# Trump's Ideology towards Arabs as Exemplified in Some Selected Speeches (2011-2017): An Appraisal Study

أيدلوجية ترامب إزاء العرب كما تتبدى في عينة من بعض خطاباته المختارة (٢٠١٧-٢٠١١): دراسة تقويمية

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**Abstract**

This paper mainly focuses on employing the Appraisal model in studying Trump's ideology in some selected political speeches and TV interviews. The paper tackles these speeches in their political, cultural and global contexts, with a focus on the lexical resources and\or expressions uttered. The study explores Trump's ideologies through Martin and White's Appraisal model (2005) that has been generated from the Systematic Functional Linguistic (SFL) of Halliday and his colleagues (Halliday, 1994). This theory elicits how assessments are perceived through attitudes inherited in the political discourse aspects. Additionally, Van Dijk's Ideological square (1998) is consulted and used as a linguistic tool in analyzing the texts in question. The results of the study reveal that Trump constructs an ideological stance to represent reality to his audience as a persuasive strategy to accomplish his underlying political goals. He did not change his attitudinal positions from 2011 through 2017 to accomplish his intended ideology that is based on discrimination attitudinally and intersubjectively.

**Keywords**

Appraisal model, Political Discourse Analysis, Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL), Trump's Ideology, Evaluation, Ideological square

أيدلوجية ترامب إزاء العرب كما تتبدى في عينة من بعض خطاباته المختارة (٢٠١١-٢٠١٧): دراسة تقويمية

ملخص البحث

تركز هذه الورقة البحثية على استخدام "نموذج التقويم" (Appraisal model) في دراسة أيديولوجية ترامب تجاه العرب في بعض خطاباته السياسية والمقابلات التلفزيونية. كما يتناول هذه الخطابات في سياقاتها السياسية والثقافية والعالمية، مع التركيز على المفردات المعجمية والتعبيرات الاصطلاحية المنطوقة ذات الدلالة. تستخدم الدراسة نموذج تقويم (Martin and White) لاستكشاف أيديولوجية ترامب. وقد قامت هذه النظرية على منهج "SFL" لهاليداي وزملاؤه عام (١٩٩٤) حيث توضح هذه النظرية كيف يتم التقويم اللغوي من خلال المواقف الموروثة في جوانب الخطاب السياسي. كما تم التعريج على منهج "المربع الأيديولوجي" لـ Van Dijk (١٩٩٨) واستخدامه كأداة لغوية في تحليل النصوص المعنية. ومن نتائج الدراسة أن ترامب يتبنى موقفا أيديولوجيا قد يجعله مقنعا لجمهوره في إطار استراتيجية الاقناع لتحقيق أهدافه السياسية الأساسية، فلم يغير مواقفه منذ عام ٢٠١١ حتى ٢٠١٧ لإنجاز إيديولوجيته الكامنة التي تستند إلى التمييز في المواقف وبشكل شخصي.

# Trump's Ideology towards Arabs as Exemplified in Some Selected Speeches (2011-2017): An Appraisal Study

## 1. Introduction

The appraisal framework evaluates the loaded meanings and ideologies employed in discourse through some mechanisms "by which the "interpersonal" metafunction operates" (White, 2015). The appraisal framework encompasses three main types: 1) *Engagement* which covers Dialoglossia and Heteroglossia; 2) *Attitude*, the most important type in this study, which is divided into: a) Affect, i.e. the personal emotional reactions whether positive or negative, b) Judgment, i.e. the human behavior by reference to ethics and morality, c) Appreciation, i.e. how values are evaluated socially by reference to aesthetic qualities; 3) *Graduation* that includes Force and Focus (that is not focused in this study).

Trump's speeches (texts, henceforth) sometimes arise arguments due to his clear-cut policies and procedures, in terms of explicit attitudinal stances and ideologies. The study examines three of his controversial speeches, before and after being the US president, towards Arab to depict his ideological and attitudinal stances. Firstly, the 2014 Conservative Political Action Conference in which he criticized President Obama's foreign policy with Russia, Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan, and Iran that caused, as he put, 'tremendous problems' to America and accordingly should be confronted mightily. Secondly, the 2011 interview with WSJ reporter Kelly Evans in which he bluntly asserted many times that if he were the US president he would take Libya's and Iraq's oil fields as a return of their security services they provide. Thirdly, the 2017 statement on Jerusalem in which, challenging international laws and organizations, he gifted what he does not possess and stated that Jerusalem is Israel's capital city. While conducting this account, he racially commented on many topics and events that are beyond the limits of one study to be covered in, for example, he has just referred to Haiti and African nations as "*shithole countries*" during a meeting with a bipartisan group of senators at the White House.

Political discourse analysis is a multidisciplinary approximation that focuses on language use as "a form of social practice" (Fairclough, 1995, 2010) and how social power and dominance are abused and accordingly generate different shapes of social discrimination (Van Dijk, 2001). This account profoundly focuses on power relations triggered by discursive ideological loaded speeches and\or texts that would form powerful discourses and accordingly lay bare the indirect ideologies. On the other hand, Appraisal is a model describing and explaining the interpersonal and social metafunction of language in Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL). This model examines how language is used to evaluate, adopt stances, construct textual personas, and manage interpersonal positioning and relationships (White, 2002). Appraisal stresses how speakers and\or writers express feelings, how they magnify them, and how they might associate additional voices or views in their discourses (Martin & White, 2005) in order to decorate the speech or text by more objectivity and non-biased stances adopted.

**Overview of Systematic Function Linguistics (SFL):**

The appraisal framework is generated from and rooted in Halliday's (1994) Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Halliday and his colleagues developed this theory that mainly focuses on the language and its different functions in social surroundings. These functions are called 'metafunctions' of language. This term is used to differentiate it from the traditional use or purpose of language functions, without any significant role for analyzing the language itself (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). According to Halliday, the linguistic system includes three wide modes of meaning: 1) the *Ideational* options which focus on explaining the ongoing actions, the participants, the settings of events, why and how, and the relationships between different events; 2) the *Interpersonal* options that argue the people's interactions, in terms of their social relations, shared feelings, and so forth; 3) the *Textual* resources that link between the ways of integrating and distributing the ideational and interpersonal meanings in occurrence of semiotics. This semiotics includes "interconnections among waves and between language and attendant modalities (action, image, music, etc.) these highly generalized kinds of meaning are referred to as metafunctions" (Martin

and White, 2005: 7). In SFL, Halliday claims that the contextual meaning is based on systematic resource of language. This meaning is generated from interactions and how people give and receive meanings through these interactions.

**Appraisal Attitude: Positive ⁄ Negative evaluation**

Appraisal framework represents the linguistic resources used to realize feelings, evaluate people's position, stance, and behavior in addition to evaluate the value of things throughout a feeling positive⁄ negative scale. Appraisal model divides the attitudinal meanings, the core of our analysis in this research, into three semantic domains: (1) **Affect** which evaluates emotional reactions via positive and negative feelings: happy or sad, interested or bored, etc. It represents linguistic resources used for expressing emotional state or responding to emotional trigger, i.e. known as emoter and trigger. Additionally, it could be realized through a range of grammatical structures and metaphors as stated by (Halliday, 1994): affect as quality, affect as process, and affect as comment (Martin & White, 2005: 44-46). (2) **Judgment** represents the attitude towards people's behavior – how they admire, criticize, praise or condemn other's character and/or social behavior. It is used to evaluate character and social behavior in relation to culturally accepted set of moral, personal and legal norms (i.e. civilized, progressive, kindly and humane, wrong, right, more skillful, enormous powers, bully are judgmental, etc.). In other words, it evaluates behavioral ethics or the way people behave – their character (how they are in⁄ humane, un⁄ civilized, etc.). Judgment is divided into 'social esteem' and 'social sanction'. "Judgments of esteem have to do with 'normality' (how unusual someone is), 'capacity' (how capable they are) and 'tenacity' (how resolute they are); Judgments of sanction have to do to with 'veracity' (how truthful someone is) and 'propriety' (how ethical someone is)" (Martin & White, 2005: 52). (3) **Appreciation** construes the aesthetic evaluation of things/texts/processes or any natural phenomena. It utilizes the interpersonal resources to express positive or negative assessment of entities, processes, and phenomena (serene, startling, fair, original, stunning, dangerous, incredible, etc.), e.g. Trump's 'Jerusalem' speech had <u>dangerous</u> consequences. Generally, appreciation is "divided into our

'reactions' to things (do they catch our attention; do they please us?), their 'composition' (balance and complexity), and their 'value' (how innovative, authentic, timely, etc.)" (Martin & White, 2005: 56).

### Appraisal Engagement: One voice\ multiple voices discourse

It demonstrates the linguistic resources for introducing additional voices and/or stances into a discourse. Since speakers often allow space for negotiation of meaning into their talks, they would provide a backdrop of alternative points of view and expected feedbacks. Engagement construes the degree to which a text is relatively monoglossic or hetroglossic, i.e. one voice vs. more than one voice. **Monoglossic** indicates that the communicative context is construed as a single voice / utterance and does not make reference to other voices and viewpoints. For instance, all students in this class are academically poor. **Hetroglossic**, however, shows that the communicative context is accounted for more than one voice / when a text opens up space for the inclusion of the audience. For example, there is a view that all students in this class are academically poor. This "taxonomy is directed towards identifying the particular dialogistic positioning associated with given meanings and towards describing what is at stake when one meanings rather than another is employed" (Martin & White, 2005: 97).

### Appraisal Graduation: Low-high gradability:

It outlines the grammatical and lexical resources used to "say how strongly we feel about someone or something" (Martin & Rose, 2003). It is concerned with "up-scaling and down-scaling" (Martin & White, 2005: 135). It is subject to a low-high gradability scaling, i.e. gradability of attitudinal meanings and gradability of engagement values. Graduation includes hedges, downtoners, boosters and intensifiers (e.g. slightly, somewhat, rather, very, entirely and sort of/kind of, true/pure). Graduation operates across two axes of scalability, i.e. force and focus. **Force** covers evaluations as to the degree of intensity and amount that rather include two subsystems: 1) Quantification - evaluations of the degree of quantity that operates over amount (e.g. a few notes, many speakers, small car) and 2) Intensification - evaluations of degree of intensity that works over qualities and processes. (e.g. extremely brilliant, slightly foolish, it stopped somewhat abruptly, it stopped very abruptly,

slightly disturbed me). **Focus**, however, not scalable, applies to categories which viewed from an experiential perspective. It Operates to reconstrue these categories in such a way that they participate in scalability (prototypicality and preciseness). Examples demonstrated: 1) He's a true friend. (real, genuine, true) 2) He's a kind of friend (kind of, of sorts). Pursuing this point, up-scale, or 'sharpen' prototypicality (e.g. a real father, a true friend) - intensifiers, boosters and amplifiers. Nevertheless, downscale, or 'soften' (e.g. they play sort of jazz, they are kind of crazy, it was an apology of sorts). Additionally, scalar categories are also gradable according to prototypicality, for instance, 1) a very red carpet [intensity] 2) a sort of genuinely red carpet [prototypicality]. The following (figure 1) demonstrates the appraisal framework and subsystems underpinning.
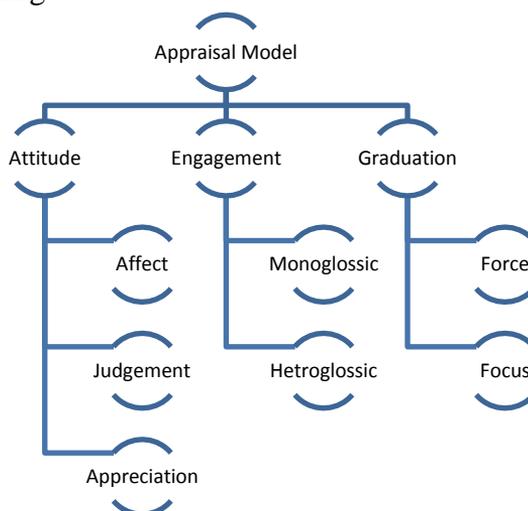


**Figure (1) Appraisal Framework**

### Overview of Van Dijk's Ideological Square:

In this paper, Van Dijk's account of Ideological Square is investigated and used as analytical framework. Van Dijk's (1998) ideological square (cognition) proposes a polarization of *US* versus *THEM* through which the positive and negative representation of in-group (US) and out-group (THEM) are (de)emphasized. This overall ideological communication strategy is interpreted as one of the following moves:

1) "Express/emphasize information that is positive about us.
2) Express/emphasize information that is negative about them.

3) Suppress/de-emphasize information that is positive about them.
4) Suppress/de-emphasize information that is negative about us". (Van Dijk, 1998: 267)

Van Dijk claims that these four moves play a significant "role in the broader contextual strategy of positive self-presentation or face-keeping and its outgroup corollary, 'negative other presentation'" (1998: 267).

## 2. Statement of the Problem

Throughout reviewing the related literature, it has been obvious that Trump's controversial speeches have been analyzed on global media, especially on talk shows, but not academically conducted his speeches towards Arab. His speeches or interviews to be subject to the main principles of political discourse analysis and\or appraisal framework by examining the linguistic aspects employed in those speeches in order to understand his attitudinal stances and political ideology towards Arab. In general, the main problem of this study is to uncover the double face of Trump's ideological situations before and after becoming a president and to show how political power could pave bumpy roads to those who became empowered to fulfill their own ideological controlled stances. In other words, how Trump straightforwardly started, after being elected as a president, to attain his ideological propositions he stated and confirmed years ago by using certain attitudes and ideologies.

The study tackles Trump's conference keyword, TV interview, and a memorial speech on a very critical occasion. It attempts the salient linguistic features of Trump's speeches in order to explore the main attitudes and ideologies used to fulfill his long-standing political goals.

## 3. Research Objectives and Questions

Utilizing the appraisal model presented by Martin and White (2005), the current study attempts to explore the interrelation of discourse structures and ideological structures of Trump's speeches before and after becoming a president of the US. His attitudinal language use in 2011 and 2014, i.e. before being empowered, depicts explicit opinions that are in line with his, somewhat, ideology in 2017, when he became the US President. The attitudinal values of his lexical choices, and some body

gestures in his speeches will be analyzed thoroughly. This study also tries to reveal the implementation of power and hidden mechanisms through language use and body gestures as well. Therefore, the study purports to answer the following questions:

1) What are the distinctive Linguistic features that characterize Trump's speeches before and after his presidency through applying Martin and White's Appraisal Model (2005)?

2) What are the most important attitudinal words-based ideological, concepts and\or gestures towards Arab in Trump's speeches?

3) How Trump's attitudinal stances are expressed, amplified, and\or incorporated?

### 4. Review of the Literature

Recently some articles investigating a number of political speeches, in general, and of Trump's provocative ones, in particular, towards the other (i.e. non-indigenous white Americans) have been carried out using CDA different tenets and tools. Among these, Leila Parvin (2017) has thoroughly examines the ideologies of three news reports about November 2015 Paris attack via employing the appraisal framework, particularly the Attitude. She stresses the discursively hidden power of journalists who could impress and direct their audience ideologically. In demonstrating the analysis of appraisal attitudinal orientation, she finds that the three journalists represent and report three different situations of the same event based on their own ideologies. She also emphasizes the feasibility and objectivity of employing the appraisal model as a linguistic tool that could reinforces the traditional subjective methods. In distributing and counting attitudinal choices of the reports, Parvin asserts that Appreciation is the most frequent category followed by Judgment and then Affect respectively.

In her study, Inas Hussein (2016) conducts a political CDA of the Egyptian president Abdel Fattah El-Sisi's speech at the New Suez Canal inauguration ceremony. She attempts to explore the intended ideologies and discursive linguistic features involved in El-Sisi's speech in order to persuade his audience and fulfill his goals accordingly. She employs Fair Clough's (1992) three-dimensional model of CDA, i.e. the Text, the Discursive Practice, and the Social Practice. She also connects the

semantic macrostructures and the local semantic microstructures with the linguistic practices involved in the speech. Her study finds, based on her analysis, that intertextuality along with the linguistic features of that text such as figures of speech, synonymy, repetition, and religious expressions are purposefully resorted to as persuasive strategies to achieve the speaker's intended goal.

Utilizing Fairclough's (1989, 1995, 2001&2010) CDA ten-question model derived from the three dimensional theory and Van Dijk's ideological discourse analysis (2004), Mohammad Mohammadi (2017) outlines a CDA of Trump's language use in his acceptance speech during the US presidential election, 2016. Mohammadi assures that this speech is a good example of depicting Trump's ideology as it reveals "the experiential relational and expressive values of wording, metaphors and grammatical structures" (Mohammadi, 2017) in his linguistic retention. In addition, he finds that the analysis of this study would be tactfully applied to English language classes of journalism and reading comprehension because of the good number of linguistic traces that signify Trump's ideology on the lexical and grammatical levels. The study shows that Trump tends to use simple and short emphatic sentences in addition to the huge number by which he addressed his audience as "friends, delegates and fellow Americans" as a powerful persuasive strategy.

Shokoufeh Vakili Latif (2016) conducts a critical functional study to 24 news reports of Iran and Saudi Arabia on Mina Stampede (an accident due to crush and stampede caused deaths over 2000 pilgrims in Mina, Mecca) during the Hajj in 2015. Using the components of CDA and SFL, she analyzes those news reports from both Iranian and Saudi perspectives from 24 to 31 September 2015. Her study examines the discursive variations in the media discourse of Iran and Saudi Arabia through news reports on Mina Stampede and their consequences on the readers' ideologies. She concludes that Saudi media discourse opted for ignoring the issue, while the Iranian diatypic variation on the news reports showed a highly significant and professional coverage of the event which was clear from the frequent high number of the news reported and its effects. She also finds that discourse and ideology variation patterns in media in an up-down

style and conveyed the perspectives of the powerful dominating and elite social classes.

Employing CDA in analyzing Arabic political discourse, Ahmad Al-Harahsheh (2013) examines three translated political speeches of Khalid Mashaal focusing on the problematic translation of figures of speech. It finds that the SL Arabic version loses the domestic flavor tone of emotiveness when it is rendered into English. The study also recommends some practical solutions to overcome the translating pitfalls in political discourse, in general, and loaded meaning figures of speech, in particular.

Another study carried out by Nasser Rashidi (2010) in which he delineates the ideologies, attitudes, and opinions of Republicans vs. Democrats over the continuation of war in Iraq. Van Dijk's (2004) framework has been adopted as a methodological tool in addition to the macro strategies, i.e. 'self-representation' and 'negative other-representation', polarization of US-THEM, and other 25 more sophisticated strategies. He stresses that applying these strategies have led to very clear and objective criteria evaluating the attitudes, opinions and ideologies. Accordingly, he finds that, unlike the Democrats, the Republicans are against the withdrawal of the American troops from Iraq. He also concludes that both parties tend to frequently use lexicalization, polarization and rhetoric as influential mechanisms in persuasion and justification.

Applying (Martin & White 2002, 2003), Mona Attia (2003) conducts a study entitled 'Attitudinal and Intersubjective Positioning: The Appraisal Model' in which she investigates how language in media discourse is used to evaluate, to adopt attitudinal stances, and to 'manage intersubjective positioning' within different text types. She analyses 5 texts drawn from Al-Ahram newspaper covering three different domains, i.e. cultural, political and social. Using the appraisal model, she finds that different writers could position themselves attitudinally and intersubjectively to accomplish solidarity with their readers. She also stresses that the appraisal model has reinforced how writers' evaluation is derived from the culture and ideology of their societies.

## 5. Procedure and Data Collection

The three selected texts (i.e. a TV interview, a conference keyword and the statement on Jerusalem) with their transcripts were subjected to the analysis of this study. Their transcripts were retrieved from authentic websites, i.e. CNN, WSJ, and Whitehouse, and thoroughly examined sentence-by-sentence by the researcher, so as to zoom in and explore Trump's Attitudinal triggers, Engagement values, and "Graduation scalable clines" (Martine & White, 2005, p.137) of the whole selected transcribed speeches. The analysis performed comes on an accurate end of scale that is the traditional context-based pattern; i.e. the context in which the attitudinal utterances occurred will be flashbacked for more comprehensive understanding of the attitudinal utterances (Type, Strategy, and possible polarity). The attitudinal choices within the selected interviews and speech, their Type (Affect, Judgment, or Appreciation), their Strategy in which they had been recognized (Inscribed or Invoked), and the possible polarity Trump adopted (Positive or Negative) were demonstrated and construed by the researcher.

In fulfilling the full appraisal analysis of the corpus, the quantitative analysis of the data is conducted. The total number of Attitudinal choices, Engagement values, and Graduation scale and also the number of occurrences for each subcategory are counted using Microsoft Word software. The total numbers of the evaluated words and\or expressions for each category are not equal therefore; the percentages of the total numbers and frequently occurrences for each category are also calculated manually so as to equalize the total numbers. Accordingly, the inter-comparison among the subcategories and the intra-comparison within each category modes would be easier in terms of occurrences and percentages of the frequencies. These two ways of quantitative analysis and calculations are followed to fulfill the current study data analysis and collection.

## 6. Data Analysis

Trump's language in the 2011 TV interview (i.e. refereed as text 2 hereafter) and the 2014 conference speech (i.e. refereed as text 1 hereafter) is different from his statement on Jerusalem in 2017 (i.e.

refereed as text 3 hereafter). His language is significantly different in terms of explicit vs. implicit opinions and, most importantly, attitude. His speeches have been analyzed employing the appraisal model to see, to what extent, this framework could help in revealing the speaker's ideology and accordingly turning out a more objective political discourse analysis.

In text 1, the first conference keyword, i.e. *the 2014 Conservative Political Action Conference*, is a good example representing Trump's ideology, opinion, and attitude towards Iraq, in particular, Iran, Syria, and Afghanistan, in general. The conference keyword counts approximately 2550 words that lasted for 00:18:49 in which Trump criticized President Obama's foreign policy, immigration policy, security issues, and 'Obamacare', i.e. healthcare system. He also cites the Russian incursion into Ukraine and importantly the strategies should be done against Arab and Muslim countries in order to take their oil vs. the security we provide. Would a speaker in USA want to persuade his/her audience certain attitudinal stances or ideologies (i.e. to choose the right leader), s\he should stress the hazards of 'our' social security, economic situation, peoples' Medicare, and immigration. In this speech, Trump mainly criticizes Obama administration and describes them as clumsy and stupid, namely, the dangerous impacts of immigration; the failing Obamacare (i.e. Medicare system of Obama); the social security of Americans; and the blemish relationship with Arab and Islamic countries, i.e. Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Afghanistan. Purposefully and tactfully, Trump was developing his arguments to impress his audience and manipulate their minds through their discursive power to accept his attitudinal beliefs and stances. Critically, he rebukes Obama administration which is in charge of the disastrous results of the vicious status quo. He started with how his organization has created many job vacancies for the unemployed vs. the serious economic deficit and the $17 trillion debt due to the failed Obama administration. He continues his criticism referring to the deteriorated economy and how other countries such as China has 'no respect' to the US leader nor to the great America due to the weak economy that made him 'so torn'. Moreover, he criticizes Obama's foreign affairs with Russia and how bad does Putin treat him, the medical care system and the

immigration policy. Additionally, he swiftly moves from being a good friend of Putin into how Russia becomes 'very friendly with Iran' which makes 'tremendous problems' with Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq. Accordingly, Iran which has been already taken over Iraq sells its weapons to them. Trump highlights many negative aspects, from his point of view, of the administration in power and what it has and has not done. The conference keyword could be considered as a sequence of failures of Obama administration and the great success and prosperity on Trump's side.

The following attitudinal analysis reflects what goes on in text 1, i.e. Trump's 2014 speech. The polarity of negativeness versus positiveness (see table 2.1) will be focused on this political discourse analysis because of the nature of Trump's speeches which full of smearing Obama's administration and appreciating his own efforts and actions he exerted, as he claims, to improve the economy and to make America so strong and rich. Similarly, this attitudinal Polarity will help in appraising and evaluating his speeches because he usually puts his clear-cut views towards other countries, presidents and their policies and peoples. Additionally, Type (affect, judgment, appreciation) and Strategy (inscribed, invoked) (see table 2.1) of attitudinal choices will be referred to. The attitudinal evaluations of Trump's (texts 1, 2) are "inscribed" rather than "invoked" in that they arise through explicit assertion of attitudinal values and not via processes of implicature. In other words, Inscribed assessment refers to the overt attitudinal choices; however, invoked assessment indicates the covert meaning of expressions.

In text 1, the most frequent pattern is appreciation and then judgment respectively. Also, it is observed that the frequent evaluative discourse strategy in Inscribed attitudinal items which "directs readers in their evaluation of non-attitudinal ideational material under its scope" (Martine & White, 2005, p.64). These are applied to the three texts in question which justify the reason behind stressing the polarity of positiveness and negativeness in this political discourse material. The following (table 1) shows the use of appreciation (69.33%) used in this study.

|  | Affect | Judgment | Appreciation |
|---|---|---|---|
| Text 1 | 18.8 | 31.8 | 49.2 |
| Text 2 | 11 | 11.92 | 77.06 |
| Text 3 | 3.96 | 18.81 | 77.22 |
| Average | 11.66 | 19 | 69.33 |

**Table (1) Percentage of Attitude**

The polarity of Trump's attitudinal lexes, utterances and even his body language and facial expressions in text (1) exhibits a negative attitude with almost 51% and 32% of positive appraising expressions (the remaining percentage which is 17% belongs to neutral items). The biggest percentage indicates his criticism towards OTHERS however, most of the positive evaluative expressions direct, as he claims, to himself as a person and to his good actions taken to benefit 'Americans' in his organization, without any reference to a positive aspect regarding others. Clearly, Trump tries, by all means, to impress and convince his audience how powerless and inexperienced Obama administration is and how wise and successful he is; by referring to any related background political or economic issues. In the following analysis, all attitudinal expressions in the speech are counted and quantitatively evaluated (see table 2), however, the part starts from minutes 09:38 to 11:47 in the video link of the speech, annotated in the appendix section, that focuses on Iraq (i.e. the scope of the study) will be thoroughly evaluated and discussed (see table 2).

|  | Type | Affect | Judgement | Appreciation |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Text 1 | Instances | 13 | 22 | 34 |
|  | Percentage | 18.8% | 31.8% | 49.2% |
| Text 2 | Instances | 12 | 13 | 88 |
|  | Percentage | 10.6% | 11.5% | 77.87% |
| Text 3 | Instances | 4 | 19 | 79 |
|  | Percentage | 3.92% | 18.62% | 77.45% |

**Table (2) Distribution of Attitudinal items**

|  |  | Polarity | |
|---|---|---|---|
|  |  | Positive | Negative |
| Text 1 | Instances | 18 | 16 |
|  | Percentage | 52.9 | 47.05 |
| Text 2 | Instances | 40 | 48 |
|  | Percentage | 45.45 | 54.54 |
| Text 3 | Instances | 60 | 19 |
|  | Percentage | 75.9 | 24.05 |

**Table (3) Distribution of polarity Attitudinal items**

The tree texts deal with mainly political issues in addition to American social issues that mainly target Trump's political domain. Text (1) represents Trump's ideological stance towards some wealthy and Islamic Arab countries, in particular, and criticizing Obama's foreign policy, in general. In text (2) Trump's interview with the Kelly Evans in 2011 shows an arrogant businessman who insults his interviewer due to asking some undesirable questions. Trump reveals in that old interview his ideological stance towards Arab and\or Islamic countries, i.e. Libya, Iraq, and Iran. He clearly determines that he is only looking for the Arab natural and financial resources, i.e. mainly oil. Text (3) represents the most diplomatic, well-prepared, and predetermined statement after being elected in 2016. Being empowered, Trump expresses almost the same ideological concepts, but in an invoked engagement assessment. He announced that Jerusalem is the everlasting Israeli's capital. As for attitude, the three texts make use of its three elements: affect, judgment, and appreciation. However, affect was rarely used in text (3) as it is a predetermined written statement as shown in table (4).

**Appreciation** is to be viewed the highest percentage as it is the most dominant feature of attitude (69.33%). As for texts (1, 2), they deal with Arab and Muslim affairs such as war in Iraq and Syria, the oil that must be taken from Iraq and Libya in return of "our protection to their thrones", the Iranian role in the area in addition to many other US affairs. On the other hand, text (3), tackles solely the situation of Jerusalem in the occupied territories and Trump's announcement and recognition that it's Israeli's capital city. The appraised is usually America and its policies, Obama and his policies and decisions, the Israeli and Palestinian conflict. The actual situation in America with its allies.it represents an official situation of USA against the Palestinians as the appraised: Most of Trump's appreciation items are expressed overtly, still there is a few amount of evoked appreciation as shown in table (4).

| | Appreciation | Inscribed vs. Evoked | | Positive vs. Negative | | Valuation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Inscribed | Evoked | Positive | Negative | |
| Text 1 | 49.2 | 29.85 | 20.89 | 26.86 | 22.38 | 49.2 |
| Text 2 | 77.06 | 80.68 | 14.96 | 36.96 | 40.48 | 77.06 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Text 3 | 77.22 | 35.44 | 64.55 | 74.68 | 25.31 | 77.22 |
| Average | 69.33 | 48.65 | 33.46 | 46.16 | 29.39 | 69.33 |

**Table (4) Percentages of Appreciation**

Evoked appreciation is illustrated in three texts as follows:

- "I come out front page news: Trump is a <u>horrible</u> human being, wants to take the oil from a <u>sovereign</u> country…<u>Sovereign</u>!? Haha. Unbelievable! [laughing and applauding]". (Text 1)
- "I would take the oil (i.e. of Libya)… How? You heard me I would take the oil". (Text 2)
- "The pursuit of peace between Israel and the Palestinians…this is a <u>long overdue step</u>". (Text 3)

The phrases and expressions render an evaluation through the text. Saying the phrase "a sovereign country" in a very satirical tone including many semiotic gestures, for example, refers to Trump's insulting way towards an Arab country (i.e. Iraq). He is negatively evaluating it. "I would take the oil" of Libya reveals Trump's attitude towards an Arab oil country. Within the context, it also represents a negative evaluation. "A long overdue step" that refers to Trump's view towards the previous US departments that delayed the step of recognizing Jerusalem as Israeli's capital city and accordingly moving the US embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

Inscribed appreciation that is more explicit (48.65%) rendered to the viewers can expose positive and negative evaluation. As shown in table (5), positive appreciation (46.16) is much more used than negative appreciation (29.39). However, most of the positive phrases and\or expressions are used by the speaker to praise and value his own actions and views. Trump's negative appreciation is directed to his opponents, while he opted to second and value his deeds and views through using positive appreciation. The intermingling between positive and negative aspects shows Trump's attitudinal positions.

Example of Inscribe positive appreciation:

- "I created <u>a lot</u> of jobs…<u>incredible</u> building…<u>tremendous</u> numbers of jobs" (Text 1)

- "I understand <u>most of</u> the politician (referring to his ultimate ability)…I have <u>very very successful</u> show on TV…<u>tremendous</u> trading, <u>tremendous</u> success (referring to himself as a great successful businessman)" (Text 2)
- "An <u>overwhelming</u> bipartisan majority (referring to the act agreed by the congress), reaffirmed by unanimous vote, It (Israel) is now the <u>heart of</u> one of the <u>most successful</u> democracies in the world" (Text 3)

Unlike text 3, most of the phrases and expressions in texts 1 and 2 are explicit appreciation due to not being empowered and thus expresses his attitudinal positions freely with no official restrictions. It is also noticeable that most of the positive phrases and\or expressions: "tremendous numbers of jobs, very very successful show on TV, overwhelming bipartisan majority" are used to second and praise his own businesses and relations.

Examples of Inscribed negative appreciation:
- "Our country is in serious serious trouble…It's going to fall, it's going to really fall, it's already fallen" (Text 1)
- "Don't ask <u>stupid</u> questions (addressing his interviewer), <u>terrible</u> job, <u>terrible</u> president…<u>losing</u> control (referring to Obama), I would <u>NOT leave</u> Iraq…we'll <u>not lose</u> the oil" (Text 2)
- "They <u>failed</u> to deliver (referring to previous departments), radicalism that <u>threatens</u> the hopes and dreams of future generations" (Text 3)

Unlike text 1 and 2, in text 3, Trump appears to defend people's rights, supports conciliation between Israelis and Palestinians, and reaches a peace agreement. The negative choices in texts (1) and (2) have clarified the speaker's insistence and persistence to take the oil of Iraq and Libya because, as he confirmed in text (1): "to the victor belongs the spoil". Trump represents a very explicit attitude towards Arabs and Islamic countries which are not "sovereign" states and object to the US department accordingly.

The last significant parameter for appreciation is the subcategory that is importantly employed. As is clear in table (4), all appreciation depends on one category, valuation. It is valuation that conveys propositioning of the value of things- what they are worth or not. It

conveys the assessment of the human values and conventions of a society, so it is the most appropriate type in such texts.

Although judgement is used less than appreciation, it significantly contributes to render Trump's political attitude. It is truly demonstrated that judgement plays a significant role in revealing attitude in the political domain. The three texts make use of judgement than appreciation as outlined in table (4).

Unlike texts (1, 2), Trump depends (in text 3) more on evoked, capacity and tenacity judgement which reveals his persistence and political stance he has taken in advance out of the dominant power he practices. However, in texts (1, 2) he focuses more on explicit, evoked, negative and capacity judgement that shows how clear, persistent and attacking (the other) he is. The social esteem Normality is used is used only in text (1) but veracity of social sanction has never been used in the three texts.

|  | Text 1 | Text 2 | Text 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Explicit<br>Evoked | 44<br>32.3 | 32<br>11.76 | 24<br>55.88 |
| Negative<br>Positive | 56.25<br>28.57 | 25<br>21.42 | 18.75<br>50 |
| Social esteem<br>Social sanction | 20<br>2 | 3<br>1 | 29<br>1 |
| Capacity<br>Tenacity<br>Normality | 52.17<br>12.5<br>100 | 8.69<br>4.16<br>- | 39.13<br>83.33<br>- |
| Propriety<br>veracity | 50<br>- | 25<br>- | 25<br>- |

**Table (5) Percentages of Judgement**

- Sovereign?! Give me a break (laughing and applaud)     (Text 1)
- I would not leave Iraq     (Text 2)
- To work toward a lasting agreement     (Text 3)

The above clauses and phrases have clear explicit, negative, tenacity judgement of the appraised and shows in (text 1) how satirically

he talked about Iraq which represent negative propriety (the typical political attitude of Trump towards the Arab).

Trump, as demonstrated in many political domains, stresses the negative judgement more than positive judgement as shown in table (5). Although the positive judgement, in text 3, slightly surpasses the negative judgmental items, it refers to the negative attitude implicitly and expresses the dominating power of the president in implementing the speaker's own desires and goals. As for the categories of judgement, it is obvious that there is a significant difference between social esteem and social sanction. The percentage of social esteem is considerably higher, as shown in table (5). Tenacity, particularly in text (3), and capacity are the most frequently used types of social esteem. So the types are used for positive and negative. Strikingly, no instances have been recorded for veracity of the social sanction. Trump's political attitude is clearer when it comes to judgement.

Examples of social esteem (Capacity):
- 'Today, Jerusalem is the seat of modern Israel'          (Text 3)
- 'I wouldn't leave Iraq'                                  (Text 2)
- 'I would take oil'                                       (Text 2)

Examples of social esteem (Tenacity):
- 'we finally acknowledge the 0bvious'                     (Text 3)
- 'Israel is a sovereign nation'                           (Text 3)
- 'We spent $2 trillion in Iraq, then we pulled out'       (Text 3)

All these examples represent the persistence of the appraised that show how power and absolute self-attitude could lead a powerful statesman to kill innocents, deprive original landlords from their places and rights. Trump uses, in many examples, the simple present tense to declare that it becomes a non-negotiable fact.

Examples of social sanction (Negative and Positive):
- They lacked courage (US previous presidents)            (Text 3)
- Obamacare… a total catastrophe                          (Text 1)
- Don't ask stupid questions like that (to the interviewer)   (Text 2)
- These incredible people (US warriors in Iraq)           (Text 1)

All the examples of negative social sanction mentioned above belong to propriety except the last example of positive social sanction which belongs to veracity to tickle the audience' feelings and present the speaker as the savior of America who will look after all Americans and meet their needs.

As outlined in table (2), the contribution of affect to the political and attitudinal stances of the speaker is not quite significant compared to judgement and appreciation. Even in text (3), the speaker rarely resorts to affectual items to reveal his attitudinal position that shows how the speaker changes his strategies when he becomes on top of power. Unlike text (3), most of the affectual terms are expressed explicitly (see table 4). It is another evident showing that people in power express their attitudinal positions implicitly rather than explicitly as demonstrated in texts (1,2). Trump makes use of realis and irrealis affect, but his use of irrealis affectual terms is higher than the realis items. Generally, the irrealis affectual instances seem to refer to positive feelings. The following examples tend to praise himself and his so-claimed great achievements.

- 'peace' (repeated 14 times)                (Text 3)
- 'great' (10 times), love (7 times), believe (8 times)    (Text 1)
- 'love', 'nice', 'proud', 'gracious', 'happy'        (Text 2)

On the other hand, all realis affectual terms tend to the negative feelings such as,
- 'hate' (3 times), 'bother', 'hurt'              (Text 2)
- 'heat', 'bad'                              (Text 1)
- 'hate', 'conflict', 'failed'                    (Text 3)

In this political domain, the speaker tends to use dialogistic resources much more than heteroglossic items as demonstrated in table (6).

| | Dialogism | Heteroglossic |
|---|---|---|
| Text 1 | 62.99 | 38.42 |
| Text 2 | 114.71 | 17.85 |
| Text 3 | 22.27 | 10.71 |

**Table (6) Percentages of Engagement**

Unlike text (2), the speaker prefers contraction to expansion items. Within contraction, disclaim is more widely used compared to proclaim except text (2). Counter-expectation is resorted to much more than Denial in the three texts. The proclaim options, i.e. pronouncement and expectation are approximately used equally. For the expansion, the speaker tends to use only likelihood, evidence, and hearsay. Likelihood occurs much more than evidence and hearsay, though (see table 7).

|  | Text 1 | Text 2 | Text 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Contraction | 36.17 | 51.3 | 12.52 |
| Expansion | 26.82 | 63.41 | 9.75 |
| -Disclaim | 38.32 | 44.91 | 16.76 |
| Denial | 20.93 | 23.25 | 9.3 |
| Counter-expectation | 38.01 | 45.45 | 16.52 |
| -Proclaim | 34.76 | 55.46 | 9.76 |
| Pronouncement | 35.59 | 54.23 | 10.16 |
| Expectation | 34.05 | 56.52 | 9.42 |
| Likelihood | 13.72 | 70.58 | 15.68 |
| Evidence | - | 100 | - |
| Hearsay | 51.72 | 48.27 | - |
| Quotatives | - | - | - |

**Table (7) Percentages of Dialogistic items**

The dialogistic difference between contraction and expansion is significant and refers to the discrepancy in political positions of the speaker. In text (1, 3) the contraction resources (36.17%) and (12.52%) are much more than the expansion (26.82%) and (9.75%) respectively. However, in text (2), the expansion resources (63.41%) surpass the contraction ones (51.3%).

- 'I <u>assume</u> we are taking the oil'                (Text 1)
- 'we want Ghadafi out <u>but</u> we <u>don't</u> want him' (Libya)    (Text 2)
- 'This is nothing <u>more, or less</u>, than a recognition of reality' (Text 3)

The second option of engagement items, heteroglossia, contributes in the three texts less than the dialogistic resources. In text (1), the heteroglossic resources are used much more than texts (1, 3) in addition to the frequent use of the inclusive 'we' that is used to align the audience along his side. Most of these attributions are stated before being impowered. In text (3), the less heteroglossic options have been used.

- 'a lot of <u>reports saying</u> we're going to drift along.'      (Text 1)
- 'when the exact opposite <u>said</u> to be honest with you'      (Text 2)
- 'was <u>reaffirmed</u> by a unanimous vote of the Senate'      (Text 3)

These reported speeches represent a one-view perspective that he was trying to confirm throughout the whole texts, especially in text (3). In the above examples, the speaker manipulates to convince the audience that these sources are impersonalized.

### 8. Discussion

The analysis of the texts represents the attitudinal stance of Trump as well as other strategies employed to confirm his attitude with his audience and fans. The percentages in the different tables have demonstrated a significant difference between texts (1,2) and text (3) as far as attitude and engagement are concerned.

The speaker makes extensive use of appreciation (69.33). Trump's main interest is to evaluate the positions and actions of the others and persuade his audience to believe in his analytical views, i.e. political positions and attitude. The human element and respecting the other peoples' affairs are of no great significance in his attitude. Quite the contrary, he had negative effects against the other; particularly some Arab countries: Iraq, Libya, Palestine, and Syria. Appreciation seems to be positive, unlike judgement which is basically negative. Apparently, Trump's position is that political ideas and values are to be presented and negatively evaluated. The effect towards individuals mentioned in his speeches is relatively used (11.66), it tends to be more negative against those who have no close relationship with him.

The significant difference between appreciation (69.33) and judgement (19) represents Trump's attitudinal position. It is obvious that he considers policies, plans, political decisions and most importantly money and economy as more significant than human relationship and peace. In texts (1,2), the speaker focuses on the responsibilities and problems, as he claims, of previous USA presidents and how they follow wrong policies. However, in text (3), when he is empowered, he applied even worse scenarios of one-man-show who personally makes decisions and supervise on implementing

them. The positive mode occurs more with irrealis affect strengthening the incomplete hopes and elastic dreams of peace and love among peoples. Trump blames his opponents most of the time due to people's suffering and unfulfilled promises. The speaker positions himself attitudinally as aligning with Russia and China, but against Iraq, Libya, Syria, and Palestine's historical rights. He clearly confirms his attitudinal position that Arab countries are nothing but oil and money to be grabbed from. This position clearly represents that the appraisal is formed by certain background and ideological stance in which it works.

Both affect (11.66) and judgement (19) are relatively employed less in attitude, but appreciation seems to be widely used. Trump tends to negotiate and deceit his audience's emotions rather than value their cognitive abilities. This is supported by the use of valuation (appreciation) that is in line with Halliday's (1994) ideational function.

The speaker relatively depends on judgement. This means that many appraisal items belong to personal views and based on predetermined ideological situations. The personal views and abstract concepts in these texts, in question, are much more important than proved-based political options. Affect which relates to Halliday's (1994) interpersonal function is not the main tool in this political domain as the focus is on evaluating and judging the other. However, Trump makes use of the affect to tickle his audience' feelings. Meanwhile, the social esteem occurs more frequently than social sanction. This means that the speaker's position has nothing to do with moral ethics in people's lives. Negative judgement is used more than the positive items except for text (3), the formal and prepared text. In text (3), the speaker focuses on the positive resources in which most of them carry the negative position too. In text (2), no wide gap between positive (21.42) and negative (25), the speaker tries to amalgamate between good and bad to convince the audience.

Using the rhetorical resources represent intersubjective stance of the speaker. Dialogistic options surpass heteroglossic resources.

The speaker tends to argue and pursuit his audience. In text (2), the speaker uses likelihood, evidence and hearsay options, (70.58), (100), and (48.27) respectively additionally the uses of dialogism (114.71) and (17.85) indicates the clear absence of people's voice and the dominance of his voice with less quoting or referring to expressions or others.

There are clear differences in the employment of the dialogistic options in the texts (1,2,3) as they come (62.99), (114.71) and (22.27) respectively. These big differences indicate the big discrepancy in the speaker's thoughts and political views. Trump's attitudinal positions are represented differently before and after being a president. The inscribed resources of texts (3) confirms the same evoked options inscribed uttered earlier in texts (1,2). Most of these resources challenge the human cognition as shown by the question of the interviewer in texts (2) 'how will you take the oil?' and he replied, 'I'll take it' and 'don't ask stupid question'. Thus, his strategy is based on hostility with the common audience. Consequently, the audience who reject these nonsense views are construed as in the minority. That is how a political stateman manipulates his audience to acknowledge his views as the best ever accepted criteria in society.

The three texts show differences in their use of heteroglossic items. The heteroglossic resources are not widely but frequently used in the three texts. This because Trump issues a lot of controversial statements and speeches every time he appears on Media which starts later on to analyse and criticize what he has said.

Another worthy point in judgement is the wide use of capacity and tenacity. In texts (1,2), capacity is higher than tenacity. This refers to promises and the picture of Saviour who could do a lot of things others could not do. However, in text (3), tenacity (38.33) surpasses capacity (39.13) which represents how Trump's position is challenging the whole sounds of reason in implementing his decisions and agreements.

Moreover, the wide use of first-person pronoun, intensifiers, and disendorsed assimilated attribution represent a very high

frequency in the three texts. The speaker tends to use endorsed attribution to praise and second his own sayings, but he opts for the disendorsed attribution to dispraise the others'.

In answering the research questions, the study shows that the speaker, in the three speeches, uses many distinctive features that firmly position his ideological stance against Arabs countries, in general. This discriminatory ideological position has been changed from directness into indirectness or from 'inscribed' into 'evoked' attitude after being an official statesman, i.e. US president. The lexical choices used reinforce a superior attitudinal position and stance against Arab countries mentioned in the speeches. Accordingly, he tends to use racist ideological words, concepts, expressions, and/or gestures- such as laughing and ironic talks- towards Arab countries, that positioned him attitudinally, intersubjectively and biasedly. In a nutshell, Trump opts to amplify his attitudinal stances and polarizes his 'positive-self presentation' against 'negative other-presentation' (Van Dijk, 1998: 267) through the extensive use of the 'exclusive We' in the three speeches.

### 9. Conclusion

To sum up, there are similarities and differences among the three texts in the use of options of the appraisal model. The similarities are due to the fact that they all belong to one genre (political discourse) within the same political context. However, the differences are due to differences in speech types, and the speaker who did not change his attitudinal positions from 2011 through 2017 but changed his strategies, due to the new power, to fulfill his goal.

In conclusion, the appraisal model has benefited to reveal how the speaker positions himself attitudinally to accomplish his goals. It also reinforced how Trump's evaluation is based on a racist ideological minority in his community. The model also has confirmed the different attitude and judgement before and after being a president. Further studies on different texts and speeches of Trump will find out further ideologies and differences in applying the appraisal model.

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