

Loved or Hated but Difficult to Ignore: Donald Trump's Image in the U.S. Press during the 2016 Presidential Campaign

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ABSTRAKT

Hlavním cílem této bakalářské práce je analýza pověsti Donalda Trumpa coby kandidáta na amerického prezidenta v období prezidentské volební kampaně roku 2016. Pověst byla analyzována na základě analýzy diskurzu jednotlivých úryvků z amerického tisku. Teoretická část práce se věnuje termínům a konceptům, jako je diskurz, jeho analýza, kontext, normy textuality a neverbální komunikace, na které navazují koncepty ideologie a moci v rámci politického diskurzu jako prostředku vlivu, který je tvořen tropy a lexikálními i pragmatickými prostředky. Teorie je doplněna kapitolami shrnujícími americký tisk a politické i podnikatelské pozadí Donalda Trumpa pro snadné zasazení do kontextu. Závěr práce se soustřeďuje na samotnou analýzu diskurzu článků, které vyšly pod záštitou nejčtenějších amerických seriózních i bulvárních novin a zabírají se tématikou Donalda Trumpa a jeho prezidentské kampaně roku 2016.

Klíčová slova: Donald Trump, tisk, media, analýza diskurzu, neverbální komunikace, politika, politická žurnalistika

ABSTRACT

The main objective of this bachelor thesis is to analyze image of Donald Trump during the era of 2016 presidential campaign in the United States by means of discourse analysis of extracts from American press. The theoretical part is devoted to terms and concepts such as discourse and discourse analysis, context, standards of textuality and nonverbal communication, followed by concepts of ideology and power within a political discourse, further examining figures of speech, lexical items and pragmatic units which give basis to the notion of power in language. Theory is complemented by two chapters concerning American press and Donald Trump's political and business background, to introduce the context. Final practical part is focused on discourse analysis of newspaper articles from most read American broadsheets and tabloids covering the topic of Donald Trump's presidential campaign in 2016.

Keywords: Donald Trump, press, media, discourse analysis, nonverbal communication, politics, political journalism

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I hereby declare that the print version of my Bachelor's thesis and the electronic version of my thesis deposited in the IS/STAG system are identical.

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INTRODUCTION

Donald Trump's surprising victory of the 2016 presidential election teaches us that everything we have learned about political campaign marketing was wrong. A shift from sleek traditional political rhetorics to improvised just-in-time speeches evincing impoliteness found the supporters among the American society.

The aim of this bachelor thesis is to analyze image of Donald Trump during the era of 2016 presidential campaign in the United States by conducting a qualitative research of extracts from American broadsheet and tabloid newspapers. The research is carried out by means of discourse analysis of individual articles, with additional respect to nonverbal communication showcased in multimodal elements of the text, such as videos and photos.

The analysis also determines the impact of political inclination of the most read American newspapers on portrayal of Donald Trump as a presidential candidate in particular articles, and rather underestimated issue of populism and strong nationalist standpoints within a current political discourse.

I. THEORY

1 AMERICAN PRESS

Newspapers and magazines represent a source of entertainment, information, education and advertisement. Newspapers are published on regular basis, in most cases daily or weekly, and are widely distributed in multiple copies. History of printed newspaper dates back to the invention of letterpress by Johannes Gutenberg, as he made printing technically possible. Nonetheless, first newspapers were produced no sooner than at the end of seventeenth century in England. Before, monarchs were afraid that high awareness of political happening in a country could lead to unwanted discussions and possible overthrow as a consequence. (Turow 2013, 299-300) Nevertheless, commencement of American newspaper dates back to the nineteenth century, when publishers were represented by small, often family-owned companies. In this particular era, American press comprised 512 newspaper titles, most of them published on weekly basis. Most of the newspaper titles were directly associated with a particular political party and served as a source of arguments against the counter-party. An example of political orientation is the *National Intelligencer* sponsored by Thomas Jefferson, or the *Minerva*, supported by the Federalists' party. (Ibid, 301)

Beginnings of newspaper publishing did not cover political topics until the early eighteenth century when the origin of adversarial press is dated. Adversarial press gave the British-American intellectuals among the colonists a right to argue with a government. As publishing business was interfered by heavy taxation on paper, publishers merged to publish denouncing articles concerning taxation without representation, which led directly to the American Revolutionary War. (Ibid, 300)

As Turow claims, newspapers and magazines were always heavily influenced by political and social stances of the press managers and the culture-specific practices formed the basis of a political discourse. The relationship formed by the politics and the media was described as an existential exchange system, where the media should behave as a not democratically legitimated mediator. Such impact is further elaborated on in analytical part of the thesis. Currently, newspaper business undergoes a shift to the web media, as readers tend to search for information on current issues on the internet first. (Ibid, 299) American press can be further divided into two groups, represented by various newspaper titles: broadsheets and tabloids.

1.1 Broadsheets

Broadsheets represent newspaper as a work of traditional journalism, which is closely connected to the phenomenon of objectivity. The term was derived from the newspaper size, as the format tends to be large. According to Schudson, ideal of objectivity stresses the importance of informativity of press over the sensational storytelling model and resigns on strong political influence of a particular party. First newspaper title to obey the concept was the New York Times, which still remains its initial stance. (Schudson 1978, 3-5) As Schudson further elaborates on the objectivity and subjectivity of press, he argues that certain amount of subjectivity must be employed and is hardly separable from a text production.

Nevertheless, literary critics at the end of the twentieth century required higher complexity and a possibility of free interpretation of an information mediated. (Ibid, 144-145) By following the principles, newspaper titles experienced a smooth shift to a topic specialization, which led to a growth of popularity among high class members, as the content became more valuable and the whole title appeared more conservative. (Ibid, 110) Simultaneously with urbanization, publishing business experienced an expansion to local newspaper titles, which resulted in direct approach of particular communities and narrower audience targeting. (Ibid, 130-131)

Key representatives of American broadsheet titles published across the whole United States are the USA Today, the New York Times, and the Wall Street Journal, arranged according to the circulation rate. Individual broadsheets are analysed in Chapter 6 of the thesis.

1.2 Tabloids

Tabloid newspapers, also referred to as yellow journalism, represent newspaper products characterized by “irresponsible, unethical, and sensational news gathering and exhibition”. (Turow 2013, 307) As opposed to the broadsheets, tabloids perceive entertainment as the main function of journalism. (Schudson 1978, 91) According to Harris, the term was first used in the nineteenth century as a term on the border between media and a drug industry. At that time, tabloid was described as a medium consisting of short sentences and paragraphs, accompanied by various photos. Concerning the size of a paper, tabloids tend to be smaller than broadsheets, usually half size, therefore more similar to the magazine formate. The process of tabloidization is interwoven with a process of globalization and fast access to data. Sources of news are often unchecked and fast to

the detriment of quality of a text. Current tabloid press carries a sensational character. (Harris 2005, 1-5) As Turow argues, the whole process took place as a consequence of heavy competition on the American publishing market. By covering less serious topics, publishers aimed at different target audience which promised wider distribution coverage. (Turow 2013, 307)

In the USA, tabloid press is represented by various titles, for example: the New York Post, the Globe, the National Enquirer, or the National Examiner, ordered according to the number of readers. Articles from top three tabloid titles are further examined in the analytical part of the thesis.

2 DONALD TRUMP, THE BIOGRAPHY

As Donald Trump figures as a common thread of the press extracts analyzed, this chapter briefly summarizes his education, business achievements and political background in order to introduce a context. Donald Trump was born on June 14th, 1946 to Frederick C. and Mary MacLeod Trump in Queens, New York. (Biography 2017) His father was an entrepreneur in a housing business and Trump became his business associate at an early age. (Trump 2015, 65-69)

2.1 Education

At age 13, he joined the New York Military Academy. (Johnston 2016, chap. 1) After graduation in 1964, he continued his studies at the Fordham University that he left two years later. He shifted his main focus to finance at Wharton School of Finance, part of the University of Pennsylvania, which resulted in a degree in economics. (Trump 2015, 76-78)

2.2 Business

By the time he graduated from the college, Trump joined the company of his father, Elizabeth Trump & Son, to follow his path in the real estate business and became a business partner. Firstly, he contributed to the expansion of the holdings by endorsing more progressive financing strategies and acquiring bankrupting competitors. (Trump 2015, chap. 4) Thereafter in 1971, Trump took over the control of the company, changing its name to Trump Organization, just as well as its image and future perspectives. (Trump 2015, 94) Under Trump's lead, the company experienced a shift from efficiency to prestige.

After that, Trump moved the headquarters to Manhattan, as the new location promised more influential contacts and potential. (Trump 2015, chap. 5) In 1973, the family business experienced a tremor with a complaint received by the federal government, accusing the Trumps of "a violation of the Fair Housing Act", part of the Civil Rights Act of 1968. (Biography 2017; The Washington Post 2016) Evidence gathered indicated that both the father and the son committed the offence, as their employees secretly marked the applications with symbol C in order to distinguish the minorities. Nevertheless Donald and Fred Trump were found not guilty as the evidence provided was not sufficient. (Johnston 2016, chap. 1)

In 1974, Trump expanded to the field of commercial real estate, celebrating the reopening of Grand Hyatt as a first success from the field. Subsequently, Trump

Organization obtained the label of luxury and high-end design, for which it got a nationwide attention. (Biography 2017) In the late 70s and the early 80s, Trump took over the gambling businesses, focusing mainly on the location of the Atlantic City. (Trump 2015, chap. 8; Johnston 2016, chap. 6) Currently, Donald Trump lost his last interest in the largest casino of the group due to dissatisfaction of the employees and several declines, whilst his successor took over the problematic business. (Biography 2017)

2.3 Politics

Donald Trump's shift from business to politics dates back to the year 1988, when he first considered the candidacy as a member of the Republican Party, but decided not to participate in the end. A similar process repeated in autumn 1999, when he was publically announced as a member of the Reform Party of the United States of America and its nominee for the 2000 elections. (Johnston 2016, Introduction; Biography 2017) The core principles of a Reform Party stand on the frontier between the Republicans and the Democrats with rather conservative economical views. (Reform Party 2017)

Trump withdrew before the voting started. In the meantime, he rejoined the Republican Party and decided to become more politically involved 12 years later. He did not run for president in 2012 regardless the attention of media, mainly for a strong open criticism of Barack Obama and his foreign politics views. (Britannica 2017) Therefore, Donald Trump's first presidential run took place in 2016, accompanied by rather controversial yet cunning campaign lead by his son-in-law Jared Kushner (Forbes 2017), which resulted in vast amount of unpaid media exposure. (Britannica 2017; Trump 2016, chap. 11) The most vibrant trait accompanying both his business and political carrier is the inconstancy, proved by many shifts of beliefs and convictions.

The main focus of a program was on the current domestic issues, putting the emphasis on creating new job positions, recreating the health care system, improving foreign relations and tightening up the immigration policies. (Trump 2016, chap. 1)

Furthermore, Trump claimed that OPEC might mean a danger to the American economy and therefore suggested the establishment of the American-Iraqi cooperation. He proposed to accuse OPEC, in order to liberate the US from the oil production regulations. By these means, local resources could be utilized and new vacancies created. (Trump 2016, chap. 2) He also pointed out that the taxes should be lowered, as the current system slows down the economic progress and parallel job creation, which shall rise up to 8.6 per cent after the tax reformation. (Trump 2016, chap. 4)

Trump also disagreed with an extent of the governmental spending on medical aid and social security program. Since the generation of ‘baby-boomers’ is currently reaching a retirement age, heavy indebtedness is assumed. (Trump 2016, chap. 5) Considering the foreign policies, he emphasized a possible danger of China’s fast cybernetics development, the rise of Russia and the terrorism. In his election program, he stressed the American interest to take first place. (Trump 2016, chap. 3) Additionally, he openly criticized Obamacare, since it endangered small business owners, consequently burdened the federal budget and caused further spending. (Trump 2016, chap. 8)

Illegal immigration represented a key target of Trump’s criticism. According to an estimate, the US loose up to \$113 billion annually on taxes. As a solution to this problem, Trump suggested a ‘5-Point Plan’, including the famous wall dividing the U.S.A. from Mexico. (Trump 2016, chap. 9)

2.4 Campaign and Media

As Gallup argues, the success rate of Trump’s campaign resulted from four main criteria: economic hardship of a country, affiliation to a rich community, uncovering immigrant labor and foreign imports and contact with racial minorities. According to his research, success of a campaign was accomplished by an unforeseen shift to lower social classes, as Trump created a notion of jointly cooperating on the common goals with his support as of an external authority. (Gallup 2016, 2-4) That was accomplished by a shift from globalism to Americanism and a linguistic shift to low level language including insults and employing exaggerated promises and impoliteness, that resulted in free media exposure. (Gallup 2016, 2; London School of Economics 2016) The ration between paid and free media exposure was 10 to 1,898. (Collins 2016, 17) Manheim further elaborates on the subject and states, that the American media were exploited and by those means a weakness of the American society was revealed, as the educational level was lowered as opposed to the inclination to sensations. (Manheim 2016, 1)

According to Jacobson, joust between Trump and Clinton “reconfigured the inherited political landscape,” (Jacobson 2016, 227) as the parties were overshadowed by the course of campaign, polarization, on the other hand, was preserved. (Ibid, 228)

3 DISCOURSE AND DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

As Strauss states, discourse is understood as a social and cognitive process which is completed by creating an interaction between various, not strictly linguistic, disciplines. It overlaps the idea of a context alone but understands language as a social practice, where a context within a text is studied. Since a discourse is always motivated by a writer's or a speaker's perspective, it closely interacts with disciplines comprising of engineering, architecture, art, law, media, history, medicine, business, psychology, politics, anthropology, sociology, education, geography, marketing, linguistics or ethnic studies. (Strauss 2014, 3) Therefore, the discourse may be understood as a cause of understanding, as it acknowledges the wider perspective of a particular situation and recognizes a text interpretation as subjective, not universal. Its purpose is to transform the feelings, knowledge, experience, ideas, approaches and wishes of one party into a medium that could be easily understood by a receiving party. Such transformation is reached through the use of language and other semiotic resources. (Strauss 2014, 1) Widdowson further elaborates on the concept and defines discourse as a tool that refers “both to what a text producer meant by a text and what a text means to the receiver”. (Widdowson 2007, 7) The aural character is mostly represented by means of a voice fluctuation, namely the speech rhythm, pace of speech, spaces of silence and their frequency, or an intonation. (Strauss 2014, chap. 1) These phenomenons are summarized as paralanguage and are often accompanied by nonverbal gestures. (Widdowson 2007, 6) Importance of nonverbal signals, body-language and its meaning is described more in detail in the chapter 3.2 (Nonverbal Communication as a Part of a Discourse).

Discourse analysis studies the language in particular use. (Gee 2014, 1) To understand the complete meaning of a specific text, it is necessary to go beyond the sentence and take up a macro-level point of view. (Strauss 2014, 0) Nothing inside of a discourse stays neutral due to the choice an author of the text has to make when constructing the utterance. These choices can be made both consciously and unconsciously. (Strauss 2014, 3,7) As Fairclough contends, discourse analysis has a “trans-disciplinary character”, meaning that it serves as a source of both theoretical and methodological development. (Gee & Handford 2014, 9) According to Strauss, discourse analysis can be further divided into variety of units: “grammar and grammatical units, genre and generic structure, register, reference, deixis, information structure and intonation units, conversation analysis, conversational implicature, speech acts, politeness, face

threatening acts, indexicality, identity, and the social construction of ideology and power.” (Strauss 2014, 3)

The critical discourse analysis adopts a critical 'micro-level' approach taken from the social analysis and applies it on a discourse, so the relationship between a discourse and social elements is preserved. The aim of CDA (critical discourse analysis) is to reveal the processes concerning different social subjects that often been naturalized by a public, and ignored as a result. (Strauss 2014, 312; Gee & Handford 2014, 9) In order to encourage a change in a contemporary society, CDA focuses on the topics of moral values, economic systems, education, healthcare, social classes, politics and ideologies related to “power abuse, control, hegemony, dominance, exclusion, injustice, and inequity”. (Fairclough 2010, 1-10; Strauss 2014, 312) Fairclough views CDA as a unity of three basic properties: it is relational, dialectical and transdisciplinary. Therefore, primary focus is on complex social relations rather than on an individual and “these relations are [...] dialectical” as even different objects do not exclude each other. (Fairclough 2010, 3-4) Trans-disciplinarity is represented by a “semiotic emphasis and a point of entry”(Gee & Handford 2014, 9), where a requirement of adding a theoretical and methodological value across the “disciplines [of] primary concern” must be fulfilled. (Gee & Handford 2014, 9) Since the thesis primarily concerns the topic of political discourse in media, the concept of power language is further elaborated on in Chapter 4.

3.1 Context

Although a discourse overlaps the idea of a context alone, as was previously discussed in the chapter, it cannot be neglected in any discourse analysis process. According to Widdowson, context is everything that surrounds the text. For example the relationships between the participants of a text, time development, as the text is influenced by previous and upcoming events in both personal and historical manner, and a place, or objects in the surroundings that relate to the matter. (Widdowson 2007, chap. 3) Gee specifies contexts as a means to make a communication faster by leaving out the facts that are considered to be understood because of shared knowledge of an audience, so called deixis. (Gee 2014, 12, 16) Context is studied within three basic levels. First, the immediate context of a text. Second, the immediate social situation. And third, the context of the society as a whole.

As the immediate context of a text could be considered what instantly precedes and follows the passage, which most of the cases implies the particular paragraph the passage

is situated in. (Ronleight 2017) The second level examines the immediate social situation the participants are in, affected by different means of social factors that influence one's behavior and decision-making. (Psychology Dictionary 2017) Mentioned factors are further categorized into patterns that create a schema. As DiMaggio states, schema is a complex that influences a cognitive process of an individual, based on a theory of analogy. (DiMaggio 1997, 278-287) Angermuller also notes, that this phenomenon used to be referred to as 'the context of situation', where the situation is understood as an environment that surrounds the participants. In this perception, the context of situation may often be remote from what is actually happening at a place where the act is allocated. Thereupon, in terms of developing a general sociolinguistic theory, Bernstein suggested a different approach and introduced the 'situation types' concept which creates a general semiotic structure. Such structure incorporates the set of meanings deriving from the semiotic system which represents the culture. (Angermuller, Maingueneau & Wodak 2014, 265) The situation type could be exemplified as a complex consisting of three dimensions: "the ongoing social activity, the role relationships involved, and the symbolic or rhetorical channel". (Ibid) In modern linguistics, these three dimensions are called field, tenor and mode. As a result, they create a conceptual framework where the meanings are exchanged. (Ibid, 266)

Lastly, the third level studies the context of a society as a whole. According to Hall, societies in the world can be divided into two groups according to the rank of contextuality in a daily communication: high-context cultures and opposing low-context cultures. He claims that a message of a high-contextuality tends to have an implicit meaning that rises from a context which is physical or internalized, thus little information is communicated in explicit and coded part. High-context messages tend to be more effective when used inside of a group. On the other hand, low-context messages might be more understandable to the wider "outside" audience, although the value of a single word is lower. (Hall 1976, 91)

3.1.1 Field, Tenor, Mode

Field, tenor and mode constitute a register. According to Halliday and Hasan, register describes "how the context of situation determines the kinds of meanings that are expressed". (Halliday & Hasan 1976, 22) Register represents "the set of meanings, the configuration of semantic patterns that are typically drawn upon under the specified conditions, along with the words and structures that are used in the realization of these meanings." (Ibid, 23) In combination with cohesion, register defines a text. (Ibid)

Widdowson describes text as an extract of language that was produced for a communicative purpose. (Widdowson 2007, 4) Nevertheless, two requirements must be fulfilled. In order to be a part of a discourse, the text must be coherent with the immediate social situation, so called context of situation, mentioned in chapter 3.1, and cohesive. (Halliday & Hasan 1976, 23) Both features are further elaborated on in chapter 3.2.1.

According to Widdowson, field includes the subjects matter and generally represents the institutional setting accompanying a social action. In most cases, it relates to the ideational language function, meaning that the language is constructed of one's knowledge and an experience of the world. The ideational function is used to form the world where the field is realized and has a direct impact on how the participants are portrayed by means of selection of a vocabulary. (Widdowson 2007, 33) In consequence, people are less able to recognize things they do not have vocabulary for. To give an example of field, institutional setting could be university studies and a social action would be represented by a specific seminar or a lecture.

Tenor embodies the relationship between the participants and their social roles, which are constructed by the manners of expressing the judgements, attitudes and form the identity, thus it relates to the interpersonal function of a language. Compared to the ideational construct of a field, tenor focuses on the second-person point of view, where conventions, social roles and customary behavior are taken into account. (Widdowson 2007, 33; Halliday & Hasan 1976, 22) To illustrate tenor on the same situation type, the relationship between a teacher and a student, or a relationship between two classmates serve as an example.

And finally, mode refers to the channel of communication. It may be either written or spoken and in both cases could take on a different form. (Widdowson 2007, 8) Halliday divides mode in two elements: channel and genre. Channel can be spoken or written and prepared or improvised. (Halliday & Hasan 1976, 22) Genre, according to Strauss, represents a metaphorical frame of a discourse. Such frame is constructed by social and cultural conventions of a social practise. Therefore, it conveys essential propositional content to an audience within a particular context, "to accomplish a particular communicative purpose" (Strauss 2014, 52) regarding the genre's norms. Sometimes, a text includes other modes of communication related to the matter, for instance pictures or graphs. This phenomenon is called multimodality and often appears in press. (Widdowson 2007, 8) Mode indicates a textual function of the language that constructs fully cohesive and coherent texts. To finish the illustration, mode within the same situation type could be

exemplified by a lecturer's presentation, a conversation between the students, or a student's written notes.

3.2 Standards of Textuality

As mentioned in the previous chapter, cohesion and coherence define text as a part of a discourse. By those means, they create the norms of textuality. (Halliday & Hasan 1976, 23) According to Beaugrand and Dressler, textuality is defined by five more basic standards, including intentionality, acceptability, informativity, situationality, intertextuality and already mentioned cohesion and coherence. (Beaugrand & Dressler 2002, 3-10)

3.2.1 Cohesion, Coherence

According to the British Dictionary, cohesion is a “tendency to unite”. (Dictionary 2017) Cohesion focuses more on the grammatical aspect of a text and has an immediate effect on the style of writing. Cohesion should unite a text by creating links on both sentence and paragraph level. (University of Washington 2017) It can be further divided into two categories: grammatical cohesion and lexical cohesion. Grammatical cohesion is represented by the rules of morphology and syntax that form phrases and clauses in a given language. (Silvia 2015) According to Halliday’s theory further elaborated on by Strauss, there are four cohesive resources that appear in all communicative modalities and are essentially grammatical in their forms: reference, ellipsis and substitution, conjunction and lexical cohesion. (Strauss 2014, 146; Halliday & Hasan 1976, 33) On the contrary, Gee segments the cohesive devices into six groups: pronouns, determiners and quantifiers, substitution, ellipsis, lexical cohesion & conjunctions, adjunctive adverbs and other conjunction-like links. (Gee 2014, 135) To adhere to Halliday’s model, the four classes of cohesion are further developed in the following paragraphs.

Reference appears when an excerpt of a text refers to another element in order to interpret it. Depending on whether the second element appears within the text or beyond, references can be endophoric or exophoric. Endophora, thus a reference within a text, can take on two forms: anaphora and cataphora. Anaphora refers to a preceding element. Cataphora, on the other hand, to the presupposition of what might follow. (Silvia 2015) In order to create a reference, personals, demonstratives and comparatives are used. (Halliday & Hasan 1976, 31)

Halliday defines substitution as replacing an item by another item on a grammatical linguistic level. (Halliday & Hasan 1976, 88) Substitution can be realized in three manners: nominally, verbally and clausally. (Silvia 2015) Moreover, he argues that ellipsis and substitution are of a same concept, as the preceding item can be replaced by nothing. An element is omitted. (Halliday & Hasan 1976, 88) Both substitution and ellipsis are used in order to avoid undesirable repetition of a vocabulary used in the immediately following sentences. (Silvia 2015)

Conjunctions are used in order to structure a text and by those means put its fragments into logical order. (Silvia 2015) Compared to other three classes from Halliday's theory, conjunctions are different in nature, as they do not create an anaphoric relation. Cohesion of conjunctive elements is rather indirect. (Halliday & Hasan 1976, 226) According to Halliday, conjunction is a "specification of the way in which what is to follow is systematically connected to what has gone before". (Halliday & Hasan 1976, 227) On the other hand, order of conjunctive relations is not strictly given and depends heavily on a particular realization. (Ibid, 227-228) Four types of conjunctions are used: additive, adversative, causal and temporal. (Silvia 2015)

Lexical cohesion is achieved by selecting a particular vocabulary. (Halliday & Hasan 1976, 274) Lexical cohesion represents how different cohesive devices create continuity by relating to lexical items. (Silvia 2015) For these purposes, Halliday defines a general noun as "a borderline case between a lexical item [...] and a grammatical item" (Halliday & Hasan 1976, 274) and a superordinate item. In most cases, a general noun in its cohesive function is accompanied by *the*, which gives an anaphoric reference. (Ibid, 275-6) Lexical cohesion can be realized by two means: reiteration and collocation. (Silvia 2015)

Reiteration represents lexical cohesion by repeating a lexical item, using a general noun to refer back to the particular lexical item, or by using synonyms, near-synonyms or a superordinate noun, therefore reiteration and a grammatical reference discussed before share certain similarities. (Halliday & Hasan 1976, 278-9) Collocation is realized through associating regularly co-occurring lexical items in a principle similar to reiteration, but an identity of reference does not have to be strictly respected. (Ibid, 284) As Halliday states, colloquial cohesion is "associated with another word in the preceding text, because it is a direct repetition of it, or is in some sense synonymous with it, or tend to occur in the same lexical environment". (Ibid, 319)

Nevertheless, according to Strauss, a cohesive text might not always be coherent in a given context. Cohesion is a feature that formally links the individual sentences across the whole text. (Strauss 2014, 134-5) It is related to “how topics are introduced, developed, and maintained” in an order. A cohesive text is a text that is “coherent with respect to itself”. (Halliday & Hasan 1976, 23)

Coherence, on the other hand, concerns the unity of a text and its logical flow with respect to the context. By these means, the text is semantically meaningful, therefore relatable to the receiver's knowledge or reality. In general, coherence “refers to the rhetorical aspects of [...] writing” (University of Washington 2017), such as the argument development, its organization, clarification, or integration of sources. (Ibid)

According to Beaugrande, a single expression under normal conditions may have several meanings, but only a one sense in a particular text. If the previous statement is not true, ambiguity is present and needs to be resolved. In order to achieve coherence, “mutual access and relevance within a configuration of concepts and relations” (Beaugrande & Dressler 2002, 84) must be fulfilled. Beaugrande and Dressler’s observed that knowledge is often activated in a consistent and unite manner, by employing what is already known to the language user. Moreover, the tendency hardly changes among different languages, too. (Ibid, 85-86) In case an item differs in concept comparing the two languages, a concept might be decomposed into smaller units. By those means, Beaugrande and Dressler demonstrate that the concepts are not completely stable. (Beaugrande & Dressler 2002, 86)

3.2.2 Intentionality, Acceptability

Intentionality and acceptability both represent the attitude accompanying the text. Intentionality represents the attitude of an author, whereas acceptability represents how the reader perceives the text. (Silvia 2015) According to Beaugrande and Dressler, these two standards need to be employed in order to distinguish between a text and non-text in a spoken discourse. (Beaugrande & Dressler 2002, 110) Additionally, intentionality employs different methods a text producer uses inside a discourse in order to pursue particular intentions. In a philosophical approach that was further rendered by the linguists, the intention of a text producer is to create a link that would cause the recognition of his intention by the target audience. (Ibid, 112-113)

3.2.3 Situationality, Informativity

According to Beaugrande, situationality portrays “the factors which render a text relevant to a current or recoverable situation of occurrence”. (Beaugrande & Dressler 2002,

154) The model of situationality is dependent on expectations about the world organization. Depending on a dominant function of a text, two approaches are distinguished: situation monitoring and situation management. Situation monitoring is performed by providing a situation model that does not require extensive mediation. Situation management, on the other hand, requires a dominant guidance of a situation by a text producer in order to achieve demanded goal. In order to preserve neutral communication, both approaches are combined by discussing managing as monitorings. (Ibid, 154-155)

Informativity designates to which extent a message communicated carries new or unexpected information to the receiving, mostly referring to the content. Content thus carries a dominant role once coherence is concerned, as phonology and syntax are often not directly in a focus of attention, unless they are processed in a noticeably unexpected manner. According to Shannon and Weaver's theory of statistical probability, a higher information value of a message can be directly induced by a greater number of possible alternatives. (Beaugrande & Dressler 2002, 133) On the other hand, such theory cannot be employed within a natural spoken communication, as most elements are dependent on outside factors, not only a preceding element. (Ibid, 134)

3.2.4 Intertextuality

Intertextuality represents a complex of relationships between various texts which are defined by conventions and expectations of both participants. By those means, the related texts influence and reflect each other. (Dictionary 2017) Therefore, intertextuality relies on knowledge of previously experienced text which is applied on a current text. (Silvia 2015) As Beaugrande argues, perception of intertextuality is heavily dependent on the participants' knowledge, which can be mediated once it is not immediately shared. When intertextuality takes on a form of a quote or a reference, less mediation is needed. In case intertextuality is used within a conversation, more mediation is required in order to preserve accuracy or a meaning. (Beaugrande & Dressler 2002, 171) In connection with intertextuality, Beaugrande and Dressler delineate two terms: text allusion and a text type. Text type is referred to as a complex of heuristics with a purpose to produce, predict or process the textual occurrences. Text allusion is then connected to the text type by elaborating on the ways people use the well-known text in order to create intertextual references. (Ibid, 172-176)

3.3 Nonverbal Communication as a Part of Discourse

As Strauss claims, discourse is both visual and aural, meaning that it is composed by not only words and the utterances but also by the means of nonverbal communication (Strauss 2014, 2). For example gestures, tone of voice, eye gaze, sweating, scratching, a handshake or a shaking lip. Therefore, a message which is communicated verbally might not always correspond with a message communicated by a body language. (Pease 2004, 7-19) As Pease states, most of the basic signals of a body language are the same regardless the culture. Moreover, the same signals have been observed on the individuals who were born blind. (Pease 2004, 18)

It is the collision of the verbal and the nonverbal that reveals an inkling of a lie, depending on the perceptiveness of an individual. Concept of perceptiveness is based on the individual's ability to distinguish the contradictions between the words spoken and the body moves. According to Pease's research, women participants are more able to decode the message. That might be caused by their role of mothers. As newborn children and toddlers hardly speak, women are forced to train their surveillance ability in order to understand the children's needs. As a result, their perceptiveness is further developed. In addition, scientists examined a tendency to stop paying attention to the communication once the verbal and nonverbal signals are in conflict. (Ibid, 13-19)

Before the spoken language evolved into today's form, communication used to be carried out by the ability to read one's attitude and thoughts from their behaviour. By the time that human brain tripled its size. (Ibid, 9, 19) Although a spoken and written language vastly predominates in current communication, nonverbal signs remain as a concomitant phenomenon. A nonverbal origin of a language gave basis to some current phrases and idioms. For example, *“get it off your chest, keep a stiff upper lip, stay at arm's length, keep your chin up, shoulder a burden, face up to it”*. According to Mehrabian's research in the 1950s, a single message is communicated by 7% of verbal means, 38% by vocal tools as tone of voice and other sounds, and up to 55% is caused by a non-verbal communication. Moreover, Birdwhistell elaborates deeper on the issue and claims that the ratio between the verbal and nonverbal communication is more remarkable within a face-to-face conversation, where verbal components take up less than 35% and on the contrary, nonverbal components reflect more than 65% of a message. (Ibid, 8-10)

Although nonverbal communication has lost the initial importance as the spoken and written language evolved, it still remains relevance in the current communication. The

potential of nonverbal gestures is consciously used in rhetorics in general, politics and business making. (Fahnestock 2011, 6) The aim of the speaker is to support the statement by body signals in order to persuade the audience. As Maddalena states, the impact of creating a “complete gesture” by including nonverbal signals and thereby creating icons instead of indexes, was proved by Trump's campaign success. (Maddalena 2016, 1) The key nonverbal signals are further described in the following sub-chapters. Verbal aspect of persuasive communication is examined in Chapter 4.

3.3.1 Hand gestures

Gestures, same as a language, do not exist in isolation, but should be understood and interpreted as a complex phenomenon occurring within a context. (Pease 2004, 21) First concomitant display is the position of hands. If palms are heading the receiver, it symbolizes the honesty and openness of a speaker but could also be a sign of submissivity. If a person lies or tries to conceal something, it is more likely to put hands in the pocket, cross them on the chest or children tend to hide their hands behind the back. According to Pease, the cause and effect principle makes lying with palms open improbable, because there is a direct link between the gestures and emotions. If the participants are sitting at a table, palm pointing down expresses the authority, therefore a request might be understood rather as an order and transmit a negative or even threatening connotation. More dominant variety of the palm facing down is a pointing finger. On the contrary, if the other fingers squeeze the thumb in the same gesture, it shifts the perception of an audience from aggressive to goal-oriented and thoughtful. However, in some cultures, pointing a finger at someone is classified as an insult. Handshake remains as an ancient relict in the current culture. Formerly, it was a sign to a member of a different tribe that showed that no weapons are concealed. Thereafter, in the 19th century it was used as a signal men gave each other to demonstrate they are of an equal social status. (Ibid, 31-65) Nowadays the meaning shifted and depending on the position of a hand and a side where the participant is standing compared to the second party, power can be reflected. According to an observation, person standing on the left from the second participant is perceived as dominant. In case of position of a palm, same rules apply as in the previously mentioned situation. (Ibid, 58)

3.3.2 Arm signals

Arms are often used as a means of creating a barrier against something unpleasant. The most common signal is crossing the arms on the chest, often in combination with the

legs, or with male participants folding the hands over the crotch. Such gesture reduces the credibility, as the person appears less open to the second participant and becomes less approachable. If a person performs the same gesture reinforced by grabbing the opposite arms, the negative perception strengthens and the receiver might understand it as a presage of a verbal or even a physical attack. (Pease 2004, 91-105) In case a speaker displays the gesture because of stress, it is recommended to hold something with both hands instead of crossing them. Another frequent signal is a half hug, where a person leaves one arm alongside the body and holds it with a second hand in the area of elbow. This move is a relict from our childhood we conduct unconsciously in case of insecurity, since it reminds of holding a mother's hand. (Ibid, 99)

3.3.3 Leg signals

Human legs are considered the least mind dominated part of a body as far as a nonverbal communication is concerned. As a result, legs showcase the inner feelings more intensively. In a standing position, legs put close together are a sign of neutral attitude and attention. Legs apart create a signal of dominance and masculinity, as it is mostly done by men. One foot forward directing to one side suggests that a person wants to leave the current space. It is done either because of discomfort or because there is something more interesting for the brain elsewhere. Such gesture could be understood as a start of a walk. (Pease 2004, 209-223) Crossed legs signify introversion, submissiveness or a “defensive attitude as they symbolically deny any access to the genitals.” (Ibid, 215)

3.3.4 Smile

Average human has approximately 250 000 face expressions. (Pease 2004, 9) A smile, for example, is conducted by two muscle systems connected to each other, thus in case a smile is honest, muscles around the mouth provoke a movement of the muscles around the eyes. (Ibid, 67) In history, smile was used to show a stranger whether a person comes in peace or intends to fight. (Ibid, 75) There are five basic types of a smile: the tight-lipped smile, the twisted smile, the drop-jaw smile, the sideways-looking-up smile, and the grin. A tight-lipped smile mostly indicates a secret or a doubt. A twisted smile reveals a conflict of emotions communicated by the two sides of a face, it is often used as a accompanying display of sarcasm. A drop-jaw smile is used to create an impression that the person is almost laughing, therefore may raise warmer reaction of the target audience. A sideways-looking-up smile is handled by slightly tilting a head down while looking up and maintaining a lip narrow. This expression shall evoke parental feelings towards the

person and make a person appear youthful, playful and secretive. Finally, a grin sends a positive yet ambiguous message that elicits further questions of the audience, unless a context is clear. (Pease 2004, 66, 75-80)

4 THE LANGUAGE OF POWER

Working on the presumption that language, according to Halliday, delineates of three basic metafunctions: interpersonal, ideational and textual, as they are mutually complementary elements, they often overlap each other. (Hopkinson 2011, 9) Therefore the discourse of advertising, mass media and political language may share many similarities in terms of the concept. As Hopkinson states, any language used to raise an interaction with the reader or hearer could be specified as persuasive, “as it attempts [...] to change the reader’s [...] mind or to reinforce their existing perceptions.” (Hopkinson 2011, 9-10)

4.1 The Concept of Ideology

Ideology represents a concept resulting from the concept of power. Working on a presumption that power is used in order to impose the values and morals, ideology broadens the concept by the manners how it is achieved. Ideology is shaped through the “broader social and political structures of the society” (Simpson 2010, 4) in which the society lives and the language is embedded. Therefore, the liberal view of a language is omitted and a critical discourse analysis is used in order to reveal the sustained language practises. (Simpson 2010, 4-5)

The term was formerly associated with Karl Marx and his German ideology. He understood ideology as a beliefs system that was adopted by a group or an individual. That system is carried by a dominant force of a society, comprising of royalty, aristocracy or a bourgeoisie. Althusser then embedded the concept into “the hierarchical arrangement of a socially and politically determined practices and rituals” (Simpson 2010, 4) that reflects structural problems of a society that seek collective solution. (Simpson 2010, 4-5)

The ideological standpoint is represented by the linguistic choices throughout a discourse. Fairclough defines language as a “constitutive of organizations and institutions” (Simpson 2010, 6), therefore a tool to create a social reality. (Simpson 2010, 6-7) Moreover, he stresses the importance of ideology as a framework that interconnects the language and power. (Fairclough 2010, 25-29) Although a frequency of studying ideology within a social research dropped as the significance of social class distinction declined, ideological-discursive formations are still applied in the institutional settings. (Fairclough 2010, 30, 39) For example, institutions appear to be asymmetrical in means of communicating rights and obligations in order to create an impression of equality associated with the power distribution inside of a casual context, although the concept is

strictly hierarchical. An institutional setting requires explicitness. According to Thomas, a subordinate speaker tends to use ambiguity in order to overcome the social or hierarchical difference between him and the dominating person. The dominating person is also more likely to change the topic discussed. (Simpson 2010, 8-14)

4.2 The Concept of Power

According to Simpson, power arises from one's dominance in education, knowledge and wealth. As these resources are not accessible to everyone on a same level, person with a better access to these resources is more likely to control the subordinate groups, create coercion or to manipulate. In general, there are two concepts of power: "power of dominance and power by consent". (Simpson 2010, 2) Weber's power of dominance further developed by Simpson correlates with institutions and a process of power legitimation. Such concept works both on a state and transnational level. In his point of view, the power of a particular institution is used in order to secure the compliance of those who do not have access to the three basic resources. The institutions are of sovereign character and are established for corrective purposes and "legitimate themselves with regard to citizens" (Simpson 2010, 2) through a justified language or an official action. (Ibid)

The second perception of power is more connected to the persuasive influence as such in a form of hegemony. The concept of hegemony represents one's morals and values which are imposed to the receivers of a subordinate group. Dictionary refers to hegemony as to an "ascendancy or domination of one power or state within a league, confederation, etc, or of one social class over others". (Dictionary 2017) Therefore, power is "not exercised coercively, but routinely" as opposed to the Weber's concept. The routine character of a message then allows these often political and social values and morals to appear natural, common. As a result, the accuracy of information communicated becomes harder to distinguish to a subordinate receiver. In comparison with Weber's power as dominance, power by consent operates more extensively through a language. According to Gramsci's study, people tend to follow particular formations of power, because they are often represented by specific "cultural groups generating the language" that naturally represents them. In order to build and preserve the dominance, a group shall undergo three steps: build and maintain political alliances, generate legitimacy among the population and create an authority by integrating the legal system. With a growing legitimacy, less coercion is required to be applied. On the other hand, Foucault argues that the power is not

a phenomenon ranked to an entity already given, but to a “relation between people which is negotiated and contested in interaction” (Simpson 2010, 3), therefore never fixed.

If a receiver of a message communicated belongs to a subordinate group of low access to knowledge and education, a receiver is less capable of critical discourse analysis and opinion development. As a result, biased information is more likely to be accepted by a receiver. (DellaVigna & Kaplan 2006, 1) Bias is understood as “a mental tendency or inclination” of irrational and unreasonable origin. (Dictionary 2017) As DellaVigna and Kaplan further elaborated on the concept of bias employed within a political discourse, it was found out that 70 per cent of respondents were aware of bias in mass media. Regardless the fact, a considerable impact on a voting behavior during the 2000 presidential elections was ascertained. (DellaVigna & Kaplan 2006, 2-4, 32)

4.3 Power Language in Political Discourse

The concept of power has an extent employment in a political discourse since antiquity where the rhetorical strategies were first studied. Political activity however is not produced only by the politicians and the public figures, but by voters, demonstrators and consumers as well. As a result, a broader definition of a political discourse was adopted. Beck names this group as “subpolitics” (Simpson 2010, 41), thus suggests an inferiority of a group to the public figures. Bennet further elaborates on the concept and argues that the current politics experience a shift to a micro-level approach, where political decisions are made on a personal basis. Accordingly, “social and political identifications” (Simpson 2010, 42) are weakening on a global level as people are “adopting their own authorities”. (Ibid) Modern political discourse works on the presumption that a personal choice induced by political projects surpasses the traditional rhetorics, as the validity of one's claims rises. (Simpson 2010, 41-43) Fahnestock consents that the mastery of a language is a persuasive tool but completes the argument with self-presentation and a rhetor's ability to develop an argument. (Fahnestock 2011, 7)

According to Chilton, political discourse in general may have the following strategic functions. Firstly, it is a mean of coercion. Depending on a political regime, the power results from linguistic or other sources. Examples of a linguistic coercion are “laws, commands, rules and regulations” (Chilton 2002, 10) or different kinds of censorship. Since politicians are not entitled to act by physical force alone, political discourse serves as a medium for persuasion and legitimation of values and beliefs. (Chilton 2002, 10) A clear example of a process are political debates between the opponents. Furthermore, political

discourse allows institutionally weaker audience to create a 'reverse discourse' that employs "techniques of satire or irony" (Simpson 2010, 46) and leaves basis to slang. By means of reverse discourse, disapproval, resistance or protest can be manifested. As Chilton states, political discourse does employ a certain control of information. As a result, information given is often not sufficient for a receiver, therefore "denial and evasive tactics" (Simpson 2010, 46) are employed. In extreme form, a lack of information conveyed may lead to misrepresentation. (Simpson 2010, 46-47; Chilton 2002, 113-120) In order to fulfill these functions within a political discourse and media, following tools are used.

4.3.1 Figures of Speech

In aspect of rhetorics, figures of speech can be divided into four groups: figures of addition, omission, transposition and permutation. (Silva Rhetoricae 2017) The most frequently figures of speech used in a political discourse are synecdoche, metonymy, metaphor, simile, irony, hyperbole, litotes and euphemism. (Fahnestock 2011, ix-xii)

Metaphor is a figure of speech that represents a term that does not correlate literally with an object the term is referring to. (Dictionary 2017) According to Kovecses, there are two types of a metaphor: conceptual and linguistic. In case a "conceptual domain is understood in terms of another conceptual domain" (Kovecses 2010, 4), a conceptual metaphor is created. In order to understand it, systematic correspondences must be achieved. Linguistic metaphor, or a literary metaphor, is often found in poetry and other literary works. Linguistic metaphors can be defined as linguistic expressions that are commonly unconventional. (Kovecses 2010, 4-10) In a political discourse, metaphors are used in order to create a strong persuasive effect of a different level of formality and interactivity. (Semino 2008, 85-87) As metaphors express an implicit comparison, simile manifests the explicit one. Since the substitution is not involved, simile does not belong to tropes. The subject that represents the simile must be familiar to the audience in order to clarify the subject illustrated. Those subjects are accompanied by words *like* and *as*. (Fahnestock 2011, 109)

In case a controversial subject is discussed, euphemisms are used. Euphemism is often employed in topics as war, old age, poverty, unemployment, or in taboo topics in general. (Dictionary 2017) As a result, a negative topic seems more positive or less serious. Subsequently, euphemism is considered as a form of misrepresentation. (Simpson 2010,

45-6) The opposite of an euphemism is dysphemism. Dysphemisms could be used in order to stress seriousness of an issue. (Burkhardt 2010, 365)

According to Fahnestock, synecdoche is a trope that refers to a part in order to address a whole. A common part-for-whole replacement involves singulars and plurals in everyday speech. In a group setting, synecdoche serves as a tool to praise both the group and a single member, as it creates the image of a typical member of a certain group or category. (Fahnestock 2011, 101-102) In perspective of political discourse, synecdoche can be used in order to create a misleading impression of individual's power (Ibid, 102), as in the following example: *Trump drops the mother of all bombs on Afghanistan*. In this case, *Trump* refers to the United States as a whole, but his power as of an individual is emphasized. Metonymy results from a substitution as well, but works on principles of association. (Ibid, 102-103)

More examples of heavily employed tropes are hyperbole and litotes, which represent an excessive statement resembled from irony. (Fahnestock 2011, 117) Irony in figurative meaning is an intentional claim realized through a claim with an opposite meaning, where recognition by a receiver is expected. (Ibid, 111) The effect on audience may vary according to the variables of a rhetorical situation, however, the evaluation of irony in a political discourse is rather negative. (Ibid, 115) Overstatement and understatement devices are used to substitute the accurate description. Litotes can signify modesty of a speaker or his effort to minimize the subject's importance. (Ibid, 117) Hyperbole is used in order to make a receiver recognize the message as out of proportion considering the subject. (Ibid, 118)

4.3.2 Lexical Items

Lexical items influencing a political discourse are dependent on the language varieties and a lexical field. (Fahnestock 2011, viii) In order to accomplish efficiency of a message communicated, a choice of vocabulary of a speaker should be familiar to the receiver. (Fahnestock 2011, 91) Since language is wide in circulation, it avoids niches. As an effect, "any phrase that sounds familiar to a language user without recalling a particular context is likely to be ready-made formula". (Fahnestock 2011, 92) These prepared phrases are categorized into clichés, idioms and catch phrases. (Fahnestock 2011, 92) The importance of reused phrases lays in instantness of communication of both content and shared values. (Fahnestock 2011, 93)

Depending on a speaker and an audience, low, middle or high level of language is used. Low level refers to a colloquial, informal language. It often employs contradictions, regional or social dialects and in the most distinct form vulgar or obscene vocabulary. Middle or standard level of a language is characterized by written forms that consist of conventional grammatical usage and sentence structure. High level representing formal language is an upscale version of a middle level language. It often employs words of foreign origin, more elaborate sentences, polysyllabic words and specialized vocabulary. High level of language is used within ceremonial occasions, public speeches, or in official documents. Considering political discourse, high level language suggests. Using more informal language, however, might cause more prominent result, as the receivers are more sensitive. (Fahnestock 2011, 80-81)

Concerning parts of speech in rhetorics and political discourse as such, pronouns are used in favor of creating an impression that a speaker or an author speaks for the interest of the public. For example, by using a pronoun *them*, a speaker indicates that the issue discussed is not affecting him directly. On the other hand, a pronoun *us* is a common tool used in order to approach wider public, as it is more likely to relate to the speech. (Coleman 2010, 3-4) The same applies to the employment of singular pronouns *I* and *you*, where *you* is used in purpose of a direct approach. According to Fahnestock, third person singular is not effective in a political discourse, as it isolates its participants from the essential rhetorical situation. (Fahnestock 2011, 279)

Parallelism is a linguistic device by which several ideas are expressed using a “series of similar grammatical structures”. (Simpson 2010, 45) By those means, the communicated message becomes more distinct. In politics, three-part parallel statements repeat. (Simpson 2010, 45) According to Fahnestock, parallelism is represented by a “law of synergy between style and argument”. (Fahnestock 2011, 224) He adds that by constructing similarities within a language, persuasive consequences rise on scale. (Ibid, 224) Parallelism appears in different forms depending on the construction of an argument: isocolon, parallelism in stress patterns, parison, or a parallelism from repetition. (Ibid, 224-227)

4.3.3 Pragmatic Units

According to Mey, pragmatics is the study of a language which is affected by the society's conditions. Therefore society controls the access to its communicative means. (Mey 2001, 6) Pragmatics is represented by variety of speech acts, amongst them promise

is the most employed within a political discourse. Mey discusses whether the word *promise* is necessary to perform promise a speech act within a social frame. (Mey 2001, 97) To approve the social act was performed, eight conditions must be fulfilled: the speaker must not suffer from a speech handicap, content of a promise, it must refer to the future, the subject of promise must be beneficial to the receiver, subject of promise must require an effort of the sender, intentionality, obligation to fulfill the subject, and the language used has to be standard. (Mey 2001, 99-100)

Implicatures heavily depend on a background knowledge shared between a speaker and a hearer. As the message is communicated implicitly, a receiver is required to deduce a meaning and presuppose the author's standpoint. By those means, the responsibility of an author for the message communicated lowers, and the receiver is less likely to reject author's values. (Simpson 2010, 43)

Politeness or impoliteness used as a pragmatic principle influences the perception of an audience. Watts describes polite language as a manner of expression that respects other participants by means of avoiding inappropriate directness and using polite formulaic utterances. Three forms of politeness are distinguished: metapragmatic, classificatory and expressive, where metapragmatic politeness refers to evaluation of its nature and importance, classificatory politeness is represented by participants themselves and the outside comments, and expressive politeness directly aims to address a recipient in respectful manner. (Watts 2003, 1-4) Politeness has to be acquired according to the culture variables. (Ibid, 9-10) To describe the impolite behavior as a term, Watts adopted Fraser's concept of Conversational Contract (CC). If an unwritten rule of the CC is violated, the behavior of a participant is marked as impolite. In case the rules within a CC are obeyed, it often remains unobserved. Impoliteness however is not determined by linguistic expressions only, but also by the interpretation of the overall social interaction. (Ibid, 5, 8)

Within a political discourse, linguistic behavior should be classified depending on where the intended behavior stands on the spectrum of politeness, as even an explicit polite behavior can be interpreted negatively by the audience. (Watts 2003, 18-19) According to Wattson, "politeness is a joint venture" (Watts 2003, 52) which should result in mutual satisfaction of the two parties by maintaining a smooth conversation. (Watts 2003, 52-53) Politic behavior, on the other hand, evinces differences in what can be considered appropriate, as "politic behavior is not equivalent to polite behavior". (Watts 2003, 257)

Modern approach to politeness was developed by Grice as a cooperative principle which includes four maxims: quantity, quality, relation and manner. Lakoff further

elaborated on the concept and invented politeness as a fifth maxim, representing politeness as a medium to avoid conflict. Moreover, he argues that female participants tend to use more polite language than men for reasons of insecurity. (Ibid, 57-61) Leech divided maxims into six groups according to the values representing politeness: tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement and sympathy. These six maxims create a complex called Politeness Principle (PP). (Ibid, 63-69)

II. ANALYSIS

5 ANALYSIS METHODOLOGY

As the bachelor thesis covers texts of a political discourse presented by the American press, the most appropriate method for examining the image of Donald Trump as a politician, is by means of a political discourse analysis. In order to avoid distorted results, the analytical part consists of sub-chapters. Each sub-chapter substitutes one newspaper title and is formed by two articles from the pre-election period of the 2016 presidential elections in the United States. Every article is subjected to a discourse analysis, where the phenomena discussed in a theoretical part of the thesis will be practically identified and their meaning interpreted. Concluding tendencies of a newspaper to portray Donald Trump in a particular manner, will be evaluated by collecting the partial data from the single articles and followingly by identifying the similarities and differences among the chosen texts. As a result, Donald Trump's image in American press during the 2016 presidential campaign will be evaluated both independently according to the newspaper title, and as an overall impression.

5.1 Political Discourse Analysis

For the purposes of a research, a political discourse analysis was chosen. Political discourse analysis, as opposed to an average cross-cultural discourse analysis of media, mediates an access to a field a receiver might hardly encounter by different means. What else needs to be considered, is the target audience. As the newspapers mentioned and analyzed are primarily intended for the Americans, they could be assumed as a culturally homogenous audience, although the immigration rate variegate the culture specifics. As the press experienced a shift to the electronic platforms, the audience coverage enlarged and the distinction became less evident.

First subject of analysis is a headline. Secondly, norms of textuality will be studied, with special attention to informativity and intertextuality of an example. Figures of speech, lexical items and consequential pragmatic units will be analysed copying the structure from the theoretical part of the thesis, namely in Chapter 4. Finally, as multimodality is employed in most of the cases, the aims of authors' choices will be decoded. If a photo or a video is used as a multimodal element, a nonverbal communication means will be examined as well, together with notions of power language and its tools used within a discourse.

5.2 Corpus of Articles

As was already mentioned, in order to preserve the non-aligned character of the analysis, each American newspaper title is represented by two thematically and as for time independent articles. Concerning the American press the thesis is elaborating on, three nationwide broadsheets and three most-read tabloid newspapers in the USA create the corpus of articles, comprising of two articles each. Particular newspapers were chosen according to the number of readers in the United States. Political focus and a target group of the particular newspapers will be further elaborated on in the following chapter. The broadsheets are represented by The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal and The USA Today. Tabloids, as referred to 'the supermarket tabloids', are represented by The Globe, The National Enquirer and The New York Post. Articles covered come from the period of the presidential campaign, therefore from the beginning of a year 2016, until the election day on November 8, 2016. However, even an online access to some of the articles is only due to a yearly subscription. All texts subjected to the analysis are available in full version on a CD attached. Each file is labeled accordingly with the numbering of individual chapters. To illustrate the image of Donald Trump in American press, following articles were chosen:

The New York Times

- Inside the Failing Mission to Tame Donald Trump's Tongue
- Crossing the Line: How Donald Trump Behaved with Women in Private

The Wall Street Journal

- Where They Stand on Wall Street
- Donald Trump Says the U.S. Is a High-Tax Country. He's Wrong. So What?

The USA Today

- 6 Times Donald Trump Felt He Was Misunderstood by the Media
- Fact Check: Donald Trump's False and Misleading Claims

The Globe

- Don't Mess with Donald Trump!
- Donald Trump Schools the Pope on Vital American Security

The National Enquire

- Trump Vs. Clinton: Top 15 Moments of the First Presidential Debate
- Donald Trump's Secret Finances EXPOSED!

The New York Post

- Trump Explains How He'd Rule the World
- Trump May Have Found the Perfect Attack to Use against Hillary

6 PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF ANALYSES

RESULTS

As the theoretical part of the thesis provided a necessary background, this chapter includes a set of political discourse analyses carried out on the corpus of articles mentioned in the preceding chapter 5.2. Each article will be evaluated separately. An overall evaluation of an image of Donald Trump in a particular press during the presidential campaign will be conducted by a summary of the two articles analysed.

6.1 The New York Times

The New York Times represents a newspaper with the largest circulation among the metropolitan press and the second largest circulation among the American press in general, following the USA Today that is winning as far as number of readers is concerned, and followed by the Wall Street Journal. As was mentioned in the first chapter, the New York Times was historically the first newspaper that distanced from a political sponsorship and employed the notion of objectivity. Such approach was maintained to the present times as well, nonetheless the content rather expresses liberal opinions. The internet version of the newspaper is available without limits, therefore for both American and international readers. The layout of internet version is simple and rather low in multimodality.

6.1.1 “Inside the Failing Mission to Tame Donald Trump's Tongue”

As the headline of the article from August suggests, the content is devoted to Trump's characteristic ways of expression. The negative connotation employed in the headline sustains within the whole article, which covers the abdication of his former campaign manager and a relationship with his professional surroundings.

The article is informative yet not clear of emotions and certain volume of subjectivity. The text is heavy on links to the events preceding the abdication of the campaign chairman, therefore highly intertextual. The presidential candidate's impoliteness and refusal of accepting advice is emphasized by the author by using emotive vocabulary, such as addressing Donald Trump as a *downcast*, accusing him of *barking at members of his staff* by means of metaphor in order to empower the visualization in readers' mind, or referring to the former campaigning strategy as *fruitless*. Mediated statement of the campaign management member was used in order to support the negative image of Donald Trump:

(1) “...Chris Christie of New Jersey argued that Mr. Trump had an effective message, if only he would deliver it. For now, the campaign’s polling showed, too many voters described him in two words: “unqualified” and “racist”.

By using the Christie’s statement, author emphasized the weaknesses of the candidate and increased the credibility of the negative standpoint. That was further intensified by evidence of Trump’s incompetence to listen to the advice of his team:

(2) “Nearly two months later, the effort to save Mr. Trump from himself has plainly failed. He has repeatedly signaled to his advisers and allies his willingness to change and adapt, but has grown only more volatile and prone to provocation since then...”



Donald J. Trump at a rally in Altoona, Pa., on Friday. Dismissing accounts that Mr. Trump was downcast, a spokesman pointed to the crowds the nominee draws. Mark Makela for The New York Times

Figure 1: Disinterested crowd

The text is rather low in multimodality. Photo incorporated in the text showcases Donald Trump greeting a crowd, but what has to be perceived is that only a few supporters are welcoming him in the front and the rest of the crowd appears rather uninterested or disappointed in the back, which might be the purpose of an author.

6.1.2 “Crossing the Line: How Donald Trump Behaved with Women in Private”

The negative headline of an article strongly highlights Trump’s disrespectful manners towards women, which are illustrated by experience of women who encountered him in the past. The subheading emotively hints the tendency to workspace:

(1) “Interviews reveal unwelcome advances, a shrewd reliance on ambition, and unsettling workspace conduct over decades.”

As the article was compiled from various personal experiences, it is highly subjective. The subjectivity and emotiveness is reinforced by vast multimodality represented by portraits of women with often empty face expression, uncommon for the New York Times articles. Nonetheless, author states that the article was composed on the basis of a collective research among fifty female respondents, which should enhance the credibility of the individual testimonies. That is achieved also by the fact that the respondents did not remain anonymous.

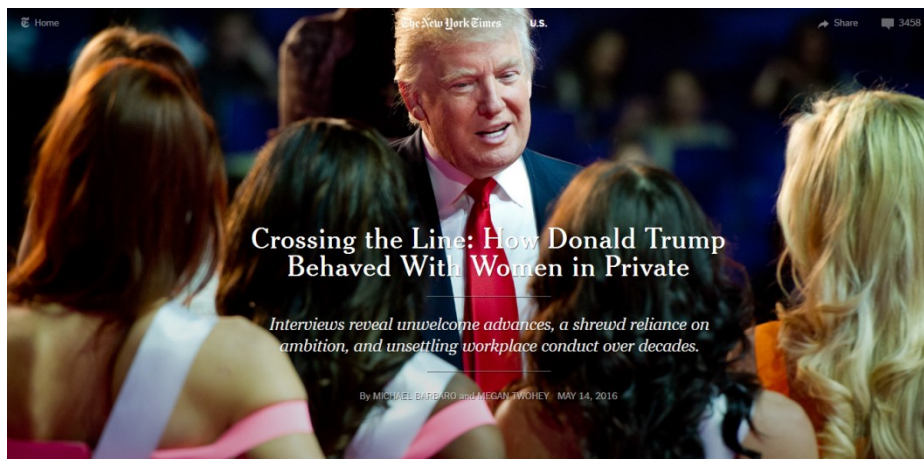


Figure 2: Donald Trump and gender equality

Text is also heavy on block quotations. Parts of direct speech of individual women containing sensational character, often mediated insults, are highlighted yellow to alert a reader about disturbing information:

- (2) *“He took me into a room and opened a drawer and asked me to put on a swimsuit.”*
- (3) *“‘That must be a pretty picture, you dropping to your knees,’ he told a female contestant...”*
- (4) *“He kissed me directly on the lips.”*
- (5) *“‘You like your candy,’ he told an overweight female executive who oversaw the construction of his headquarters in Midtown Manhattan.”*

All the examples stated above are regarded to the business environment, therefore imply the unacceptable manners towards women on a workspace. On the other hand, positive experience often remains as a plain text. That suggests author’s negative standpoint and a hidden tendency to stress the negative image in a counter-arguments proposing text. Trump himself argued that the negative statements were fabricated, remarking the abundance of female employees in his businesses. Nonetheless, even his

statement is ambiguous, as it offers an explanation that the female employees' motivation behind the hard work was Trump's prejudice:

(6) *“To build his business, Mr. Trump turned to women for a simple reason: They worked hard – often harder than men, he told them.”*

6.2 The Wall Street Journal

The Wall Street Journal is the third most-read newspaper in the U.S. As the name of the newspaper was originally derived from the Wall Street, WSJ evinces a main inclination to the topics of finance, business and economy, however politics, lifestyle and present issues are included as well. Concerning the accessibility, The Wall Street Journal's internet version is available to a worldwide public, but only under the condition of a yearly subscription. A non-registered reader is only able to view an introduction of a given article. Such fact suggests that the target reader is a person with easier access to the three basic resources covered in Chapter 4.1, therefore a member of a high class. The language used is concerned to be rather conservative and of an elevated style. As Donald Trump's business background pre-dominates his political activity, it could be assumed that the target readers of WSJ will be more likely Donald Trump's supporters than the opposite.

6.2.1 “Where They Stand on Wall Street”

The following article was published in form of infographics as a summary closely before the election date. The formate is uncommon for the title usually low in multimodality and simple in layout, as it evinces not only multimodality, but also interactivity. The headline is rather neutral concerning lexical aspects, but graphic arrangement offers a hidden meaning. Constantly changing color of Wall Street from blue to red signifies the uncertainty of the election result. Blue stands for Hillary Clinton and red for Donald Trump. The meaning behind color choice is questionable, as red usually refers to female and blue to male. One explanation could be blue's connotation as of something cold, reserved or distant, as opposed to warm, provocative or aggressive red. That would support the prerequisite of WSJ's supportive stance towards Donald Trump, as Trump's standpoints are described preferentially.

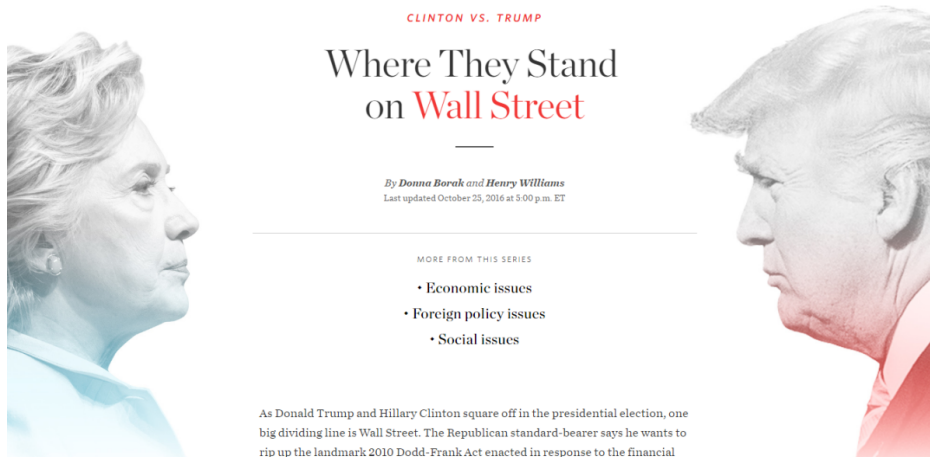


Figure 3: Wall Street Journal infographics

The content is divided into three key topics, inspecting economy, foreign polities and social issues and is highly informative. Certain knowledge of 2008 financial crisis is required, as intertextuality links to the event frequently. In the foreword of the article, Trump is referred to as a depiction of traditional republican representative and the aspects of linguistic choice is noticeably more emotive than the *democratic opponent* used to refer to Hillary Clinton. That suggests inclination of an author to Donald Trump. As he is used as an example within the text, the advantage was taken from an anchoring effect. Reader tends to compare new information to the first information the reader received. To apply it on the example of this particular text, Donald Trump's standpoints serve as an anchor, therefore any information received afterwards, in this case Hillary Clinton's convictions, is subjected to comparison with the first information given, so the starting position of the two candidates is unequal, despite the fact that the language used is polite and neutral.

(1) *"The Republican standard-bearer says he wants to rip up the landmark 2010 Dodd-Frank Act enacted in response to the financial crisis. His Democratic opponent says she wants to extend its reach."*

Lexical items are remaining neutral within the whole article and figures of speech are not employed extensively. One of only few examples of figures of speech employed is a metaphor creating the reference to financial crisis:

(2) *"The crisis made America's megabanks political punching bags."*

Therefore the image of Donald Trump expressed by this article could be considered as non-aligned. Quotations of Donald Trump's arguments however indicate a character of populism:

(3) *"We have to get rid of Dodd-Frank. The banks aren't loaning money to people that need it.... The regulators are running the banks."*

Concerning other means of rhetorical character, Trump's frequent rule of repetition was employed again, and further empowered by an author by emphasizing Trump's business background:

(4) *"I know Wall Street. I know the people on Wall Street.... I'm not going to let Wall Street get away with murder. Wall Street has caused tremendous problems for us."*

(5) *"In more than four decades building a multibillion-dollar global real-estate empire, Mr. Trump has had extensive dealings with the financial industry."*

6.2.2 "Donald Trump Says the U.S. Is a High-Tax Country. He's Wrong. So What?"

As headline suggests, author of an article employed a certain amount of satire. The text focuses on Donald Trump's argumentation based on unverified information, which might affect potential voters' decisionmaking as far as taxation is concerned. As the sub-heading indicates, author indirectly marks Trump's ignorance of taxation knowledge:

(1) *"Using correct information on tax burdens can shape decisions on how the U.S. should tax."*

Article is informative, but compared to the previous excerpt in narrower extent, as it focuses strictly on the standpoints concerning taxation regulations. Author also provided a transcription of a political debate in order to illustrate Trump's argumentation:

(2) *"We're already [the] highest-tax nation in the world. Just about. They can maybe find every once in a while they'll say, they'll fact-check me, 'Well, there's a nation that you never heard of where it's slightly higher.' We are just about, of the industrialized nations, we're the highest taxpayers in the world."*

The quotation serves as an evidence that Donald Trump was not aware of the issue discussed, which leads to the conclusion that populism plays a considerable role in his presidential campaign's programme. To emphasize or even ridicule Trump's statement, author creates a link to the repetitive speech by copying the sentence structure in the following paragraph:

(3) *"The Republican candidate is not right. The U.S. is a low-tax country, well below countries you have heard of such as Canada, Germany and Japan."*

A subtle satire with an element of exaggeration is used at the end of the article as well, in order to resolve the context and empower the message.

(4) *"That's not to say that you can't justify cutting taxes in a low-tax country. There are plenty of reasons why politicians might want to do that. But relieving Americans from a world-high tax burden just isn't one of them."*

Multimodality is only represented by one cover photo reflecting Donald Trump pointing finger towards Hillary Clinton in an offensive manner and rather aggressive face expression, which empowers author's standpoint and Trump's improper public performance.

6.3 The USA Today

The USA Today rather targets the middle-market audience, compared to the broadsheet competition mentioned before, which arranged the highest circulation of copies across the United States. The political standpoint of the USA Today inclines more on the liberal side. All the articles published within a web version are accessible free of charge to a wide public, in full version, including an admittance to the archive as the only case among the competition. The language used employs less complicated structure compared to the Wall Street Journal and the New York Times.

6.3.1 "6 Times Donald Trump Felt He Was Misunderstood by the Media"

As the headline indicates, the text elaborates on six cases of rough offences Donald Trump produced during the campaign speeches. The verb *felt* employed suggests that it was rather subjective and the circumstances exclude the actual misunderstanding. The content is informative but carries the elements of entertaining purpose, by contrasting

transcripts of individual offensive speeches and subsequent Twitter reactions disqualifying of what was stated before. The case of addressing Second Amendment people can serve as an example:

(1) *“If she gets to pick her judges, nothing you can do folks. Although the Second Amendment people, maybe there is, I don’t know.”*

(2) *“Media desperate to distract from Clinton’s anti-2A stance. I said pro-2A citizens must organize and get out vote to save our Constitution!”*

(3) *“2nd Amendment people have amazing spirit and are tremendously unified, which gives them great political power. [...] And this year, they will be voting in record numbers, and it won’t be for Hillary Clinton, it will be for Donald Trump.”*

The first extract from the article reflects the characteristic tone of voice of the presidential candidate, as he uses very informal, familiar language. The mission behind the statement was a suggestion to assassinate his opponent in case she becomes a president of the United States. Although the intention was arguably to make a sarcastic comment, reactions on social media spread. Since Donald Trump is an active Twitter user, first response appeared on his account (2). Abbreviations were probably used only in order to obey the Twitter’s characters limit, therefore should not be subject of analysis, on the other hand, the sentence composition suggests urgency or an anger, as the imperative sentence was used, combined with highly casual lexical choices, which are rather common for a spoken communication. As the offense caused serious consequences, a senior communications advisor had to intervene (3) by clarifying Trump’s statement and rephrasing it in order to calm the potential voters. That was achieved by emphasizing the positive aspects of the group in the first part and comparison to the final part, which could possibly serve as a demonstration of power.



Figure 4: *Offensive speech video compilation*

Negative connotation is prominent across the whole text, mostly by means of emotive vocabulary use, such as *wildfire* addressed to the circumstances of accusing a war veteran of being captured as a war prisoner for five years, or by quoting Donald Trump's insults directly, for example "*blood coming out of her whatever*" addressing the Fox News host. Donald Trump did not apologize for none of the insults.

Pragmatic units of the Trump's behavior are exemplified by publically ridiculing the Washington Post's reporter, clearly showcasing the employment of impoliteness. Multimodality is employed by a video compilation of the most offensive moments of Donald Trump's campaign speeches, giving the reader an outlook on his nonverbal communication as well, showing prominent gesticulation that reveals the uncertainty of his arguments.

6.3.2 "Fact Check: Donald Trump's False and Misleading Claims"

As the headline implies, article was published as a part of regular series called the Fact Check, which is produced in cooperation with a webpage FactCheck.org. The author is specialized in unbiased research of political claims. The article is divided into paragraphs, each covering one misinformation issue and providing the links in order to make intertextual references easily understandable to the reader.

Text is rather distant from emotional vocabulary and speech figures and maintains a neutral tone of voice. Unfortunately, the evidence provided is sufficient to throw a negative light on Donald Trump's image. The article covers repeatedly claimed arguments that were used by the candidate during the presidential campaign without any factual support.

The examples of frequently repeated non-verified messages appearing throughout the whole presidential campaign follow:

(1) *“Hillary Clinton is going to raise your taxes very substantially, possibly to 55 or 60 percent. That is going to be the end.”*

(2) *“Among the victims is our late Ambassador, Chris Stevens. I mean, she – what she did with him was absolutely horrible. He was left helpless to die as Hillary Clinton soundly slept in her bed. That’s right. When the phone rang, as per the commercial, at three o’clock in the morning, Hillary Clinton was sleeping.”*

(3) *“Whether she was sleeping or not who knows if she was sleeping!”*

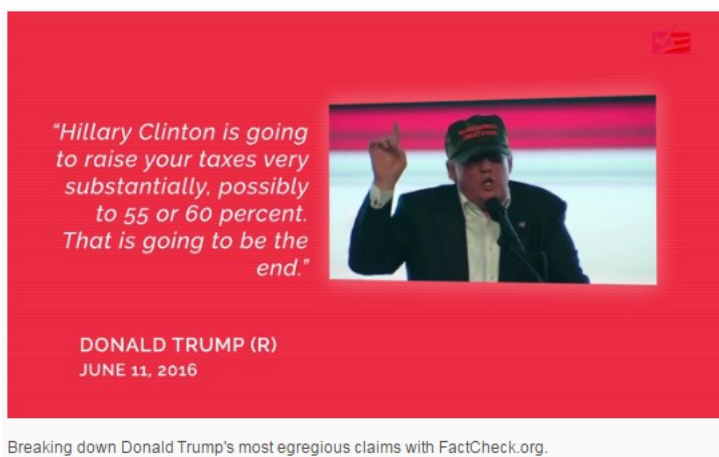


Figure 5: Misleading facts

In example number 1, author quotes Donald Trump as he warns the audience about Hillary Clinton taxation plan, using the artificial data. Employment of definite numbers in the statement empower the credibility of it, in case a receiver is not informed enough. The colloquial language remained; paired up with a lack of familiarity of the topic covered, it may create a powerful impression, which is further reinforced by the sign of a warning finger. Moreover, the employment of lexical items is incorrect, as the words *very* and *substantially* do not coocur in an immediate order.

The second statement carries a stronger message, which had to be resolved and subsequently retracted by Donald Trump as an author, as quoted in the excerpt number 3. In his statement, Trump directly accuses Hillary Clinton from not being available during the attack when the ambassador Stevens died. The lexical means he used however

deliberately create a notion that Clinton was the cause of the ambassador's death. The evidence examined after his statement shown that Clinton was actually working, sent emails serving as a proof. The reaction of Trump in a resultant discussion was irritated, proving there was no basis for his statement.

Concerning the lack of knowledge behind the arguments, old conspiracy theories were presented by Donald Trump as well. That might create a notion of public fear, followed by the offer of resolution from the candidate, which could establish the image of a power-bearer:

(4) "Hillary Clinton received a classified intelligence report stating that the Obama administration was actively supporting al-Qaeda in Iraq, the terrorist group that became the Islamic State."



Donald Trump talks about his tax plan during a news conference on Sept. 28, 2015, in New York. (Photo: Julie Jacobson, AP)

Figure 6: Hand block

As far as multimodality is concerned, the text is complemented by a video compilation of the most repeated misleading arguments and their unbiased clarification; and photos from the individual political debates. Figure 6 serves as an example of how nonverbal communication supports the statement communicated via spoken language. As Donald Trump is speaking about his opposition to Hillary Clinton's taxation policies in that particular moment, his palm creates a notional block, strengthening the refusal.

6.4 The Globe

The Globe represents a strictly tabloid newspaper. Although an internet version is available worldwide and the access is free of charge, particular articles always include only

one or two paragraphs with a final link to the printed version. By those means, the publisher wants to encourage the audience to purchase the printed version. As the language used includes slang and is rather of a low level, an aim to approach the social group of a lesser access to the information and education sources is prominent. Comparing the tone of voice and expression manners of the tabloid press and Donald Trump as a presidential candidate, similarities are shared. Therefore, an impact on potential voters between the readers might be strong.

6.4.1 “Don't Mess with Donald Trump!”

Headline of the article, as well as the content, represents Donald Trump as an uncompromising candidate, which is amplified by lexical items employed and the font formatting used. Sympathies of an author toward Trump are significant by lexical choice, as he addresses him a *frontrunner*. On the other hand, a relatively short paragraph includes vast amount of rude addresses to his competitors, describing them as *sleazebags*, *creepy-conspirators*, or *democrats*, who are in this case pictured in a negative connotation:

(1) “*Presidential frontrunner Donald Trump is planning swift vengeance on sleazebag Republican rivals Ted Cruz, John Kasich, their creepy co-conspirator Carly Fiorina AND Democrat Hillary Clinton, GLOBE has learned in an explosive exclusive!*”

The ridiculing of Donald Trump’s opponents was also accomplished by means of comparison empowered by the heavy employment of emotive adjective, such as *outrageous* or *overwhelming*; or the employment of a direct speech, which should create a notion of higher credibility. On the other hand, the person remained anonymous and is referred to as an *insider*, therefore no evidence is used to support the argument.

(2) “*Initially, Kasich and Cruz teamed up in an outrageous effort to try to block Trump from capturing the Republican presidential nomination — despite his overwhelming victories in a series of primaries.*”

(3) “*Trump will win the GOP nomination in spite of their disgraceful attempt to steamroll the will of the voters,” says an insider. “They’re going to pay — BIG-TIME! If you’re going to mess with Trump, you better not have any skeletons in your closet.*”



Figure 7: The pointing finger

The pointing finger in a photo attached enhances the rude manners of Donald Trump, but the Globe presents it rather as a positive aspect, showing the power of the candidate in rather unbridled way.

6.4.2 “Donald Trump Schools the Pope on Vital American Security”

Second article from the Globe maintains its initial support of Donald Trump, portraying him as savior, source of knowledge and a *super-patriot*, which violates with other newspapers and empowers the strong nationalist standpoint of the presidential candidate.

(1) “Super-patriot Donald Trump’s plan to protect America has exposed Pope Francis as a naïve pawn unaware of the damage caused by the flood of illegal immigration!”

Intertextuality links the article to the Bible and the Noah’s flood, as the author compares illegal immigration to the biblic act. By such means, author wanted to stress the fatal impact of illegal immigration on the society. That indicates the notion of populism which gives basis to the concept of power resulting from raising the fear. Moreover, the pope is portrayed as an aggressor, whilst Donald Trump as his strong opponent protecting the welfare by his knowledge.

(2) “The front-running Republican presidential candidate trumped the clueless pontiff on vital American security — and defended himself from an attack on his faith!”

Vocabulary choice remains identical compared to the previous article, therefore Trump-sympathizing and employing rude or ridiculing emotive vocabulary in order to

lessen other characters, as the pope is addressed as a *naïve pawn* or a *clueless pontiff*, violating both pragmatic and linguistic standards of politeness.

DONALD TRUMP SCHOOLS THE POPE ON VITAL AMERICAN SECURITY



Super-patriot **Donald Trump**'s plan to protect America has exposed **Pope Francis** as a naïve pawn unaware of the damage caused by the flood of illegal immigration!

The front-running Republican presidential candidate trumped the clueless pontiff on vital American security — and defended himself from an attack on his faith!

Read what The Donald had to

Figure 8: Strict face expression

Multimodality is represented by a collage consisting of Donald Trump's photo with a strict face expression, looking down on the pope in the bottom-right corner, which signifies a superiority or dominance.

6.5 The National Enquirer

Although The National Enquirer belongs to the group of a tabloid press, compared to The Globe it offers a higher level of informativity. The target audience remains as with its main competition. The National Enquirer offers a web version of its articles under a different name, The Radar. In respect to the 2016 presidential elections, The National Enquirer manifested vast promotion of Donald Trump's candidacy by publishing appraisal stories and disparaging his competition. In comparison with other news websites, the Radar is highly multimodal. Access to the full article and the archive is free of charge, nonetheless it does not showcase a logical structure.

6.5.1 “Trump vs. Clinton: Top 15 Moments of the First Presidential Debate”

As the headline suggests, article summarizes a presidential debate taking place at the end of September as a part of presidential campaign. Layout of the article is different to the traditional style, as the text is organized rather like a short comment to the picture, since the article is highly multimodal. Text is rich in metaphors, represented for example by:

(1) *“The first presidential debate between **Hillary Clinton** and **Donald Trump** resembled a prize fight in more ways than onewith punches and counterpunches being thrown, verbal haymakers flying, and remarks that seemed to take the wind out of each candidate at one point or another.”*

The metaphor illustrates the belligerent atmosphere at the presidential election debate in order to stress the hostility between the two candidates, especially by using *punches and counterpunches being thrown*.



Figure 9: Impoliteness

Insults were not left out, as Donald Trump addressed Hillary Clinton as *a secretary* at the beginning of a debate.

(2) *"The debate began with Trump checking with Clinton to see if he had the right title for her. "Secretary Clinton, is that OK?" Trump asked his opponent."*

Figure 9 supports the statement, as the nonverbal communication of both candidates signals Donald Trump's aggressive argumentation by repetition and on the other side Hillary Clinton's arm signal signifying that her opponent is crossing the admissible line. The rhetorical rule of repetition was employed in Trump's address to Hillary Clinton. According to this rule, a statement is easily memorized, this time in order to ridicule the opponent and improve his image by forcing the audience to comparison.

(3) *"She doesn't have the look.
She doesn't have the stamina,
I said she doesn't have the stamina,
and I don't believe she does have the stamina."*



Figure 10: Resigned or offended?

Figure 10 portrays Donald Trump in the moment when his opponent is speaking. According to his face expression, he is rather resigned and might not pay an attention to what Hillary Clinton is saying. The arm gesture with fingers spread to the space signifies a tendency to expand and dominate.

6.5.2 “Donald Trump's Secret Finances EXPOSED!”

Second article elaborates on Donald Trump’s tax financing strategies before the candidacy on American president. Although the headline intensified by capital letters and the *exclusive* label hints a sensational disclosure of a scandal to attract the reader, content expresses the opposite and remains a positive standpoint.

Author used a reference of an accountant in order to increase the credibility of the statement that Donald Trump’s abstaining from paying taxes was legal and supports his business sense.

(1) *“In subsequent years, he had a reported tax contribution of zero, but according to renowned celebrity accountant **John Bolan**, that was well within his rights as a real estate tycoon.”*

(2) *“He could claim the expenses used to fix or repair his buildings as capital improvements. With the laws now and the depreciations he’s able to take, it protects his income. Bolan went on to say there was “absolutely nothing wrong with what he’s doing. That’s what you are supposed to do!”*

By those means the author takes advantage of the accountant's statement and uses it as a basis to turn the allegation of tax fraud into an advantage and set Trump as an example, capable of management of the US. To intensify the positive image, author used emotive vocabulary as *whopping*, *hemorrhaging* or *soaring* to refer to his business successes and tax amount paid in the early years.

The credibility is reinforced by vast employment of numerals. In order to make the numbers appear higher and negate the accusation of tax fraud, sums were converted to the present money value:

(3) *“Records uncovered by Radar reveal that from 1975 to 1977, Trump earned an average annual income of \$140,314 (\$557,674 in 2016 dollars). At the time, the average annual income was dramatically less — only about \$9,000.”*

(4) *“...Trump's filings reveal he paid an average of \$23,977 (\$95,296 in 2016 dollars) in federal taxes...”*

EXCLUSIVE
Donald Trump's Secret Finances EXPOSED!

Find out what's truly hidden in Trump's financial documents!

By Radar Staff
Posted on Oct 12, 2016 @ 15:17PM



Figure 11: Open palms

Gesture of open palms portrayed on the cover photo signifies that he does not have a secret and is open to face the arguments. What has to be mentioned is that it does not correspond with the context as such, as the photo was accessed from a public database and taken during a rally.

6.6 The New York Post

Concerning the circulation, the New York Post is the fourth most read newspaper across the United States and the most read tabloid. As it evinces not strictly tabloid elements but a certain level of informativity as well, target audience shall be wider. Politically, the New York Post inclines rather to the Conservative party and populism.

6.6.1 “Trump Explains How He’d Rule the World”

As the heading suggests, author of the article explains Donald Trump’s values, mostly concerning the foreign policy and a terrorism threat. True purpose of the article was the appraisal of candidate’s shift from improvisation to a serious delivery.

(1) *“If the theme was familiar, the delivery was not.”*

(2) *“A newly presidential Trump adopted a serious tone and relied on a teleprompter instead of speaking off the cuff...”*

Majority of the article consists of Trump’s direct speech, with prominent inclination to nationalist views over the present globalization. The concept of promise and the image of a savior resulting from the fear accompanying the populi topics are employed:

(3) *“‘America first’ will be the major and overriding theme of my administration...”*

(4) *“No American citizen will ever feel that their needs come second to a citizen of a foreign country...”*

(5) *“I will be America’s greatest defender and most loyal champion.”*

(6) *“We will no longer surrender this country or its people to the false song of globalism...”*

Mostly neutral lexical items were used to harm the opponent Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama, doing so by means of direct comparison, emotive vocabulary however was not left out fully:

(7) *“Setting up a November showdown with Clinton — who is more hawkish than Obama — Trump sought to portray himself as a disciplined leader who would steer clear of nation-building at the expense of US interests.”*

(8) *“He charged that the Clinton-Obama team created chaos by meddling abroad, citing the overthrow of President Hosni Mubarak in Egypt, the intervention in Libya and stepped-up military action in Syria.”*

By these statements, author emphasized the nationalist standpoints amplified by highlighting Trump's local interest whilst using the *slowdown* with regard to Clinton, referring to her as *hawkish*, which should evoke her favour to war economy as far as global conflicts are concerned. In more aggressive of statements, author refers to Obama and Clinton as a team, employing the irony within the text in order to ridicule the predecessor and the opponent.



Figure 12: *The Trump Doctrine*

Multimodality is represented by a cover photo, a page from the printed tabloid version and a final video, where Donald Trump introduces his values as a presidential candidate in form of promise, enhanced by a raised palm. Heading incorporated on a page from press version says *The Trump Doctrine*, which should evoke and support the mediated image of consistency and a serious tone.

6.6.2 “Trump May Have Found the Perfect Attack to Use against Hillary”

The tone of voice radically changes in the second article, concerning the conflict between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton on her state of health, in order to portray his opponent as unsuitable for the role of an American president. Author's political preference is prominent from direct attacks of the female opponent and vast defence of Donald Trump:

(1) *“It’s actually Clinton who in 2012 passed out from dehydration and suffered a concussion. But shh! That has no place in this campaign!”*

(2) *“Hillary released some of her medical information last year and it turns out she takes medication for an underactive thyroid, one of the main symptoms of which is ... fatigue. But Trump isn’t allowed to call her sleepy.”*

Author uses the means which are more typical for the spoken language, for example an interjection or pauses which are substituted by the three full stops. By creating the illusion of spoken discourse, the reader perceives the text as more urgent. Both examples serve to ridicule the female opponent.

Informativity of the text is rather low, as the text employs sarcasm more extensively. Author creates the link to the Wall Street Journal's Pinocchio assessment of lies within a political discourse, and target it on Trump's opponent:

(3) *"In the absence of any evidence that Trump "lacks the temperament" to lead the country, she earns four pillows."*



Figure 13: Donald Trump vs. Hillary Clinton

Cover photo representing the only multimodal element shows Donald Trump in a positive temper, whereas Hillary Clinton has an annoyed expression. The intention to illustrate Trump's vitality contrary to Clinton is distinctive.

CONCLUSION

The tone of voice of Donald Trump's presidential campaign appeared as determinative for the campaign's final success, prevailing over the traditional political rhetorics concept, despite frequent negative portrayal within American mass media.

The aim of the thesis was to analyze image of Donald Trump as a presidential candidate in American tabloid and broadsheet newspapers with the highest circulation across the United States, and to describe the individual lexical, figurative and pragmatic elements comprising the individual interpretation of a reader. The qualitative research was carried out by discourse analysis of corpus of articles, with respect to the political background of selected newspaper titles.

Interpretation of the results was conducted separately in the analysis section of the thesis, as every newspaper representative carried different characteristics that influenced the final result. To summarize, broadsheet newspapers tended to maintain critical or neutral standpoints supported by the corresponding employment of objective vocabulary and substantiated arguments, which were empowered by means of comparison. On the other hand, tabloid press manifested strong support of the candidate, often by use of emotive vocabulary, figures of speech, employment of impoliteness against the Trump's competitors and out of the context multimodal means. According to the research data, it might be caused by shared similarities between the tone of voice of Donald Trump's campaign and the target audience of tabloid press; as its readers often do not tend to verify presented information.

The success of Donald Trump's campaign might be also caused by his pertain to the concept of populism, connected to the presentation of rather nationalist views in the era of globalization. If that was the case, the case of Donald Trump revealed a weakness of the society which was interested in sensation more than the facts.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CC	Conversational Contract
CD	Compatible Disc
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
PP	Politeness Principle
U.S.	United States
USA	United States of America
WSJ	Wall Street Journal

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