

A Critical Pragmatic Analysis of Manipulation in Trump's Political Speeches

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Abstract

According to the socio-cognitive nature of ideologies that is manifested in the belief system and ideologically based practices that shared by members of social groups, critical pragmatics (CP henceforth) has come to existence. CP is a sub field of socio-pragmatics that works within macro pragmatics which deals with cognitively , socially , and culturally issues such as domination , power , language , ideology ,etc.(Al-hindawi& Al-khazali, 2021: 1).

It is well –known that language is not only a tool for communication and transition of information but it can be manipulated to be an instrument of offence and defense. Language remains a rich and adaptable tool for configuration of life events . It can bring solidarity , harmony and brotherhood if it is properly utilized , but if it wrongly applied it can provoke animosity , conflict and violence . Manipulation is one of the strategies in which language is utilized for negative goals .

This study is concerned with an important feature of political discourse, that is; manipulation which is analyzed from critical pragmatic perspective . This feature has become the most prominent feature of this type of discourse due to the nature of politics itself. This study examines manipulation in ten of

Trump's political speeches and involves discovering how Trump constructs ideological discourse to present reality for his audience that frames his ideology by using manipulating strategies . Such strategies are conducted by Trump to marketing his agenda , ideology and programme to his audience .

Keywords: Critical pragmatics, Manipulation, Ideology, Dominant, Power, Tactics.

المخلص

وفقاً للطبيعة الاجتماعية المعرفية للأيديولوجيات التي تتجلى في نظام المعتقدات والممارسات الأيديولوجية التي يتقاسمها أفراد المجموعة الاجتماعية , فقد ظهرت التداولية النقدية الى الوجود . التداولية النقدية مجال فرعي من التداولية الاجتماعية التي تعمل ضمن التداولية الكلية أو الواسعة التي تتعامل مع القضايا المعرفية والاجتماعية والثقافية مثل الهيمنة والسلطة وما إلى ذلك . ومن المعروف أن اللغة ليست مجرد أداة للتواصل ونقل المعلومات , بل يمكن التلاعب بها لتكون أداة هجوم ودفاع. تبقى اللغة أداة غنية وقابلة للتكيف لتشكيل أحداث الحياة. يمكن أن تسبب اللغة التضامن والوئام والإخوة إذا تم استخدامها بشكل صحيح , ولكن إذا تم تطبيقها بشكل خاطئ فإنه يمكن أن تثير العداء والصراع والعنف . التلاعب هو إحدى الاستراتيجيات اللغوية التي من خلالها يمكن تحقيق أهداف سلبية .

هذه الدراسة تعرض خاصية مهمة في الخطاب السياسي الأ وهي التلاعب من وجهة نظر تداولية نقدية . هذه الدراسة تحلل عشرة خطابات للرئيس الأمريكي دونالد ترامب لرؤية كيف أنه يركب الخطاب الأيدولوجي لإظهار الحقيقة لجمهوره من خلال استخدام آليات التلاعب اللغوية . هذه الآليات استغلها ترامب لتسويق أجندته وإيديولوجيته وبرامجه لجمهوره .

الكلمات المفتاحية: التداولية النقدية, التلاعب, الأيديولوجية, الهيمنة, القوة, تكتيكات (وسائل) .

1- Introduction

Language is one of the indispensable resources of man , necessary for his everyday transaction and activities .Its resources are flagrantly utilized by every speech community to instill peace or trigger severity . Desired or undesirable effect of language can be brought by proper or improver use or



misuse of it. Language of politics is an a special kind of discourse in which a man is recognized as a political being whose entire life is permeated by politics and his blessing of speech provides apt enablement (Schaffer, 1996; Beard , 2000).

This study aims to investigate the manipulation strategy employed by President Donald Trump in ten of his speeches . In view of the preceding aim , it is hypothesized that manipulation is a means to defense of indefensible issues that politicians , Donald Trump in question , try to avoid straight forward presentation of them . Instead , there is a persuasive representation of the truth , so manipulation is more pragmatic than psychological and cognitive in nature because it is context –based communicative strategy , In order to fulfill the aims of this study and to investigate its hypothesis , the following procedures are adopted :

- Presenting a theoretical survey of the relevant literature on critical pragmatics, manipulation and some related communication strategies.
- Investigating the linguistic devices used to create manipulation .
- Exploring the significance of using such strategy in political discourse as an interpersonal management .
- Revealing the pragmatic nature of manipulation through its relation to various pragmatic theories and the underlying ideologies of using such manipulative strategies.

This study limits itself to investigate the pragmatic aspects of manipulation that are related to pragmatic theories of speech acts , politeness , and Grice's conversational maxims in some Trump's randomly selected political speeches .

2- Language of Political Discourse





The bond between language and politics is derivable from the association of language and communication . Beard (2000:35) states that the importance of the study of language of politics is to know how language is utilized by those who desire to gain , exercise and keep power . Thus , the instrumentality of language is manifested overtly in speech making which is considered a vital part of the politicians' role in announcing policies and persuading people . In the same vein , Lakoff (1990:7) posits that " Language is politics , politics assigns power , and power governs how people talk and how they are understood " . So politics is referred to as the art of governance and " struggle for power between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it " Chilton and Schaffner , (2002:5) .

Consequently , power is demonstrated through the use of language and every language user , especially politician plays the linguistic power game according to political agendas and ideologies which most often are unattainable and unstated . The clarification of the unstated meaning or the hidden agenda is the concern of pragmatics (Mey, 2001:207). Equally , Opeibi(2009:75) points out that language is the tool for translating candidate's manifesto , superior political thoughts and party's ideologies into social actions for social change and continuity . In sum , politicians use language as a means of doing the business of politics and includes persuasive rhetoric , using implied meanings , euphemisms and arousing desirable emotions and the like , (Chilton , 2008:226).

٣- Critical Pragmatics

The emergence of CP as a sub field of socio-pragmatics has theoretical premises . From the viewpoint of language as a social science and an





important instrument of exercising power and paying critical attention to the context of use ,CP is viewed as an analytical approach of " the mechanisms of linguistic deployments that are related to the powers of society that operate in discourse "(Mey ,2001: 209) .This triggered what is referred to as the perspective view pragmatics in which a functional perspective can be exploited in relation to all core components of linguistics as well as to fields that are hyphenated to the core of linguistic theory (Huang,2017:3) . consequently , the work of pragmatics on macro levels (cognitive , social , cultural) with neighboring disciplines like , psychology, sociology ,computer and so on has been widened .CP has its roots in socio-pragmatics alongside social conventions of speech acts ,social factors , and social deixis .From marco pragmatic perspective ,the fashion of societal pragmatics has a relation to society so that the socio-pragmatic topics are as diverse as language which has a relation to language issues .Thus ,CP seeks to examine critically ,and try to understand the social functioning of language and its various representations of use (ibid:9) . Pragmatic theories like speech acts ,politeness , Grice's Maxims –etc. are linguistics tools through which an ideology is enacted and represented in text or discourse.

Mainly , CP is originated from Mey's(1979) essay 'Toward a critical Theory' in which great emphasis was put on the relationships between social power and language use .This means that Mey integrates the Critical discourse traditions of Van Dijk and Lancaster school that is centered on Fair Clough and his Co-workers as well as Roger Fouler ,Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress (Mey ,2017:147-148).

3-1- Ideology and Discourse



Van Dijk(2011:380) defines ideology as " general systems of basic ideas shared by the members of social group , ideas that will influence their interpretation of social events and situations and control their discourse and other social practices as group members". This definition involves a multidisciplinary introduction to the concept of ideology .It involves cognitive and social psychology , sociology and discourse analysis. Cognitively, ideologies are realized as a form of social cognition , that is ; beliefs shared by members of social groups . Socially ; beliefs determine the kind of groups and "the relations between these groups and institutions are involved in the development and reproduction of ideologies ". (ibid).

The discourse dimension of ideologies explains how our daily talk and texts are influenced by ideologies ,how we understand the contents of discourse can be justified or explained ,e.g.by narration ,exposition or by argumentation ;and how "discourse is involved in the reproduction of ideology in society " (ibid:381). Ideology has negative and positive notions. The former realizes ideology as systems of self serving ideas of domination at groups and it has become the central element in the commonsense and political uses of this term .This notion presupposes polarization between Us and Them ,that is ;We have true knowledge ,They have ideologies. On the contrary to this negative notion ,which is known as false consciousness and as a means of domination there is a more general and multidisciplinary theory that involves different kinds of ideology , including those of resistance (ibid:387).

3-2-Ideological Schemas and Their Representations



Van Dijk(2011:17) assumes that ideological beliefs may have a schema-like nature in which a number of conventional categories are organized in a way that allow social actors to understand ,build ,refuse ,or modify any ideology .He identifies a schema of six categories of group life and identity that organizes the ideologies of the same group :

1- Group identity and identification :This category assigns the membership criteria ,for example ,topics about who we are ,what are the typical properties are for our group ,who are our group heroes ,etc. In sum ,this ideological category involves a wide range of topics related to the history , boundaries ,and properties of the group .

2-Typical activities : This category defines the typical role of the group members in society for instance, what they will do , and what is expected of them as group members .It is important in professional ideologies as well as in some political and religious ones .

3- Norms and values :Ideologically –based practices and attitudes are controlled by norms and values that are specifically selected and combined in each ideology ,such as autonomy , freedom , justice ,and so on .These norms and values identify what is good or bad , and what is allowed and banned or prohibited .

4-Group relation .This category represents the relations between our own (in-)group and other (out-)group .Thus ,we may expect positive representation of us ,and a negative representation of them .

5-Resources refers to the resources that enable a group to exist and reproduce as a group , for instance information for journalists ,knowledge for professors ,etc. These resources are called specific group knowledge and ideological attitudes.

6-Overall aims :This category specifies what do we want ? Why do we do it ?

The underlying notion of this ideological schema is to present ideological discourse control in discourse to present the way in –groups and out –group relations are represented to establish what is called ' ideological square' ..This ideological square informs us the positive self presentation of the group members and negative other –presentation of those out group who are defined as competitors , opponents, or enemies (ibid:379).

| | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Emphasize Our good things | Emphasize Their bad things |
| De-emphasize Our bad things | De-emphasize Their good things |

Figure(1) : Van Dijk (2011) Ideological Square

4-Defining Manipulation

Al-Hindawi (2017 :13) refers to manipulation as a kind of covert behavior /or a means , whether linguistic or non-linguistic used by manipulators in certain communicative encounters to achieve their goals , desires , and interests regardless of the perceptual , cognitive and emotional feelings of their interlocutors.

Wodak (2000:7) states that " politicians are often seen as power –seeking hypocrites who conceal personal ambition behind the rhetoric of politics service and ideological conviction " . Ideological conviction is conducted by linguistic strategy which one people adopt in order to make other group do what it intends to be done . This involves manipulation application of the language .Manipulation here is a communicative and interactional practice in which a manipulator exercises control over other people to achieve his/her interests regardless other people's interests .



Pragmatically speaking , linguistic manipulation centers on the use of indirect speech acts which are focused on perlocutionary effects of what is said . One of these perlocutionary effects that the manipulator wants to achieve is persuading people to take specified actions or to make crucial decisions . In this sense , it is intentionally and directly influencing someone's beliefs , desires and emotions by using certain manipulative pragmatic strategies (ibid).

Politically speaking , linguistic manipulation can be considered as an influential instrument of political rhetoric because political discourse is primarily focused on convincing the potential electorate and the public of politicians' goals and interest by twisted words or concepts , application of catch phrases , phrasal allusions , the connotative meanings of words and combination of language and visual imagery . Manipulative discourse takes position between two extreme points –the legitimate (true , full) information and a lie . A lie and manipulation are opposed to different types of truth : a lie stands up against " Semantic truth " , manipulation opposes ' pragmatic truth ' (ibid:8-9)

4-1 Manipulation as a Social Strategy

Socially , Van Dijk(1996:95) says that manipulation is defined as illegitimate domination confirming social inequality . It does not only involves power, but specifically abuse of power, that is ; domination . Manipulators make others believe or do things that are in the interest of the manipulator and against the best interests of the manipulated ones . Van Dijk further states that without the negative associations , manipulation could be a form of (legitimate) persuasion . The crucial difference in this case is that in persuasion the interlocutors are free to believe or act as they please ,



depending on whether or not they accept the arguments of the persuader , whereas in manipulation recipients are typically assigned a more passive role : they are victims of manipulation , Van Dijk (2006:363).

4-2 Manipulation as a Cognitive Strategy

Van Dijk (2006:365) states that manipulation involves manipulating people's minds , that is ; their beliefs , such as the knowledge , opinion and ideologies which in turn control their actions .In this respect , it is crucial to distinguish manipulation from other forms of discourse –based mental influence , such as information , teaching and persuasion . Aitchison (1992:91) believes that human beings try to build mental models when they want to understand the world around them . Those mental models are the primes upon which humans conceptualize life and especially abstract concepts like democracy. This process is called ' representation'. Wilson (2001:401) defines representation as "the issue of how language is employed in different ways to represent what we can know , believe , and perhaps think".

4-3 Manipulation : Components and Types

There are some basic components without which manipulation can not be realized . Manipulation is realized when the listener can not see the speaker's covered intentions behind what is actually being said . Thus , manipulation consists of three components , the speaker , the hearer and speaker's covered intention . Specific intentionality is one of the key parameters of manipulative utterance . To achieve the goal of manipulation , there should be no evident detection of communicative intention .

Concerning the types of manipulation , there is a taxonomic classification of manipulation which divides it into verbal and psychological . Verbal

manipulation in turn is divided into syntactic and lexical –semantic. Syntactic manipulation can be stretched in time presenting both a complex , multi-stage phase –by – phase procedure as in case of informational propaganda or it can be a singular , relatively simple act of influencing the recipient in the course of interpersonal communication .Lexical semantic manipulation refers to the use of words with emotional or cultural loading (Zhura ,2000 :77).

Depending on the sphere of mental activity, participating and dominating in the process of communication , linguistic manipulation is divided into rational and emotional . To influence interlocutor's behavior , the speaker can affect his rational sphere. To do this ,the speaker uses convincing facts and arguments impacting people's consciousness. The aim of emotional manipulation is an expression of the speaker's emotions towards changing the listener's behavior (ibid).

5- Manipulative Pragmatic Strategies

This section is concerned with the relationship between manipulation and pragmatic theories in which such strategy may appear in a form of manipulating presuppositions and mutual assumptions, violating and flouting the conversational maxims and using indirect speech acts to gain perlocutionary effects of what is said , abusing the power which causes threatening the positive face of the others , utilizing certain deictic expressions , and other strategies .

5-1 Manipulative Speech Acts (MSAs)



The basic tenet in Austin's (1962) SPA theory is viewing language as an action rather than a tool to transmit facts, truths and emotions. Central to Austin's theory is that utterances can be shown to have both illocutionary force and perlocutionary effect in addition to their propositional content. Taking into account that linguistic manipulation is a communicative interaction process, manipulators exploit manipulative speech acts, whether direct or indirect, to achieve their goals and aims directed towards control of the target's behavior (Al-Hindawi, 2017:23) as in the following texts:

Text (1)

The US President's speech at the United Nations General Assembly in New York (2018)

As millions of our citizens continue to suffer the effects of the devastating hurricanes that have struck our country, I want to begin by expressing my appreciation to every leader in this room who has offered assistance and aid. The American people are strong and resilient, and they will emerge from these hardships more determined than ever before. We live in a time of unprecedented opportunity. Progress in science and technology has cured diseases and solved a problem that last generation thought impossible, but everyday news threaten new dangers that threaten our traditions and values. Terrorists and extremists have spread to every part of the world, and the outlaw regimes in this room not only support extremism, but also threaten other nations and people with the most destructive weapons known to humanity.

This utterance contains the word (appreciation) indicates an expressive function of speech act in which Trump expresses his attitude to a certain situation, that is; 'assistance and aid', to convey his respect to those who offer their help. The underlined expression is an indication of assertion and declaration in which Trump tries to make a correspondence between the



propositional content and the world to convey the sense that he is fit enough to be the president of the United States of America .

Positive self – presentation is represented in the under lined word that indicates that the speaker is the man of values and morals which are manifested in many deeds and '*appreciation*' is one of them. By manipulation, he moves to a new idea that represents for him a greater one than the danger of hurricanes , that is ; *terrorism* and he considers it a threat to traditions and values. Here, he wants to give a justification for his next military actions represented in fighting terrorists and extremists. He talks about himself and people (group identity) as being on the side of the good who want to spread security and peace in the world. The underlying ideology is the national and political – economic one.

Text (2)

Fortunately, the United States has done very well since Election Day last November 8th. The stock market is at an all-time high - a record. Unemployment is at its lowest level in 16 years, and because of our regulatory and other reforms, we have more people working in the United States today than ever before. Companies are moving back, creating job growth the likes of which our country has not seen in a very long time.

The word '*fortunately*' is one of the attitude markers which the speaker / writer uses to reflect his /her evaluation or viewpoint of matters as a means of projecting the identity of the knowledgeable specialist and also creating solidarity with the listener /reader . Trump uses this word manipulatively to express his appreciation of what has been done in America generally and during his rule period especially . He employs the expressive speech act to



present his identity as a man of economic knowledge to defend his economic strategies of eliminating unemployment and the growth of the national economy (norms and values) to achieve his desired goal of domination (the overall aim).

Text (3)

Press conference of the US president after his election in 2017.

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 families , and good jobs for themselves . These are just reasonable demands of righteous people and righteous public . We have to create new jobs. I am proud of what we have done. We are looking forward to the inauguration day. It will be a wonderful event. We will have competent, and worthy personalities. I think there is a movement that the world do not expect. As I said, they were shocked when they saw the numbers to show that we will succeed.

In this utterance the indirect speech act is realized through the actions themselves rather than through performative verbs . The action is carried out through realization of this utterance :declare , promise , advice ...etc. (Akimova (1992) as cited in Al-Hindawi (2017) . This utterance consists of an implicit SA of promising that can be read as' I hereby promise to build great schools , set out many jobs , create good future etc. By all the underlined words, Trump makes use of the mental aspects of ideologies that are recognized by knowledge , beliefs or ideas that are related to everyday interaction and activities like education, jobs ,etc. to persuade the people of what he will do. These ideas are shared by the social group he belongs to , so his speech is a manifestation of social cognition and it is socially relevant for them, that is ; relevant for their participation, and events and actions of their



social life. Manipulation as a strategy for persuading , can be represented at any level of language: phonetic , lexical , syntactic. In this text, Trump uses the lexical level and rhetoric level that is represented in the repeated word 'we' to make every one in AUS is a part of this elected government , so all Americans govern the country. By using the word 'righteous' and emphasizing of his good future plans, he assures positive self-representation to persuade the people to follow him.

Text (4)

US President Trump's speech after killing of Suleimani (2021).

As a president, it is my highest and most solemn is the defense of our nation and its citizens. Last night, at my directives, the United States military successfully executed a flawless precision strike that killed the number one terrorist anywhere in the world, Qassim Suliemani . Under my leadership, America's policy is unambiguous: To terrorists who harm or intend to harm any American, we will find you; we will eliminate you... Today we remember and honor the victims of Suleimani's many atrocities, and we take comfort in knowing that his reign of terror is over.... What the United States did yesterday should have been done long ago. A lot of lives would have been saved. We took action last night to stop a war. We did not take action to start a war.

In this text, the repetition of the possessive adjective (my) is an indication of exaggeration in highlighting an ideal image of himself as a president. On the other hand , the terrifying image of the martyr Suleimani is as an overstatement in distorting the image of this man. He uses the tactic of referring to facts which are difficult to prove whether they are true or not when he say: *Today we remember and honor the victims of Suleimani's many*



atrocities. We do not know who are the victims?, what are Suleimani's atrocities?. He uses such manipulative strategy just to prove legitimacy of his actions on the killing of Suleimani , and his future plans. In the expression: *We took action last night to stop a war. We did not take action to start a war*, the opposites 'stop' and 'start' give a sense that he comes as a liberator not a colonizer. Indirectly, he reproaches the previous AUS government for failing to fight terrorism and the terrorists represented by Suleimani. Thus, the ideology of self- serving ideas of dominant group is what he wants to convey.

Text(5)

All responsible leaders have an obligation to serve their own citizens, and the nation state remains the best vehicle for elevating the human condition. Under my leadership, we have destroyed the ISIS territorial caliphate , and recently, American Special Operations Forces killed the terrorist leader known as Al-Baghdadi. The world is safer place without these monsters. America will always pursue the interests of good people, great people, and great souls, while seeking peace , harmony, and friendship with all of the nations of the world.

The indirect manipulative speech act (IMSA) in this utterance is an indicative mood which conveys the sense of giving instructions to the responsible leaders to work together for making better and peaceful future . The word '*obligation*' gives a sense of an inference that the speaker infers on the basis of available evidence that the leaders must take upon themselves the responsibility of preserving the lives of citizens and ensuring a decent life for them. Through the following assertive sentences, Trump wants to delude the world with the pacifist ideology that he adopts especially in the last sentence :*America will always pursue the interests of good people, great people, and great souls, while seeking peace , harmony, and friendship with all of the*



nations of the world , in which he uses the 'tactic of solidarity' . By this tactic , he intends to convey his personal belief of the growing importance of political relationships in the world.

6-2 Conversational Maxims Breaching as a Pragmatic Manipulative Strategy

A more pragmatic approach to the manipulative intents of politicians are the conversational maxims formulated by Grice (1975) , which require contributions to conversations to be truthful , relevant , relatively complete, and so on . Apparently , such maxims are often hard to apply in actual forms of talk and text . In political speeches, such maxims are intentionally violated to achieve hidden goals . People lie or tell only half of a story for all kinds of reasons and irrelevant talk is one of the most common forms of everyday interaction . Concealment , fabrication , distortion and equivocation are four strategies correspond to the four conversational maxims if they are violated .

Text(6)

Donald Trump's inaugural address in 2017.

And spent trillions and trillions of dollars overseas while America's infrastructure has fallen into disrepair and decay . We've made other countries rich the wealth , strength and confidence of our county has dissipated over the horizon .

This utterance represents a sort of distortion and equivocation at the same time . Both of these strategies deform the true expression of information because the utterance is ambiguous and needs to be more clarified on one hand and it represents a sort of fabricated facts on the other hand . Trump does not state which countries became rich because of their sacrifices and what

about the countries which became very poor because of their illegitimate ambitions which manifested in domination and invading . In short, in this utterance he violates the quantity , quality, and manner maxims because his speech is not informative as required and it lacks adequate evidence , and it implies obscurity of expression.

6-3 Manipulation Through Politeness and Presupposition Strategies

Grundy (2000:147) states that " part of the political nature of man is his innate sense of dignity or self – importance that he wants others to acknowledge ". Thus the most appropriate speaker –hearer relationship depends on proper use of language . Brown and Levinson (1987:87) underline the use of indirect speech acts as a feature of politeness and further relate politeness to face which they describe as the " public self image that every individual wants to claim for himself " . They identify two types of face as : positive face " the individual's want of admiration and approval " and negative face , " the individual's want of freedom from imposition " Positive politeness strategies (PPS) involve the mechanism of claiming common ground to convey that speaker (S) and hearer (H) are cooperative and fulfill H's wants (for some X) (ibid:102) .

Text (7)

International criminal networks traffic drugs, weapons, people; force dislocation and mass migration; threaten our borders; and new forms of aggression exploit technology to menace our citizens. To put it simply, we meet at a time of both of immense promise and great peril. It is entirely up to us whether we lift the world to new heights, or let it fall into a valley of disrepair.



This utterance involve the strategy that conveys that S and H are cooperative as a form of (PPS) that is both S and H are involved in the activity. Trump ' uses the inclusive pronoun 'we' in a twisted way to redress face threatening act . He wants to convey to the hearer that he involves himself with him to show cooperative assumptions . This strategy in turn gives a hint of a tactic of solidarity.

Text (8)

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

Trump in this utterance speaks as if something is mutually assumed where it is not . This strategy is called presupposition manipulation . In this sense , the speaker characterizes his listeners' knowledge about themselves , their affairs and the general state of the nation . Trump's speech reveals area of knowledge of common reality that the listeners know that America is in socio – economic crisis and they (he and the listeners) will face challenges together .

7-4 Pragma – Rhetorical Strategies

Political discourse is a special kind of texts since it is full of manipulative rhetorical ways of expressing self and ideas .Unlike ordinary speech , such discourse has a deep structure of complex rhetorical strategies and techniques to affect audience in a special type of persuasion . Aristotle (1967) presents three aspects of rhetoric : Logos , pathos and ethos . The term logos represents persuasion through reasoning . Ethos refers to the credibility or ability of the person as being truthful and reliable. Boone and Kurtz (1999:41) describe



reliability as the " degree to which a statement , a person , and / or a company is perceived to be ethical". Pathos refers to emotional appeals, which are intended to provoke the feelings of the addresses to be angry , compassionate , afraid , distasteful and conceited (ibid).

Text (9)

America does more than speak for the values expressed in the United Nations Charter. Our citizens have paid the ultimate price to defend our freedom and the freedom of many nations represented in this great hall. America's devotion is measured on the battlefields where our young men and women have fought and sacrificed alongside of our allies, from the beaches of Europe to the deserts of the Middle East to the jungles of Asia.

Trump asserts a positive view about America and Americans . This reflects the manipulation of the rhetorical aspect of ' pathos' which is highly manifested in the use of the words '*freedom*' and '*sacrifice*' which have positive connotation. It is also represented by the repetition of the word '*our*' which indicates solidarity and involvement. These words are used manipulatively to motivate the audience's emotions . Equally important , he employs argumentative explanation to justify his future actions especially in battlefields.

For ideological reasons, he uses 'activation' rather than 'passivation' as a syntactic technique to highlight the active role of the American citizens in the world change . He exploits what is called compassion move to show sympathy and empathy toward his citizens who sacrificed everything to achieve freedom and security. The covered ideology is nationalist racism. He claims that America and the Americans are always the best.

Text (10)



As President of the United States, I will always put America first, just like you, as the leaders of your countries will always, and should always, put your countries first.

In this utterance , Trump focuses on two things: he is the president and admitting the international role of US in the world . This reflects the manipulation of the rhetorical aspect of ' ethos' with which he asserts positive self – presentation of himself .

Text (11)

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.

In this text, Trump uses a series of assertives in which he presents his people's sufferings and he uses a rhetorical pragmatic strategy which is called **overstatement** as away to persuade the audience through controlling their minds .His description of the American citizens' affairs is stronger than the actual situation to gain much support for his future activities . This hyperbole is presented by both of the unreal description and the word ' *carnage* ' . The masked ideology of this strategy is to justify his future actions and gain legitimacy to practise them.

Conclusions

1- Human beings are naturally endowed with an ability to use language to talk , to use words for a mutual social relationship with their fellow individuals to a achieve their daily



objectives . To achieve their goals , human beings use different forms of language . Manipulative devices are one of these linguistic devices which politicians use as an instrument of mind control and emotions appeal .

2-Trump's speeches are fruitful of manipulative strategies as a form of the discursive social practices of dominant groups geared towards the reproduction of their power . Subjective and objective factors as well as conditions of the communicative act predetermine his usage of certain speech tactics and techniques to achieve certain goals and express certain ideologies he believes in .

3-Trump uses different pragmatic strategies of ideological manipulation such as speech acts , violating of co-operative principle , and presupposition as well as different pragma-rhetorical strategies for instance sympathization and hyperbole to persuade the others of his hidden goals.

4- Nationalist racism is one of the ideologies that can be traced in his speech . This ideology is asserted by using strategies of positive self –presentation and negative others-presentation. He claims that America is the best country and Americans are the best humans who sacrifice everything to achieve peace all over the world.

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Web Resources

- STATEMENT BY H.E. MR. DONALD TRUMP PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AT THE SEVENTY-SECOND REGULAR SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS, NEW YORK TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 2017
https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2017/01/20/...ted-1242pm%3Ahomepage%2Fstory&utm_term=.11160628a3f6

-Donald Trump's full inauguration speech transcript, annotated
https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2017/01/20/...ted-1242pm%3Ahomepage%2Fstory&utm_term=.11160628a3f6.

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