

**The Trump-Clinton 2016 Presidential Debates:
A Critical Discourse Analysis**

By

1- Aya El-Hawary: Teaching Assistant, Higher Technological Institute.

2- Dr. Amany Youssef: Associate Professor of Linguistics, The British University in Egypt, on secondment from Helwan University.

3- Dr. Rania Hamdy: Lecturer of Linguistics, Faculty of Arts,

1. Abstract

This study highlights the relation between language, power, and politics through a detailed critical discourse analysis (CDA) of selected extracts from the transcripts of the three debates between the two nominees for the 2016 American presidential elections: Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. Through investigating their language choices, the study aims to uncover their 'hidden' ideologies regarding a number of issues that were brought up in the debates, as well as the creative strategies they have used to persuade the voters and gain their support. The study adopts an eclectic approach within CDA combining Machin and Mayr's (2012) model of CDA and Culpeper's (2011) model of impoliteness. The researcher applies CDA tools to reveal Clinton and Trump's hidden ideologies, their use of language for persuasion namely; pragmatic representational strategies, lexical choices of (power and identity), pronouns (Us versus Them), modality and hedging, transitivity and verbal processes, and rhetorical devices. Culpeper's (2011) impoliteness model is utilized to unveil these politicians' unprecedented use of language of aggression and impoliteness seeking persuasion. Consequently, these features will reveal the overall strategies that Clinton and Trump used to persuade the Americans and gain their trust.

Key words: critical discourse analysis (CDA), ideology, impoliteness, power and persuasion.

تحليل خطاب نقدي للمناظرات الرئاسية الأمريكية عام ٢٠١٦

بين ترامب وكلينتون

مقدمة من

- ١- آية الهواري : معيده بالمعهد التكنولوجي العالي بالسادس من أكتوبر.
- ٢- أ.م.د. أماني يوسف: أستاذ اللغويات المساعد بالجامعة البريطانية بمصر. معاره من جامعه حلوان.
- ٣- د. رانيا حمدي: مدرس اللغويات بقسم اللغة الانجليزية كلية الآداب جامعة حلوان.

الملخص العربي

• مقدمه

وتنقسم هذه الدراسة إلى خمسة فصول تشمل المقدمه ، الاطر النظرية السابقه ، والمنهجية وجمع البيانات ، وتحليل البيانات ، والمناقشة ، والاستنتاجات. القسم الأول هو المقدمة التي تحتوي علي السياق ، والاهداف، والاسئلة البحثية واهميه الدراسة. في القسم الثاني هو الاطر النظرية السابقه الذي يتضمن قسمين الجزء الأول هو عمل الإطار النظري والقسم الثاني هو الدراسات السابقه الذي سيعطي لمحة عامه عن اطار تحليل الخطاب النقدي. ويرد مزيد من التفصيل باستخدام عدد من المراجع لتغطيه ما هو تحليل الخطاب النقدي وأهدافه ومبادئه. وتغطي الايديولوجيه المتعلقة بتحليل الخطاب النقدي وتعريفه. وعلاوة علي ذلك ، وباستخدام اطار ماشين وماير (٢٠١٢) و اطار كالبيير (٢٠١١) ، يغطي الباحث استراتيجيات تمثيل الذات، والخيارات اللغوية ، والطريقة والتحوط ، الفعل المتعدي والتراكيب، والاساليب البلاغية. وفي القسم الثاني ، يتم إعطاء عدد من الدراسات السابقه التي تستخدم تحليل الخطاب النقدي باستخدام نماذج وأدوات مختلفه. ستكون المنهجية المتبعة في جمع البيانات والنهج وأدوات التحليل واضحة في القسم الرابع. يوضح القسم الخامس تحليل البيانات التي تجيب عن أسأله البحث. الفصل الأخير ، الفصل الخامس ، هو مناقشه واستنتاجي بشأن نتائج تحليلات البيانات .

1. Introduction

America has been suffering in the last few years from economic crises, unemployment and illegal immigration. American people are dissatisfied with high taxes, costly healthcare and America's controversial foreign policies. This made them look forward to their savior new elected president to provide them with persuasive plans. The 2016 presidential election is the 58th presidential election. The elections were held on Tuesday, November 8, 2016. It took place between the Republican Donald Trump and the Democrat, 67th former secretary of State Hillary Clinton. Trump was the first presidential candidate in the U.S. history to run for office without any prior experience in public service. On the other hand, Clinton was the first woman to be nominated for presidency by a major American party. Both Clinton and Trump used all tools of persuasion to promise the Americans a safer future that is prosperous and filled with rewarding job opportunities and better tax policies.

The present study analyzes selected extracts that have carefully been chosen from the transcripts of the three (2016) presidential debates that took place between the two nominees Donald J. Trump and Hillary Clinton to fully cover the scope of the study. The first debate was on September 26, the second was on October 9 and the final was on October 19, 2016. In the three debates, Clinton and Trump are facing off each other to persuade the Americans that only one of them is more qualified than the other to be the next US president. Each aimed to view himself/herself more powerful and persuasive than the other opponent who is weaker and is not worthy of people's trust.

The study aims at highlighting their political discourse in which they manifest to maintain dominance and power. The study is divided into five sections that include the introduction, review of literature, methodology and data collection, data analysis, discussion and conclusion. The First section is the introduction that contains the context, objective, research questions and significance. Section two provides the review of literature which is split into two parts. The first part gives an overview of the theoretical framework and the second part is a review of previous studies. The researchers cover the representational strategies, lexical choices, modality and hedges, transitivity and verb processes, impoliteness, politeness and rhetorical devices using the framework of Machin and Mayr (2012) and Culpeper (2011). In the second part, a number of previous studies are given. They use CDA in analyzing different data using different models and tools. The methodology in collecting the data, approach and tools of analyses will be clear in section three. The fourth section demonstrates the analysis of the data that answers our research

question. The last section, section five includes a discussion and our conclusion for the results of the data analyses.

2. 1.1 Objective of the study

This study aims at uncovering Clinton and Trump's hidden ideologies and intentions behind language choices in the three presidential debates under study. In addition, the study seeks to show how each of them used positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, as well as a set of pragmatic tools and rhetorical devices (e.g. representational strategies, lexical choices of (power and identity), pronouns (Us versus Them), modality and hedges, and transitivity and verb processes) in persuading the voters. Furthermore, the study aims to reveal the nature of Trump's and Clinton's verbal aggressiveness on the scale of impoliteness strategies proposed by Culpeper (1996, 2011).

2. Review of Literature

This section is divided into two parts. The first part is the theoretical framework, which introduces key theories in CDA, and presents the models and strategies that are used in the analysis. In addition, the section clarifies the understanding of notions such as power, identity, representation strategies and persuasion, face and offense, and impoliteness. The second part reviews the most recent and relevant previous studies.

3. 2.1 Theoretical Framework

4. 2.1.1 Critical Discourse Theory and Ideology

Critical linguists face a lot of criticism for not developing the relation between the three main aspects of discourse; language, power, and ideology (Fairclough, 1992). Nevertheless, CDA adopts methods and theories that better highlight this interrelationship by revealing the message behind the texts so as to define the political and ideological beliefs. Thus, CDA is greatly dedicated to the political field and intervention (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258).

Teun van Dijk (1998) argues that CDA consequent aim is to shape ideologies by analyzing the text. Ideology is a fundamental means in which effecting commands and exercising power may take place over the subordinate groups. In CDA, Ideology is seen as a means to describe the particular values and concepts of the powerful side.

5. 2.1.2 Power in CDA

Power is one of the most important issues and the core that critical discourse analysis focuses on. All critical discourse analysts and scholars are deeply interested in the discursive reproduction of the social power of groups and institutions. CDA aims at revealing what kinds of social relations and power are presented in texts. For Fairclough, he sees that

power produces discourse. The idea of power depends on the position of discourse producer. Fairclough (1989) argues that there are two different kinds of relations between discourse and power, namely, ‘power in discourse and power behind discourse’. Nevertheless, CDA assures that power relations are broad, which confirms that power is transmitted and practiced through discourse (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 272). According to them, the main focus of CDA is power relations, how they are exercised or negotiated in different discourse.

Machin and Mayr (2012) state that language is not only used as a vehicle of communication, or for persuasion, but it is also used as ‘a means of social construction and domination’ (p.24). CDA main concern is the ‘persuasive influence of power’. They argue that people elect politicians when they believe that they are powerful enough to govern the country. The question of power is always the main key to the core of CDA studies. To sum up, van Dijk (2008, p. 65) points out that: “one of the crucial tasks of CDA is to account for the relationship between discourse and social power”.

6. 2.1.3 Representational Strategies

This section covers most of the tools used by the speaker to positively represent him/herself and negatively represent the other. For instance, the speaker lexical choices can show power or can show the inferiority of their addressee by identifying them into a specific class that can show them to be inferior or a minor group. The speaker can also positively identify the addressee. Moreover, the speaker can use impoliteness to damage the addressee’s face or negatively represent them. In addition, modals are used by the speaker to show their power, while hedging is used to provide indirectness and avoid directness. The high use of transitive and passive verbs, which are mostly used by politicians, is to highlight their actions and weaken the actions of their opponents. All these strategies are used by the speaker to imply a specific ideology and achieve one aim which is persuasion.

The strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation describes the way we talk about ourselves and others. Politicians tend to, on the one hand, use positive expressions when they talk about themselves to attribute good qualities or things to themselves or to deny their negative qualities or actions. On the other hand, they use negative expressions when they talk about others in order to attribute the negative qualities or actions to others or deprive them of positive ones.

Positive-self presentation and Negative-other presentation Strategy is neither an arbitrary nor a random process, but it has specific objectives. According to van Dijk (2000):

The option to express information or leave it explicit, is not ideologically neutral. However, it is easy to predict that within our general schema people tend to leave information implicit that is inconsistent with their positive self-image. On the other hand, any information that tells the recipient about the bad things of our enemies or about those we consider our out group will tend to be explicitly expressed in text and talk (p. 4).

According to Machin and Mayr (2012), pronouns like ‘us’, ‘we’ and ‘them’ are used to divide participants to those with or against our ideas. Politicians’ use of the pronoun “we” is to overwhelm the reader or hearer and make ‘vague statements’ and ‘conceal power relations’. They argue that ‘we’ can mean the ‘political party’ or can mean ‘the people of Britain’, and can “further down an unspecified group of nations” (p.84). In other words, the usage of pronouns plays an essential and critical role in shaping the representation of participants. Pronouns, especially like (us-them), are used to classify the whole discourse. Authors may intervene their own ideas as being generally accepted by ‘us and create the opposing party ‘other’ (Oktar, 2001). Fairclough (2000) argues the ambiguous usage of the concept of ‘we’. Politicians mainly always manipulate using ‘we’ in order to produce vague structures and act powerfully.

7. Lexical choices and power

Machin and Mayr (2012) present the relationship between lexical choices, communication and power. They suggest that not only speakers, but also authors seek to have power over the reader or hearer. Their lexical choices indicate their level of authority. They can use legal or hierarchical means or claim that they are more knowledgeable. The first case that the lexical choices tell us that we cannot do something because it is against the law. The second case, we are told to understand the world in a particular way because they have more knowledge about this fact that we do. They ‘will use specific, official-sounding terms that help to convey authority’ (p.42).

8. Implicit meanings

One of the main tools and the basic means of linguistic analysis from a CDA perspective is lexical analysis. In other words, to observe what kind of words are used in a text by authors, do they tend to frequently use certain words while avoid using some? In van Dijk’s (2002), defining CDA, he insists on the importance of the studying the ‘implicit’ meanings in the text, i.e. meanings which are understood without explicitly mentioned or stated directly by the author. He clarifies implicit meanings as "a part of the mental mood of ... a text, but not of the text itself. Thus,

implicit meanings are related to underlying belief but are not openly, directly, completely or precisely asserted" (p.104).

9. 2.1.4 Transitivity: Representing Action

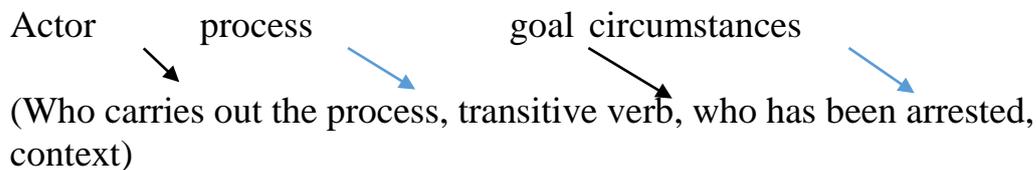
As a matter of fact, the above-mentioned representation ways by Machin and Mayr (2012) are not only the path to shape participants or the way the recipients preserve them. The representation of transitivity is not of less importance than this. Transitivity is presented by Machin and Mayr (2012) as the ‘study of what people are depicted as doing and refers to who does what to whom, and how’ (p. 104). This reveals the doer and the recipient of the action. Precisely, it shows who is defined to be the subject and who is defined to be the object. In other words, Transitivity is the study of agents, what they do, to whom and how in its simplest form. This kind of transitivity analysis uncovers the main agents in a particular discourse or clause and who receives this action. Based on Halliday's (1994) work, transitivity is concerned not only with the traditional grammatical approaches. This type of analysis shows the main subjects (agents/ participants) or object (affected/ patient) position.

Simpson and Mayr (2010, p.66) summarize the three aspects of meaning resulting from the transitivity analysis of agents and actions as follows:

1. **Participants:** includes both ‘doers’ of the process and the receivers of the action, as well. They may be people, things or concrete concepts.
2. **Processes:** presented by verbs.
3. **Circumstances:** may include information about the discourse as the place, time and the manner that something takes place.

An example may show these aspects as follows:

Four officers arrested the accused party, yesterday



10.2.1.5 Presupposition

Presupposition is a critical strategy used by some authors to imply certain meanings without explicitly stating them, or to show things as if they are facts which build the ideologies of the participants. Fairclough (1995) defines the ‘pre-constructed elements’ as the meanings that are assumed in a text (p.107), this is what is called ‘presupposition’. It is highly impacting on people’s shared knowledge in order to get the correct

presupposed meaning, for example, in a conversation between two friends, one said:

(4) The movie is very thrilling.

Since in this context, the speaker assumes that the hearer is able to identify which ‘movie’ he/she is talking about. However, in a different context, the speaker should be more precise and give more information about the ‘movie’ in order not to be misinterpreted. Normally, people will rely on their shared presupposition to get the whole message. Sometimes, politicians presuppose their own illustrations or ideas as facts for manipulation, or highlight certain interests and ideologies.

In other words, according to Machin and Mayr (2012), presupposition can be used as a solution to offer a basis for topics that may appear as a ‘logical argument’ (p.154). Fairclough (1995) argues that one of the advantages of language is that it may have a part in shaping the social world.

11.2.1.6 A Rhetorical device: Metaphor

A simple definition of metaphor is that "it is a means by which we understand one concept in terms of another" (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.167). For example:

(5) The curtain of night fell upon us

Here, we understand the state of the day (night) through the reference of closing the curtain. In spite of the diversity of the metaphor usage, people tend to use it intentionally to persuade others, especially in political discourse. An example to illustrate this is taken from Lu and Ahrens (2008) that shows how politicians use metaphors to refer to their commitment and future plans.

12. Theory of Face and offence

Goffman (1955) first introduced the theory of face. He defined theory of face to be the image or the impression one wants others to observe and keep in mind. Goffman (1967) define face as “the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he had taken during a particular contact” (p.213).

Culpeper (2011) notes that keeping someone’s ‘face’ means keeping his reputation, prestige and self-esteem. ‘Losing face’ means that your public image suffers damage from embarrassment. Goffman (2005) argues that any ‘member of any group is expected to have self-respect’ (p.10). On the other hand, he/she is expected to save the feelings and the face of others, as well. This should be done willingly and spontaneously. He/she ‘is disinclined to witness the defacement of others. Of course, the

more power and prestige the others have, the more a person is likely to show consideration for their feelings' (p.10).

13. Impoliteness theory

Impoliteness plays a specific role around us in several discourses, as it is rare not to face impoliteness in your daily interaction. Recently, linguists have paid enough attention to the notion of impoliteness rather than limiting it to the observance of politeness strategy or kind of pragmatic failure (Brown & Levinson, 1987). In the past, linguists usually underestimated the role of impoliteness in discourse; however, as soon as they started to be interested in the study of language that damages a person's identity or status, they started to take impoliteness as a concept into consideration.

Culpeper (1996, 2011) based his Impoliteness Theory (IT) on Brown and Levinson's (1987) Politeness Theory (PT). Moreover, Burman, Brown, Tisdall & Batchelor (2002) assert that physical violence is less harmful than non-physical or verbal human behaviors, which become the interest of many fields in linguistics. In fact, impoliteness is considered to be an important theory that plays a critical role in our social life interactions, especially in political discourses. Albeit from opposing perspectives, both theories (PT and IT) are founded on the concept of **face**, originally proposed by Goffman to refer to "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken" (1967, p.5). While in PT, the S(peaker) is concerned with saving or not threatening the face of the H(earer), S in IT wants to attack the face of H.

Culpeper (2011) challenged to put an adequate definition to impoliteness since it has an intimate and close relation, but not direct, with politeness strategy. That is because the nature of some of the verbal human behaviors is not typical in all cultures or, in the narrow sense, in all contexts; it may depend on the situation itself. To demonstrate, 'shouting' can be considered as an offense action, where as in a context like someone is drowning cannot be taken as an impolite situation in contrast to an office context. Thus, the decision depends on how the receiver recognizes what is said and done in a certain situation (p.22). People usually expect a sense of appropriacy or politeness. Politeness is a cluster of attitudes that is shared and agreed upon among a social group which constitutes ideologies that could be labeled, for example, 'conservative', 'racist', or 'sexist'. He states that 'cultures not only involve particular norms of group behavior but also the attitudes associated with those norms. These attitudes constitute 'impoliteness' ideologies' (p.16). These ideologies play a role in differentiating between

behaviors, and what counts to be polite and what counts to be impolite. Culpeper then created five impoliteness/face-attack super-strategies that are actually opposite of the politeness super-strategies of Brown and Levinson (1987).

The **first** impoliteness strategy is **Bald on record impoliteness** which means a direct attack to damage the face of the addressee. This is the opposite of Brown and Levinson's politeness, because this strategy "Bald on record" is limited to specific circumstances like emergencies or other situations that have no intentions to damage the hearer's face. This contrast with bald on record, where the speaker intentionally attacks the face of the hearer.

The **second** strategy is **positive impoliteness**. In this strategy the speaker ignores, excludes or disengages the other from the activity aiming at damaging the other's face. Moreover, the speaker can use inappropriate identity markers, show no concern or sympathy, or use obscure and secretive language, in addition to making the hearer uncomfortable by joking at them, calling them names, using small talk or taboo words. In the **third** strategy, **negative impoliteness**, the speaker directly damages the addressee face by frightening, condescending, scorning or ridicule them. Also invading the other's space, negatively representing them, hindering or blocking them physically or linguistically is another negative impolite way to damage the other's face.

The **fourth** strategy is **sarcasm or politeness**. This is a strategy in which the speaker uses sarcastic or mocking words to put down the addressee and make him lose his social harmony. **Withhold politeness** is the **fifth** strategy where the speaker keeps silent or does not act at all, though s/he is expected to act politely. Impoliteness generally does not come from just one particular strategy, but it depends more on the context.

14.2.2 Previous Studies

Many researchers studied CDA. Meanwhile, a few studies have focused-on power and identity, impoliteness and understanding beyond poetical persona. My study is different from other previous studies that tackled the same political genre. Still, the researchers provide seven previous studies that clarify and help understanding Trump and Clinton hidden ideology vigorously. Moreover, the researchers add three other previous studies that also apply the CDA theory.

The researcher finds it quite informative to begin by illustrating Martin Krzywinski's (2016) study, findings and numbers. Krzywinski provided a study that is limited to numerical word analysis of Clinton vs.

Trump's discourse throughout the three debates. The numbers clarify what the candidates' priorities are and uncover their different perspectives on similar topics. On comparing Trump to Clinton, Krzywinski found out that Trump might have said more, but he did not say much. Trump repeated his words (10.9 vs. 7.9) times which is (+38%) higher than Clinton. Comparing the analyzed data and the number of words said by each candidate, Krzywinski found out that Trump *repeated* the same language but for Clinton, she *varied more*. Trump adopted simple, direct, and short sentences. He employed reduced vocabulary and avoided complex sentences. The exclusive discourse shows the unique words that are used by one candidate and not the other. Trump's exclusive parts of speech are lower across all categories (-28%) for nouns, (-43.9%) for verbs, (-16.9%) for adjectives, and (-33.3%) for adverbs. On the other hand, Clinton used descriptive sentences that included more verbs (611 vs 435), nouns (437 vs 245), adjectives (284 vs 236) and adverbs (36 vs 24). It could be noticed that the greatest difference was regarding verbs.

Iqbal (2015) applied CDA, using Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls, & Ormston (2013, pp. 26-27) research paradigm on prominent politicians' public speeches that took place pre and post-election in 2013 in Pakistan. She used rhetorical devices (repetition, Modality, positive Self and negative other presentation, ethnicity and figurative speech (metaphor, simile, and personification). Iqbal applied them to investigate the linguistic implications in the politicians' public speeches. The researcher used the tools to investigate the transcripts of the speeches. Iqbal measured the frequency of the persuasive devices to find out the difference between the pre and post-election data.

Iqbal's (2015) findings prove that politicians use linguistic manipulation to demonstrate their ideologies and ascertain power. In comparing the pre-speeches to the post-speeches she found out that, the pre-election speeches were more passionate, copious, unplanned and improvised if compared to post-election speeches the style of which was serious, deliberate, strategic and to the point.

15.3. Data and Methodology

The data of this study comprise the transcripts of the three debates that took place between Clinton and Trump. Because the full texts are too long to analyze, the research tackles selected extracts that are carefully chosen to highlight the scope of the study. The presidential debates were broadcast on the national television of the USA. Then, they were video recorded and republished through different media channels. These analyzed debates transcripts were collected from the official sites,

Washington post and New York Times, and the debates can be watched on YouTube <http://www.youtube.com>" podcasted by NBC News on following links; the **first** presidential debate at <https://youtu.be/855Am6ovK7s>, while **the second** presidential debate at <https://youtu.be/FRII2SQ0Ueg> and the **third** presidential debate at <https://youtu.be/smkyorC5qwc>.

The procedures are covered in two steps.

1- The first step is to gather the data which includes the transcript of the three presidential debates. The transcripts have been retrieved from the following official sites:

- The first debate transcript is retrieved from Washington post https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/09/26/the-first-trump-clinton-presidential-debate-transcript-annotated/?utm_term=.d1d6ae6044f1
- The second debate transcript is retrieved from The New York Times <https://www.google.com/amp/s/www.nytimes.com/2016/10/10/us/politics/transcript-second-debate.amp.html>
- The third debate transcript is retrieved from Washington post https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/10/19/the-final-trump-clinton-debate-transcript-annotated/?utm_term=.f15b2c837a26

2- The second step is to analyze the data from a critical discourse perspective. The research will use CDA to analyze the three debates to prove whether they used language to serve their ideology and to persuade the American people that one of them is more efficient and would be the perfect leader. The study shows how rhetorical and pragmatic tools are used to show power and identity to convince the Americans. For simplification, the analysis will be divided into two parts. The **first part** will cover the analysis of impoliteness (FTA), transitivity and rhetorical devices. The **second part** tackles the representational strategies (positive-self, negative other presentation, lexical choice of power, negative and positive identity markers, exclusive and shared lexical choice and lexical frequency and repetitive speech). The most representative extracts were carefully selected and analyzed.

Approach

The study adheres to the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis and tools of analysis are adopted from the eclectic model of CDA by Machin and Mayr (2012) and Culpeper's (2011) model of impoliteness. It aims to uncover Clinton and Trump's hidden ideology and to highlight the influential role of their use of language for persuading the voters and winning their trust. Moreover, it aims at revealing the lexical choices used by each to present their power and capability to serve the people.

Tools

The present study applies a number of selected tools of CDA to unveil the hidden ideology of both candidates Clinton and Trump. It aims at uncovering how they chose words to convey their ideology and convince the audience with their power and commitment. More specifically, the tools of analysis include representational strategies that they exploit to present their subjective and objective views, lexical choices of power and identity, pronouns (Us vs Them), modality and hedges, transitivity and verb processes, and impoliteness strategies. To be able to analyze impoliteness, Culpeper (1996) introduces the five impoliteness/face-attack strategies previously mentioned.

4. Analysis

CDA has always been the researcher's map to be able to critically analyze and understand any discourse. Because of CDA's importance, a number of linguists provided us with CDA theories and models to help us understand what is beyond any discourse. Machin and Mayr (2012) are remarkable linguists who provided us with a comprehensive model that we sought to use to fully analyze our data. Moreover, to get the full picture of Politicians' hidden ideologies and impoliteness, Culpeper's (2011) is a good choice to tackle that field. Culpeper's (2011) provides a full explanation for impoliteness strategies. The scope of this research does not allow the researchers to provide all the examples in each debate. The researchers selected the **most representative extracts** and analyzed them.

16.4.1 Representational Strategies

17.4.1.1 Negative-other and Positive-self Presentation, and Lexical choice of Power

This section aims at providing the reader with further analysis of the Three presidential debates that took place between Trump and Clinton. The extension of this research does not allow the researcher to provide all

the examples in each debate. The **most representative extracts** are presented and analyzed in light of the selected models of Culpeper (2011) and Machin and Mayr (2012). The analysis of the text seeks demonstrating the strategies used by both politicians to positively present themselves and negatively present the other, aiming at persuading the Americans to elect them for presidency.

Regarding **ISIS** (the **I**slamic **S**tate of **I**raq and **S**yria), Trump wonders why Clinton is *telling the enemy everything you want to do*. He uses **mock politeness** to attack Clinton's face. He launched a raid against Clinton's acts regarding her war against ISIS. *No wonder you've been fighting -- no wonder you've been fighting ISIS your entire adult life. (Debate 1)*. He uses **sarcasm** to make out his point of view. He implies that Clinton did not or could not stop ISIS, though she has been fighting them her whole life; because she is telling the enemy her plans. Accordingly, defeating ISIS is impossible under Clinton's rule. Trump argues that he *started reading that they want to get the leaders and they're going to attack Mosul. Whatever happened to the element of surprise, OK?* He wonders why Clinton announces that they are going to invade Mosul. Trump blames Clinton and argues that *These people have all left. They've all left. (Debate 3)* He presupposes that she kept fighting ISIS all that long for that reason (announcing before the raid). Trump again uses redundancy to assert his point of view.

Trump uses the pronoun *we* to presuppose that he is going to be the next U.S. president and that he is going *to knock the hell out of ISIS*. He asserts that he is going *to do it fast*. Trump uses the taboo word *hell*, which is **positive impoliteness**, to assure his intention. The **material process** *knock* is used to show power and strength. The word *fast* implies that Clinton appeared to be lagging behind the schedule not to finish ISIS. Trump argues that *ISIS is formed in this vacuum created by Barack Obama and Secretary Clinton. (Debate 1)*. He pinpoints his point of view that ISIS was formed because of the bad decision that was made by both Clinton and Obama to leave Iraq. Trump asserts that the vacuum that they created is the reason for forming ISIS.

Trump negatively presents Clinton by comparing her to himself. He uses **strategy 2 i.e. negative impoliteness**, to negatively present Clinton. He attacks her **positive face** by amplifying his merits. He says about himself *I have much better judgment than she does. There's no question about that. I also have a much better temperament than she has, you know? (Debate 1)*. Trump is implying that she has neither a good judgment nor a good temperament. He is presupposing that she lacks the leadership merits. On the other hand, Trump presupposes that he will

make a better president and will be a wiser leader. Trump deprives Clinton from any power. He highlights her incapability by saying that *she's going to get rid of nobody*. (**Debate 3**). He addressed her by the third person *She* as if she is distant or absent.

On the other hand, Clinton argues that Trump intends *to contrast with* her because she *did vote for it*. She thinks that the only reason behind him-denying that he voted for invading Iraq and attacking ISIS is just because *he believes it makes him look better now to contrast with her* because she *did vote for it*. Clinton uses the **mental process** *believe* with the **behavioral process** *look* aiming at attacking Trumps' **positive face**. She uses **positive impoliteness** to presuppose that Trump supported invading Iraq, but he is lying simply to oppose her.

Clinton argued that she is *amazed that he seems to think that the Iraqi government and U.S. allies and everybody else launched the attack on Mosul to help her* in these elections. Clinton uses the **mental process** verb *think* to convey that this is only in Trump's head. She implies that this is not true at all. She claims *that's how Donald thinks. You know, he always is looking for some conspiracy. He has all the conspiracy theories...* Clinton attacks Trump's **positive face**. Clinton highlights that Trump thinks that she uses U.S. allies to win the elections, which is from her point view untrue. Clinton addresses Trump by his first name *Donald* and the third person to overlook his presence as if he is absent or not present. Clinton attacks Trump again that he has the delusion of the *conspiracy theory*. She uses **objectification** *he's been spewing out for quite some time*, to objectify conspiracy as a tangible unfavorable object (vomit). Clinton uses the **intensifier** *quite some* to imply her point of view that he has been doing this not for so long but since the elections only, just to mar her reputation. Clinton is presenting Trump's acts in a negative, disgusting and unfavorable way.

18.4.1.2 Negative Identity Markers

Trump attacks Clinton's face and negatively presents her. He uses **bold on record** to damage Clinton's face. Trump said *She doesn't have the look*. Trump contempt's Clinton's outer appearance. Trump **implies** that because she is a woman, she does not look like U.S. president, presupposing the fact that she is the first woman in the U.S. history to be nominated as a candidate for a major political party. Trump addresses Clinton using the **third person**, as if she is not present in front of him, for humiliation.

He adds that *She doesn't have the stamina*. He asserts his point of view by repeating his utterance. *I said she doesn't have the stamina. And I don't believe she does have the stamina. To be president of this country, you need. (Debate 1). I don't believe that Hillary has the stamina. (Debate 1)*. Trump is attacking Clinton and negatively presenting her that she is not powerful enough to shoulder the presidency duties. Trump repeated the word *stamina* five times. He highlights the idea that the U.S. president needs to have *tremendous stamina* and that she totally lacks the power and strength needed for being the future president. He implies that he is the powerful one and that he has the stamina to be the future president. Trump presupposes that he has not only the stamina but he has also a *tremendous stamina*. His use of the **intensifier** tremendous is to show the great power that he possesses. Trump uses the **mental process** *don't believe* twice to assert his point of view that he doesn't believe what Clinton pictures about herself.

On the other hand, Clinton accuses trump of the fact that *he's paid nothing in federal taxes, because the only years that anybody's ever seen were a couple of years when he had to turn them over to state authorities when he was trying to get a casino license, and they showed he didn't pay any federal income tax (Debate 1)*. She attacks his **negative face**. She highlights the fact that he did not pay the fair share of tax that he is supposed to pay. On the other hand, Trump positively presents himself to be *That makes me smart. (Debate 1)*. Clinton highlights *That's part of my commitment to raise taxes on the wealthy (Debate 3)*. She is presupposing that Trump is wealthy and that he did not pay his fair share. Trump interrupts her and uses **bold on record**. He calls Clinton *Such a nasty woman. (Debate 3)*. Trump uses an inappropriate identity marker. He strips her from all titles and addresses her by *woman* to scorn her and underestimates her presence and position.

Moreover, Clinton positively presents herself by saying, *I think -- I think -- I think Donald just criticized me for preparing for this debate. And, yes, I did. And you know what else I prepared for? I prepared to be president. And I think that's a good thing. (Debate 1)* Clinton repetitive use of the **mental process** verb *think* to assert the fact that if her audience think for a while, they will find it clear that she chooses her words carefully and wisely. She implies that she has no weaknesses. Moreover, she implies that Trump envies her, and he criticizes her because she is a strong opponent. She presupposes that Trump is not as well prepared as herself. Her only weakness is her strength that she is well organized and well prepared.

Clinton attacks Trump's **positive face** to defend her point of view related to her tax increase plan on the wealthiest Americans; *You know, just join the debate by saying more crazy things. Now, let me say this, it is absolutely the case (Debate 1)*. She marked his point of view by *crazy*, using the **intensifier more** to assert that this is not the only crazy thing Trump said. Clinton implies that most of his utterance is crazy and he is adding more. Clinton uses **positive impoliteness** to offend Trump and belittle his point of view. She negatively presents Trump and positively presents herself.

Trump intends to call Clinton a liar a number of times throughout the three debates; he argues that *She's been proven to be a liar on so many different ways. This is just another lie (Debate 3)*. Trump uses **bold on record** to belittle Clinton and put down her self-esteem. He negatively presents Clinton to be a *liar* in many ways and different situations, in which he considers to be an unforgivable crime. Trump uses **the relational process** verb *be* with third person pronoun *she* to assert that Clinton is used to lying.

Trump positively presents himself and highlights his power and capability of making a better future for all Americans. He argues that he *will do more for African-Americans and Latinos than she can ever do in 10 lifetimes. (Debate 3)*. Trump uses **mock and sarcasm politeness** to attack Clinton's face and to highlight her incapability of doing. Trump is proud of himself; he brags his business and himself; he argues that *if we could run our country the way I've run my company, we would have a country that you would be so proud of. You would even be proud of it. (Debate 3)*. Trump positively presents himself. He presupposes that his business is a success and he is capable of doing what no other businessman could do. Accordingly, if he runs the country the same way he runs his business, he will make America, from his own point of view, like no other county. He implies that he is gifted and he will tame all those gifts for the sake of America's greatness to *Make America Great Again. (Debate 3)*. This is Trump's slogan for his campaign. Trump's words show his identity, his self-esteem and power. He implies that he is the best choice for the presidency for the sake of his wide experience in ruling. It is proven to Americans by evidence and by numbers (Trump's great wealth) that his way in running his business is a success.

Clinton defended herself through positive self-presentation. She argued that Trump *has now said repeatedly, 30 years this and 30 years that. So, let me talk about my 30 years in public service. I'm very glad to do so. (Debate 2)*. Clinton presented herself using the first personal

pronoun *I* and *my* to highlight the great achievements that she accomplished throughout the past 30 years. She adds that *I've proven that I can, and for 30 years, I've produced results for people.* (Debate 2). Clinton combines the personal pronoun *I* with the **modal verb** *can* to assert her **power**, capability and strength. Clinton elaborates in detail her 30 years of devoted public work. She aims at reminding the Americans of her efforts and gain their support.

Moreover, Clinton demonstrates that *I have tried my entire life to do what I can to support children and families. Donald talks a lot about, you know, the 30 years I've been in public service. I'm proud of that* (Debate 2). Clinton is stressing the fact that she has been serving people all the past 30 years while Trump was running his business to achieve personal glory. She implies that she has done all her best to support her people, and now it's the Americans' turn to return the favor and support her. She uses the phrase *entire life* to clarify that her work for the public is not limited to the past 30 years only as Trump said, but Clinton's whole life is devoted to Americans, as if she is begging them not to deprive her of serving them. She highlights that serving people is a glory for her; she is proud of it.

19.4.2 Transitivity

Halliday (1994) argues that "transitivity system construes the world of experience into manageable set of process types" (p.106). He highlights that transitivity is not only concerned with the traditional grammatical approaches, but it focuses also on the ideational meaning by expressing certain processes types. In light of Halliday (1994), Machin and Mayr (2012) state that transitivity is "who does what to whom, and how" (p.104). Both candidates exploit transitivity as a means of manipulation of their audience seeking persuasion.

Table: A

Clinton: "*Gee, I hope it does collapse*" (Debate 1)

<i>I</i>	<i>hope</i>	<i>it does collapse</i>
Senser	Mental process	Phenomenon

Table: B

Donald: "*That's called business, by the way.*" (Debate 1)

<i>That</i>	<i>is called</i>	<i>business</i>	<i>by the way</i>
Identified	Relational process	Identifier	Circumstance

Clinton uses the **mental** process *hope* to denote Trump's deep wish for exploiting people's need. The tax policies failed to serve the middle-class and worked in favor of rich people. She is negatively representing Trump by implying that Trump, who is one of the greatest and richest businessmen in America, is not worthy of their trust. Since Trump is rich, he won't be a suitable president for the poor or middle class because, as Clinton criticizes him, he cares only for expanding his business and does not care for peoples' best interest. He is only interested in making more money. Trump uses the relational process represented in verb *is* to convey his message of her ignorance of business deals, and to advocate him-self from her accusation that he exploits peoples' need to gain more money. (see also *Extract 2* for further analyses of that same extract).

Table: C

Clinton: *So a man who can be provoked by a tweet should not have his fingers anywhere near the nuclear codes, as far as I think anyone with any sense about this should be concerned.* (Debate 1)

I	think	anyone with any sense about this...
Senser	Mental process	Phenomenon

In this extract Clinton is attacking Trump. She uses **positive impoliteness strategy²** to attack Trump's **positive face**. Clinton's attack is obvious, not implied. Clinton asserts that Trump is easily provoked and can't control his emotions, and that is not a good deed to be in the U. S's future president. Clinton implies that Trump lacks the most important strategic factor that should be found in the commander in chief. According to Anthony Bonato and Lyndsay Roach (2018), Trump has tweeted more than 38,000 times since he first made his account on March 2009. That is why Clinton is highlighting the fact that Trump, who is so much indulged in social media, from her own point of view, won't make a good president. Clinton uses the pronoun *I* to show that she is a more reasonable choice than her opponent Trump. She did not use *we* to show that she is not forcing the Americans to agree with her. Moreover, Clinton

uses the mental process *think* to emphasize her worries and the fact that the Americans choice should be wise, and she is presupposing that if they think for a while, they will find that Trump is not the kind of president to elect.

Clinton uses the modal verb *should* to intensify her worries and to assert the fact that the Americans should *be concerned* for their future not to be in Trump's hands. The verb *concern* strips Trump from the most important factor that should be found in a president **security** for his people. Being a veteran Politician, Clinton said *anyone* not **everyone**. She means by anyone any person who is or is not interested in politics, who is a democrat like herself or a republican, should not trust Trump. If she used **everyone** her words would have been limited to her supporters only or those who are 'in group'.

20.4.3 Rhetorical Devices

As previously mentioned, rhetorical devices constitute a very effective technique that is used by the speaker seeking persuasion. Rhetorical devices are also a way of manipulating the audiences' emotions, hearts and minds. As Cameron (2003) maintains, metaphors are useful for simplifying complex concepts.

Extract 1

Clinton: *First, we have to build an economy that works for everyone, not just those at the top. That means we need new jobs, good jobs, with rising incomes.* (Debate 1).

Clinton divided her ideas by numbering them to show how organized her ideas are, and to make them memorable for her audience. Moreover, using this technique shows her people that they are so close to her and that they are sharing with her what she believes is in their favor. *We* is an exclusive pronoun to exclude herself and her people from whom she called *those at the top*. She positively represents herself and implies that her opponent (Trump), who is a rich business man, won't feel nor care for those who are less. She presents Trump in a negative way, and implies that he is not one of them (ordinary people). *Economy that works for everyone*; Clinton here implies that Trump's economical plan is for the rich people only not for everyone. She also asserts that her plan is more comprehensive to all social classes. The deontic modal *have to*, aims at urging people to fight with her and highlights the importance of flourishing their economy. *Need* is a transitive verb to show that she is aware of the importance of jobs for all the Americans. Clinton promises them that she will not only provide them with *new jobs* opportunities, but

they will be *good* opportunities. She once again uses a figure of speech (the metaphoric expression) of verb *build* with *an economy* as if economy is a building that needs to be built. She used a stronger modal verb this time to assert on the importance of supporting her to achieve a better future.

21.4.4 Impoliteness (FTA)

Language is the main means of communication between people to convey what they mean. In other words, language can't be taken literally because it depends on what the speaker implies. Based on social culture, utterance can be judged either as polite or impolite. Though some people intentionally use impoliteness to express what they feel or think, in this case impoliteness is considered to be a tool to attack or threaten someone's face. Sarcasm, threatening, mocking and bullying are acts of impoliteness.

Extract 2

Clinton: *In fact, Donald was one of the people who rooted for the housing crisis. He said, back in 2006, "Gee, I hope it does collapse, because then I can go in and buy some and make some money." Well, it did collapse."*

Donald: *That's called business, by the way. (Debate 1)*

Clinton uses *in fact* to presuppose that this is the truth about Trump and that Americans know this fact. Clinton uses the past tense *rooted* to assert her accusation for Trump and to highlight that he worked hard to make use of peoples' need to make more money. Her use of the date (2006) is to strengthen her words and to assert her point of view that Trump has had a bad history since 2006 which is before the start of the economic crisis 2007-2009. It is a sour reminder of big losses that the American economy suffered from. Here Clinton attacks Trump's **positive face**. She is accusing trump of making use of peoples' need at the crisis that started 1930.

Trump saves face and defends himself by using *positive impoliteness* to save his face and attack Clinton. He said *That's called business, by the way*. By this extract he implies that Clinton lacks business knowledge and that he acquires more knowledge.

Extract 3

Trump: *"And I was so surprised to see him sign on with the devil.But if I win, I am going to instruct my attorney general to get a special prosecutor to look into your situation, because there has never been so many lies, so much deception. There has never been anything like it, and we're going to have a special prosecutor.*

When I speak, I go out and speak, the people of this country are furious. And it's a disgrace. And honestly, you ought to be ashamed of yourself. (Debate 2)

Trump here is talking about senator Bernard Sanders and says that he is surprised to *see* him sign with Clinton whom Trump described to be the *devil*. Trump is charging Bernie Sanders to sign with Clinton after losing in front of her the democratic primary. Trump is threatening Clinton's face and calling her *the devil*. This is analyzed as **bold on record** and **positive impoliteness** using taboo word. Trump directly calls her the devil. He also uses inappropriate identity marker **strategy 2**. Trump threatens Clinton and again attacks her **positive face**; if he wins the debate and becomes the president, he will give his instructions to his attorney general *to get a special prosecutor* to interrogate her. Trump uses **negative impoliteness, strategy 3** to attack Clinton's negative face. He is trying to frighten and scorn Clinton. He is accusing her of being guilty, and should not have escaped punishment. Trump here implies that he will make a good president that will come to set the record straight.

Trump presupposes that the present president is unfair and can't be trusted, but when he becomes president, he will make a big difference, and no one will escape from justice. For the third time, in a row, Trump attacks Clinton. Trump uses **positive impoliteness, strategy 2** to damage Clinton's **positive face** by telling her that there *has never been so many lies* and *so much deception*. He **implies** that she is a liar. Trump asserts his idea that she lied about deleting 33,000 emails, and that she deceived the Americans by telling them that these emails were personal stuff. He **presupposes** that she is cunning and sly. Americans should not and cannot elect such a person for presidency. Trump uses the personal pronoun *I* many times *I win, I am, I speak* and *I go*, which indicates that Trump is the doer and that he is the powerful person in control. He points out that he is capable of handling difficult situations and he speaks on behalf of *the people of this country who are furious* because of Clinton's acts. Trump presupposes that this is not his personal opinion; it is the Americans' opinion. Moreover, he implies that he sympathizes with them.

Trump came back to once again slap Clinton's face with his impoliteness act. He uses **negative impoliteness, strategy 3** to attack Clinton's **negative face**. He perceives her action of deleting the e-mails without apologizing, as a disgraceful and shameful act. The purpose behind Trump's abasement of Clinton is to mar her reputation. Trump uses deontic modality through the modal verb *ought to* to highlight the obligation on Clinton to have a sense of guilt. He combined verb to *be*

with the **relational process**, and **behavioral process**, verb *ashamed*, to emphasize his bitter indignation. Trump negatively presents Clinton and positively presents himself.

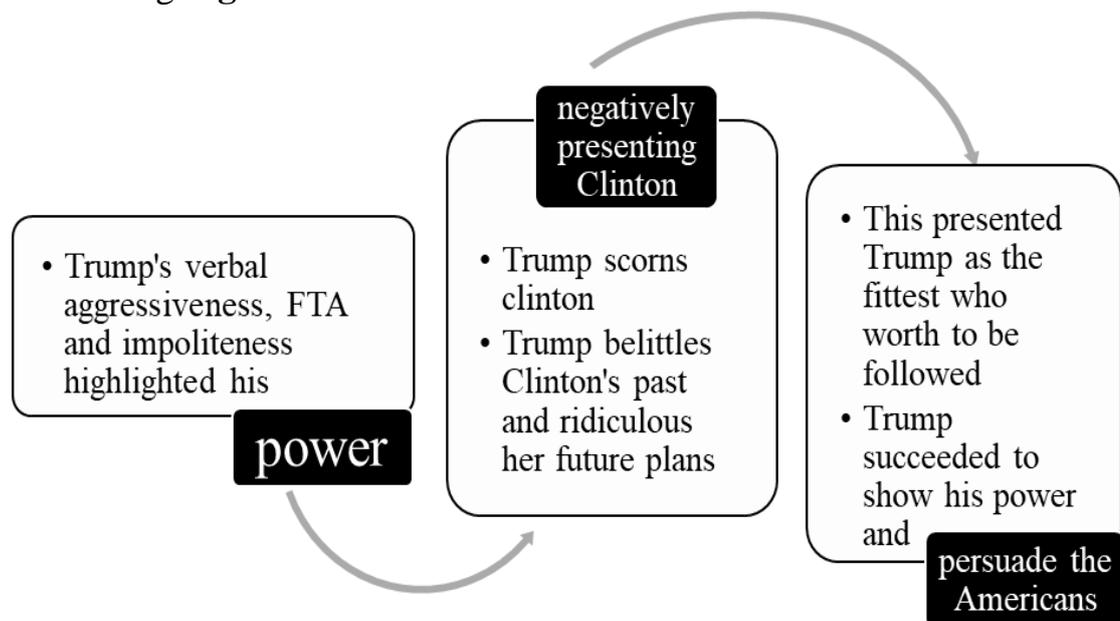
5. Discussion

Based on the provided analysis, which adopted an eclectic approach to the tools of analysis comprising Machin and Mayr's (2012) model, in addition to Culpeper's (2011) impoliteness model, it has been found that Trump was able to manipulate language in his favor to win the presidency and show his power. As previously stated by Machin and Mayr (2012) that language is not only used as a vehicle of communication or for persuasion, but it is also used to show power and social domination. The researchers based the present discussion on the given data analysis in the light of the theoretical framework.

Throughout the debates both candidates wanted to promote their personal points of view. They tried to highlight their differences and put down the other's points of view. As previously mentioned, van Dijk (1993) states that power in CDA is a demonstration of power and control of a group over another. This research contributes to a comprehensive and creative model of persuasion that digs to the depth of politicians' strategies, mechanisms and techniques to win the mob and attain their success.

The present study argues that CDA is applied to uncover Trump and Clintons' hidden ideology, power, representational strategies that are employed to gain support, and impoliteness as a tool of persuasion. It is clear that each of them makes use of the natural gift and the experience he/she has to win the chair, sustain their power and gain people's support. Although Clinton applies the political discourse inside out, she didn't win. On the contrary, Trump, whose rhetoric is instinctive, became the formidable winning candidate. The reason behind this victory is that Trump combines a number of strategic techniques and mechanisms that ensure that he ascends the chair. Despite the fact that both candidates use impoliteness, Trump's **idiolect** is unprecedented. His power and dominance over any opponent appear once he starts to speak. This **power** comes from his verbal aggressiveness, FTA and impoliteness. This was clear in trump's consecutive strikes on Clinton to damage her positive and negative face. As stated by Culpeper (2011), keeping someone's face means keeping his/her reputation, prestige and self-esteem. Losing one's face means to damage one's public image. Trump prevented Clinton from keeping her face and sustaining her public image. Moreover, Trump's eloquent rhetoric captures his audience's minds and hearts. Besides, his

repetitive, redundant and frequent **Trumpisms**, as Philips (2015) called them, are not in vain. They are Trump's innate means to overwhelm his audience. **The survival is for the fittest**. What is obvious to the Americans is that Trump is the fittest par excellence. This mixture happens to formulate the most powerful, significant, and effective **persuasive model**. The researchers highlighted the model of persuasion in the following **Figure**:



6. Discussion and Conclusion

Overall, the hypothesis that there is a strategy behind Trump's unusual use of political rhetoric has been proven true. It has been confirmed by the results of this study that Trump was capable of using language in his favor throughout the three debates. He used a particular discourse approach. Trump's speech style and unprecedented political persona helped to project him as a leader that appealed to the majority of the American people. Indeed, Trump's unusual, simple and straightforward idiolect appealed to a great number of the voters. His linguistic style was unprecedented in the political sphere. Thus, his linguistic abilities helped to draw a successful image of him, presenting him as the determined candidate who is willing to fulfill all his promises, and was able to distance himself from any negative unfavorable image.

In conclusion, based on the fact that Trump won, and on the previous analysis which applied CDA to selected extracts from the three presidential debates, it has been shown that the American people at the time of the elections have displayed less concern for morals, and tended

to stick more to the one who spoke their anger out and who presented him/herself as more powerful. Trump did not follow the standard republican talk. Despite Trump's verbal aggressiveness and unprecedented impolite speeches, he won because this happened to be appealing to his audience, and pictured him to be the dominant and powerful candidate (the winning one that deserved to be followed). The people did not want a Congress president anymore; they thought more of the non-politician.

For Trump, winning has not been everything, it has been the only thing. Winning the elections is considered to be a battle. People regard heroes as winners who always beat up losers. Trump's impolite attitude, continuous insults and mockery directed to his opponent made out of him a powerful hero who was worth to be followed. Lakoff (2016) states that "the loser for the majority of voters will now be a minority president-elect". He added, "Trump is considered to be the minority president. Despite that, the social media questions the legitimacy of the minority president who ignored the American values of the majority." The present study revealed that Trump's frequent use of FTA and impoliteness manifested higher power positions within his discourse by comparison with Clinton.

After analyzing the extracts from the three presidential debates (2016) in the light of Machin and Mayr (2012) and Culpeper (2011), it was found that positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation were utilised by the two candidates. Though it was clear that Clinton was keener on keeping her temperament to present her positive-self, yet Trump was more focused on presenting his opponent's negativities. Trump directed his discourse frequently to negative other presentation. Moreover, he succeeded in delivering his hidden ideology. He was able to demonstrate his power over Clinton. He manifested **representational strategies**. Moreover, he employed impoliteness as a tool of persuasion.

While Trump's discourse was characterized by racism, sexism and scorn for others, Clinton's discourse mainly focused on social inclusion and exclusion, family, battle frames and bringing back rights. Clinton's **lexical choices** were precise. She utilized language to show **power** and highlight her **identity**. She bragged about her being the first woman in the U.S. to reach that far. As a veteran politician, Clinton's discourse happened to be neutral. Women's **language markers** were absent. While Trump used **redundancy** and **repetitiveness** to deliver his point and assert his opponent's weaknesses, Clinton's political discourse was precise and to the point. Nevertheless, Clinton made limited use of implicature to **negatively present Trump** and assert her **ideas**. Trump's

idiolect contributed to his success due to its inherent manifestations of power and dominance.

Both candidates used impoliteness to negatively present the other. Nevertheless, Trump's frequent use of FTA is linked to the enactment of **dominance and power** over his co-runner. Clinton's rhetoric is quite balanced between **denotation** and **connotation**. Unlike Clinton, Trump heavily used **connotation** rather than denotative strategies. Moreover, Clinton adopted **modals** to sustain her strategies and achieve a specific goal, namely people's support. Trump's use of **modals** was mostly limited to **will**, which would indicate **promise**. However, without the power to deliver such promise, Clinton did not win.

22.7. Limitations of the Study

The present study is limited to selected extracts from the three U.S. presidential debates (2016) that took place between Clinton and Trump. The study exclusively focused on Trump and Clinton's discourse; it did not include the mediator's discourse or the audience's questions. Moreover, this research did not address non-verbal interactions. Multimodality was beyond the scope of this research.

References

Blake, A. (2016, September 26). The first Trump-Clinton debate transcript, annotated. The Washington post. Retrieved March 3, 2017, from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/09/26/the-first-trump-clinton-presidential-debate-transcript-annotated/?utm_term=.d1d6ae6044f1.

Blake, A. (2016, October 19). The final Trump-Clinton debate transcript, annotated. The Washington Post. Retrieved March 3, 2017, from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/10/19/the-final-trump-clinton-debate-transcript-annotated/?utm_term=.f15b2c837a26.

Bonato, A., & Roach, L. (30, July 2018). The math behind Trump's tweets. National post. Retrieved May 1, 2019, from <https://nationalpost.com/pmnn/news-pmn/the-math-behind-trumps-tweets>.

Brown, P., & Levinson, S. C. (1987). *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge shire: Cambridge University Press.

Burman, M., Brown, J., Tisdall, K., & Batchelor, S. (2002). *A View from the Girls: Exploring violence and violent behaviour*. United Kingdom.

Cameron, L. (2003). *Metaphor in educational discourse*. London: continuum.

Culpeper, J. (1996) Towards an anatomy of impoliteness. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 25(3),349-67.

----- (2011). *Impoliteness: Using Language to Cause Offence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power*. London New York: Longman.

----- (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

----- (1995). *Discourse and social change*. UK: Blackwell.

----- (2000). *New Labour, New Language*. New York, NY.

Fairclough, N. & Wodak, R. (1997). *Critical discourse analysis*. In T.A. van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse Studies: A multidisciplinary introduction (vol2)* (pp.258-284). London: Sage.

Goffman, E. (1955). On face-work: An analysis of ritual elements in social interaction. *Psychiatry: Journal for the Study of Interpersonal Processes*, 18(3): 213-231.

----- (1967). *Interaction ritual: Essays in face to face behavior*. Chicago, IL: Aldine Publishing Company.

----- (2005). *Interaction ritual: Essays in face behavior*. Aldine Transaction.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1994). *An introduction to functional grammar (2nd edition)*. London: Edward Arnold.

Iqbal, A. (2015). *Discourse analysis of prominent politicians' public speeches: Pre and post-Election 2013, Pakistan*.

Krzywinski, M. (2016). *Word Analysis of Hillary Clinton vs Donald Trump (Combined Debates)*. Retrieved April 23, 2018 from <http://mkweb.bcgsc.ca/debates2016/?debate=clinton-trump-01>

Lakoff, G. (2016, July 23). Understanding Trump. Retrieved May 22, 2018, from <https://georgelakoff.com/2016/07/23/understanding-trump-2/>

Leech, G. N. (2014). The pragmatics of politeness. NY, New York: Oxford University Press.

Lu, L.W. & Ahrens, K. (2008). Ideological influence on building metaphors Taiwanese presidential speeches, *Discourse & Society*, 19 (3), 383-408.

Machin, D., & Mayr, A. (2012). How to do critical discourse analysis: A multimodal introduction. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Mills, D. (2016, October 10). Transcript of the second debate. The New York Times. Retrieved March 3, 2017, from <https://www.google.com/amp/s/www.nytimes.com/2016/10/10/us/politics/transcript-second-debate.amp.html>.

Oktar, L. (2001). The ideological organization of representational processes in the presentation of us and them, *Discourse & Society*, 12 (3): 313-346.

Phillips, A. (2015, August 5). The 6 Trumpisms Donald Trump will trumpet in the Trump debate. The Washington Post. Retrieved February 12, 2019. From https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2015/08/05/the-6-trumpisms-donald-trump-will-trumpet-in-the-trump-debate/?utm_term=.92f47a5c339e.html.

Simpson, P., & Mayr, A. (2010) *Language and power: A resource book for Students*. London: Routledge.

van Dijk, T.A. (1993). *Elite discourse and racism*. Newbury Park: SAGA.

----- (1998). *Ideology: A multidisciplinary approach*. London: SAGE Pub.

----- (2000). *Ideology and discourse: A multidisciplinary introduction*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications.

----- (2002). Discourse, ideology and context. *Journal of Asian Economics*, 35 (1-2), 11-40.

----- (2008). *Discourse and context: A sociocognitive approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.