Trump’s gives the national issues most of his interest. However he used only six deictics for the international domain, he offers more superiority and priority for the national affairs within the same statements. Unlike the noticeable attention he paid for the deictic center in temporal deictics, in spatial deictics the deictic center was referred to only in four situations.

To put together, it can be said that these deictics bear a political importance as they do not simply point to a location in space or to a certain point of time. By using these kinds of deictics, Trump as a president of the greatest country all over the world,
means to send many messages, nationally and internationally. These tools enable him to enrich his speech with many political insinuations.

4.2.2.3. Cohesion

Another important linguistic feature to look for in this discourse is what Fairclough (1998) calls the connective values, which is an element that connects parts within a text as well as referring to contexts outside the text itself. This part of analysis will be dealing with connective features that function internally, and the overall term for these is cohesion. Cohesion in this analysis involves formal connective features such as conjunctions, substitution and ellipsis, lexical cohesion and choice of tenses as they have influence on the ideological content of a text.

1. Conjunctions

The study of the use of conjunctions in Trump’s speech is highly relevant because it is a constructed discourse where the words and phrases are chosen with a specific purpose. Conjunctions set up cohesion between sentence constituents, there are two types of conjunctions, namely: coordinating and subordinating conjunctions.

A. Coordinating Conjunctions

Coordinating conjunctions combine constituents which are at the same syntactic level. There are three main coordinators in English: ‘and’, ‘but’ and ‘or’. These coordinators can link words, clauses and phrases, also, coordinating conjunctions link conjoints to form a compound unit. A compound unit typically consists of two or more conjoints linked together by a coordinator (Bache, 2000). A general analysis of these coordinating conjunctions as used in Trump’s speech reveals that the additive conjunction ‘and’ was used for about 75 times. This conjunction was used by Trump more frequently in the same sentences to support
many of his views, to expand his scope of expectations, to bring different identities together, etc. The following statements from Trump’s speech demonstrate these points respectively. He says:

And spent trillions and trillions of dollars overseas, while America's infrastructure has fallen into disrepair and decay. (36)

We will build new roads and highways and bridges and airports and tunnels, and railways, all across our wonderful nation. (51)

And whether a child is born in the urban sprawl of Detroit or the windswept plains of Nebraska, they look up at the at the same night sky, they fill their heart with the same dreams and they are infused with the breath of life by the same almighty creator. So to all Americans, in every city near and far, small and large, from mountain to mountain, from ocean to ocean, hear these words. (80-81)

The second conjunction that was used by Trump is the contrastive ‘but’. To support his political discourse, Trump used this conjunction in thirteen different positions in the whole text for different purposes. For instance, at the beginning of his speech Trump used it to criticize the previous governments and their policies in a contrastive style as when he says:

“Washington flourished, but the people did not share in its wealth.” (11),
“Politicians prospered, but the jobs left and the factories closed.” (12), and
“The establishment protected itself, but not the citizens of our country.” (13)

Whereas in the middle of his speech he used the same conjunction to address the nature of the relationship he is planning between America and the other countries, giving the superiority for America. Unlike the contrasts appeared in the previous statements, which was made between two internal entities (the government and the people, where Trump excluded himself from this context), here Trump included
himself when contrast is to be made between internal and external entities. In a contrastive manner he says:

> We will seek friendship and goodwill with the nations of the world, but we do so with the understanding that it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first (54), […] We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example (55).

In some other situations he used ‘but’ to introduce himself and his administration as reformers who will rescue America from the drawbacks of the past. He says:

> “But that is the past, and now we are looking only to the future.” (40)

The third conjunction of this category namely ‘or’ was used only for four times. As this conjunction was found of no significance to characterize Trump’s speech, it will not be discussed.

**B. Subordinating Conjunctions**

Normally, subordinating conjunctions are used to link the clause to the sentence, and they are a link in the main clause. Subordinating conjunctions place clauses at different levels in relation to one another. In contrast to coordinating conjunctions, subordinating conjunctions link constituents which have a different syntactic status. Subordinating conjunctions are a bit different from coordinators in linking adverbials, as subordinators “occur in a fixed position at the front of their clause” (Bibler et al. 2015, p. 225).

The data collected from Trump’s speech shows that this type of conjunctions was not of great importance for him. Only four subordinators were found in the text, namely; ‘so’, ‘because’, ‘while’ and ‘when’. Moreover, these linking devices were
used less frequently when compared with coordinators. The total frequency of subordinators use approximates eleven situations only by which ‘while’ occupies the highest rate with six usages. To discuss, Trump used the subordinator ‘while’ more frequently from a political angle. The following instances from trump’s speech demonstrate this view.

1. “For too long, a small group in our nation’s capital has reaped the rewards of government, while the people have borne the cost.” (10)

2. “For many decades, we’ve enriched foreign industry at the expense of American industry, subsidized the armies of other countries, while allowing for the very sad depletion of our military.” (34)

3. “We’ve defended other nation's borders while refusing to defend our own.” (35)

4. “And spent trillions and trillions of dollars overseas, while America's infrastructure has fallen into disrepair and decay.” (35)

From the statement above it can be observed that Trump used the subordinator ‘while’ in order to condemn the political and economic policies of the antecedent American governments. In addition, all these statements come in the beginning part of his speech so as to prepare for what will be said later in his reforming plans for the future. The remaining subordinators will not be considered in this analysis for their underuse in this discourse.

To sum up, the analysis of this section, it seems that Donald Trump preferred to use coordinating conjunctions more than subordinator ones. In this concern, it can be assumed that Trump intended to assign his speech more aspects of simplicity and preciseness, which are main features of political speech.
2. Substitution and Ellipsis

Whereas grammar of modality functions to link semantic meanings within text, substitution and ellipsis differs in that it operates as a linguistic link at the lexicogrammatical level. In Bloor and Bloor (1995: 96), substitution and ellipsis is used when “a speaker or writer wishes to avoid the repetition of a lexical item and is able to draw on one of the grammatical resources of the language to replace the item”. The three types of classification for substitution and ellipsis: nominal, verbal and clausal, reflect its grammatical function.

When something in text is being substituted, it follows that the substituted item maintains the same structural function as the presupposed item. In nominal substitution, the most typical substitution words are ‘one and ones’ and they substitute nouns. In verbal substitution, the most common substitute is the verb ‘do’ and is sometimes used in conjunction with ‘so’ as in ‘do so’ and substitute verbs. In clausal substitution, an entire clause is substituted and though it may seem to be similar to either nominal or verbal substitution, the difference is the presupposed anaphoric reference.

Starting with the analysis of substitution in Trump’s speech, the data gathered from this text shows that there was only one notation for nominal substitution and one notation for verbal substitution. This nominal substitution appears when Trump says:

“We will reinforce old alliances and form new ones […]” (57)

by which ‘ones’ could be interpreted as the substitution for ‘alliances’. As for the verbal substitution, it was used in one situation when Trump says:
“We will seek friendship and goodwill with the nations of the world, but we do so […]” (54) in which ‘do so’ substitutes ‘seek friendship and goodwill with the nations of the world’.

Regarding ellipsis, something is left ‘unsaid’ in the discourse and the listener or reader must supply the missing information. Because most cases of ellipsis are anaphoric to something mentioned in a previous clause, the effect is highly cohesive. To discuss this point, the following examples from Trump’s speech are given.

1. “The establishment protected itself, but not the citizens of our country.” (13)
2. “That all changes, starting right here and right now […]” (16)
3. “We've defended other nation's borders while refusing to defend our own.” (35)

In example one the elliptical form lies in ‘but not the citizens of our country’ in which the verb ‘protected’ was dropped, but which was mentioned previously in the same sentence. In the second statement above ‘That all changes’ is an elliptical reference to the preceding statements that conveys the deprivation that the American people suffered from because of the previous governments’ misleading policies. Finally, in example three the word ‘own’ refers back to the defended ‘borders’ given in the preceding clause of the same sentence.

To put together, though substitution and ellipsis are similar in their function as the linguistic link for cohesion, ellipsis differs in that it is substitution by zero. However, they are equally considered as crucial cohesive tools that bring different fragments of discourse together. The presupposed items are understood through their structural link via substitutions and ellipses.
3. Lexical Cohesion

One of the most existing aspects of linguistic connectors in Trump’s speech is that of lexical cohesion. Lexical cohesion differs from the other cohesive devices of conjunction, substitution and ellipsis in that it is a non-grammatical function. Through the different forms of reiteration (lexical choices), a clearly identifiable selection of lexical patterns is very apparent. Reiteration refers to the repetition of a lexical item though the repetition may not exactly match the presupposed lexical item. It can take the form of repetition of the same word or through the use of a synonym, antonym, meronym, or hyponym.

In table 4.6 below a sample word list is used to generalize the overall patterns of lexical cohesion from Trump’s speech. Over 20 general categories of lexis were identified. Of the categories, the largest in terms of quantity of reiterated lexis seems to be; the country (America), American people, defense and protection, prosperity and the inauguration ceremony.

Table 4.6. Patterns of Lexical Cohesion and their Reiterations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexical Pattern</th>
<th>Reiterations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The country (America)</td>
<td>America (17 time), our country (6 times), our land (2 times), United States of America (2 times) and our landscape.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American people</td>
<td>our people (6 times), citizens (4 times), our nation (4 times) and Americans (2 times).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defense and Protection</td>
<td>protect (7 times), defend (2 times) and safe (2 times).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Prosperity

The Inauguration Ceremony

Prosperity
wealth (5 times), prosper (3 times), success (2 times),
triumphs (2 times), victories (2 times), flourish and
thrive.

January 20th, 2017, this moment, Today’s ceremony,
your celebration, a historic moment and this move.

From the table above, it appears that Trump’s speech was lexically cohesive to
a remarkable extent. For this purpose, in the first category, i.e. America, Trump used
about 28 lexical choices to repeat the same term in different ways and different
situations and to refer to the American people, the second category, about 16 lexical
repetitions were used in different positions in the speech. In addition, lexical cohesion
was achieved by providing different lexical choices for the categories of defense and
protection, prosperity and the ceremony day via 11, 16 and 6 repetitions per each
category, respectively.

To summarize, from the lexical cohesion analysis of Trump’s speech, a very
tight pattern of cohesion was identified. The nature of the speech, that of America
new president’s inauguration address, is clearly organized through the lexical
selection. Repetition through synonymous lexical items is very dominant and creates
what is called texture in text.

4. Use of Tenses

Discourse cohesion may also be derived from the syntactic and stylistic choice
of tense throughout the whole text. This part of analysis is meant to investigate how
did Trump use this syntactic aspect to make his speech a cohesive product. Tenses in
English are classified into three main categories; present, past and future. These types
of tenses are used, purposefully, to refer to the time of events and states. Besides, the consistent use of tense participate in making the text to be more connected and cohesive.

Through examining Donald Trump’s political speech in the inauguration ceremony, tense use might be discussed syntactically and stylistically. For the syntactic side, Trump’s speech was composed of three main phases; past, present and future. In the first phase, the past, he used past simple to refer to some events and states exited before the time of his inauguration ceremony. In the second phase, the present, he used present perfect and present simple, by which the former was used to talk about events started to happen before but still happening or have some impacts until the time of his speech while that latter was used to describe that present time of his speech. The last phase is the future for which he used present simple tense. To calculate the frequency of tense use, for the purpose of more sufficient analysis, it is found that the future tense was the most frequently used, for more than 40 times. Next comes the present tense, which was used 29 times in present simple and 7 times in present perfect. Finally, the past tense was the least used in only 6 times. However, this variant use of tenses seems not to be arbitrary and unconscious. According to the distribution of these tenses in Trump’s whole speech, it is observed that they were located intentionally in specific portions of the speech. This leads to the claim that, in spite of using different tenses in the same discourse, this use adds to the cohesion of the speech as will be discussed in the stylistic side below.

In the stylistic aspect of Trump’s choice of tenses, it can be noticed that tense was reasonably used in his speech. To demonstrate, the whole text of Trump’s speech can be divided, syntactically, into three different sections, namely; the past, the present and the future. The first section includes the use of past simple and present
perfect which represent events and states happened or started to happen before the
time when he presented his speech. In this section he referred to the drawbacks and
downsides of the previous American governments and the undesirable outcomes of
their policies in the different spheres of life of the American people. Moreover, the
use of past tense and was found in introductory part of his speech, mostly. To witness,
the following quotation from Trump’s speech is provided. He says:

For too long, a small group in our nation's capital has reaped the rewards of
government, while the people have borne the cost. Washington flourished, but the
people did not share in its wealth. Politicians prospered, but the jobs left and the
factories closed. The establishment protected itself, but not the citizens of our
country. Their victories have not been your victories. Their triumphs have not been
your triumphs, and while they celebrated in our nation's capital, there was little to
celebrate for struggling families all across our land. (10-15)

The second section involves the use of present simple tense. The central
purpose of using this syntactic category was to derive the addressee’s attention to the
importance of that moment, the moment when he became the president of America.
The use of this tense directly after that of past time as discussed above approves the
appropriate stylistic choice of tenses. That is, after addressing the negatives of the
former administrations, now Trump is introducing himself and his government as a
cornerstone in the American history. The quotation below validates this view. Trump
says:

That all changes, starting right here and right now, because this moment is
your moment --- it belongs to you. It belongs to everyone gathered here today,
and everyone watching, all across America. This is your day. This is your
celebration, and this, the United States of America, is your country. What
truly matters is not which party controls our government, but whether our government is controlled by the people (16-20).

It is worth mentioning that Trump kept on using the present simple through the different parts of his speech for about 30 times in order to remind his recipients of the eminence of that day. For instance, in the middle part of his speech he says:

This American carnage stops right here and stops right now. We are one nation and their pain is our pain. Their dreams are our dreams and their success will be our success. We share one heart, one home, and one glorious destiny. The oath of office, I take today, is an oath of allegiance to all Americans. (29-33),

and in the final part he says:

The time for empty talk is over. Now arrives the hour of action. Do not allow anyone to tell you that it cannot be done. No challenge can match the heart and fight and spirit of America. (70-73).

Regarding the use of future tense, it is found that it occupies most of the space in Trumps’ text as it was used for more than 40 times. Though this tense was used more frequently from the middle to the end of the speech, some few instances were found at the initiative part. The following quotation is taken from the beginning of Trump’s speech. He says: “Together we will determine the course of America, and the world, for many, many years to come. We will face challenges. We will confront hardships, but we will get the job done.” (3-5).

However, Trump dedicated this tense, to a great extent, to introduce his plans and vision for a better future for America and the Americans. Most portions of the
speech frames, i.e., defense and protection, economy, prosperity etc. were introduced by the use of future tense. To exemplify, the quotations below are provided. He says:

Protection will lead to great prosperity and strength. I will fight for you with every breath in my body, and I will never, ever let you down. America will start winning again, winning like never before. We will bring back our jobs. We will bring back our borders. We will bring back our wealth, and we will bring back our dreams. We will build new roads and highways and bridges and airports and tunnels, and railways, all across our wonderful nation. We will get our people off of welfare and back to work, rebuilding our country with American hands and American labor. We will follow two simple rules: buy American, and hire American. We will seek friendship and goodwill with the nations of the world, but we do so with the understanding that it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first. We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example. We will shine for everyone to follow. We will reinforce old alliances and form new ones, and you unite the civilized world against radical Islamic terrorism, which we will eradicate completely from the face of the Earth. At the bedrock of our politics will be a total allegiance to the United States of America, and through our loyalty to each other (45-58),

and concludes his speech by saying:

So to all Americans, in every city near and far, small and large, from mountain to mountain, from ocean to ocean, hear these words. You will never be ignored again. Your voice, your hopes, and your dreams will define our American destiny. And your courage and goodness and love, will forever guide us along the way. Together, we will make America strong again. We will make America wealthy again. We will make America proud again. We
will make America safe again, And yes, together, we will make we will make
America great again. Thank you. God bless you. And god bless America.
Thank you. God bless America (80-88).

From the analysis of the syntactic and stylistic choices of tenses it can be
concluded that Trump’s use of tenses was rational and participated in making his
speech more cohesive. In addition, this reasonable choice of tenses served to enhance
the political tone in the speech as tenses were used purposefully to address and
introduce many of the political and economic issues in a systematic manner.
CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion, Recommendation And Suggestions

5.1. Conclusion

5.1.1. Introduction

This chapter concludes the results of study, presents recommendation and suggestions based on the analysis and the discussion of the study questions presented in Chapter Four.

Chilton (2004, p. 3) defined politics as "a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it". In other words, politicians usually use language and power to persuade the public either to take political actions or make political decisions. It is evident that specific features characterize the political speeches as a type of discourse. This is clearly shown through linguistic manipulation in a political discourse.

This study has applied the qualitative approach in analyzing American President Donald Trump’s Inaugural Address. The qualitative analysis has proved the diplomatic tone as an effective method in encoding and decoding his political public speech. Some major findings of the study were summarized as follows:

5.1.2. Findings related to Question One

Trump's Inaugural Address is one of the typical political speeches with specific political aims. Donald Trump has conveyed his ideas through his speech by using the two main aspects that form the diplomatic tone which are formality and framing.
**Formality** is an ability to make the address formal through the rules that followed by diplomats. The rules are:

1- Greeting and praise. Trumps has used greeting and praise at the beginning of his address as it has been discussed in Chapter Four.
2- Trump has used Opening salutation at the beginning of his address to prove that he follows the diplomacy protocol.
3- Summoning cooperation. Trump has called for commonality, and cooperation compromise in the second part of his speech.
4- The conclusion of the address. Trump has concluded his speech by summarizing the whole speech and focused on the main points that needs to be emphasized in the last part of his address.

**Framing** can help the listener/reader to make sense of the situation. Trump was talent to build his address by touching the important points that make the speech stronger.

1- He has used the economy frame to inform his listeners that he will employ his long experience to fix economic problems by talking about jobs, wealth, employment, infrastructure and industries.
2- Defence frame. Trump emphasized the necessity of defence for America and the whole world by using some expressions that declare his concern in this frame. These expressions are: *subsidized the armies, depletion of our military, defend, protect, Protection, fight, bring back, , we will be protected by God, and we will make America strong again.*
3- Donald Trump focused on the concept of equality to signify his rejection of discrimination among the American society by referring frequently to the sense of equality. He said: [...] *everyone gathered here, [...] We are one*
nation and their pain is our pain, Their dreams are our dreams and their success will be our success, […]. We share one heart, one home, and one glorious destiny. […] whether we are black, or brown, or white, we all bleed the same red blood of patriots and many others where discussed on Chapter Four.

4- International Policy was presented clearly in his speech. He talked positively about the relations that he will build and rebuild during his presidency period. Some examples can make this point clearer: “We will seek friendship and goodwill with the nations of the world, but we do so with the understanding that it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first.”, “[…] We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example.”, “We will shine for everyone to follow”, and, “We will reinforce old alliances and form new ones”.

6. Prosperity frame is the promises that he will achieve them and make them true during his presidency period such as: protection, success, pride, and greatness. The following examples demonstrate how this frame was formulated in the address: “Protection will lead to great prosperity and strength.”, “We will shine for everyone to follow.”, “We will not fail. Our country will thrive and prosper again.”, “A new national pride will stir our souls, lift our sights and heal our divisions.”, and “We will make America proud again […] we will make we will make America great again”.

To conclude, through the conclusion above, Donald Trump was up to the diplomatic tone in his presidential inaugural address which addressed on January 20th 2017 white house, Washington, USA by his talking about the important issues that formulate the
political diplomatic tone which represented by using formality and framing. The researcher has answered the first question of this thesis.

5.1.3. Findings related to Question Two

Based on the analysis, discussion and the results of Question Two in this thesis, it has been found the followings:

The researcher has explored and analyzed the use of linguistic categories in Trump’s inauguration speech. The researcher has found that Donald Trump has used linguistic categories skillfully to form his political diplomatic tone which enhances his power of language.

The use of linguistic manipulative techniques is very important in political speeches. Trump's inauguration speech held an amazing number of linguistic manipulative techniques such as 1) Transformations (including passivization and nominalization), 2) The Grammar of Modality (including personal deixes, temporal deixes and spatial deixes) and 3) Cohesion (including referencing, ellipses, substitutions, and lexical cohesion). All these three linguistic categories have been analyzed in Chapter Four. The main findings on this field are:

1- Transformation

- Passivization

Passivization allows a noun denoting an affected participant, a non-agent, to be placed in the subject position in the sentence, the left-hand noun-phase slot which is conventionally regarded as the theme or topic of the sentence.[…] This device allows a writer or speaker to emphasize his thematic priorities, to emphasize what a text is about. (Fowler and Kress 1979, p. 209).
Table 4.1. Passive Forms shows the use of passive form in Trump’s Inauguration speech.

- **Nominalization**

It is a way of manipulating the representation of events, actions or actors. The use of nominalization emphasizing either on the event or on the agent. Trump has used Nominalization several times as shown in Table 4.2.

**2- The Grammar of Modality**

Donald Trump succeeded to use deixis (personal pronouns) to strengthen his power of language. By using personal pronouns, Trump becomes personal, which can have a positive effect and outcome on the audience. He could employ all deixis that he used on their right positions to show their great effect on the audience. Table 4.3. discusses this point.

**3- Temporal and Spatial Diexis**

Donald Trump invested his speech to derive the attention to the importance of this moment. This moment is the time when he became the president of America. Most of the used temporal diexis refer to this period as a changing point in the history of America. Table 4.4. illustrates this point. Spatial deictic refers to place. Trump could convey many messages, nationally and internationally that enabled him to enrich his speech with many political insinuations. Table 4.5. showed the spatial deixis in Trump's speech.

**4- Cohesion**

From the lexical cohesion analysis of Trump’s speech, a very tight pattern of cohesion was identified. The nature of the speech, that of America new president’s
inauguration address, is clearly organized through the lexical selection. Repetition through synonymous lexical items is very dominant and creates what is called texture in text.

5- The Use of Tenses

In Trump inaugural address, it is found that the future tense was the most frequently used, for more than 40 times. Next comes the present tense, which was used 29 times in present simple and 7 times in present perfect. Finally, the past tense was the least used in only 6 times. However, this variant use of tenses seems not to be arbitrary and unconscious. Trump’s use of tenses was rational and participated in making his speech more cohesive. In addition, this reasonable choice of tenses served to enhance the political tone in the speech as tenses were used purposefully to address and introduce many of the political and economic issues in a systematic manner.

5.2. Recommendations

The researcher recommends the followings:

1- Speakers should be up to the diplomatic tone to convey their messages tactfully to the audiences.

2- Politician speakers should follow the protocol of diplomacy.

3- Speakers should prepare their speeches in advance, and get a help from specialists.

4- Speakers should apply the theories of CDA on their speeches.

5.3. Suggestions for Further Studies

The researcher suggests the followings:

1- To carry out similar studies on critical discourse analysis on politicians’ ideology.
2- To determine the function of rhetorical criticism in knowledge building and meaning making.

3- To detail and explain the ways in which socially shared, policies, and attitudes that can be manufactured through diplomacy.

4- To carry out similar studies on critical discourse analysis on Arabic politicians.

5- To search about the effect of using linguistic categories on the audience.
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Appendices

Appendix 1.

President Donald Trump's full inaugural address.

Chief Justice Roberts, President Carter, President Clinton, President Bush, President Obama, fellow Americans, and people of the world, thank you. We the citizens of America are now joined in a great national effort to rebuild our country and restore its promise for all of our people. Together we will determine the course of America, and the world, for many, many years to come. We will face challenges. We will confront hardships, but we will get the job done.

Every four years, we gather on these steps to carry out the orderly and peaceful transfer of power, and we are grateful to President Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama for their gracious aid throughout this transition. They have been magnificent. Thank you.

Today's ceremony, however, has very special meaning, because today we are not merely transferring power from one administration to another, or from one party to another, but we are transferring power from Washington, D.C., and giving it back to you, the people.

For too long, a small group in our nation's capital has reaped the rewards of government, while the people have borne the cost. Washington flourished, but the people did not share in its wealth. Politicians prospered, but the jobs left and the factories closed. The establishment protected itself, but not the citizens of our country. Their victories have not been your victories. Their triumphs have not been your triumphs, and while they
celebrated in our nation's capital, there was little to celebrate for struggling families all across our land. That all changes, starting right here and right now, because this moment is your moment --- it belongs to you. It belongs to everyone gathered here today, and everyone watching, all across America. This is your day. This is your celebration, and this, the United States of America, is your country.

What truly matters is not which party controls our government, but whether our government is controlled by the people. January 20th, 2017 will be remembered as the day the people became the rulers of this nation again. The forgotten men and women of our country, will be forgotten no longer. Everyone is listening to you now. You came by the tens of millions to become part of a historic movement, the likes of which the world has never seen before. At the center of this movement is a crucial conviction, that a nation exists to serve its citizens. Americans want great schools for their children, safe neighborhoods for their families, and good jobs for themselves. These are just and reasonable demands of righteous people and a righteous public, but for too many of our citizens a different reality exists. Mothers and children trapped in poverty in our inner cities, rusted out factories, scattered like tombstones across the landscape of our nation, an education system flush with cash, but which leaves our young and beautiful students deprived of all knowledge, and the crime, and the gangs, and the drugs that have stolen too many lives and robbed our country of so much unrealized potential. This American carnage stops right here and stops right now.

We are one nation and their pain is our pain. Their dreams are our dreams and their success will be our success. We share one heart, one home,
and one glorious destiny. The oath of office, I take today, is an oath of allegiance to all Americans. For many decades, we've enriched foreign industry at the expense of American industry, subsidized the armies of other countries, while allowing for the very sad depletion of our military. We've defended other nation's borders while refusing to defend our own. And spent trillions and trillions of dollars overseas, while America's infrastructure has fallen into disrepair and decay. We've made other countries rich while the wealth, strength and confidence of our country has dissipated over the horizon. One by one, the factories shuddered and left our shores, with not even a thought about the millions and millions of American workers that were left behind. The wealth of our middle class has been ripped from their homes and then redistributed all across the world.

But that is the past, and now we are looking only to the future. We assembled here today our issuing a new decree to be heard in every city, in every foreign capital, and in every hall of power, from this day forward: a new vision will govern our land, from this day forward, it's going to be only America first. America first.

Every decision on trade, on taxes, on immigration, on foreign affairs will be made to benefit American workers and American families. We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries making our products, stealing our companies and destroying our jobs. Protection will lead to great prosperity and strength. I will fight for you with every breath in my body, and I will never, ever let you down. America will start winning again, winning like never before. We will bring back our jobs. We will bring back our borders. We will bring back our wealth, and we will bring back our
dreams. We will build new roads and highways and bridges and airports and tunnels, and railways, all across our wonderful nation. We will get our people off of welfare and back to work, rebuilding our country with American hands and American labor.

We will follow two simple rules: buy American, and hire American. We will seek friendship and goodwill with the nations of the world, but we do so with the understanding that it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first. We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example. We will shine for everyone to follow. We will reinforce old alliances and form new ones, and you unite the civilized world against radical Islamic terrorism, which we will eradicate completely from the face of the Earth.

At the bedrock of our politics will be a total allegiance to the United States of America, and through our loyalty to our country, we will rediscover our loyalty to each other. When you open your heart to patriotism, there is no room for prejudice. The Bible tells us, how good and pleasant it is when God's people live together in unity. We must speak our minds openly, debate our disagreements, but always pursue solidarity. When America is united, America is totally unstoppable. There should be no fear. We are protected, and we will always be protected. We will be protected by the great men and women of our military and law enforcement. And most importantly, we will be protected by God.

Finally, we must think big and dream even bigger. In America, we understand that a nation is only living as long as it is striving. We will no
longer accept politicians who are all talk and no action, constantly complaining but never doing anything about it. The time for empty talk is over. Now arrives the hour of action. Do not allow anyone to tell you that it cannot be done. No challenge can match the heart and fight and spirit of America. We will not fail. Our country will thrive and prosper again.

We stand at the birth of a new millennium, ready to unlock the mysteries of space, to free the Earth from the miseries of disease and to harness the industries and technologies of tomorrow. A new national pride will stir our souls, lift our sights and heal our divisions. It's time to remember that old wisdom our soldiers will never forget, that whether we are black, or brown, or white, we all bleed the same red blood of patriots. We all enjoy the same glorious freedoms, and we all salute the same, great American flag. And whether a child is born in the urban sprawl of Detroit or the windswept plains of Nebraska, they look up at the at the same night sky, they fill their heart with the same dreams and they are infused with the breath of life by the same almighty creator.

So to all Americans, in every city near and far, small and large, from mountain to mountain, from ocean to ocean, hear these words. You will never be ignored again. Your voice, your hopes, and your dreams will define our American destiny. And your courage and goodness and love, will forever guide us along the way. Together, we will make America strong again. We will make America wealthy again. We will make America proud again We will make America safe again. And yes, together, we will make we will make America great again. Thank you. God bless you. And god bless America. Thank you. God bless America.
Appendix 2.

**President Donald Trump’s full inaugural address with sentences' numbers.**

1. Chief Justice Roberts, President Carter, President Clinton, President Bush, President Obama, fellow Americans, and people of the world, thank you.

2. We the citizens of America are now joined in a great national effort to rebuild our country and restore its promise for all of our people.

3. Together we will determine the course of America, and the world, for many, many years to come.

4. We will face challenges.

5. We will confront hardships, but we will get the job done.

6. Every four years, we gather on these steps to carry out the orderly and peaceful transfer of power, and we are grateful to President Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama for their gracious aid throughout this transition.

7. They have been magnificent.

8. Thank you.

9. Today's ceremony, however, has very special meaning, because today we are not merely transferring power from one administration to another, or from one party to another, but we are transferring power from Washington, D.C., and giving it back to you, the people.

10. For too long, a small group in our nation's capital has reaped the rewards of government, while the people have borne the cost.

11. Washington flourished, but the people did not share in its wealth.
12. Politicians prospered, but the jobs left and the factories closed.

13. The establishment protected itself, but not the citizens of our country.

14. Their victories have not been your victories.

15. Their triumphs have not been your triumphs, and while they celebrated in our nation's capital, there was little to celebrate for struggling families all across our land.

16. That all changes, starting right here and right now, because this moment is your moment --- it belongs to you.

17. It belongs to everyone gathered here today, and everyone watching, all across America. 18. This is your day.

19. This is your celebration, and this, the United States of America, is your country.

20. What truly matters is not which party controls our government, but whether our government is controlled by the people.

21. January 20th, 2017 will be remembered as the day the people became the rulers of this nation again.

22. The forgotten men and women of our country, will be forgotten no longer.

23. Everyone is listening to you now.

24. You came by the tens of millions to become part of a historic movement, the likes of which the world has never seen before.

25. At the center of this movement is a crucial conviction, that a nation exists to serve its citizens.

26. Americans want great schools for their children, safe neighborhoods for their families, and good jobs for themselves.
27. These are just and reasonable demands of righteous people and a righteous public, but for too many of our citizens a different reality exists.

28. Mothers and children trapped in poverty in our inner cities, rusted out factories, scattered like tombstones across the landscape of our nation, an education system flush with cash, but which leaves our young and beautiful students deprived of all knowledge, and the crime, and the gangs, and the drugs that have stolen too many lives and robbed our country of so much unrealized potential.

29. This American carnage stops right here and stops right now.

30. We are one nation and their pain is our pain.

31. Their dreams are our dreams and their success will be our success.

32. We share one heart, one home, and one glorious destiny.

33. The oath of office, I take today, is an oath of allegiance to all Americans.

34. For many decades, we've enriched foreign industry at the expense of American industry, subsidized the armies of other countries, while allowing for the very sad depletion of our military.

35. We've defended other nation's borders while refusing to defend our own.

36. And spent trillions and trillions of dollars overseas, while America's infrastructure has fallen into disrepair and decay.

37. We've made other countries rich while the wealth, strength and confidence of our country has dissipated over the horizon.

38. One by one, the factories shuddered and left our shores, with not even a thought about the millions and millions of American workers that were left behind.
39. The wealth of our middle class has been ripped from their homes and then redistributed all across the world.

40. But that is the past, and now we are looking only to the future.

41. We assembled here today our issuing a new decree to be heard in every city, in every foreign capital, and in every hall of power, from this day forward: a new vision will govern our land, from this day forward, it's going to be only America first.

42. America first.

43. Every decision on trade, on taxes, on immigration, on foreign affairs will be made to benefit American workers and American families.

44. We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries making our products, stealing our companies and destroying our jobs.

45. Protection will lead to great prosperity and strength.

46. I will fight for you with every breath in my body, and I will never, ever let you down.

47. America will start winning again, winning like never before.

48. We will bring back our jobs.

49. We will bring back our borders.

50. We will bring back our wealth, and we will bring back our dreams.

51. We will build new roads and highways and bridges and airports and tunnels, and railways, all across our wonderful nation.

52. We will get our people off of welfare and back to work, rebuilding our country with American hands and American labor.
53. We will follow two simple rules: buy American, and hire American.

54. We will seek friendship and goodwill with the nations of the world, but we do so with the understanding that it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first.

55. We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example.

56. We will shine for everyone to follow.

57. We will reinforce old alliances and form new ones, and you unite the civilized world against radical Islamic terrorism, which we will eradicate completely from the face of the Earth.

58. At the bedrock of our politics will be a total allegiance to the United States of America, and through our loyalty to our country, we will rediscover our loyalty to each other.

59. When you open your heart to patriotism, there is no room for prejudice.

60. The Bible tells us, how good and pleasant it is when God's people live together in unity. 61. We must speak our minds openly, debate our disagreements, but always pursue solidarity. 62. When America is united, America is totally unstoppable.

63. There should be no fear.

64. We are protected, and we will always be protected.

65. We will be protected by the great men and women of our military and law enforcement. 66. And most importantly, we will be protected by God.

67. Finally, we must think big and dream even bigger.

68. In America, we understand that a nation is only living as long as it is striving.
69. We will no longer accept politicians who are all talk and no action, constantly complaining but never doing anything about it.

70. The time for empty talk is over.

71. Now arrives the hour of action.

72. Do not allow anyone to tell you that it cannot be done.

73. No challenge can match the heart and fight and spirit of America.

74. We will not fail. Our country will thrive and prosper again.

75. We stand at the birth of a new millennium, ready to unlock the mysteries of space, to free the Earth from the miseries of disease and to harness the industries and technologies of tomorrow.

76. A new national pride will stir our souls, lift our sights and heal our divisions.

77. It's time to remember that old wisdom our soldiers will never forget, that whether we are black, or brown, or white, we all bleed the same red blood of patriots.

78. We all enjoy the same glorious freedoms, and we all salute the same, great American flag. 79. And whether a child is born in the urban sprawl of Detroit or the windswept plains of Nebraska, they look up at the at the same night sky, they fill their heart with the same dreams and they are infused with the breath of life by the same almighty creator.

80. So to all Americans, in every city near and far, small and large, from mountain to mountain, from ocean to ocean, hear these words.

81. You will never be ignored again.

82. Your voice, your hopes, and your dreams will define our American destiny.
83. And your courage and goodness and love, will forever guide us along the way.

84. Together, we will make America strong again.

85. We will make America wealthy again.

86. We will make America proud again We will make America safe again, And yes, together, we will make we will make America great again.

87. Thank you. God bless you. And god bless America.

88. Thank you. God bless America.
ملخص الدراسة

أثار ظهور الرئيس الأمريكي دونالد ترامب كمرشح للرئاسة الأمريكية جدلاً وانقساماً واسعين في الأجواء السياسية الأمريكية. حيث اعتبرت العديد من السياسيين مصدراً للتناقض والحماس في الساحة الأمريكية والدولية على حد سواء. ولقد مثل خطاب التنصيب نقطة تحول من رجل سياسي عادي إلى شخصية أخرى. التحليل النقدي لخطاب يعتبر أحد أنواع البحوث التي تتم بتحليل الخصائصات والذي يدرس بشكل أساسي الاستخدام الغير الأمل للسلطة والهيمنة وعدم المساواة والتي تظهر جلياً وتقدم في محتوي النصوص والخطابات السياسية والاجتماعية.

إن التحليل النقدي للخطاب لا يقيم فقط بالأبعاد اللغوية ولكنه يركز على الأجنة السياسية القوية بالرجوع إلى كيفية استخدام اللغة وفقًّا لهذه الأجنة. وقد هدفت هذه الدراسة إلى تقصي النبرة الدبلوماسية السياسية المستخدمة في خطاب الرئيس الأمريكي دونالد ترامب في حفل التنصيب للعام 2017م واستكشاف وتحليل استخدامات الطبقات والعناصر اللغوية في الخطاب من خلال التراكيب الشكلية والصومعية العامة للنص والتي تنقلها تشكيل النبرة الدبلوماسية السياسية في الخطاب. وقد استخدم الباحث المنهج الوصفي التحليلي والتي يعتمد على المنهج الكمي والناجم لجمع البيانات. ثم استدل بهذه البيانات للاستدلال والاستقراء بواسطة تقنية تسجيل الملاحظات. وقد اعتمدت الباحث على العديد من المصادر المرئية والمكتوبة والمسموعة لخطاب التنصيب بغية تحليل وتقدم الخطاب الذي ألقاه الرئيس الأمريكي في البيت الأبيض في العشرين من شهر يناير 2017م. وخلصت الدراسة إلى أن خطاب الرئيس الأمريكي دونالد ترامب كان رصياً ومتوافقاً مع النبرة الدبلوماسية من البداية إلى النهاية طبقاً للأفكار الدبلوماسية المتبعة والمتعارف عليها. وقد أظهرت النتائج أن الكم الهائل من الطبقات اللغوية المستخدمة في خطاب الرئيس ترامب استخدم بشكل هادف وبطريقة ناجحة عبرت عن أن المتحد السياسي أظهر في خطابه إجراءات متنوعة من خلالها يتم تقييم مدى مصداقيته وفعاليته وسياسته الإدارية.
النبرة الدبلوماسية السياسية المستخدمة في خطاب التنصيب

للرئيس الأمريكي دونالد ترامب: دراسة نقدية تحليلية

رسالة مقدمة لاستكمال متطلبات الحصول على درجة الماجستير في كلية الآداب والعلوم الإنسانية في تخصص اللغويات

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