Power Abuse in Political Discourse; A Critical Discourse Analysis of Trump's Discourse

Dr. Shatha Naiyf Qaiwer
 Department of English - College of Education For Women
Baghdad University - Iraq
Email: shatha.naiyf@coeduw.uobaghdad.edu.iq

ABSTRACT

This study examines the notion of power abuse in discourse. It presents the linguistic forms used in various expressions where power abuse is evident. It aims to investigate Trump's representation of social groups which may involve positive presentation in one context and negative representation in another, thus, providing a detailed account of the way such representation is legitimised. For instance, the analysis reveals how Islam and /or Muslims are named, and how the naming is legitimised and relate to the dichotomies of US and THEM. Accordingly, naming strategies and other linguistic strategies of power abuse are examined to unveil the double-edged ideologies implied within them as we search for 'inconsistencies in discourse' (Wodak and Meyer, 2009).To account for the cognitive aspect of power abuse and exercise in discourse, the researcher draws upon van Dijk's (2011) theory of epistemic discourse analysis, theory of discourse and manipulation (Van Dijk,2006) and van Lewueen's (2007) frameworks of social actor's representation and of legitimation strategies are drawn upon to demystify the manipulative strategies employed in the discourse examined.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, legitimation, naming, nominalisation, political discourse, power, power abuse.

1. Introduction

This study attempts to account for the way discourse and social power interact in texts; i.e., to uncover attempts of power abuse as termed under social power. Power abuse is a social phenomenon of several forms one of which is manipulation (van Dijk, 2006). It is a global property of an utterance that is linked to the global textual property reflecting it. This study extends van Dijk's (2006: 361) conceptualisation of manipulation to include the term power abuse: 1) discursive–semiotic as it is exercised in text and talk. 2) Cognitive as it involves arousing emotions and knowledge manipulation 3) *social* as it is reflected in the communication between social actors/ groups.

A speaker indicates his power status when claiming knowledge or giving himself the right to question and decide in terms of his authority. Language constitutes social roles in which some kind of authority is invested and enabling people to exercise power (Fowler, 1985). From this perspective, power is more about agency than dominance i.e. the individual's ability to shape an activity at hand (Johnstone, 2008: 130) whether positive or negative when communicating his stance but power abuse, as perceived in the present study, is about dominance. When a speaker makes illegitimate use of his control and access to discourse to shape reality to serve his interest, whether truthfully or manipulatively, they manipulate the knowledge of the interlocutors and abuse their power.

This study provides qualitative analyses of Trump's speeches related to Islam as the main theme paying particular attention to textual and contextual resources brought upon in utterance construction i.e., the link between grammatical words in representing the theme, lexical words and their evaluative and legitimating implication through which evidence of power abuse can be revealed.

The present study fills a gap about the way power abuse is represented and what linguistic resources are drawn upon in such a practice as it is crucial that a critical analysis of discourse should give an account of how power abuse is enacted, reproduced and legitimated by text and talk as social power involves influencing the minds of the recipients and their knowledge and attitudes (van Dijk, 2013). If such an influence is achieved by manipulation or false argument, then power is abused via manipulating the mental models of the recipient (ibid: 85) who happens to lack the sufficient information to resist manipulation (van Dijk, 2006). The key research questions addressed in this study can be summarised as follows: 1) how power abuse underpins the way an utterance or claim is constructed and structured? On which discourse levels? 2) What forms does it take such as abusing persons via emotions such as accusation, threatening, reinterpreting their utterances basing such interpretation on false premises?

2. Literature Review

The notion of power abuse can be approached through defining power itself. Power can be defined as the ability of an individual to influence the behaviour of others- against their will (Chiang, 2015: 1) which means that it is 'associated with competition at best, coercion or domination at worst' (Karlberg, 2005). Domination as an aspect of power involves control of resources such as media and economy and may lead to oppression (Chiang, 2005).

The available literature is mainly concerned with power as a social concept related to identity and ideology with little or no reference to what power abuse is and how it is exercised and represented in text and talk. Power abuse may be exercised when arguments are based on false premises and manipulative or coercive attempts. Karlberg (2005: 1) introduced the concept of 'discourse intervention' signifying the effort of changing reality by changing the discourses constituting that reality. Eltanskaya, *et. al.* (2018) state that power is cognitive (creating linguistic interpretation of the world), sociolinguistic (related to social status employed by participants with higher status), and pragmatic (related to the intentional aspect of communication) category. Power abuse can be characterised similarly as cognitive when the linguistic interpretations created are based on fallacious arguments, sociolinguistic as people practice control over the media along with other resources to impose a certain representation of reality, and pragmatic as when reality representation and interpretation of the world are stated to serve speakers' self - interest while employing legitimation strategies to persuade the audience of the validity of their claim. This study supports van Dijk's view (2006) that power abuse involves manipulating recipient's knowledge. It further suggests that speakers, by reproducing inequality and racial discourses through aggression, accusation and ban, are subverting mainstream and challenging the existing power structures. Power abuse is an act of influencing others via ideology imposition, coercion and domination and may lead to social and group inequality along with discrimination against others holding different ideologies and attitudes. Thus, power abuse is cognitive as it starts with an attitude towards an object (concept or group) resulting in a social and linguistic discrimination and inequality (US vs. THEM). Consequently, it is a pragmatic act embedded in text and discourse and achieved by imposing attitudes of the powerful via manipulating existing knowledge and ideologies reported by others. Needless to say that power abuse is achieved by argumentation and legitimation of ideas about others sharing different views as inferior to US (See Diagram 1).

Legitimation strategies involve among others emotion (fear, sympathy and guilt), and position (knowledge of something because of the authority invested in their position). Baker, et al (2012) examined the representation of Muslims in the British newspaper and showed that legitimation strategies are employed to justify the representation of Muslims as 'easily offended, alienated, and in conflict with non-Muslims' (Baker, et al 2012, p. 255). Jabir and Al-Maryani (2013) showed the way forms of address and reference in political discourse can manifest relations of power

and solidarity. Again, when such references are represented manipulatively in a context where they serve the speakers' interest, they can function as forms of power abuse. Take for instance the way Trump softens his tone in his Saudi Arabia visit speech which reported the economic benefits that visit achieved after his early speeches against Muslim communities.
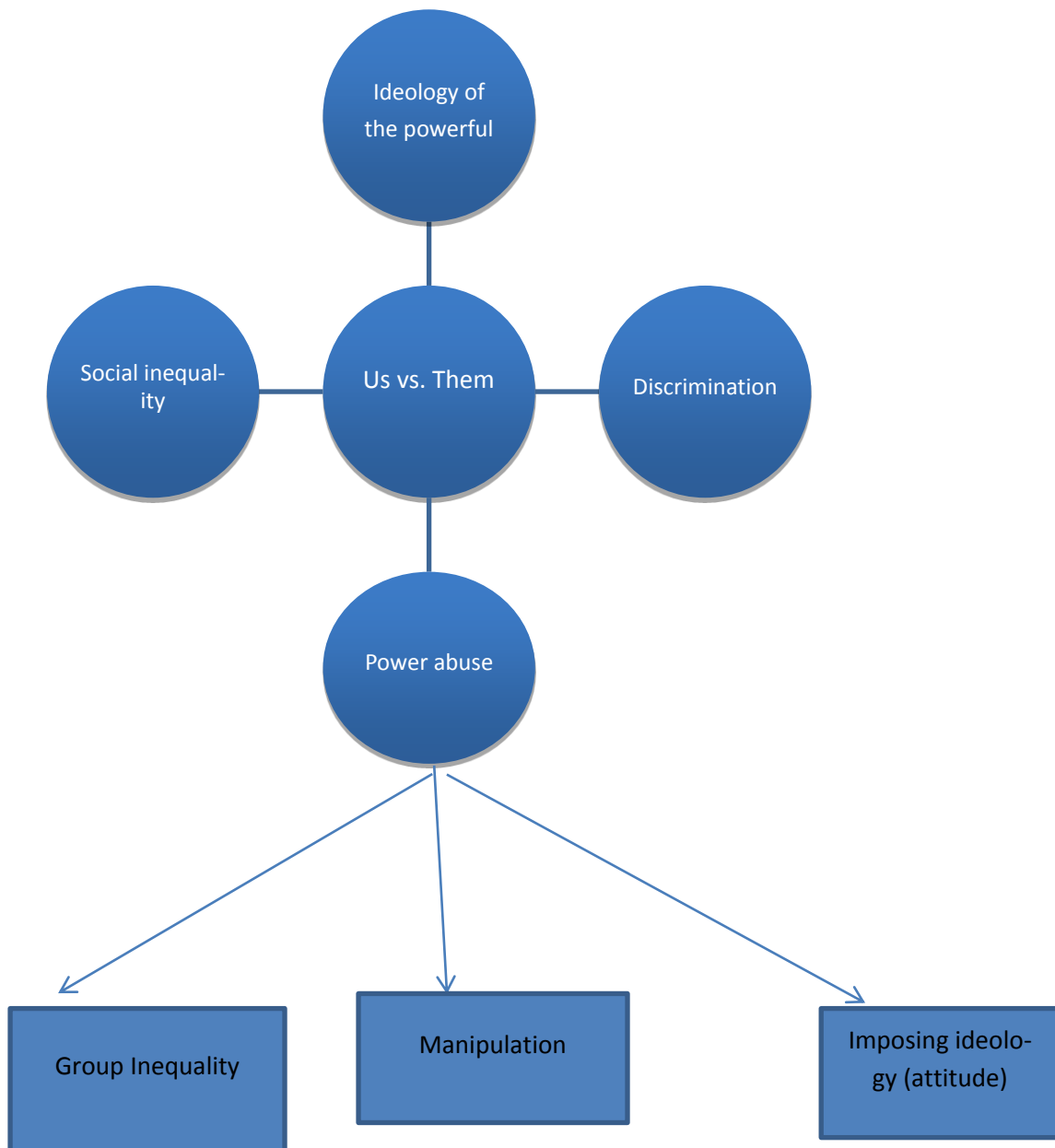

Diagram 1. The nature of power abuse embedded in text and discourse

Emotion is among the legitimation strategies with which discourse and power are associated. Heaney (2013, p. 358) confirms that emotions are 'the means by which the power game is played'; they are constituted through discourses. They strengthen the normative frameworks that affect the way the states should behave (Hutchison, 2016). Huchison and Bleiker (2017) argue that power is essential to comprehending the connection between emotions and discourse since emotions support power structure and the discourses associated with them and they can function as forms of agency that resist or reshape power (Solomon, 2015). Negm (2015) presents an analytical study that shows the connection between practicing power by one participant and feelings of inferiority or inequality experienced by the interlocutor which results in power resistance.   Similarly, affect as an aspect of evaluation 'unleashes emotion from cognition' (Bially Mattern 2014, p. 593) and encompasses feelings, mood, intuition and temperament (Huchison and Bleiker, 2017).

Power is about the ability to create meanings and identities and legitimising the linkage between them (Huchison and Bleiker, 2017). When speakers legitimise the claims so as to create meaning that elicit false interpretation, then power is being abused in this sense via the speakers' access to discourse and media. For example, Holland and Solomon (2014) state that the War on Terror was justified by linking it with good vs. evil discourse that evolves from the deadly terrorist attack of September 11, 2001. Additionally, the term War on Terror is a form of manipulation as it is implicitly contradicting itself because war itself is a form of terror.

The present study aims to uncover the representation of power abuse in the speeches analysed based on tracing contradiction in texts along with manipulation and legitimation strategies adopted to justify speaker's claims and representation of social actors. This study adds to Karlberg's (2005) model of power as domination since it considers manipulation another form of power abuse. Domination in this respect not necessarily refers to the domination of social groups. In this study we deal with the domination of discourse and discourse access when used insincerely to impose an ideology based on false claims. Power, ideology and discourse are connected in social positions endowed with power relations and accordingly ideologies spread and cultivate. Fairclough (2000, p. 23) states that discourse can constitute, reproduce, and transform social relations of power and domination (power abuse).

The available literature emphasises the language/power relation where language is a context for power and power resistance and the literature reviewed so far provides little or no account of the local textual feature reflecting the abuse of power exercised. Therefore, to fill this gap, the present study seeks to answer the research questions stated previously and to contribute to the available knowledge in providing a comprehensive account of power abuse as a social phenomenon exercised among social groups and actors.

2. Theoretical Framework

Power and power abuse are contextual factors; therefore, their representation in discourse cannot be explained by one theoretical perspective. To develop multiple perspectives on a phenomenon under scrutiny, the researcher uses more than one theoret-

ical stance -theoretical triangulation (Denzin 1970, p. 472). Thus, this study is an interdisciplinary one triangulating theoretical frameworks in critical stylistics, and critical CDA. Drawing on Jeffries' (2010) model of naming and nominalisation, the study attempts to highlight contradictions and inconsistencies in presenting social actors. It draws upon the discourse-historical approach in adhering to the notion of critique as a socio-political orientation of critical theory (Wodak 2001, p. 32-35). Starting from searching for inconsistencies in the discourse internal structure, the study examines the manipulative strategies making use of contextual knowledge attempting to highlight the linguistic resources drawn upon while practicing power abuse. Below is a clear overview of how CDA tools are incorporated within the critical stylistic model.

In this study, Jefferies' tool of naming and nominalization is utilised to investigate the way social actors are referred to and the way arguments are presented to legitimize the labels attached. In support of this model, the researcher draws upon van Lewueen's model (2007) of social actors' representation to account for membership categorisation devices. Predication strategies are studied via examining the discursive qualification of actors via stereotypical and evaluative attribution of positive and negative forms of adjectives (emphasizing inconsistencies and contradictions) where fallacies are concealed via argumentation. Discourse representation for expressing involvement or distance is accounted for similarly via employing Leech and Short's (2007) framework. Analysing such devices is achieved in the light of van Dijk epistemic discourse analysis where the knowledge of the world affects a great deal of what the text implicitly involves. So, the researcher has adopted Jeffries' contextual tool (naming and describing) to investigate the presentation of Muslims from the point of view of social actor and in support of van Lewueen's model, and used Leech and Short's discourse representation to account for the way Trump represents Other political opponent via reporting their speech and stance about his policies against Muslims. This way, we can have a comprehensive account of how Trump has abused power in manipulating the audience's mental models.

The texts have been examined from different theoretical perspectives. The researcher applies a mixture of linguistic approaches springing from critical stylistic and critical discourse tools as inspired by the discourse historical approach through which selected texts are examined for contradictions, inconsistencies and manipulation which involves power abuse (van Dijk 2006, p. 359-360). The applicability of the framework is useful since power abuse involves manipulation of what the speaker knows and communicates to the audience.

3. Methodology

This study presents an interdisciplinary qualitative analysis of selected speeches of Donald Trump. The selection of the texts is driven mainly by the topic of the speech where Islam and terrorist attacks are reflected on. This is a small-scale study that consists of five texts with topics related to Radical Islam and the age of terror, remarks on foreign policy, Orelando shooting, Saudi Arabia speech, and Travel ban ruling. They are supposed to form a sub-corpus of Trump's speeches as they are chosen out of a larger corpus of Trump speeches (440.000 words beginning with his acceptance

speech and up to the election) collected at The Grammar Lab website (Brown, 2017). Basically, the researcher used the node *Islam* for searching the corpus and the search yielded the texts identified earlier. Later, the researcher ensured that the sub-texts are selected on the basis of certain parameters delineating a specialised corpus as outlined by (Flowerdew, 2004b: 21):

1. Specific purpose for compilation, e.g., to examine a grammatical or lexical word.
2. Contextualisation, e.g., particular setting, participants, communicative purpose
3. Genre, e.g. political
4. Types of texts/discourse, e.g., casual conversation, monologue.
5. Subject matter/topic, e.g., economy
6. Variety of English, e.g., Learner English

The first two of these points relate more to the interest of the researcher and the research aims, while the others more closely relate to the nature of the texts included in the corpus. The genre is political discourse, and the text types are monologues.

Running a number of statistical tests, Biber (1990) found that linguistic tendencies are to some extent stable with five texts (cited in Koester, 2010: 70). Thus, the Trump Corpus consists of five texts. See below:

Table 1 Trump Corpus designed for the present study

No.	Text Title	Word Count
1.	Foreign Policy speech	4.751
2.	National Security Speech	3,022
3.	Radical Islam and the Age of Terror	3.969
4.	Saudi Arabia Visit Speech	3.635
5.	Shooting Gay Club in Orelando	4.220
Total	Trump Corpus	19.597

As the table shows, titles of the texts are miscellaneous because:

1. The researcher aimed to choose speeches where reference to Islam or Muslims is made on different occasions to best view how such representations are abused driven by one's ideology,

2. It is hypothesized that the tone of speech whether harsh or soft is influenced to an extent by contextual background.

3. The researcher used these topics to correspond to the 'external' (McEnery, et al. 2006, p. 14) or the 'situational' (Biber 1993, p. 243) criteria of corpus design as they enable the researcher to choose texts according to subject matter rather than on the distribution of certain linguistic features.

4. Following (Adel 2010, p. 602), topics can be a practical choice for sampling the corpus. The researcher ensures that complete speeches are chosen, rather than trying to build equally-sized samples.

This sample of texts can thus be representative of the way social groups and individuals are labelled in relation to their acts, policies and decisions. We can see how such representation varies in different textual contexts. Regarding the analysis, a qualitative approach is adopted. The texts were read and re-read to identify the linguistic environment in which social groups are named and the labels are argued for. Each extract is analysed in relation to knowledge strategies introduced in van Dijk's (2011) model of critical epistemic discourse analysis since it focuses on the way knowledge is abused and how knowledge of the discourse recipient is manipulated (p. 36). Knowledge is one aspect of power so when knowledge is abused or manipulated then power is abused and reflected in discourse.

4. Analysis

Following Breeze (2018), the researcher starts the analysis with investigating naming and labelling strategies in Trump's discourse as this is crucial in the ideological basis of any discourse (van Leeuwen , 2008). The word 'representation' refers to the construction of word meanings in the linguistic contexts where they are used (Törnberg & Törnberg 2016, p. 132). Nominalising social actors and their representation is a useful starting point towards examining how such representation is legitimated whether applying argumentation or manipulation devices.

Within naming a social group e.g. Islam or Muslims, Trump's discourse exhibits a number of instances where the reference of the proposed meaning is 'abused' i.e., represented with a shift in the reference or the implied meaning. Fairclough (2001, p. 106) names such linguistic acts 'abuse' in discussing the shift in the reference of pronouns (see 3.4 below). The study reveals that, within these elements, Trump refers to people whose actions and representations are part of the mental models of the recipient. In support of this, van Dijk (2011, p.30) states 'We understand a text if we are able to construe or update a mental model for it.' It is within such subjective representations that certain goals are achieved and manipulation is practised. Following Ponton (2007, p. 13), the researcher uses the term (abuse) to refer to the '(ab) normal' use of the meaning of the word. That is, where the meaning or the referent of the word is semantically twisted to reveal or hide significant information in representing social groups, to manipulate the audience and serve the speaker's interests.

4.1 Noun/ Nominalisation (ab)use

Reference to (radical) Islam, Muslims, Muslim communities and Muslim world are taken by the researcher as a starting point towards tracing instances of power abuse and manipulation in Trump speeches. Thus, the present analysis focuses on presenting the different interpretations and what ideological meaning or reference to ideological stance such naming could imply. Naming covers a number of linguistic practices one of which is the choice of nouns with obvious ideological potential implying negative or positive connotations. For example, Trump refers to Islam as 'radical Islam/ radical

terrorist Islam'. Cases of noun modifications such as these are 'packaging up some-thing named by the nominal element and listeners are not encouraged, by such a struc-ture, to question the relationship between the parts of that structure' (Jeffries 2010, p. 22). For example, the following extract is from Trump's remarks on Orelando shoot-ing where the whole 'Islam' is represented by the act of the part 'individual' being identified as terrorist modified by the adjective *Islam*. This example presents the ar-gument with evident double-standards where the relationship among the parts of the structure is questionable. See below:

1. **'Many principles of radical Islam are incompatible with Western values and institutions. Remember this, radical Islam is anti-woman, anti-gay and anti-American'** [Orelando Shooting]

This example involves noun modification employed to hide ideologies, attitudes and justify fallacious arguments of planned policies. Starting with the nominalised entity *radical Islam*, the adjectival premodification endows an intensive relation to the NP; that is, 'Islam is radical' which implies the proposition 'Muslims hold radical views' have ideological effect. The head of the NP in *principles of radical Islam* does not constitute the predicate or the proposition of the sentence but presupposes that *principles* exist and are in connection to radical Islam and Muslims. The auxiliary *is,* in both sentences, is essential for the proposition which is seen as the assertion of the relationship between the named entities *radical Islam* and *Western values* held by *Americans.* It tells the audience 'how the nominals relate to each other' (Jeffries 2010, p. 21).

Thus, the nominalisation implies the activation of Islam-and presumably people adopting Islam as religion and the implied presupposition is that Muslims are 'holding views not shared by many' where Muslims are coded as actors in the material process 'hold' and are presented as the active dynamic force in 'radicalisation'. Such an im-plication is achieved through impersonalising Muslims by the use of common noun 'Islam', that is, Muslims are implicitly represented by means of reference to a thing or place closely associated either with their person or with the action in which they are represented (van Leeuwen 2007, p. 46).

The proposition is expressed with epistemic modality implying its certainty and negative evaluation and/or connotation. It is fallacious as it breaches Grice's maxims for being false and lacking evidence as women in Western societies are seeking out for rights and homosexuality is not rejected by Islam only. This speech is presented in an attempt to legitimise the Muslim ban policy which was subject to criticism by many. The abuse of power is reflected in the fallacious argument presenting Muslim as anti-western values contradicts with the fact that in Western societies people are seeking rights including gays and women. Thus, employing epistemic modality in-volves uncovered ideological contradictions which may encourage the audience to accept ideas open to debates.

In drawing the boundaries between US and THEM, Trump shows US as a good will side and Muslims as the evil axis showing no appreciation for the US sacrifice. See below:

2. 'we're going to be working very closely with our allies in the Muslim world, all of which are at risk from radical Islamic violence, attacks and everything else. It is a dangerous world, more dangerous now than it has ever been…And remember, us and all we're doing, <u>they have to appreciate</u> what we've done to them. We're going to <u>help,</u> <u>but they have to appreciate</u> what we've done for them.' [Foreign policy Remarks]

There is a representation of place as a starting point towards representing allies and contributes to exclusion and inclusion strategies. Ideas of the place, and 'us' require a dividing line with the other (Passi 2001, p. 10). Here, Trump presents his altruistic actions with epistemic stance towards future implications. First, we need to examine the nominalisation *our allies in the Muslim World* and the way it is represented in the rest of the extract. The prepositional phrase with the adjective *Muslim* following the noun *allies* indicates that these allies are Muslims and the semantic implication of the word *ally* refers to one that is associated with another as assistance provider in an ongoing effort, activity, or struggle. The phrase is followed by a follow-up representation of allies as victims of *Islamic violence* in a relative clause qualifying the head noun. According to Jeffries (2010, p. 24) relative clauses in such contexts are 'not open to easy questioning' but here it highlights the negative representation of the allies as ungrateful.

Trump is making sense of self via attributing meanings to the *Muslim World* describing it as *a dangerous world* to contrast between the 'home' and 'the foreign' (Benwel and Stokeo, 2006, p. 212). Here, the Muslim space is saturated with meanings of violence and danger attached to meanings and ideas of 'otherness' to justify the inclusion and exclusion of particular categories of people. Categories 'allies' are identified as who they are in terms of where they are, i.e. allies described as immoral occupying a dangerous place. Supporting this view, Taylor (2003, p. 201) claims that describing a place involves 'implications for the identity of a person who claims to be or not of that place, or…to be the kind of person who belongs there or the kind who does not.'

Accordingly, Trump uses the pronoun *They* to refer to those allies in a context where they are evaluated negatively in <u>*They must be good to us*</u> casting a moral dimension to the representation of the quality of the place. Here, the boundaries between US and THEM are clearly highlighted as the opposite of *good* is bad. Therefore the evaluation shifts from positive into negative which indicates (ab)use of the meaning of the word *allies*. Then another phrase is repeated twice, *They have to appreciate,* where the deontic expression preceding the verb *appreciate* has its effect on the positive representation of *allies* implying that they do not appreciate.

The words *closely* and *our allies* indicate the shortened political distance between America and the allies in the *Muslim World*. Contradictingly, this supposedly close

cooperation is followed by evaluative implied presupposition describing *they* referring back to *our allies*. Deontic *should* emphasizes the evaluation that the agent is not 'good' and does not 'appreciate' in a context where the US are presented as people of morals helping others who are anaphorically referred to by *in the region* denoting a spatial identity of *the Muslim world*. Trump employs scapegoating strategy describing *our allies* as anti-moral. Within the same extract we have the verb *help* whose semantic meaning is twisted to hide information that contradicts the claims presented by Trump. This is an instance of **verb (ab)use** evident in *We're going to <u>help,</u> <u>but they</u> <u>have to appreciate.</u>* The meaning of *help* means provide support without expecting something in return other than appreciation. This is further evident in two extracts from the same speech where Trump clearly admits that America is going to fight against terrorists and defend their *allies* but for money which leads to twisting the meaning of *appreciate* into 'pay'. See the extract below from Trump's speech on Foreign policy remarks:

The countries we are defending must pay for the cost of this defence, and if not, the U.S. must be prepared to let these countries defend themselves. We have no choice.

This strategy is further evidenced in the following example:

3. **'We have to form a partnership, with <u>our Muslim communities</u>. We have Muslim <u>communities in this country that are great</u>, … <u>They have to coop-</u> <u>erate with law enforcement</u> and <u>turn in the people who they know are</u> <u>bad.</u> <u>They know it…</u> They know what's going on**.' **[Orelando Shooting]**

 The word *Muslim(s)* is abused in the context of this extract as it is presented twice ones with positive evaluation *great*. This praise is followed by repeated deontic expressions *have to* with *Muslim communities* as agents of the verbs in the predicate *know*, *cooperate* and *work.* The mental verb *know* involves an evaluative proposition indicating Trump's stance towards those communities and his certainty that (someone/something is X). Basically, Trump uses the verb to accuse and criminalize Muslim communities in an overgeneralising proposition that all members in those communities side with terror. Trump's assertive statements *They know it* lacks evidence and breaches the quality maxim. Using the epistemic stance linguistically resourced with the verb *know* here emphasizes the truthfulness of the claim and produces manipulative effect in proving Trump's point. As for *work* and *cooperate*, they are used in a context where their agent (Them) is represented as avoiding cooperation with (US) and as predicates these verbs are used to communicate a proposition that contradicts with the evaluation presented earlier via *great*.

Under this category, we can list a strategy of noun abuse. In such a case, the reference of nouns is implicitly accommodated in a way that results in a change in its semantic meaning and in the way they are used to represent social groups. Look at the way the words *mosque* and *an immigrant* are used in the following extract:

4. ' **the controversial mosque attended by Boston bombers had at its founder an immigrant from overseas charged in an assassination plot'** [Orelando Shooting]

The controversial mosque attended by Boston bombers is 'packaging up' information that that can be the content of the proposition when saying *Boston bombers attended a mosque founded by immigrant.* Using the NP modification in this structure enables the speaker to introduce an evaluative element via the adjective *controversial* modifying the head noun and the prepositional phrase *by Boston bombers.* This example represents the text producer's attempt to initiate fear and threat by violating the maxim of relevance to mislead the audience. The nouns are used abusively in a context where their semantic proposition is accommodated in favour of Trump's argument. Firstly, *'mosque'* mentioned as a form of objectivation in reference to which Muslims and /or Boston Bombers are impersonalised and the action is represented as the cause of the place associated with the bombers. The noun itself is foregrounded in an agent position to arouse emotions of fear against people attending mosques. In this case, the social actors '…are represented by means of reference to a place closely associated either with their person or with the action in which they are represented as being engaged' (van Leeuwen 2007, p. 46). Secondly, *an immigrant* is further impersonalised in relation to 'mosque'. According to van Leeuwen (2007, p. 47), such strategy can **supposedly** [my emphasis] background the identity and / or role of social actors', but here it appears to highlight the identity or the role associated with *its founder* as the founder is in an intensive relationship with the subject *mosque* via *had* . Here, the impersonalisation highlighted the emphasis on the identity of the founder. The argument is fallacious because the *mosque* and its founder, regardless of being an immigrant, are not responsible for the actions of its attenders. It clearly breaches Grice maxims as there is no clear evidence that the acts are supported by *mosque* which is not necessarily responsible for its attender's acts. In such case the mental models are utilized to manipulate the discourse about specific events in relation to general socially shared knowledge about the same event.

4.2 Adjective (Ab)use

Such an abuse occurs when the speaker employs an unnecessary use of adjectives where more than the required information is expressed or when the same adjective is used in two different contexts with contradicting evaluation. In addition to the instance where adjectives are abused in modifying position provided in 4.1, this section involves examples where adjectives are used in co-texts with contradicting evaluation: Positive and negative which may indicate Trump's doublestandarisation.

In the following example, *Afghan* is used once with positive evaluation and the other with a negative one. The positive use of a supposedly negative adjective to legitimise his Muslim ban policy through which he overgeneralises that Afghanis are terrorist then the contradiction arise as he softens his tone in the Saudi Arabia visit Speech where he says

5. **'Our courageous afghan soldiers are making tremendous sacrifices in the fight against Taliban and others for their country'**   [Saudi Arabia Speech]

In this example, three components are brought together: person (social group), modality (epistemic certainty) and the semantic aspects of the word meaning (evaluation and connotation). *Afghan* is pre-modified by an evaluative adjective *courageous* and more exaggeratingly the inclusive possessive pronoun *our* which erase the boundaries between US and THEM. In this speech, he reports the benefits of his visit which resulted in signing an agreement that will 'invest… and create hundreds of thousands of jobs'. Thus, Trump's self-contradiction is evident in many instances, one of which is his use of the word *Afghan* positively in this speech and embracing the Saudi and Muslim tradition. Contrastingly, the same adjective is used with negative implication and its connotative meaning is 'terrorist'. Here, we have an obvious statement describing what the case is by using lexical items of evaluation *courageous, tremendous sacrifices* which denotes Trump's viewpoint via words with positive or negative connotation. The example below provides further examination of adjective (ab)use.

6. **' a radical Islamic terrorist targeted the nightclub, not only because he wanted to kill Americans, but in order to execute gay and lesbian citizens, because of their sexual orientation.   {Orelando Shooting}**

Here, we can decode the name into 'radical terrorist' and 'Islamic terrorist' to reveal the relationship between these parts. Assuming that Trump does not hold negative attitude towards Muslims in general but only against what he calls 'radical Islam', the proposition in the first 'radical terrorist' is illogical and provides more information than the required since being a terrorist involves holding radical views. The second proposition 'Islamic terrorist' implies that *terrorism is Islamic* where the identity is placed in the position of predicate. The intensive relationship between the two entities 'Islamic' and 'terrorist' implies that the information content of the structure is precisely that of the relationship between Islam and its feature 'terrorism'. In such cases, it is obvious that the NP is constructed with a modifier to further determine the nature of the referent- terrorism describes the nature of Islam. Thus, his ideology against Islam is underpinned in structures such as the one discussed here.

In the following extract, Trump attempts to represent Afghans with negative shading of modality as terrorists. The adjective ab(use) lies connotatively in overgeneralising the view (as in the example below) that following *oppressive* Sharia law means terrorism and since 99 percent of people in Afghanistan are supporting Sharia law then the conclusion is *Afghans are terrorists*.

7. **According to Pew Research, 99 percent of the people in Afghanistan support oppressive sharia law. We <u>admit many more</u>, and that's just the way it is. <u>We admit many more</u> from other countries in the region. And I'll tell you what: <u>They share these oppressive views and values.</u> [Orelando Shooting]**

In this extract, Trump appeals to the authority of experts and facts along with reporting numbers and estimates *99 percent*. Mentioning a high percentage here has double legitimating functions: it is reported by a supposedly trusted source. Second, it arouses emotions of fear via mentioning the number of Afghani people admitted to the US. The fear is further highlighted as Trump produces three follow- up statements: all the 99 percent support Sariah Law (implicitly killing Americans) and 'We admit <u>many more</u> ...'. The verbs *share* and *support*' in their affirmative sentence structure reflects the epistemic stance presenting the premises implied as facts. Power and knowledge abuse are evident in the way Trump communicates his propositions in the sentence *'According to Pew Research, ...'* The ideological impact of using voice of authority with epistemic modality elevates the certainty of Trump's stance in *We admit many more*. He presents facts in this sentence through a trusted source but the follow-up statements towards Afghanis are presented as though springing from the same source. This is another instance where speech representation being abused by following-up the speech with statements that serves one's own interests [see section 4.4]. Trump's overgeneralisation about Afghani people contradicts with his stance expressed in the preceding example 'Our Afghani soldiers…'. The discussion presented so far illustrates Trump's attempts to manipulate the semantic grouping of *Afghan* (once positive, then negative serving self-interest).

4.3 Pronoun (Ab) use

This is an analytical tool in CDA studies (Fairclough 2001, p. 106; Chilton and Schäffner 1997, p. 218). van Dijk (1998, p. 203) believed that pronouns, among many other syntactic features, "are perhaps the best known grammatical category of the expression and manipulation of social relations, status and power, and hence of underlying ideologies". Speakers fluently shift the reference of the agent of their evaluated actions obtaining subtle rhetorical effects. Consider the reference of *we* below,

8. **'<u>We</u> are a humanitarian nation, but the legacy of the Obama-Clinton administration interventions will be weakness, confusion and disarray, a mess. <u>We</u>'ve made the Middle East unstable…. <u>We</u> left Christians subject to intense persecution and even genocide.'**   **[Foreign Policy]**

Two strategies are involved: Trump blames the other (addressee) for what happens in another side of the world; a ploy that enhances the rhetorical effect of making the public vote for him and which involves the second strategy of warning (speech act). Trump draws a line between the administration (Obama/Clinton) and US represented by the collective pronoun *WE* to highlight their faulty policy. In the first sentence, there is an intensive relation between *We* and the pre modifying adjective of *nation*. Then the two references unite via the collective pronoun indicating a shared responsibility among us, nation and public. Firstly, a difference is highlighted between a 'humanitarian nation' including the public from the administration (supposedly far from being humanitarian). Secondly, a contradiction arises where *we* (nation /public) are held the responsibility for the negatively evaluated action implicitly because of voting

for the Obama/Clinton administration. These entities are represented as the agent of abandoning a social group to terror in an area outside the US. There are two implicit speech acts involved: the first is that of requesting the public not to vote for the same administration for not repeating the same mistake and the second is accusing the public of making an unfair decision. I call this strategy 'collective self-criminalisation' where the speaker uses the power of discourse endowed by his social role to manipulate the knowledge of the audience by changing their attitude towards themselves and/or by arousing the feeling of guilt via enhancing their negative evaluation for themselves. It can be used for legitimating the speaker's own claim through emotions (van Leeuwen, 2007).

4.4 Speech (act) Representation (ab)use

Speakers may represent one's own speech or that of the other in a fallacious argument in an attempt to highlight the evidentiality of their claim. Speech can be represented with negative evaluation of its content plus the speaker's since words can have positively or negatively evaluative meaning depending on the context with which they are associated, i.e, 'both the meanings of individual words (…because of their association with familiar contexts) and the combinations into which we can put them are given to us by previous speakers traces of whose voices and contexts cling inevitably to them' (Tannen 2007, p. 103). In this section, the researcher intends to analyse how discourse is represented 'abusively' i.e. when speakers intend to use it within a context where it loses its original content and/or meaning. In support of this, Bakhatin (1975/1981, p. 340) observes 'The speech of another person enclosed in a context –is no matter how accurately transmitted- always subject to certain semantic changes' [cited in ibid]. The following extract provides an example of speech, speech act and direct speech being used manipulatively or abusively.

9. **'Hillary Clinton explained her refusal to say the word 'radical Islam'. Here is what she said, exact quote. 'Muslims are peaceful and tolerant people and have nothing to do with terrorism. That is Hillary Clinton'**   [Orelando Shooting]

The report is about Hillary's refusal feeds the public mood of suspicion of Hillary as being supportive of Radical Islamist views. In this extract, *explained* is in an indirect way of representing speech as the word implies backgrounding the exact content of the report. Yet the explanation is provided in a direct quote but not the exact quote uttered in the original context of refusal. The words *exact quote* implies a claim to represent 'faithfully' Hillary's words. Consulting the original text where the quote is contextualised, we see that the quote is recontextualised smartly in a context that shows Hillary supporting Muslims (according to the mental models of Americans 'terrorist'). The original context clearly indicates that Hillary, in her address to the National security, confirms 'we are in a contest of ideas against an ideology of hate… repeating the specific words 'radical Islam' is not just a distraction, it gives these criminals, these murderers more standing than they deserve'. Hilary's original quote is replaced by another quote which not the *exact quote* as Trump claims. Obviously, the quote has been recontextualised and recipients are not aware of what

comes before and afterwards. Jeffries (2010, p. 131) indicates that such contextuali-sation is a way of speakers' attempt to exploit their power over other's speech representation and the abuse of such attempt may go easily unnoticed (2010, p. 133).

The reported discourse in *Hillary Clinton explained her refusal to say the word 'radical Islam',* involves three named entities with three speech act verbs. The proposition asserts that Hillary and her statement had a particular relationship defined by the verbalisation process *explained* and the verbiage *refusal to say.* The proposition asserts that Hillary *explained* something but there are other reports implied which can be spelled out:

- Hillary refuses to consider Islam as radical because she believes the contrary
- Hillary avoids (not refuses) saying Islam is radical to avoid criminalising all Muslims or some other reason.

The above − listed reports are the implication for using the ideologically-laden expression *explained her refusal to say* where the construction of the noun phrase itself contributes to the ideological impact of the sentence. Nominalisation of the performative verb *refuse* enables listeners to see the event entirely from the speaker's perspective. Trump here uses the direct quote, presumably reporting the exact content, to distract audience from the main argument in the original text by detaching it from its original context. Therefore, knowledge here is presupposed not asserted or expressed. The discussion presented shows that the recipient's knowledge is manipulated by accusing Hillary of supporting Muslims. Hence, Trump accommodates the report as if it were generally known and asserted. Here, the implications of knowledge are inconsistent with Trump's interests so they are left implicit as discussed by Kadmon (2001).

4.6 Adverb (Ab) use

This is a case where adverbs are placed in a context where their temporal reference is modified to meet the speaker's interest. An obvious example is the use of the adverb *recently* in the following example:

10. **The common thread linking the major Islamic terrorist attacks that have recently occurred on our soil -9/11, the Ft. Hood shooting, the Boston bombing, the San Bernardino attack, the Orlando attack is that they have involved immigrants or the children of immigrants'** [Understanding The Threat: Radical Islam And The Age of Terror]

Recently is basically a circumstance adverb but in this context Trump is using it taking an evaluative stance towards the 9/11 event representing it as close to the present time. Here, it introduces a list starting with an event dating back to 15 years at the time of speaking although the rest of the list involves recent events. Obviously, the list is presented as an emotional trigger to arouse emotions of fear in support of Trump's self-interest. According to Jeffries (2010, p. 69), whenever exemplification appears in texts ' there is always a list involved in these textual practices' which need to be 'made up of a set of similar structures.' Here, 9/11 does not match the other items in the list not only because of its being numerical but also in its time reference as the other items are recent but not the 9/11 attack. Thus, the adverb communicates the

speaker's judgment of the event to stamp his personal authority and his argument. This finding supports Camiciottoli (2013, p. 61) statement that adverbs and pre-modification of an adjective (e.g. very good, rather recently) can be used as upscaling/downscaling of qualities of a certain event or action.

Here, Trump links the past with the present through the (ab)use of the adverb *recently* which introduces a past but still scary event 9-11 placed in a relative clause to connect the subject *Islamic attacks* with the predicate *involved immigrant or children of immigrant*. This strategy is called legitimation by hypothetical future (van Leeuwen 2007) with a fearful image to support Trump's claim. Here, the threats might emphasize the speaker's viewpoint; however, it does not necessarily reflect reality. In many cases this viewpoint is based on a distorted version of facts. According to van Leeuwen (2007) a hypothetical future is represented by mentioning a past event (in this case 9-11) and showing that it led to the present event (the rest of the 'recent' events) and highlighting that if the cause of the events is not treated with power then the consequence will be more fatal events in the future. In this example, *Recently* is used with a past event to arouse emotions of fear indicating that scary event is not very far from the present ones. Such an ab(use) indicates the necessity of taking an action otherwise the recipients will stay living their 'present' suffering.

In conclusion, it is evident that strategies of power abuse in discourse involve 'abusing' the semantic proposition indicated by the meaning of the lexical and/ or grammatical words uttered in different context showing inconsistencies or contradictions in texts and drawing upon epistemic knowledge with manipulating the metal models of the recipients.

5. Discussion

This study has shown that power abuse, as a global contextual property, can be reflected in an intricate unite of several forms of talk-in-interaction seen as local textual roots. The study suggests a simple approach for the scrutiny of power abuse as a social phenomenon.

Starting with naming and nominalisation, the findings show that noun modification can involve dense ideological propositions. In referring to Radical Islam and its principles, the study shows that predicates in assertive expressions reflects acts attributed to the named entity and further intensify the existence of the relationship among them. When the relation implied in nominalised expression is based on false premises or lacks evidence, it breaches Grice maxims of quality to manipulate the recipient's knowledge. Therefore, we can say that the text producer is exercising power abuse for manipulating the audience's mental models. Additionally, assertive statements with predicates attributed to the named entity in a context enhancing the truthfulness of the proposition in support of the speaker's claim is another strategy of power abuse. Goffman, (2008, p. 17) claims that by breaching and violating quality or expressing irrelevance, speakers tend to prove their points, support their claims and preserve their self-images. In support of this, the study provides an instance where the relevance maxim is violated in referring to *mosque* to mislead the counterparts (Grice, 2004, p.49) to achieve the same goal stated earlier. Furthermore, the study provides

evidence that nominalisation of speech acts can produce an ideological effect and in-directly impose formation of the attitude by the recipient as intended by the text pro-ducer. Another strategy of power abuse is by appealing to the voice of authority and experts in factual reports and attaching the speaker's follow-up commentary to it to elevate the certainty of one's claim. This is a rhetorical strategy that can naturalise the speaker's point of view towards named entities in the same linguistic context as the speaker performs an assertive that is not accepted by the listener at face value (van Eemeren, et al, 2007, p.28).

Additionally, power abuse can be employed through manipulating pronoun refer-ence in discourse especially with the use of WE inclusively and /or exclusively. Sev-eral studies (Wilson 1990, Beard 2000) have shown that WE is used to produce a per-suasive discourse showing the audience the necessity of certain policies and decisions and enhancing the power of legitimating claims. As for the present research, it adds to the available literature via contributing a unique insight into the use of pronouns in exercising power abuse strategies such as criminalising whether of self or the other, scapegoating, …etc. Similar attempts of power abuse are applied to other parts of speech such as verbs, adjectives and adverbs. The study has spotted instances where the verbal semantic proposition is twisted to meet self-interest and the researcher has shown how this twist results in contradictions in discourse, which is called by Wodak (2009) as the notion of critique in conducting a critical discourse study. Similarly, contradiction in one's discourse can result in referring to an attribute through adjec-tives denoting identity, evaluation or stance in two contradicting contexts. Adjectives can also be (ab)used when pre-modifying nouns or nominalised entities with similar contradicting effects.

The study has shown that quoting others out of context or recontextualising oth-er's speech in a context where it is attached to a different proposition or speech is a kind of power abuse as it is aimed at manipulating recipient's knowledge and it in-volves using the power to represent other's ideologies manipulatively. The study con-tributes to the existing literature in adding an instance where a speaker may manipu-late the words of others 'to some kind of ideological purpose' a gap highlighted by Jeffries (2010, p. 131). Ab(use) of speech representation especially when preceded by the speaker's evaluation of his own report as 'exact quote' is significantly manipula-tive as it is a deceptive strategy indicating that the speakers is achieving high level of 'faithfulness.'

6. Conclusion

Findings of the present study show that Trump's speeches present the features of ideological discourse as they involve positive and negative presentation which is pre-sumably of a legitimating function.

This study attempts to uncover how the supposedly-legitimate ideological argu-ments are illegitimate by highlighting the linguistic features in which Trump's argu-ments are illegitimate as they involve manipulation of the recipient knowledge (men-

tal models). The study contributes to the available knowledge by filling the gap of examining power abuse and its representation in text and talk.

Furthermore, strategies presented in this study can be a starting point towards investigating coercion in discourse as these linguistic choices are designed to achieve cognitive effects due to their manipulative function in the contexts where they are used. They originate with the speaker's intent to influence the recipient's beliefs and attitudes to forward a given representation of reality based on the senders' exploitation of the position of power together with their privileged resources to magnify the effect on the receivers.

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