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ÚSTAV JAZYKŮ

# IS THE LANGUAGE OF SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY MANIPULATIVE?

JE JAZYK VĚDY A TECHNIKY MANIPULATIVNÍ?

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## **Abstract**

This bachelor thesis aims to describe the manipulation of language in political discourse. In modern society, political speeches may be manipulated as they cover a vast amount of social issues. Therefore, this work investigates the importance of the control of public discourse that is crucial for the reproduction of manipulation in politics. It also attempts to discover the aims and means of manipulation. Finally, the analysis of manipulative strategies of Donald Trump in the fifth chapter serves as a tool for the successful identification of manipulation. The main aim of this work is to determine whether the language of politics is manipulative and how such manipulation manifests itself.

## **Keywords**

Public discourse, political discourse, social power, manipulation, manipulative strategies

## **Abstrakt**

Tato bakalářská práce se zaměřuje na problematiku manipulativnosti jazyka v politickém diskurzu. Politické projevy této doby se často věnují velkému množství společenských problémů a mohou být manipulativní. Záměrem této práce je tedy zkoumat důležitost kontroly veřejného diskurzu, který je označován jako nezbytný pro reprodukci manipulace v politice. Dále se tato práce zaměřuje na odhalení cílů a prostředků manipulace. Analýza manipulativních strategií Donalda Trumpa v páté kapitole slouží jako nástroj pro úspěšnou identifikaci manipulace. Hlavním cílem této práce je zjistit, zda je jazyk politiky manipulativní a jak se taková manipulace projevuje.

## **Klíčová slova**

Veřejný diskurz, politický diskurz, sociální síla, manipulace, manipulativní strategie

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V Brně dne .....

.....

(podpis autora)

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V Brně dne .....

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(podpis autora)

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# Introduction

This work attempts to investigate the aspects characteristic of the manipulative language of science. However, it should be noted that the manipulation of scientific language is a very comprehensive topic, and it is not in the scope of this work to make a detailed investigation of such a vast scientific field. Therefore, I will focus solely on a specific scientific field – politics.

The exploration of this topic ought to be regarded as important because we are exposed to manipulation every day. Moreover, in our modern society, attempts to influence public opinion are used very frequently. Scholars agree that it is a rule rather than an exception. Therefore, in order to be able to successfully resist manipulation in politics, illegitimate use of power in public discourse and manipulative strategies should be described.

In the first chapter of this work, we will focus on the concept of discursive power as a tool for exercising social power. In addition to that this work will define fundamental differences between the concepts of *power to* and *power over*. The second chapter will underline the problems with an unequal division of power which leads to a power struggle. A figure of mutualistic and adversarial relationships will provide behavior patterns of relational and distributive dimensions of power. The third chapter will attempt to elaborate on the importance of the control of public discourse, which shapes the public mind. We may pay special attention to this topic as manipulation of the political language happens predominantly through public discourse. Thus, it may be assumed that public discourse is crucial for the reproduction of manipulation. The aspects affecting the control of public discourse will be determined. Finally, two types of encounters will be discussed as well as the hidden power of the mass media.

The fourth chapter will focus on manipulation itself. Firstly, the focus will be on the typical political discourse which is the fundamental discourse of manipulation in politics. The importance of manipulation in political language will be provided. Then, the motivation behind manipulation, the aims of manipulation, and the forms of manipulation will be described. This work will also attempt to draw the line between

manipulation and legitimate persuasion. Furthermore, the possibilities of resisting the manipulation will be listed.

Finally, the fifth chapter of this work will deal with several manipulative strategies such as ideological polarization, positive self-presentation, metaphors, inclusive/exclusive pronouns, and others. These techniques will be employed in the analysis that aims to demonstrate the theoretical framework of the previous chapters. Particularly, the fifth chapter will focus on the manipulative strategies used in political discourse. For a detailed comprehension of manipulative techniques used by politicians, speeches of the President of the United States, Donald Trump, will be investigated. This work aims to underline the techniques that he uses to influence mass audiences. Eventually, the provided description of the manipulative strategies should serve as a useful tool for the identification of manipulation. Thus, it may be concluded that this work aims to decide on the issue of manipulateness of political discourse, spread awareness of the manipulation in politics, and the possibilities of resisting it.

# 1 Power in discourse

In order to comprehend the motivation behind manipulating others, it is essential to specify the concept of power in society and the terms associated with such power. It is crucial to mention that this paper will not deal with power as a concept of physics.

*"Power exists in various modalities, including the concrete and unmistakable modality of physical force."* (Fairclough, 1989:3).

On the contrary, this work will predominantly examine social, political, and discursive power. Moreover, it is necessary to state that a complete analysis of the aspects involved in manipulation is not in the scope of this paper.

Van Dijk (2008) defines social power as control over the actions of others. He further suggests that the existing dominant group has control over the inferior group. In this context, we may assume that the powerful group is superior in terms of social power. Furthermore, he suggests that this power can be abused - being in the best interest of those who exercise it while being against the interests of those who are controlled. He refers to this as *power abuse*. In addition to that, if the dominant group controls the discourse of the inferior group, it is referred to as control of discourse. It should be noted that van Dijk describes power abuse as *"the violation of the social and civil rights of people"* (van Dijk, 2008:13). Consequently, it may be assumed that power abuse is an illegitimate use of discursive power. Logically, social norms, rules, and civil rights are the aspects that are violated in power abuse.

Many scholars suggest that the term *power* can be divided into two separate concepts: *power to* (associated with physical and natural sciences) and *power over* (associated with control). It is possible to claim that one has *power over* somebody. This means that one possesses the *power* to exercise control *over* somebody. (Karlberg, 2005).

According to Fairclough (1989) power can be exercised by coercion or consent. He also believes that coercion may be enforced by a certain type of repressive force. This may occur when the government aims to establish laws. On the other hand, exercising power through consent involves the creation of an ideology. The ones in control must

agree or give permission to be controlled. However, as will be described in the following chapters, manipulation predominantly happens without consent.

## 2 Power inequality

It is widely believed that power is not distributed equally between the members of society. According to Mey (1985:21-22): *“Those who are in power will do almost anything to perpetuate their rule. But for some to be in power, others have to be out of it”*.

This leads to the struggle for power. Such inequality may be represented by an unequal distribution of material or non-material power resources. These resources may be understood as capital (material) or political power (non-material). One may argue that in politics, material power resources cannot exist without non-material power resources.

As power is not distributed equally, the principle of the hierarchy may occur in society. Such a principle typically involves unequally structured relations of power. Therefore, it may be associated with oppression (unjust treatment). However, in mutualistic relations of power, hierarchy is perceived as a desirable structure as it empowers smaller groups of people (e.g.: large company). The following scheme demonstrates the power relation in mutualistic (elements involved in power relations work together) and adversarial (elements involved in power relations oppose each other) relationships (Karlberg, 2005).

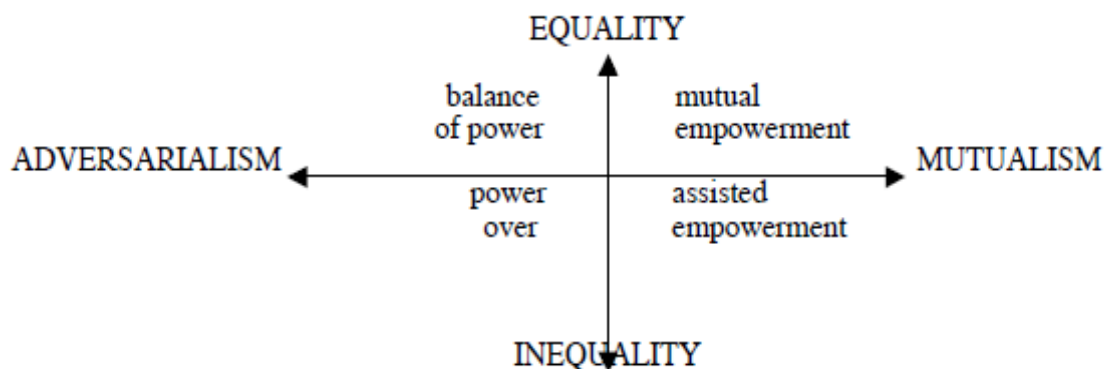


Figure 1: Relational and distributive dimensions of power (Karlberg, 2005:12)

In mutualistic power relations, it is apparent that inequality does not prevent those being controlled to be empowered. We may also spot that unequal division of power results in the assisted empowerment. On the contrary, in the adversarial relationship, it is evident that unequal power relations may cause results that are not in the best interests of those being controlled. Therefore, it may be assumed that inequality is a key issue in adversarial power relations.

However, it should be noted that this work is primarily interested in non-material power resources such as production and access to the public discourse, as we aim to investigate the discursive, political, and social power. It is suggested that if the person in power exercises his or her power through the language, he or she is in a constant struggle to defend (or lose) such a powerful position (Fairclough, 1985). Such struggle may produce inequalities in social, political, and discursive power which are quite frequent in political discourse.

Illegitimate use of discursive power is an object of study for critical discourse analysts in the critical discourse studies (CDS), which primarily deals with certain forms of domination – communicative power abuse. It is assumed that this domination is often used to promote the interests of dominant groups while being against the best interest of non-dominant groups. However, it should be emphasized that CDS investigates only a small portion of domination and inequality. It appears that the essential task for CDS is to decide whether this inequality violates the social norms, human rights, and principles of justice. It is possible to claim that CDS determines whether is this inequality illegitimate use of power or not (van Dijk, 2008).

## **2.1 Face-to-face encounter**

As we presented a theoretical background for social power and inequality, various types of social encounters, where social power is exercised, may be examined. Fairclough (1989) suggests that power in discourse can be divided into:

- a) face-to-face spoken discourse

- b) cross-cultural discourse
- c) the hidden power of the discourse of mass media

He also suggests that the participants in face-to-face discourse are not equal. Such an encounter can be labeled as an unequal encounter. Exercising of power in face-to-face spoken discourse typically happens when one of the participants is more educated in the discussed field than the other participant. This method of exercising power occurs due to the attempts to control the conversation or contributions of the less educated participant. Medical discourse is a suitable instance of such an encounter.

*“We can say that power in discourse is to do with powerful participants controlling and constraining the contributions of non-powerful participants”* (Fairclough, 1989:46)

## **2.2 Cross-cultural encounter**

In cross-cultural encounters, the participants are not equal as well. However, it is not caused by different degrees of education, knowledge, or experience as in the case of face-to-face encounters. The fundamental issues which affect the inequality of participants in cross-cultural encounters are the differences in cultural, social, and linguistic backgrounds of powerful and non-powerful participants. Consequently, this may even lead to miscommunication between the participants of the encounter. In fact, research suggests that differences in ethnicity, lifestyle, or even skin color can result in an unsuccessful job interview. (Fairclough, 1989)

## **2.3 The hidden power of mass media**

As the mass media produces a vast amount of information, the relations between the presented information and the exercised power are not evident. Therefore, it is wise to assume the presence of some form of hidden power. We refer to this as the hidden power of mass media. Nevertheless, it is not easy to determine who is exercising power in the mass media. It could be the writer himself – the producer of the text. Although this could be a satisfactory answer, it is not very frequent for a writer to express his or

her ideas in the mass media. Typically, the writers are employees of a certain agency, company, or authority, therefore, they do not possess the right to express their ideas. It is more likely that the mass-media express information that is in favor of powerful groups such as government, and political parties. (van Dijk, 2006)

According to Fairclough (1989), mass media presents information for a vast amount of people – large audiences. In a face-to-face encounter, participants may play the role of producers and consumers. On the contrary, a clear difference between the writers and the readers can be seen in the mass-media discourse. Logically, the writers are the producers while the readers are the consumers. This characteristic feature of the mass media is frequently referred to as “one-sidedness” (Fairclough, 1989:49).

There is also no immediate feedback from the recipients. The producers of the texts or speeches are not able to rely on facial expressions, nodding, gestures, body language, and other non-verbal means of communication. To fully comprehend the power relations hidden within the mass media, it is important to mention that mass media predominantly uses the concept of addressing an ideal subject. This means that the information presented by the mass media cannot be modified for each reader. It is believed that information presented by the mass media is always aimed to influence large audiences, therefore, it must be universal. (Fairclough, 1989)

Considering Fairclough’s division of power in the discourse, it appears that the discursive power of mass media is predominantly aimed to influence the recipients. As discourse provides a vast amount of social power, exercising social power in public discourse aims to shape required opinions, build certain models and mental schemata. The superior groups in power attempt to influence inferior groups with less power by persuading them that the actions taken are beneficial for them or in their interest (van Dijk, 2008). However, it is assumed that such an influence is potentially manipulative.

### 3 Control of public discourse

The human right to have your own opinion, and the possibility to express it without facing life-threatening consequences, is one of the fundamental rights in present democratic societies. In other words, every citizen should have the right to speak freely. Such privilege, however, enables spreading various discourses, which can be aimed to influence the recipients or discredit certain members of society.

It is also widely accepted that the concept of free speech is a myth. In our modern society, the concept of free speech is highly dependable on social power and social status. Fairclough (1989) claims that access to various types of speeches or writings is limited. These limitations are commonly called constraints on free speech. He further suggests that the members of dominant groups have exclusive access to certain discourses. We may conclude that they are not excluded by any kind of limitation on free speech.

Thus, it may be assumed that social power is represented by the access or control over public discourse. According to van Dijk: “*Control of public discourse is control of the mind of the public, and hence, indirectly, control of what the public wants and does.*” (van Dijk, 2008:14).

Research suggests that the social power of government, political parties, and organizations is defined predominantly in terms of preferential access or control over public discourse. Those who control the production of the public discourse have partial indirect control over the public mind. They cannot directly control the opinions and thoughts of people. This claim may be marked as essential to persuasion, consequently, even for manipulation. (van Dijk, 2008)

One of the most influential forms of public discourse is undoubtedly mass media. In modern media, tactics such as advertising, influencing, and persuading are common practices used in public discourse. Therefore, it is reasonable to claim that control of information became a significant aspect of creating social and political power. It is suggested that public discourse of mass-media belongs to the *influential power*, which shapes public opinion or behavior in a certain way without using obvious force upon them. (Rozina and Karapetjana, 2009)

However, communicated content can be manipulated. Opinions and thoughts of the public are heavily influenced by such manipulated content. Every information which is broadcasted on the television, shared on the Internet or mentioned in the podcast, shapes public opinion in a certain way. Therefore, we may assume that every information can be biased. Scholars also agree that what may be potentially persuasive for one person may not be persuasive for others. In other words, it is not possible to effectively manipulate everyone.

### **3.1 Control of the content**

Every information has the potential value to be crucial for persuasion. Typically, people think about information, topics, news, and events that are reported to them. This enables powerful groups to decide which topics will be discussed in the wide public. This control is referred to as the control of the content. In other words, the control of content is simply the control of what is said or written.

It is widely accepted that it is not possible to write two identical reports of one event. Due to the subjectivity of the author of the report, which can be affected by dominant groups in power, different details will be emphasized. Furthermore, important details highlighted in one report may be absent in the other report. Such reporting may result in misleading comprehension of the event. This controlled reporting, typically used by government, business companies, political parties, and other powerful organizations, aims to exclude inconvenient facts from the reports in order to preserve political and social power or positive self-presentation. Thus, the attempts to emphasize less relevant facts are very frequent and lead to incorrect comprehension of the original event. Such an emphasis indicates that reporting what happened is not the aim of the powerful group. (van Dijk, 2008)

Fairclough (1989) believes that, in communication, the content may be controlled by the more powerful participants as they are in the position to define the nature and purpose of the discourse. He adds that the participants possess the ability to reject contributions that are not relevant. Moreover, he argues that such an ability is typically

enabled by formulation, which may be defined as rewording of what has been transpired. In other words, the formulation is a device that is predominantly used for checking the understanding of what has been said or written.

One may argue that we are dealing with power abuse as companies, political parties, media, authorities, and other powerful groups attempt to persuade or manipulate through discourse to achieve desirable outcomes. Such a claim may be true if the presented content was against the interest of the receivers. The key issue is that this may not be easily proven. Although the news may be aimed to influence the wide public, they are usually perceived as a legitimate persuasion, not manipulation. This will be discussed in the following chapters. It should be also noted that using lies also contributes to the creation of biased reports, news, and information.

To summarize this, it is believed that excluding inconvenient facts, attempts to emphasize less relevant facts and lying are characteristic features of powerful groups, which probably intend to suppress freedom of various texts and speeches that are typically critical – not in the best interest for those in power. (van Dijk, 2008)

### **3.2 Control of access**

Although the controlled content of presented information is crucial for controlling public discourse, it is necessary to examine other factors that are essential for controlling public discourse. It is believed that to manipulate content, it is necessary to have preferential access to the production of public discourse. Typically, such access is controlled by powerful groups, which select individuals with permission to express their ideas. These elements in power may be represented by the owners of the mass media. (van Dijk, 2008)

Furthermore, Fairclough (1989) believes that one must obtain qualification or education in certain fields to be able to access specific public discourse. He exemplifies this by claiming that in order to officiate religious ceremonies, which are an instance of public discourse, you must have a vocation, a considerable amount of academic skills, and displaying certain honesty standards. Thus, it is possible to suppose that politicians must also possess a high degree of academic abilities, qualifications, and

knowledge if they aim to access public discourse. Fairclough further claims that such a qualification is, in theory, free to anyone to possess. However, it is apparent that this qualification is predominantly limited to those from powerful groups.

It should be also noted that authorities typically decide whose reports are trustworthy and whose actions are labeled as news. For instance: Who is permitted to participate in a political debate? Who will be interviewed? Such decisions of access to the production of public discourse are further limitation and can result in influencing public opinions, as presented content is controlled by authorities in power. (van Dijk, 2008)

### **3.3 Timing**

Control of content and access are effective means of the control of public discourse. However, another crucial feature of controlling public discourse, which needs to be considered, is timing. This term can be defined as the most appropriate time to release the information. Timing, frequently used in politics, is essential for reaching the required effect. Attempts to persuade voters by releasing biased news before the elections are a perfect instance of timing in politics. Such releasing of the information is especially effective in the case of balanced elections. Consequently, one well-timed information can cause a significant change in society, government, or even ideology. (van Dijk, 2008)

Timing can be also defined as a very frequent phenomenon of modern politics. It is highly recommended to compare various sources of the events for obtaining more objective information and the creation of more appropriate mental models about the world's issues.

It is apparent that the control of the production of public discourse provides a vast amount of social power. Shaping the public mind in a certain way is necessary for influencing, persuading, and manipulating. Moreover, the control of political discourse is not an exception. Although it is not in the scope of this work to list all aspects that affect control of public discourse, this work provided several factors,

which play a significant role in the process of control of the public discourse. The importance of the regulated content of news and reports was discussed as well as access to the production of public discourse. Finally, the role of appropriately timed information was investigated.

## 4 Manipulation

### 4.1 Political Discourse

As this work aims to describe aspects involved in the manipulation of scientific language, particularly the language of politics, it is necessary to define typical political discourse and manipulation. Debates, speeches, and hearings given by politicians are typically the objects of study in the political discourse analysis. It is suggested that political discourse is a genre where its actors speak in public (Reyes, 2011).

This specific type of discourse is typically spread by mass-media as political topics are relevant for every modern society. Political themes are very frequently broadcasted on television, radio, and discussed on the Internet. These mass media appear to be typically controlled by powerful elites such as government or other elements with social power.

Chilton (2004) sees the politics as a struggle for power between the powerful ones, who attempts to assert and keep their power, and others who seek to resist it. Undoubtedly, political discourse has enormous persuasive power. Rozina and Karapetnaja (2009) suggest that political discourse aims to persuade voters to attend voting or make the public adopt general ideologies in order to gain support for a certain policy. It is no surprise that politicians use strategies to persuade and influence masses in order to attract support.

It is also widely believed that political discourse cannot exist without language, as language is the fundamental tool to do politics. Even the politicians themselves are aware of a crucial role of language, and they recognize its power to persuade the public or argue in favor of their political beliefs (Bodoc, 2018).

It is also suggested that politicians intend to legitimize their actions and statements while delegitimizing the actions of others. *“They use language strategies to present and legitimize themselves as the right choice.”* (Trajkova and Neshkovska, 2019:11)

However, in order to persuade a vast amount of people, it is necessary to control the details of the production of public discourse (van Dijk, 2008). The vast amount of political themes is presented to the wide public daily as the areas of political and public discourse frequently overlap. Furthermore, every information has the potential to shape public opinions, therefore, it is in the interest of the powerful groups such as political parties to control the presented information. Research also suggests that the communication participants in the political discourse aim to form a common ground while not endanger their political interests. (Zglobiu, 2015)

## **4.2 Manipulation**

As we described typical political discourse, it is also necessary to define manipulation itself. It should be noted that this work does not deal with manipulation as a physical movement but focuses solely on communicative manipulation. This work will examine communicative manipulation as well as frequently used strategies of manipulators for manipulating others.

Saussure (2005) believes that there is no clear definition of manipulation. Moreover, he further states that many pieces of research, from various scientific fields, agree that manipulation is a very vague term. Van Dijk (2008:212), on the contrary, states that: *“Manipulation... is a communicative and interactional practice, in which manipulator exercise control over other people, usually against their will or against their best interest.”* According to this definition, we may assume that manipulation includes abuse of discursive power. The concept of *power abuse* was investigated in previous chapters. Therefore, it should be stated that manipulation is a form of violation.

Research suggests that manipulation typically involves the manipulation of the mind. This is referred to as mental manipulation and involves the creation of mental models. Those being manipulated are the people. This form of illegitimate use of power is evident in political elections when politicians attempt to manipulate the opinions of voters in their favor. Such an act is not uncommon as political manipulation is not prohibited by law. Manipulation is referred to as an illegitimate influence because it

violates general social and cultural standards. Although such influencing is labeled as bad, it is not illegal (van Dijk, 2008).

It is suggested that most of the manipulation happens through talk or text. Especially in politics, forms of communication such as debates, speeches, and interviews are characteristic means of reproduction of political manipulation. However, it can be said that text and talk are not the sole aspects that affect manipulation. Moreover, scholars believe that manipulation may also be conveyed in non-verbal communication through images, photos, movies (van Dijk, 2006).

Fairclough (1989) claims that one may be persuaded by “*visuals*”. He states that visuals which include body language, posture, facial expression, nodding, head shaking, and other non-verbal means of communication, can be a suitable alternative to speech. It is also believed that manipulation is a notion that is predominantly psychological and involves the management of public consciousness and actions.

Lyulina (2017) assumes that regardless of religion, nation, and culture, all recipients have the same collective universal emotions which are the aim of manipulation in the political discourse. Targeting these emotions enables manipulators to affect the decision-making process of the mass recipients and enforces people to act without considering all the pros and cons. She also suggests that manipulator intends to create a fixed model of positive universal emotions associated with manipulator’s political party and negative universal emotions associated with the opponent's political party. According to Lyulina (2017) there exist five universal emotions that are targeted in the manipulation of political discourse: fear, rust, anger, disgust, joy

Firstly, she claims that “fear” is executed by associating the opponent of the producer as the source of suffering and fear, therefore labeling the opponent as bad while associating the producer of the text (manipulator) as someone who represents safety. Furthermore, she states that nominative lexical units such as *alarm* or *panic* and associative lexical units such as *danger*, *war*, *death* are used with appropriate metaphors in order to achieve a manipulative effect. Saussure (2005) adds that group pressure caused by fear may help in the development of discourses favorable to the manipulator. Some scholars believe that emotion of fear is the most effective for triggering the response from the conversation participants (Reyes, 2011).

Secondly, Lyulina (2017) suggests that “trust” is demonstrated when politicians attempt to be trustworthy in order to gain the support of the recipients. Thus, manipulation of trust includes the terms of *truth* and *lie*. It is believed that the manipulator’s party is typically portrayed as honest while the opponent’s party as a group of liars.

Thirdly, she underlines the emotion of “anger” by suggesting that “*anger is a natural reaction to offense, outrage or injustice*” (Lyulina, 2017:90). She claims that highlighting the opponent’s negative treatment of the mass public is the effect of manipulating recipients through the emotion of anger.

Fourthly, Lyulina (2017) believes that the basic emotion of “disgust” is frequently used by politicians for forming a negative opponent’s image. And, finally, the fundamental emotion of “joy” plays a key role in the manipulation of political discourse as well. This may be seen in attempts of manipulators to praise the wide public and by promising them what they want and need.

To sum up Lyulina’s work, it may be claimed that manipulation of political discourse strongly depends on the manipulation of collective emotions of the mass public. Therefore, it is wise to assume that manipulators aim to influence people by affecting their minds.

### **4.3 Aims of manipulation**

If we aim to comprehend the motivation behind manipulation, we need to investigate the aims of manipulation. According to research, nearly everyone uses manipulation. In addition to that manipulation is considered the main tool for achieving specific goals in daily communication (Bodoc, 2018).

Mey (1985) suggests that manipulation is always to the advantage of those in power. He also believes that manipulators intend to cover their powerful position and keep the oppressed powerless unaware of their lack of power. Furthermore, he claims that the oppressed powerless are typically led to believe that the actions taken are in their interests.

Moreover, it may be assumed that manipulators intend to exercise their political and discursive power in order to acquire an advantage over their political counterparts. Considering van Dijk's work (2006, 2008), it appears crucial to have access to the production of public discourse to manipulate others by your political opinions and beliefs. Scholars agree that exercising power over someone by consent is typical of ideological discourse. Saussure (2005) claims that the manipulator intends to manifest his or her beliefs to the hearer and have the hearer consent to them.

For Vadai (2016), ideologies may appear in the form of representatives. This includes truth claims and statements which aim to legitimize good actions of "us" while delegitimizing bad actions of "them". This is widely referred to as ideological polarization. She also suggests that ideologies play a significant role in the formulation of promises and threats.

It is apparent that manipulation predominantly deals with important social and political topics. Moreover, this illegitimate use of discursive power attempts to form mental models, ideologies, beliefs, and socially shared opinions. People typically act upon their opinions and ideologies in which they believe in therefore, it may be assumed that manipulation also deals with controlling the actions of the public (van Dijk, 2008).

#### **4.4 Manipulation of short-term memory**

It is suggested that information obtained from the discourse is typically processed in short-term memory. This can be applied to manipulative discourse as well. It is important to notice that this processing results in a basic understanding of words, sentences, and non-verbal signals. Manipulation of short-term memory involves the manipulation of such processing. For instance, using bold and larger fonts in written discourse contributes to attracting attention. Furthermore, it may be assumed that manipulation is goal-based. Attempts to attract attention are a very frequent phenomenon in politics. In this case, manipulators intend to persuade the recipients that they should pay more attention to biased topics rather than any others. Such manipulation is referred to as the manipulation of short-term memory (STM) (van Dijk, 2008).

It is evident that such strategies tend to influence the recipient. The key issue is that such a presentation of the visual form of the text may result in that recipients will spend extra time or memory resources by processing such a text. Recipients will also pay more attention to this emphasized information and spend less time with other information. However, this cannot be labeled as manipulation because it happens simultaneously in the legitimate use of discursive power. Van Dijk (2006:366) states that: “*cognitively speaking, manipulation is nothing special: it makes use of very general properties of discourse processing.*” Drawing attention to certain information is referred to as manipulation only if it results in neglection of other information and creating partially biased understanding (van Dijk, 2006).

Van Dijk (2006) further suggests that manipulation of short-term memory occurs when powerful groups intend to hinder the understanding of information which is not in their interest. Such manipulation is also commonly used in attempts to emphasize information that is in the interest of the powerful groups. He also assumes that the speakers in spoken discourse aim to hamper the comprehension of the receivers by fast speaking, sophisticated sentences, and presenting complex topics that are less familiar to the receiver.

#### **4.5 Manipulation of long-term memory**

Most of the manipulation aims to obtain more stable results than short-term memory manipulation. Such manipulation is referred to as long-term memory (LTM) manipulation. Moreover, long-term memory manipulation intends to influence the receiver permanently by creating certain ideologies, attitudes, or opinions. In addition to that, it is widely believed that such manipulation affects our episodic memory. Experiences obtained throughout our life are crucial factors in the manipulation of long-term memory as these factors contribute to the formation of subjective mental models. Therefore, it may be assumed that the comprehension of presented texts is not determined only by the meaning of words, but also by complex subjective mental models of recipients. Research suggests that mental models affect the comprehension of a text and talk, and, consequently, of the whole communicative event (van Dijk, 2006).

Van Dijk (2006) believes that manipulators aim to create, activate, and use the recipient's subjective mental models in episodic memory. He also suggests that the resulting mental models are in favor of the manipulators as they aim to suppress the freedom of interpretation or the probability of discourse that is against their interests.

It should be noted that the most influential form of manipulation focuses on the creation of general beliefs which may typically consist of: Ideologies, attitudes, and knowledge. It is also believed that manipulation focuses on social cognition. This indicates that manipulation is group-based. Moreover, in order to form certain mental models, it is necessary to influence on many occasions. Logically, it is apparent that manipulation aims to control shared social beliefs of the public as these beliefs may often result in control of public actions (van Dijk, 2008)

Mey (1985) argues that manipulated powerless are oppressed, and they are unaware of it. He claims that it is in the best interest of powerful oppressors to keep their power hidden. Therefore, we may assume that powerful groups such as the government intend to keep the process of creation of mental models in episodic memory hidden from the wide public.

#### **4.6 Illegitimate manipulation versus legitimate persuasion**

For further comprehension of manipulation, it is necessary to distinguish illegitimate manipulation from legitimate persuasion. As discussed in the previous chapters, manipulation is an illegitimate use of social and discursive power – power abuse. Research suggests that the linguistic devices used illegitimately for manipulation can be used legitimately as tools of persuasion and information (Lillian, 2008).

One may imply that manipulation is not prohibited by the law, therefore, it is a legitimate use of power. However, manipulation is referred to as illegitimate due to its tendency to support the best interests of one group, while being against the best interests of the other group (Fairclough, 1989). Van Dijk (2006) argues that the key difference between manipulation and persuasion is that in legitimate persuasion, the recipients are free to act and believe as they like. On the contrary, he believes that in manipulation, the receivers are typically victims of manipulation, as they are unable to recognize the

real intentions of the manipulator. According to Van Dijk (2006:363): “*manipulation is illegitimate because it violates the human or social rights of those who are manipulated*”.

Jowett and O’Donnell (2012) have a similar point of view. They argue that persuasion is an interaction where the recipients voluntarily relate to or contrast the conveyed message with their beliefs, attitudes, and ideologies. Moreover, if successful, persuasion is mutually satisfying because it fulfills the need of persuader for adopting a persuasive purpose. On the contrary, they suggest that manipulation is not aimed at mutual satisfaction.

Van Dijk (2006) also states that the boundaries between manipulation and persuasion are context-dependent and often not clear. In addition to that, he believes that some recipients may be manipulated by the message that will not manipulate others. Lillian (2008) adds that it is difficult for an ordinary receiver to distinguish between manipulation and persuasion when the source of communication appears to be trustworthy. She believes that the effects of manipulative discourse may vary across different people. Moreover, Lillian argues that manipulation is effective only in the contexts where is an unequal distribution of power that favors the manipulator. In addition to that Van Dijk (2006) sees manipulation as illegitimate because it tends to produce and reproduce inequality.

Thus, according to the research, it is wise to assume that manipulation may be perceived as a discursive form of reproducing the power that is in the best interest of the manipulator and against the best interest of the dominated groups while, simultaneously, capable of production and reproduction of social inequality (Lillian, 2008).

It should be also noted that the strategies used for manipulation and persuasion are practically the same, therefore it is not possible to talk about discursive tools used exclusively in manipulation (Bodoc, 2018).

However, for the purpose of this work, it is crucial to formulate how can we recognize manipulative discourse. According to Van Dijk (2006:374), several limitations contribute to the detection of illegitimate manipulation and social inequality:

- a) the manipulator is in a dominant power position
- b) recipients lack the relevant knowledge which is crucial for resisting manipulation
- c) the manipulator acts in the best interests of the dominant group and against the best interests of the dominated group

This work provided several factors that play a crucial role in the identification of manipulation in text or speech. These methods will be useful in the analysis as a tool for determining the presence of manipulation. In other words, it will help to distinguish between manipulation and persuasion.

## **4.7 Resisting manipulation**

In order to describe the complex term of the manipulation of political discourse, it should be noted that there are techniques that enable successful resisting to manipulative discourse. Such techniques will be investigated in this subchapter.

It is widely believed by scholars that manipulation may be undone. Mey (1985) argues that such a process typically happens when the language is used with anti-manipulative intentions. He further claims that connecting the sayings and doings of manipulators to their position in society is the most effective way of defense against linguistic manipulation. On the contrary, he suggests that exercising counter-manipulation is not typically the best method of defending against manipulation. Logically, he adds, manipulated ordinary people are the victims of the oppressive language of the manipulators.

However, some argue that even well-educated people such as parliamentary members are not safe from the manipulation in politics because of their lack of relevant

knowledge (Cabrejas-Penuelas, 2017). According to Mey (1985), the sole way of resisting any type of manipulation is to reveal its operations. Then, he states, it is possible to recognize the societal oppression present in manipulation.

Other scholars expressed the possibility that manipulation may become less effective or even useless under some circumstances. The problem of manipulation in language occurs when the recipients manage to identify the manipulative intentions of the manipulator through formal and non-formal features. Thus, when the recipients fail to detect manipulative intention, manipulation becomes effective (Saussure, 2005).

Van Dijk (2006) claims that manipulation becomes less effective or useless when the recipients have a vast amount of counter-information and arguments to resist the discourse of the manipulators. He adds that this may result in resentment towards the manipulators. Consequently, such a process may be undesirable for the manipulators because they may lose their powerful position in society.

We managed to successfully describe several options of resisting against manipulation. Although there is undoubtedly a large amount of other useful techniques of identifying and resisting the manipulation, it is vital to note that the powerless manipulated people are able to defend themselves against manipulation if they recognize manipulative intention and manipulative strategies of the manipulator. It is, therefore, necessary to investigate such manipulative strategies in order to be able to detect manipulation and consequently resist it.

## **4.8 Manipulative strategies of political discourse**

As was discussed in the previous chapters, we aim to investigate the aspects involved in the manipulation of political discourse. Thus, it is essential to specify the frequently used manipulative strategies of such a discourse. However, in order to do so, the fundamental purpose of political manipulation should be clarified.

Firstly, it was already mentioned that politicians aim to maintain or improve their social power in society which may be executed in the control of the production of public discourse. Secondly, we suggested that such a controlled discourse may contain manipulative intentions that affect the recipient's mental models in LTM and STM.

However, for a better understanding of manipulation in politics, it should be stated why this occurs.

Saussure (2005) claims that manipulator exploits the cognitive abilities of the hearer with the intention to present his or her communicative act like a normal one. Furthermore, he argues that while doing so, the maxims of the co-operative principle are exploited as well. Zglobiu (2015) believes that politicians frequently broke the co-operative principle in political discourse. Moreover, she adds that the maxim of quality is typically broken with the intention to preserve a political face (establishing of common ground while not losing powerful position) whereas the maxim of relevance is broken with the intention to legitimize a certain political group. Therefore, it may be assumed that politicians attempt to legitimize themselves and defend their political positive face by breaking the Gricean co-operative principle.

According to Bodoc (2018), it is possible to distinguish between lexical, morphosyntactic, pragmatic, stylistic, and rhetorical manipulative tools. Although the purpose of this work is not to list them all, we will attempt to present at least some of those which may play a crucial role in the manipulation of public discourse. Moreover, Saussure (2005) divides manipulative strategies into local and global. He also states that these strategies may be both linguistic and non-linguistic. The local strategies are used to limit the information interpretation whereas global strategies target the creation of an appropriate social and psychological environment for manipulation (Cabrejas-Penuelas, 2017).

## **4.9 Ideological polarization**

Many scholars agree that the fundamental process involved in manipulative strategies of political discourse is an ideological polarization. According to Vadai (2016), political discourse is strongly shaped by ideological polarization. In fact, it is strongly suggested that this process typically consists of legitimizing the speaker and delegitimizing his or her opponents.

Moreover, manipulators aim to use the strategy of positive self-presentation and negative Others presentation (van Dijk, 2006). Furthermore, Vadai (2016) argues that positive self-presentation and negative other presentations may be present in sorting the words according to the political actors they refer to. She adds that the adjectives which

refer to the powerful group “Us” are typically positive while adjectives referring to their opponents “Them” are typically negative. This may be applied to individuals as well. It is also argued that the politicians attempt to manipulate the language with the intention to persuade the people into accepting their standing points (Trajkova and Neshkovska, 2019).

In addition to that Reyes (2011) states that it is possible to distinguish between five legitimization strategies. Firstly, he suggests that politicians tend to legitimize their actions by appealing to audiences’ emotions. He adds that they intend to legitimize a certain perception of reality. According to Reyes (2011:785), this classifies the audience and the speaker as the “us-group” and the opponents as the negative “them-group”. He also suggests that the primary emotion used in legitimization through emotions is typically fear. Reyes (2011:789) and other scholars exemplify this by suggesting that the events of 9/11/2001 enabled politicians to legitimize the “War on Terror” – USA’s military intervention in the middle-eastern countries.

Secondly, Reyes (2011) claims that the legitimization may be exercised through presenting a hypothetical future. This includes presenting a threat to society that must be taken care of. It may be stated that the politicians typically claim that if the actions needed are not taken, the negative consequences will occur in the hypothetical future.

Thirdly, legitimization may be exercised through rationality. Reyes (2011) claims that this includes political actions that are regarded as an evaluated and thoughtful procedure. Fourthly, he believes that legitimization also manifests through voices of expertise when the politicians attempt to show the recipients that the experts in the discussed fields support the politicians’ proposals and statements.

And finally, Reyes (2011) implies that public speakers do not intent to appear to be led only by personal interests. He claims that such behavior indicates the presence of legitimization through altruism that is aimed at increasing of efficiency of the process of justification. He suggests that politicians attempt to present themselves as the right choice and common good that will improve the conditions of the community or the whole country. These types of legitimization are considered characteristic of authoritative speech.

## **5 Analysis**

This chapter will focus on the investigation of the manipulative strategies of the political discourse that are frequently used in Donald Trump's speeches. Two different extracts will be used as a means for describing manipulative strategies. In addition to that this work will aim to identify the manipulative or persuasive intention of the author of the speech. We will also attempt to decide on the issue of illegitimate manipulation versus legitimate persuasion. To demonstrate the manipulative strategies of political discourse, it appears to be essential to analyze some extracts of political speeches.

## **Extract 1 - transcript of Donald Trump's 2016 NYC speech on the stakes of the election (online)**

*1 Today I'd like to share my thoughts about the stakes in this election.*

*2 People have asked me why I am running for President.*

*3 I have built an amazing business that I love and I get to work side-by-side with my children every day.*

*4 We come to work together and turn visions into reality.*

*5 We think big, and then we make it happen.*

*6 I love what I do, and I am grateful beyond words to the nation that has allowed me to do it.*

*7 So when people ask me why I am running, I quickly answer: I am running to give back to this country which has been so good to me.*

*8 When I see the crumbling roads and bridges, or the dilapidated airports, or the factories moving overseas to Mexico, or to other countries, I know these problems can all be fixed, but not by Hillary Clinton – only by me.*

*9 The fact is, we can come back bigger and better and stronger than ever before -- Jobs, jobs, jobs!*

*10 Everywhere I look, I see the possibilities of what our country could be. But we can't solve any of these problems by relying on the politicians who created them.*

*11 We will never be able to fix a rigged system by counting on the same people who rigged it in the first place.*

*12 The insiders wrote the rules of the game to keep themselves in power and in the money.*

*13 That's why we're asking Bernie Sanders' voters to join our movement: so together we can fix the system for ALL Americans. Importantly, this includes fixing all of our many disastrous trade deals.*

*14 Because it's not just the political system that's rigged. It's the whole economy.*

*15 It's rigged by big donors who want to keep down wages.*

*16 It's rigged by big businesses who want to leave our country, fire our workers, and sell their products back into the U.S. with absolutely no consequences for them.*

*17 It's rigged by bureaucrats who are trapping kids in failing schools.*

*18 It's rigged against you, the American people.*

*19 Hillary Clinton who, as most people know, is a world class liar – just look at her pathetic email and server statements, or her phony landing in Bosnia where she said she was under attack but the attack turned out to be young girls handing her flowers, a total self-serving lie.*

*20 Brian Williams' career was destroyed for saying far less.*

*21 Yesterday, she even tried to attack me and my many businesses. But here is the bottom line: I started off in Brooklyn New York, not so long ago, with a small loan and built a business worth over 10 billion dollars. I have always had a talent for building businesses and, importantly, creating jobs. That is a talent our country desperately needs.*

*22 I am running for President to end the unfairness and to put you, the American worker, first.*

*23 We are going to put America First, and we are going to Make America Great again.*

## **5.1 Extract 1 – analysis**

The provided extract of political discourse is a perfect example of persuasive/manipulative speech. This part of the work will aim to identify the strategies involved in the manipulation process. It is safe to claim that Donald Trump intended to promote himself as the right candidate for the presidency in the eyes of the citizens of The United States of America. However, before we start to analyze the presented extract, we need to address the problem regarding the transcripts of spoken discourse in politics. Fairclough (1989) states that the content of the analysis is highly dependable on the analyst himself, therefore it is wise to assume that other analysts may underline different issues in the presented piece of discourse. This implies that the analysis of the extracts in this work will be subjective. With that in mind, we may proceed with the analysis.

### **5.1.2 Inclusive WE/YOU**

The first striking feature of this extract is the pronoun WE, frequently used in the inclusive form. Some scholars suggest that the personal pronoun WE may be used even in an exclusive manner to exclude the individuals or groups spoken to from its intended referential scope (David, 2014). In addition to that, it is suggested that this personal

pronoun is typically used inclusively when the authority aims to speak for others (Fairclough, 1989). In this transcript, we may recognize the intention of Donald Trump to speak on the behalf of the citizens of the United States of America by saying that “*we can come back bigger and better and stronger*” (9), “*we can’t solve any of these problems*” (10), “*We will never be able to fix a rigged system*” (11), “*so together we can fix the system*” (13), “*We are going to put America First, and we are going to Make America Great again.*” (23). Considering the usage of inclusive WE, it is apparent that Donald Trump uses this pronoun as one of the tools of speech manipulation - TSM (Kenzhekanova, Zhanabekova, Konyrbekova, 2015:325-326). This tool of speech manipulation enables Donald Trump to present his interest as the interest of American citizens. Moreover, it may be suggested that the persuasive intention here is to make the public believe that the potential presidential candidate will represent common interests and solve various problems. In fact, in (9,23) Trump attempts to manipulate the voters by presenting the hypothetical future in combination with the inclusive WE. In addition to that, we may argue that he creates an illusion of solidarity towards the American people.

Another instance of an inclusive WE may be spotted in (4) “*We come to work together and turn visions into reality*” and (5) “*We think big, and then we make it happen*”. Here Donald Trump speaks for himself and on the behalf of his children. Furthermore, he intends to present his successes, achievements, and capability to turn ideas into reality to make himself look like a strong presidential candidate. We may argue that Trump exercises legitimization through altruism.

The second issue regarding the usage of the inclusive personal pronouns throughout the extract is the occurrence of the inclusive YOU. We may identify the attempts of Donald Trump to emphasize his arguments by using this pronoun in: “*It’s rigged against you, the American people*”(18) and “*to end the unfairness and to put you, the American worker, first*” (22). From the semantical point of view, the inclusive pronoun YOU is not necessary for the comprehension of either of these sentences. One may argue that adding this lexical unit is an intentionally used strategy for emphasizing the statement. Moreover, in both sentences, Donald Trump provides us with an explanation of who he refers to by inclusive WE (*the American people, American worker*). However, it should be stated that the identity hidden behind this personal

pronoun may not be typically defined by the author of the speech in other political discourses.

### 5.1.3 List of three

David (2014) believes that this manipulative strategy refers to an attempt to augment a certain political speech. She argues that the manipulative intention in the strategy of the list of three is to repeat certain phrases to present the argument as common sense to the politician's audience. Moreover, David claims that this repetition is the most effective rhetoric device for the activation of mental models of the recipients. Such repetition results in the creation of an ideology. The technique of the list of three consists of three parts.

David (2014:167) states that: *“The first part is supposed to initiate an argument, the second part emphasizes or responds to the first and the third part is a reinforcement of the first two and a sign that the argument is completed”*.

In this extract, we may recognize the discussed manipulative strategy in (15,16,17), where Donald Trump uses a repetitive rhetorical phrase *“It's rigged by”*. Each sentence (15,16,17) supports Trump's argument from the previous sentence, claiming that the whole economy is rigged (14). Thus, the list of three was used to emphasize and legitimize the argument about the rigged political system. Linguistically, it acts as an improvement of the lexical cohesion of the speech. In addition to that Trump claimed that the problem of a rigged system is a universal one. It affects *you*, the American people (18). Therefore, it affects every US citizen.

Another instance of repetition may be found in (9): *“Jobs, jobs, jobs”*. This is an attempt to emphasize Trump's vision of the bright future of the United States of America. We may argue that he aims to legitimize himself though presenting a hypothetical future. Moreover, Trump uses this repetition of keywords to present potential economic improvement. We may argue that such a repetition serves to create a cohesive effect as it emphasizes the previous sentence.

### 5.1.4 Emotionalizing the argument

As we already mentioned, manipulation often manifests itself through emotions. Therefore, it is no surprise to recognize the manipulative strategy of emotionalizing the argument in our extract. Trump appealed to the audience's emotions in (8) by claiming: "*I see the crumbling roads and bridges, or the dilapidated airports, or the factories moving overseas to Mexico*". It is clear that he intended to present problems of the country in an emotive way. He used negative adjectives in combination with nouns (*crumbling roads and bridges, dilapidated airports*) for achieving his persuasive goal. While doing so, he targeted the universal emotions of the recipients. Moreover, he also presented himself as the sole competent leader who can solve these problems (8) "*I know these problems can all be fixed, but not by Hillary Clinton – only by me*". In addition to that Trump wanted to present himself positively. It should be also noted that he intentionally said that his opponent Hilary Clinton is not able to solve the situation "*but not by Hillary Clinton*".

In (21), it is possible to identify Trump's attempt to appeal to the audience through the universal collective emotion of fear. He stated that "*she (Clinton) even tried to attack me and my many businesses*". By using the negative verb *attack* and personal pronoun *me*, Trump made his intention of presenting his opponent as a common threat quite clear. One may argue that he could use less expressive verbs when referring to Clinton. Thus, the fundamental purpose of this phrase is to present Clinton as a dangerous person that should not be trusted.

### 5.1.5 Positive and negative presentation

The extract of this speech should serve to persuade the audience to vote for Donald Trump in the upcoming presidential elections (2016). In fact, we may recognize some instances where Trump aims to present himself in the best way possible. In sentence (3), he presents personal successes: "*I have built an amazing business that I love*". Even more demonstrative example may be spotted in the sentence (21): "*I started off... with a small loan and built a business worth over 10 billion dollars. I have always had a talent for building businesses and, importantly, creating jobs. That is a talent our country desperately needs.*"

Logically, Trump attempts to appear as a competent leader with many accomplishments and the right candidate for the presidential office. Consequently, he states that his talent is the one that the country desperately needs. He attempts to use the strategy of positive self-presentation for persuading voters. It is suggested that self-mention executed by linguistic elements such as personal pronouns may clarify the responsibility (David, 2014). In this extract, the personal pronoun “I” is widely used for acclaiming Trump’s business achievements or emphasizing his visions: “*I have built an amazing business that I love and I get to work*” (3), “*I love what I do, and I am grateful*” (6), “*Everywhere I look, I see*” (10).

In addition to that Trump also uses negative others presentation when referring to his opponent Hillary Clinton (19): “*Hillary Clinton who, as most people know, is a world class liar*”. Here Trump accuses Clinton of being a liar and adds a reference to the event that happened in Bosnia. The key issue is that the recipients without the necessary knowledge are not able to tell if this is a reliable claim. This may result in a manipulated negative point of view on Hillary Clinton. One may object that Trump’s statement is biased and maybe even a lie. However, this should be analyzed by those who seek to reveal the truth behind the political statement. It is suggested that scientific fraud cannot succeed as the science itself is believed to be self-correcting (Reich, 2009).

The negative Others presentation is further noticeable in (19). It is apparent that Trump assigns negative adjectives to nouns which refer to Clinton: “*her pathetic email and server statements*”, “*her phony landing in Bosnia*”. These negative adjectives may be interpreted as another attempt to discredit Clinton.

#### **5.1.6. Promises and words with an ideological connotation**

The politicians frequently use various promises in their speeches in order to appeal to the audience. This extract provides an example in (23): “*We are going to put America First, and we are going to Make America Great again*”. Although these promises were the key slogans of Trump’s presidential campaign, they are quite vague and might not represent the real situation in the future. Vadai (2016) claims that the audience typically does not have the necessary information for validation of these promises, therefore, may be easily manipulated. Another presence of Trump’s

promises may be identified in his declaration on why he runs for an American president: “*I am running to give back to this country which has been so good to me*” (7), “*I am running for President to end the unfairness and to put you, the American worker, first*” (22). Logically, Trump aims to appeal to the audience by presenting his motivation and promises as noble actions. However, the recipients are not able to determine the truthfulness of his statements. In addition to that promises are considered a linguistic activity that is socially bounded and requires a certain degree of sincerity (Mey, 1985).

We may also recognize words with ideological connotations in the extract. These words are believed to be characteristic of political speeches and to have a positive effect on the audience (Bodoc, 2018). In this extract, there are several ideologically significant lexical units such as *trade deals, economy, wages, business, or jobs*. Bodoc (2018) claims that words with ideological connotations have a manipulative character.

### **5.1.7 Passivization**

Some scholars suggest that using the passive rather than active voice in the political discourse may result in leaving the responsible person somewhat hidden. Bodoc (2017) states that the emphasis is on the direct object of the active sentences. Moreover, she suggests that the manipulative intention is to hide the responsible person behind the passive voice as the performer of the action is irrelevant or unknown. In addition to that Kenzhekanova, Zhanabekova, and Konyrbekova (2015) argue that the manipulative strategy of passivization shares its aim with the manipulative strategy of nominalization, which hides the responsible actor as well. For Fairclough (1985), the agent may be excluded from the sentences to leave the agency unclear. Vadai (2016) adds that passivization and nominalization are manipulative strategies characteristic of the speaker who wants to claim the credit. In the following figure, we may identify the possibility to assign responsibility through active voice and avoidance of responsibility through passive voice.

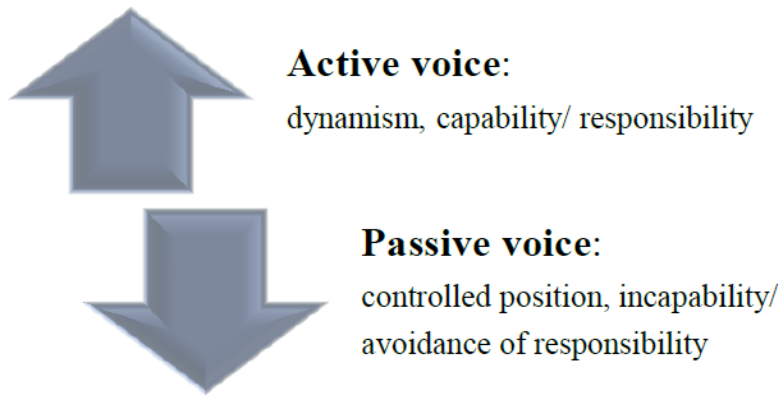


Figure 2: Syntactic polarization (Vadai, 2016:16)

Extract 1 provides an instance of passive voice usage in (15,16,17). These passive sentences serve as supportive arguments for Trump's previous statement (14): "Because it's not just the political system that's **rigged**. It's the whole economy". Trump's intention was to strongly state that the system and the whole economy are *rigged*. While doing so, he used passive voice to hide the alleged offenders (big donors, big businesses, bureaucrats). One may suggest that he was not able to prove their guilt. If this were the case, then Trump's statements about the rigged system would be much less relevant. As his claims are relatively vague, one may find his statements half-truths or even lies.

**Extract 2 – Donald Trump's 2017 U.N. speech (online)**

*1 We live in a time of extraordinary opportunity.*

*2 Breakthroughs in science, technology, and medicine are curing illnesses and solving problems that prior generations thought impossible to solve.*

*3 But each day also brings news of growing dangers that threaten everything we cherish and value.*

*4 Terrorists and extremists have gathered strength and spread to every region of the planet.*

*5 Rogue regimes represented in this body not only support terrorists but threaten other nations and their own people with the most destructive weapons known to humanity.*

*6 Authority and authoritarian powers seek to collapse the values, the systems, and alliances that prevented conflict and tilted the world toward freedom since World War II.*

*7 To put it simply, we meet at a time of both of immense promise and great peril.*

*8 It is entirely up to us whether we lift the world to new heights, or let it fall into a valley of disrepair.*

*9 We have it in our power, should we so choose, to lift millions from poverty, to help our citizens realize their dreams, and to ensure that new generations of children are raised free from violence, hatred, and fear.*

*10 This institution was founded in the aftermath of two world wars to help shape this better future.*

*11 It was based on the vision that diverse nations could cooperate to protect their sovereignty, preserve their security, and promote their prosperity.*

*12 It was in the same period, exactly 70 years ago, that the United States developed the Marshall Plan to help restore Europe.*

*13 Those three beautiful pillars -- they're pillars of peace, sovereignty, security, and prosperity.*

## **5.2 Extract 2 – analysis**

It should be noted that the second extract is not addressed to the American public. The target audience of Trump's speech from Extract 2 is the highly educated people of the United Nations General Assembly. Therefore, it may be assumed this speech had to have more formal features than the speech from Extract 1. Nevertheless, we will attempt to describe the manipulative strategy of metaphor in the speech with a high degree of formality. Although some of the manipulative strategies mentioned in the analysis of Extract 1 are present in Extract 2, this analysis will aim to describe a manipulative strategy that was not yet discussed.

### 5.2.1 Metaphor

The second extract provides an opportunity to identify another frequently used manipulative strategy involved in the world of politics. It is a metaphor. This lexical device plays a significant role in the manipulative discourse. According to some scholars, metaphor is a figure of speech that uses analogy, resemblance, and association to describe one subject by mentioning the other. (David, 2014). It is also believed that this manipulative tool is popular especially in political debates (Bodoc, 2017).

Vadai (2016), in her study, argues that metaphorical elements act as a form of an enhancement of the emotional effect of political speech. Therefore, it may be assumed that the politicians may apply the metaphor in the necessity of emotionalizing the argument. Fairclough (1989) adds that social problems are frequently described by metaphors as a disease (e.g.: *As the cancer spreads*). Furthermore, he argues this use of metaphor indicates the intention to present the dominant interests as the interest of the whole society.

It is also important to notice that the rhetorical device such as metaphor often violates the pragmatic and semantic principles. In addition to that English language speakers are expected to be familiar with the usage of the metaphors in communication and to recognize that the metaphors bear literal, not the real meaning of the conversation (Rozina and Karapetnaja, 2009).

Mey (1985:46) suggests that one of the most popular metaphors in politics is: “*We are all in the same boat*”. On the one hand, this statement appears to be quite ideological and exclusive as everyone who is outside the boat is considered anti-social. Moreover, it is also an attempt to address all the recipients and present the author with an illusion of solidarity – as someone who shares the burden of others (Mey, 1985).

Regarding the analysis of Extract 2, it is possible to spot the use of metaphor as a tool of manipulative discourse in: “*lift the world to new heights, or let it fall into a valley of despair*” (8) and “*to lift millions from poverty*” (9). It is apparent that in (8) Trump intended to emphasize the previous part of the speech (1-7). He presented the members of the UN with a metaphor of comparing *heights/valley* and *lift/fall*. We may argue that he aimed to put his powerful hearers under pressure by describing imminent

threats and hypothetical future of the world in “*the new heights*” or “*the valley of despair*”. It is also clear that this metaphor does not bear literal meaning in the speech. On the contrary, this sentence (8) should probably serve as Trump’s appeal to the audience to consider the importance of their future decisions. In (9), Trump once again appeals to his audience through metaphor by describing potential positive effects of their actions on the citizens “*lift millions from poverty*”. According to him, they have it in their power to choose the right course of action.

In (13), Trump exercise manipulation through the manipulative tool of speech, known as the metaphor, again. He stated that “*Those three beautiful pillars -- they’re pillars of peace, sovereignty, security, and prosperity*”. Here, Trump uses the term “*pillar*” as a crucial part on which the United States’ Marshall plan stands. He also attempts to support his claim from (11). Moreover, it may be suggested that Trump attempted to present the democratic values of “*peace, sovereignty, security, and prosperity*” of the UN and those of the United States of America as identical. Consequently, this should result in a positive United States presentation. Logically, Trump intended to make the audience adopt a certain ideology. However, it should be stated that the politicians of the UN are not common public. Typically, they ought to be aware of the persuasive or manipulative intentions in the political discourses.

## 6 Conclusion

Firstly, it may be concluded that social power manifests itself through control of the actions of others. One may possess power over another. Thus, one is superior in terms of social power. Such a power may be abused to achieve an outcome in the best interest of those in power. However, as power is not distributed equally in society, it is believed that some will have more power than others. Fairclough (1989) adds that exercising power through language leads to a constant struggle to defend or lose a powerful position. It may be claimed that manipulation remains somewhat hidden as it exercises power without consent. Moreover, van Dijk (2008) argues that social power is represented by control of the production of public discourse. He believes that such control is essential for persuasion and manipulation as it provides indirect control over the public mind.

Secondly, it may be concluded that face-to-face spoken discourse, cross-cultural discourse, and the hidden power of the discourse of mass media are the major types of encounters where social power is being executed. Fairclough (1989) clarifies that face-to-face spoken discourse and cross-cultural discourse represent encounters with an unequal division of power. In the case of face-to-face spoken discourse, this is typically caused by the differences in knowledge, education, or experience. On the other hand, in the cross-cultural discourse, the inequality lies in the differences in cultural, social, and linguistic backgrounds of powerful and non-powerful participants. However, crucial for manipulation is the role of mass media, which addresses the large audiences of ideal subjects with universal messages that may represent the interests of the powerful individuals and political parties. The persuasive aim of the public discourse of the mass media is to shape public opinions in a certain way. Logically, such an influence may be abused for manipulative purposes.

Thirdly, we may conclude that social power is represented by the access and control over public discourse as this enables indirect control of the public mind. Furthermore, it may be summed up that controlling the content of the public discourse of the mass media, which belongs to the influential power, provides an opportunity to persuade and manipulate the wide public. It may be also noted that such attempts are not effective on everyone as persuading and manipulating are regarded as universal rather than

individual strategies. In addition to that control of the access to public discourse occurs when the powerful groups select individuals with permission to express their ideas. It is also suggested that politicians must obtain a certain degree of academic abilities, qualifications, and knowledge if they aim to access public discourse.

Fourthly, it may be concluded that debates, speeches, and hearings are instances of typical political discourse. This form of discourse is being spread by mass-media. It may be also noted that struggles for power are very frequent in political discourse. Scholars suggest that political discourse is a genre where its actors express themselves in public. Therefore, typical political discourse should be regarded as public discourse. Logically, such a discourse has potential persuasive and manipulative power, which is executed by persuading and manipulating through language. This fact is exploited by politicians who seek to achieve their goals. Some scholars argue that manipulation may be executed through body language, posture, facial expression, nodding, head shaking, and other non-verbal means of communication collectively known as visuals. Although manipulation itself is a considerably vague term with no clear definition and boundaries, it is apparent that this illegitimate use of power is to the advantage of the manipulator. Some see manipulation as manipulator's attempts to exercise control over other people. Furthermore, the powerful manipulators aim to keep the powerless manipulated public unaware of their manipulative intentions. Because manipulation targets the mind of the recipient, the manipulator aims to create mental models in the recipient's short-term and long-term memory. In addition to that manipulation targets recipient's collective universal emotions of fear, trust, anger, disgust, and joy. Targeting these emotions enables manipulators to affect the decision-making process of the mass recipients and enforces people to act without considering all the pros and cons. The key issue is that the linguistic devices used illegitimately for manipulation can be used legitimately as tools of persuasion and information. However, it may be claimed that in manipulation, the receivers are the victims of manipulation as they are unable to recognize the manipulator's true intentions. On the contrary, in persuasion, they are free to act and believe as they like. Van Dijk (2006) believes that manipulative discourse may be identified when the manipulator in a dominant power position acts in the best interest of the dominant group and against the best interests of the dominated group. In addition to that, the recipients lack relevant knowledge for resisting the manipulation. Such resisting is typically possible when the operations of manipulation are revealed. The

vast amount of counter-information also contributes to greater resistance towards manipulation. It may be also concluded that the fundamental manipulative strategy in politics is the ideological polarization, which significantly shapes the whole political discourse. This strategy typically distinguishes between the positive “Us” group and the negative “Them” group. Thus, we might identify various attempts to describe the Us group in the best way possible. Logically, the Them group is described in the opposite way.

Finally, it may be concluded that this work demonstrated several manipulative and persuasive strategies of political discourse. The vital role of inclusive and exclusive pronouns was discussed as well as the repetition of key words known as the list of three. Discourse analysis of Donald Trump’s speeches also revealed his attempts to use the strategy of emotionalizing the argument that enables manipulators to target the recipient’s emotions. This work discovered Trump’s intention to present himself positively. The utilization of words with an ideological connotation should be also considered in the analysis of political discourse as it provides an opportunity for the manipulator to augment and support his or her arguments. In addition to that, the analysis proved that passivization plays a considerable role in hiding responsibility in politics. It may be also summed up that metaphor is a linguistic device that is frequently used in manipulation and persuasion. Regarding the extracts, it may be summed up that Extract 1 is an instance of a manipulative political discourse as the recipients are not likely to determine the truthfulness of Donald Trump’s statements. On the contrary, for the absence of clear manipulative intentions, Extract 2 should be considered persuasive rather than manipulative.

Therefore, it may be concluded that the language of politics has enormous social power and should be regarded as persuasive. It is safe to claim that powerful politicians may abuse their social power for manipulative purposes through public political discourse. Thus, it may be assumed that the language of politics is very likely to be manipulative.

## Abstrakt

Cílem této bakalářské práce je odhalit manipulativnost jazyka ve vědě a technice. Je však nutné zdůraznit, že manipulace jazyka ve vědě je velmi obsáhlá studijní oblast. Proto se tato práce zaměřuje pouze na jednu specifickou vědu – politiku. Z tohoto důvodu je zřejmé, že manipulace v ostatních vědeckých disciplínách nebude zahrnuta v této práci. Studium tohoto tématu je důležité, jelikož jsme vystaveni manipulaci takřka denně. V moderní společnosti se neustále setkáváme s pokusy ovlivnit veřejné mínění. Akademici se shodují, že tyto snahy o ovlivnění lidí jsou spíše pravidlem než výjimkou. Pro úspěšné odolávání politické manipulaci je tudíž nutné popsat ilegitimní používání moci ve veřejné diskurzu a manipulativní strategie.

První kapitola se zabývá použitím diskurzní síly jako prostředkem pro vykonávání sociální síly. Jasně uvádí, že tato práce nepopisuje sílu jako pojem z fyzikálních oborů. Dále také popisuje rozdíl mezi koncepty *power to* a *power over*. Fyzikální pojem *power to* znázorňuje například moc pohnout tělesem. Fundamentálním pro tuto práci je však pojem *power over*, který naznačuje moc udržovat kontrolu nad lidmi. Van Dijk (2008) uvádí, že dominantní skupina má moc udržovat kontrolu nad jinou skupinou. Tato moc však může být zneužita – v nejlepším zájmu dominantní skupiny a proti zájmům kontrolované skupiny. Dominantní skupina může také kontrolovat diskurz méně dominantních skupin. V důsledku toho lze předpokládat, že zneužití moci je ilegitimní použití diskurzní síly.

Druhá kapitola pojednává o nerovném rozdělení moci ve společnosti, které vede k mocenským bojům a hierarchii. Poskytnuté schéma v této kapitole naznačuje možný výskyt manipulace, pokud si navzájem soupeřící účastníci mocenské struktury nejsou rovni. Fairclough (1989) tvrdí, že pokud někdo používá jazyk k aplikování moci, tak musí neustále hájit svou silnou pozici. Takový proces může vyústit v nerovné rozdělení moci v politice, diskurzu, či společnosti. Dále tato práce uvádí rozdělení do tří oblastí, kde se může objevit diskurzní síla. První z těchto oblastí je setkání tváří v tvář, u kterého mají účastníci konverzace odlišnou úroveň vzdělání, zkušeností a znalostí. Druhou oblastí je mezikulturní střetnutí. Zde mají účastníci konverzace rozdíly v kulturním a společenském původu. A poslední oblastí, kde se projevují rozdíly v diskurzní síle je skrytá moc diskurzu masových médií. Tato oblast zahrnuje produkci velkého množství

informací pro veřejnost a je tudíž vhodnou oblastí pro přesvědčování a manipulaci. Skrytá moc diskurzu masových medií se liší jasným rozdělením mezi autory a příjemci textů.

Třetí kapitola se zabývá důležitostí kontrolování veřejného diskurzu. Toto kontrolování umožňuje formovat veřejné mínění, tím pádem dokáže nepřímo řídit co si lidé myslí a co chtějí. Dále je důležité zmínit, že většina veřejného diskurzu je zprostředkována pomocí masových medií. Z toho vyplývá, že jejich kontrola zajišťuje společenskou a politickou moc. Řízení obsahu veřejného diskurzu a přístupnost k němu hraje klíčovou roli ve formování mentálních modelů v myslích veřejnosti. Experti také tvrdí, že pro přístup k určitému veřejnému diskurzu je nutné získat patřičnou kvalifikaci a vzdělání.

Čtvrtá kapitola se zabývá již samotnou manipulací v politickém diskurzu. Nejprve specifikuje politický diskurz jako diskurz veřejný, jelikož jeho účastníci hovoří a vystupují veřejně. Takový diskurz je šířen masovými médii a řadí se do něj debaty, projevy, či slyšení. Často se zaměřuje na prezentaci jedince či skupiny v co nejlepším světle. Zároveň může také negativně prezentovat politického oponenta. Manipulace samotná je chápána jako pojem s nejasnými hranicemi, kde manipulátor kontroluje ostatní proti jejich vůli nebo jejich zájmům. Jedná se také o kontrolu lidské mysli. V této kapitole se uvádí, že manipulátor využívá kolektivní emoce svých posluchačů k vytvoření mentálních modelů, názorů a ideologií v dlouhodobé paměti. Z výzkumu také vyplývá, že text a mluvené slovo nejsou jedinými prostředky k šíření manipulace. Lidé mohou být zmanipulováni pomocí neverbální komunikace, například pomocí gest, jazyku těla, výrazu tváře, ale také pomocí fotek, obrázků a filmů. Je také zjevné, že se manipulace příliš neliší od přesvědčování. Dle některých autorů tyto procesy využívají stejné lingvistické prostředky. Liší se tím, že u manipulace jsou příjemci většinou využíváni k prospěchu manipulátora, kdežto u přesvědčování je cílem dosáhnout vzájemné spokojenosti. Důležitým faktorem u manipulace je také neschopnost příjemce detekovat manipulaci. Van Dijk (2006:374) uvádí, že manipulace se projevuje tímto způsobem: manipulátor je v dominantní pozici, příjemce postrádá nezbytné znalosti pro odolání manipulaci, manipulátor jedná v zájmu dominantní skupiny a proti zájmům kontrolované skupiny. Mey (1985) dále tvrdí, že jedinou efektivní cestou k úspěšnému odolání vůči manipulaci je odhalení, jak funguje. Saussure (2005) dodává, že pro odolání manipulaci je třeba identifikovat manipulativní záměr manipulátora. Dle tohoto

tvrzení lze usuzovat, že je nutné analyzovat vybrané texty pro pochopení a odhalení manipulativních technik v politickém diskurzu.

Analýza v páté kapitole tedy slouží k demonstraci manipulativních technik politiků pro manipulování veřejnosti. Pro účely této demonstrace jsou analyzovány dva výňatky z projevů Donalda Trumpa, současného Prezidenta Spojených států amerických. První popisovanou manipulativní technikou je požívání osobních zájmen WE/YOU. Je uváděno, že se politici snaží touto technikou mluvit za někoho jiného. Jako další oblíbenou politickou strategií pro manipulaci je repetitivní používání některých vybraných slov či slovních spojení známé jako „List of three“. Díky této strategii, která je považována za nejeftektivnější řečnický prostředek pro aktivaci mentálních modelů veřejnosti, lze přidat argumentu větší úroveň věrohodnosti. Používá se také pro rozšíření určitého politického projevu. Z analýzy vyplývá, že Trump často využívá emocí ve svém projevu pro ovlivnění publika. Lze si všimnout snahy používat negativní přídavná jména, když zmiňuje problémy v USA nebo svou politickou oponentku Hillary Clinton. Trump také prezentoval sám sebe jako kompetentního lídra s řadou úspěchů. Zároveň však použil negativní prezentaci pro Hillary Clinton. Dále se v této kapitole pojednává o používání slibů pomocí nastínění pozitivní hypotetické budoucnosti a ideologicky zaměřených slov. Pasivizace je pak chápána jako další manipulativní technika, která spočívá v ukrytí osoby odpovědné za jistý čin. Poslední velmi oblíbenou strategií politických manipulátorů v této práci je používání metafor. Ty slouží především k rozšíření emocionálního efektů způsobeného politickým projevem.

Závěrem je třeba uvést, že tato práce necílila na odhalení všech manipulativních technik v politice. Jazyk politického diskurzu může být označen jako prostředí, kde je velmi pravděpodobný výskyt manipulativních záměrů. Je však obtížné rozlišit, zda se jedná o přesvědčování nebo manipulaci, či zda je diskutované téma v nejlepším zájmu jak kontrolující, tak kontrolované skupiny.

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