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DEPARTAMENTO de FILOGÍA INGLESA  
Grado en Estudios Ingleses

## TRABAJO DE FIN DE GRADO

*Person Deixis in the Dynamic of the American Political Discourse.*

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2020/21





## ABSTRACT

Person deixis has been a matter of concern in political discourse and cognitive linguistics since politicians manipulate the linguistic system for persuasive purposes. This study compares two different American political speeches, Donald Trump's Inauguration speech and Hillary Clinton's Concession speech regarding person deixis, namely personal and possessive pronouns, to denote if the different political speech genres, imply a varietal deictic purpose. The analysis shows differences in person deictic usages and frequency are related to the political frame's target.

**Keywords: Political discourse, person deixis, deictic center, deictics, inclusive uses, exclusive uses.**

La deixis de persona se ha analizado en el discurso político y en la lingüística cognitiva, ya que los políticos manipulan el sistema lingüístico con fines persuasivos. Este estudio analiza la deixis de persona en dos discursos políticos estadounidenses, el discurso de investidura de Donald Trump y el discurso de concesión de Hillary Clinton, centrándose en los pronombres personales y los adjetivos posesivos. El objetivo principal es determinar si los diferentes géneros de discursos políticos varían el objetivo de los usos deícticos. El análisis demuestra que las diferencias en el uso y la frecuencia de los deícticos de persona se atribuyen a la finalidad política.

**Palabras clave: Discurso político, deixis de persona, centro deíctico, deícticos, usos inclusivos, usos exclusivos.**



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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The speeches are pronounced by politicians to speak either to the nation, understood as a whole, or to a specific political group to enhance their credibility persuading an audience and to encourage its participation in political life. (Irimiea 2010:4).

For persuasive purposes, politicians manipulate the linguistic system managing persuasive techniques when referring to an audience. Encouraged by persuasive purposes, a very frequent persuasive technique managed by politicians when referring to an audience is the point of reference the speaker uses, which is known as deixis, namely person deixis.

This research aims to establish a comparison between two American speeches regarding personal deixis, as well as to determine whether different political purposes (Inauguration speech and Concession speech) differ from the different types of deictic usages within a political discourse frame. This paper bases on political discourses since politics through persuasive language strategies create a great impact on the hearers' cognitive area, meaning a field of interest in cognitive linguistics.

Political elections are aimed at determining who commands the nation's power in democratic systems. When calling for elections, an "electoral battle" takes place resulting in an electoral defeat and an electoral victory. If politician's behaviors, feelings, and reactions are shifted by the elections' results, the language with which they build up their speech is shifted too. Giving that point, it is accurate to deepen in political speech genres and set up the differences concerning an inaugural speech, delivered by the winning candidate, from a concession speech, pronounced by the candidate upon defeat.

The Inauguration Presidential speech pronounced by the Republican leader Donald Trump, after the winning of the 2016 USA presidential elections, launches a populist message to republican's supporters and covers a conservative point regarding social, economic, and political issues whereas the concession speech given by the Democrat candidate Hillary Clinton after Trump's victory, launches a gratitude message to democrat supporters and it maintains a liberal point regarding social economic and political issues shaking the USA at that time.

On that point, three questions have to be considered:

1 Does the use of first-person singular deictics increase in Trump's inauguration speech than in Clinton's concession speech?

2- Does the use (inclusive or exclusive) of first personal plural deictics (we and our) differ from one speech to another?

3- Do politicians tend to use third person plural deictics (they and their) portraying a negative image from the opposition party?

## **2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND**

Deixis belongs, within linguistics, to the domain of pragmatics since it deals with the relationship between language structure and the contexts in which they are applied (Levinson, 1983:55)

The notion of deixis comes from the Greek δειξίς, meaning 'point' or 'indicate' (Olza: 40), and nowadays it is used to express the location and identification of persons, objects, events, processes, and activities that are spoken of, allude to, in relation to spatial and temporal context and the typical participation in it of a single speaker and at least one addressee. (J.Lyons, 1980: 574).

When dealing with a deictic unit, the meaning remains constant from one use to another whereas the referent is shifted. (Cifuentes, 1989: 2). These notions can be further explained in the following example: the sentence "I'll be right back" deals with purely deictic units. The meaning of the pronoun "I" remains invariable: the person who is speaking. However, its reference will vary depending on who the speaker is. Whether this sentence is found on a note posted on a professor's door office, the meaning is clear and unchanging: the professor had to be absent for a while and he will come back soon. In order to understand the validity of the note and avoid confusion, some questions have to be considered: the referent, who wrote the message; and the moment of its performance, when it was written. (Cifuentes 1989:2)



**Person** deixis refers to the encoding of the participants' involvement when an utterance is delivered in a speech event. (Levinson, 2006: 72) The speaker's reference is grammaticalized through pronouns. The main aim of this research covers personal and possessive adjectives. The personal pronouns, I, we, you, he, she, it and they, are used referring to people or things that the speaker is talking to, or talking about and they can be used as a way for him to refer to himself. (Collins,1990:29)

The possessive adjectives, my, our, your, his, her, and their, are used indicating ownership between something and its owner. "This is **my** car". Indeed speakers recur to possessive adjectives when contrasting: "**your** pie tastes better than **mine**" or when expression qualification: "she is a very good friend of **mine**."

(Collins 1990:32)

According to Levinson (2006), although deixis is displayed by grammatical categories, a pragmatic framework considering the possible participant-role is arisen. (68).

Given that point, Lyons (1977) pointed out a deictical distinction depending on the speaker's implications: speaker inclusion is implied by first- person deictic systems, addressee inclusion is implied by second person deictic systems; and both speaker and addressee exclusion is implied by third person deictic systems.

Through the first person singular deictics both personal pronoun and possessive adjectives, the speaker refers to himself, what is known as speaker inclusion, as it can be seen in 1.a

1.a I'd been waiting a long time to park my car. (Collins,1990:118)

The first person deictic system is further developed by Adetunji (2006 ), who stated another distinction regarding the uses of deixis depending on the involvement of the speaker during the utterance. Inclusive uses are related to the inclusion of the speaker and the audience, whereas exclusive uses refer to the exclusion of the audience from the speaker's deictic center. (178).

The most representative pronoun is ‘we’, which according to Adetnuji (2006) is used by speakers addressing an audience with whom sharing thoughts and responsibilities. Three realizations of the personal pronoun ‘we’ can be considered depending on the addressee implication:

-Universal ‘we’ comprises the inclusion of both speaker and audience, according to Adetnuji (2006).

-Historical ‘we’ embraces the speaker, the hearer, and people not present in the utterance who may be dead or alive, according to Hamdaoui (2015)

-Exclusive ‘we’ or royal ‘we’ by which the speaker maintains his position firmly by excluding the hearer, according to Adetnuji (2006)

Third-person deictics ‘he//his’, ‘they//their’ are used by which the speaker refers neither entities nor to persons corresponding to any specific participants role in the utterance, as it can be seen in 3.a. (Levinson 2006:62) (Addressee and speaker inclusion)

3.a I remember his name now (Collins 1990:118)

Going further into person deixis, another distinction has to be considered. Levinson (1983) denotes a distinction between anaphoric and non-anaphoric or non-deictic uses, covering deictic expressions occurring in the discourse. On the one hand, anaphoric uses are related to those purely deictic expressions occurring previously in the discourse: selecting the same entity (or type of object) as a referent. On the other hand, non-anaphoric or non-deictic uses are expressions that do not refer to prior discourse. (Levinson, 2006: 80)

Besides, Adetunji (2006) states another distinction regarding uses of deixis depending on the involvement of the speaker during the utterance: inclusive and exclusive uses. Inclusive uses are related to the inclusion of the speaker and the audience, whereas exclusive uses refer to the exclusion of the audience from the speaker’s deictic center. (178)

At this point, it is important to acquire the notion of deictic center. It makes reference to space and temporal co-ordinates relative to the performance of the utterance. These arise at

a point which is called deictic center (DC) ,considering three aspects of origin: place ('come' and 'go', time ('now and then') ,and person ('I' and 'you') (Fillmore 1975).

It is assumed that deictic expressions are anchored to specific points in the communicative event and hence unmarked anchorage points build up the deictic center. Therefore, the central person is the speaker, the central time is the time at which the utterance is produced, and the central place is the speaker's location at the time the utterance is performed. (Levinson 2006: 64).

Applying this to political discourse, Van Dijk (1997) states through discourse, politicians can command and manipulate an audience if no previous information has been supplied to it (19)

Through discourse, politicians recur to the usage of deixis as a key weapon to win the audience *benevolentiae captatio*, as well as to emphasize positive information covering them positively, disregard pieces of information do so negatively, and drawing their proposals.

Many researchers have been covering the issue of person deixis for persuasive aims.

In 1990, Wilson's research stated the interpretation of the distribution of the pronouns 'I' and 'we' in the presidential debates between the American politicians Jimmy Carter and Gerald. Through them, it was shown how they recur to subject pronoun 'I' when assuming responsibility or establishing solidarity or subject pronoun 'we' when rejecting the previous ones.

Under the same topic, Ford's research in 1976 also proved the use of 'I' and 'we' as a weapon loading responsibility.

Jessica Hakansson (2012) attempted to investigate the use of personal pronouns in Obama and Bush's State of Union Speeches. It showed significant differences between the references of subject pronouns, especially when dealing with subject pronouns 'they' from one speech and in the other, mainly encouraged by context differences. However, it was proved both politicians recurred to the subject pronoun 'I' when referring to themselves;

subject pronouns ‘we’ and ‘you’ when referring to common entities such as the Congress or the American citizens.

Mariem Hamdaoui (2015) dealt with the persuasive tone of person deixis in Obama’s speech about The Financial crisis pronounced in 2009. It was proved subject pronoun ‘we’ is the most frequent deictic item aiming at persuasion. By means of an inclusive use of ‘we’, Obama managed to build up a stereotypical and powerful image of America.

### **3.MATERIALS**

Two speeches have been chosen in this research: Donald Trump’s Inaugural Address and Hillary Clinton’s Concession speech, both pronounced in 2016. To start with, the backgrounds, aims and context of both speeches have to be unfolded.

Pronounced on January 20<sup>th</sup>, 2016 by Donald Trump when becoming the 45<sup>th</sup> president of the United States, his Inaugural Presidential speech launched a populist message expressing his gratitude to the Republican party’s supporters and covering different issues shaking the USA such as crime, violence, drugs, terrorism, immigration, trade and economy, poverty and educational system issued.

Pronounced after Trump’s victory by Hillary Clinton, leader of the democratic party, her Concession speech is addressed to democratic supporters preserving political, economic and social measures, arranged during her electoral campaign ,as well as the unity of America and women’s rights.

### **4.METHODOLOGY**

The main aim of this paper is to compare ‘‘The Inauguration speech’’ given by Donald Trump and ‘‘The Concession speech’’ pronounced by Hillary Clinton in terms of person deixis, namely personal and possessive pronouns, and to determine if different political purposes manage a different usage of person deixis.

Since a quantitative analysis for pronoun searching is required and a manual process presents to be hard and inaccurate, it has been used a free software committed to corpus

analysis named '*Antconc*': 'a freeware corpus analysis toolkit for concordance and text analysis'. Since person deixis is confined to both personal pronouns and possessive adjectives, the use of this tool is accurate.

At the outset, both speeches were downloaded from a reliable resource named 'American Rhetoric' and converted into a text format one each of them, adapting the software requirements and enabling its working.

Once the texts were converted, two-word lists for each speech were set up, composed of personal pronouns (I, we and they) and possessive adjectives (my ,our and their) under analysis.

The reason behind the composition of a word list is to fasten the search since *Antconc* holds a word list tool, by which you are allowed to upload and filter the results to your requirements.

After the analysis, the data was displayed in figures organized by type of pronoun under analysis, showing the total deictic system occurrences in each discourse.

Going further into the research questions, some figures were created for each one, presenting the most prominent context examples in order to interpret them.

The explanation of them will be further explained in the next section: 5.Analysis.

To portray an overview of personal pronouns and possessive adjectives frequency use in each speech, the following graphics were created.

#### 4.1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Figure 1 and 2 depict the frequency use of person deixis in terms of personal pronouns and possessive adjectives, regarding the deictic system occurrences in each speech.

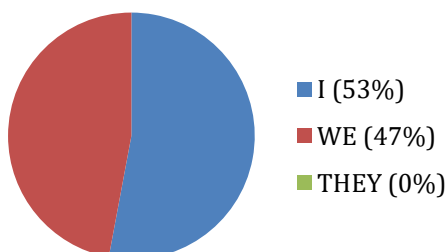


Figure 1. Personal pronouns frequency use in Clinton's speech

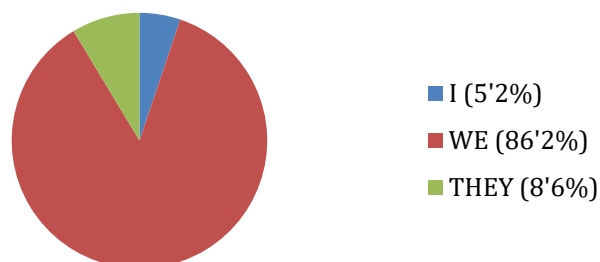


Figure 2. Personal pronouns frequency use in Trump's speech

#### 4.2 POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVES

Figure 3 and 4 depict the person deixis frequency use, personal pronouns and possessive adjectives, regarding the pronominal system occurrences in each speech.

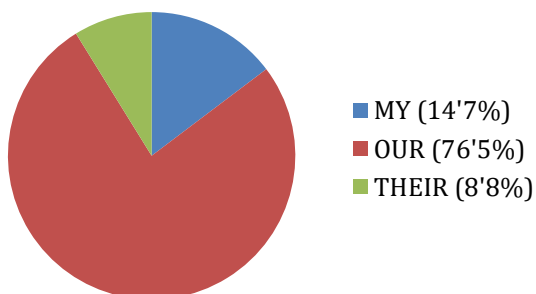


Figure 3. Possessive adjectives frequency use in Clinton's speech.

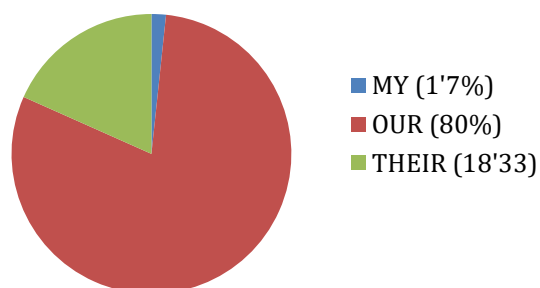


Figure 4. Possessive adjectives frequency use in Trump's speech.

#### 5. ANALYSIS

A statistical approach has been followed to get the total number of occurrences and frequency of use of deictic in the political discourses under analysis, regarding personal pronouns (I, we and they), and possessive adjectives (my, our and their). The inaugural speech consisting of 1459 words and the concession speech consisting of 1159 words were

sourced as data for the study. The data obtained from the quantitative analysis were analyzed within the framework of pragmatics, namely inclusiveness and exclusiveness of personal pronouns and possessive adjectives in both speeches. The frequency of use of deixis has been sourced on the pronominal and adjectival system occurrences of each discourse, being a total of 68 regarding personal pronouns and 34 regarding possessive adjectives in Clinton's speech and a total of 58 regarding personal pronouns, and 60 regarding possessive adjectives in Trump's speech.

### ***5.1. FIRST PERSON DEIXIS***

Traditionally first-person singular pronoun 'I' is used to substitute the speaker's name. However in political discourse, politicians use them to point themselves as reference.

According to Bramley insights (2001), through first-person singular deictics, politicians endow their speeches with subjectivity by showing authority to convey his opinion and to compass an audience. (27) A very frequent use is to depict positive descriptions of themselves and highlighting personal attributes to build up an image of themselves as someone moral and able to take action when necessary. (28)

Since first-person singular deictics are considered the maximum expression of authority in deictic terms and an inauguration speech is considered the maximum expression of authority in political terms, does the use of first- person singular deictics increase in Trump's inauguration speech than in Clinton's concession speech?

### 5.1.1. FIRST PERSON DEIXIS IN CLINTON'S SPEECH

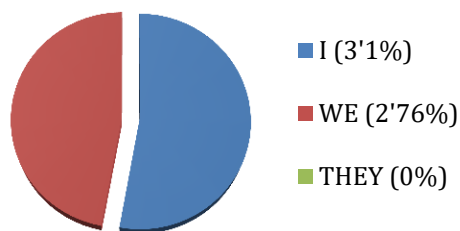


Figure 5. Frequency use of 'I' regarding personal pronouns

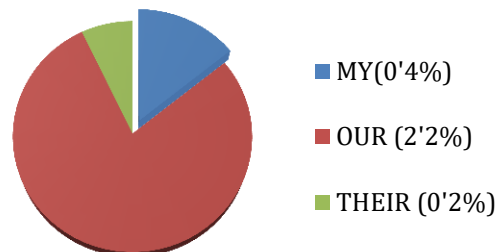


Figure 6. Frequency use of 'my' regarding possessive adjectives

The analysis shows that first-person singular deictics conform the highest frequency use of person deixis in Clinton's speech.

As for the use of 'I' it is displayed a frequency of 36 representing a total of 3'1% of first-person singular deictics in the speech, as *Figure 5* shows.

Through the use of 'I', she places herself at the deictic center to address the audience. By doing this, she avers an authoritative position as well as an alienated one towards the audience to achieve different purposes.

Personal pronoun 'I' is used by the speaker to express her personal appreciation towards the new president:

- *Last night, I congratulated Donald Trump and offered to work with him on behalf of our country. I hope that he will be a successful President for all Americans.*

Then, she uses it to convey personal feelings about the electoral defeat by highlighting her resolute support for democratic principles and her unflinching belief in democracy in USA:

- *This is not the outcome we wanted or we worked so hard for, and I'm sorry that we did not win this election for the values we share and the vision we hold for our country.*
- *But I feel -- I feel pride and gratitude for this wonderful campaign that we built together -- this vast, diverse, creative, unruly, energized campaign.*



- *I -- I know how disappointed you feel because I feel it too, and so do tens of millions of Americans who invested their hopes and dreams in this effort.*
- *[...] ,but I want you to remember this: Our campaign was never about one person or even one election.*
- *But I still believe in America and I always will.*

Moreover, she uses 'I' for expressing hopelessness and confidence to the audience:

- *And I know you will.*

The speaker makes predominant use of 'I' when expressing personal attributes such as 'gratitude' to democratic supporters, her family, other members of the party in order to portray herself as someone within the frame of morality and sovereignty able to command leadership:

- *I am so grateful to stand with all of you.*
- *And to Bill and Chelsea, Mark, Charlotte, Aidan, our brothers and our entire family, my love for you means more than I can ever express.*
- *You crisscrossed this country on our behalf and lifted me up when I needed it most.*
- *I will always be grateful to the creative, talented, dedicated men and women at our headquarters in Brooklyn and across our country.*

Moreover, she uses 'I' adapting an authoritarian position assembling the audience directly appreciating their support, value and worth during the electoral campaign as well as when encouraging them to take personal commitment and involvement in the societal frame:

- *I want each of you to know that you were the best campaign anybody could have ever expected or wanted.*
- *I want everybody coming out from behind that and make sure your voices are heard going forward.*
- *And to the young people in particular, I hope you will hear this.*
- *I have, as Tim said, spent my entire adult life fighting for what I believe in.*

- *I've had successes and I've had setbacks, sometimes, really painful ones.*
- *[...] I want you to know that nothing has made me prouder than to be your champion.*

The use of 'I' goes deeper at the end of the speech. She alleges to the creation of a strong portrayal of patriotism by presenting her moral values such as gratefulness and hope; and by appealing to the audience their support for next contests, to assure her unflinching belief in democracy for America. Moreover, the speaker uses 'I' in an attempt to present herself as a common woman assimilating to common people to approach her audience:

- *Now, I -- I know -- I know we have still not shattered that highest and hardest glass ceiling, but some day someone will and hopefully sooner than we might think right now.*
- *Finally -- Finally, I am so grateful for our country and for all it has given to me.*
- *I count my blessings every single day that I am an American.*
- *And I still believe, as deeply as I ever have, that if we stand together and work together with respect for our differences, strength in our convictions, and love for this nation, our best days are still ahead of us,*
- *-- you know, I believe we are stronger together and we will go forward together.*
- *I am incredibly honored and grateful to have had this chance to represent all of you in this consequential election.*

As for the use of 'my', it is displayed a frequency of 5 representing a total of 0'4% of first-person possessive adjectives in the speech as *Figure 6* shows.

The analysis shows the use of first person possessive adjectives 'my' implies the attempt of the speaker to position abstract entities such as life, love, friendship, or blessings as deictic centers. Through this, the speaker assembles the audience the existence of moral attributes in an attempt to reassert her ability and command to leadership:

- *You represent the best of America and being your candidate has been one of the greatest honors of **my** life.*

- *And to Bill and Chelsea, Mark, Charlotte, Aidan, our brothers and our entire family, **my** love for you means more than I can ever express.*
- *And to the young people in particular, I hope you will hear this. I have, as Tim said, spent **my** entire adult life fighting for what I believe in.*
- *I count **my** blessings every single day that I am an American.*
- *So **my** friends, let us have faith in each other.*

### 5.1.2 FIRST PERSON DEIXIS IN TRUMP'S SPEECH

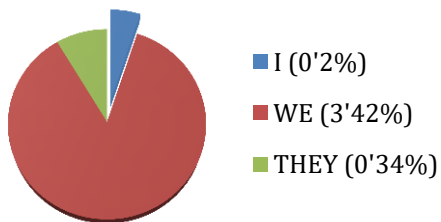


Figure 7. Frequency use of 'I' regarding personal pronouns.

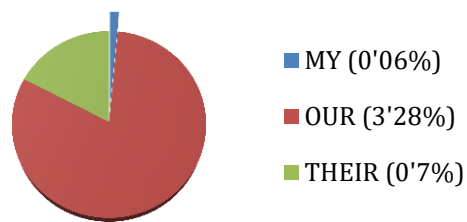


Figure 8. Frequency use of 'my' regarding possessive adjectives

Regarding the use of 'I', it is displayed a frequency of 3 representing a total of 0'2% of first person singular pronouns in the speech, as *Figure 7* shows. The analysis shows that first person singular pronouns imply the lowest frequency use of person deixis in Trump's speech. The analysis shows that 'I' implies the lowest frequency use first person singular deictic in the discourse which means that the speaker detaches from the audience intentionally and places himself as deictic center when highlighting his concern in some precise statements. At the beginning of the speech, he assembles the audience by emphasizing his compromise with America and his commitment with the oath. Moreover, he portrays an authoritarian position including a notion of time meaning 'now' and place meaning 'here' which indirectly creates a relationship with the audience showing values of compromise and responsibility in American concerns:

- *The oath of office **I** take today is an oath of allegiance to all Americans.*

The speaker asserts to portray himself positively by highlighting personal attributes such

as assertiveness, compromising and protection to compass the audience asserting his competence leadership.

- *I will fight for you with every breath in my body, and I will never, ever let you down.*

As for the use of ‘my’, it is displayed a frequency of 1 representing a total of (0’06)

2% of first person possessive adjectives in the speech as *Figure 8* shows. The speaker uses a metonymic strategy by which he places his body as deictic center in order to reaffirm his unflinching believe in the Republican America:

- *I will fight for you with every breath in **my** body, and I will never, ever let you down*

## **5.2.INCLUSIVENESS AND EXCLUSIVENESS**

According to Bramley’s insights in the political discourse, (2001), 1<sup>st</sup> person plural deictics are used by politicians intending an institutional identity to portray themselves assuming a representative role or placing themselves as part of an institution. By using ‘we’ and its variants, the speaker makes a clear distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’ intended to two purposes: disassociating from a specific group and their policy and to establish the hearer’s inclusiveness or exclusiveness from a group affiliation (76).

As first person plural pronouns are intended to use conveying a political party image holing unity and responsibility (76) , do inclusive and exclusive uses of first person plural pronouns (we and our) differ from one speech to another?

### 5.2.1. INCLUSIVENESS AND EXCLUSIVENESS IN CLINTON'S SPEECH

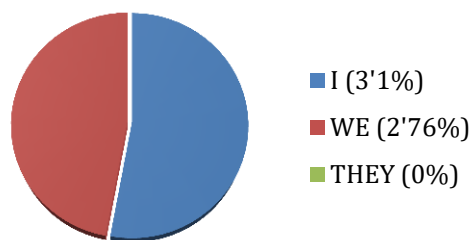


Figure 9. Frequency use of 'we' regarding personal pronouns

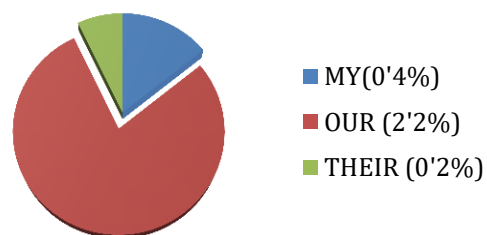


Figure 10. Frequency use of 'we' regarding personal pronouns

Regarding the use of 'we', it is displayed a frequency of 32 representing a total of 2'7% of first-person plural deictics in the speech, as *Figure 9* shows. The analysis denotes that first person plural deictics seem to be the highest frequency use of person deictic in Clinton's speech.

Through the use of 'we', she disassociates from the republican opposition party by setting up a distance placing 'us' as a deictic center for different intended purposes.

Despite first- person deictic system encodes membership; deictic items are ambiguous when assigning potential participants.

Inclusive uses of deictic are presented with a frequency of 28 representing a total frequency of 87'5% regarding first-person plural deictics in the speech. They comprise the inclusion of both the speaker and the audience bringing on to her side the party supporters even after electoral defeat.

She resorts to 'we' deflecting individual attention and appealing and comprising the democrat party and the audience as a collective institution expressing their acceptance to the results although with some reservations letting see political maturity:

- *This is not the outcome we wanted or we worked so hard for, and I'm sorry that we did not win this election for the values we share and the vision we hold for our country.*

- *But I feel -- I feel pride and gratitude for this wonderful campaign that **we** built together -- It was about the country **we** love and about building an America that's hopeful, inclusive, and big-hearted. Donald Trump is going to be our President.*

The speaker sorts to 'we' relying on the symbol of the constitution reassuring democracy and order, and she anchors social concerns and moral principles as a deictic center, portraying an image of the political party as a team fighting for the same political cause:

- *Our constitutional democracy enshrines the peaceful transfer of power, and **we** don't just respect that -- **we** cherish it.*
- *It also enshrines other things: the rule of law; the principle that **we** are all equal in rights and dignity; freedom of worship and expression. **We** respect and cherish these values, too, and **we** must defend them.*
- *So let's do all **we** can to keep advancing the causes and values **we** all hold dear: making our economy work for everyone.*

The portrayal of the democrat party as teamwork is used by the speaker to appreciate previous government with which sharing the same democratic principles such as Obama and Michelle's government:

- *To Barack and Michelle Obama, our country owes you an enormous debt of gratitude. **We** -- **We** thank you for your graceful, determined leadership that has meant so much to so many Americans and people across the world.*

She positions the democrat party among the people holding the idea of unity and prosperity by making the audience an active and crucial part of policymaking:

- *For everyone. So now, our responsibility as citizens is to keep doing our part to build that better, stronger, fairer America **we** seek.*

Moreover the speaker positions the party among the people to address women creating a team voice encouraging them to take action against structural conditions of inequality:

- *Now, I -- I know -- I know we have still not shattered that highest and hardest glass ceiling, but some day someone will and hopefully sooner than we might think right now.*

The speaker creates a positive image of patriotism by claiming for national unity appreciating their militants' collective teamwork as worthy for country progress and future policymaking:

- *And I still believe, as deeply as I ever have, that if we stand together and work together with respect for our differences, strength in our convictions, and love for this nation, our best days are still ahead of us -- because, you know -- you know, I believe we are stronger together and we will go forward together. And you should never, ever regret fighting for that.*

Regarding the exclusive uses of 'we', they are displayed with a frequency of 4 representing a total frequency of 12.5% regarding first- person plural deictics in the speech. They comprise the speaker and the democrat government as institutional identity marker.

The speaker excludes the audience from the deictic center portraying an image of herself, as party leader, and the democrat party positively by claiming unity towards the campaign work despite the electoral defeat. Moreover, the speaker creates a relationship between the government and governed by reasserting the democrat principles as collective political fighting:

- *We've spent a year and a half bringing together millions of people from every corner of our country to say with one voice that we believe that the American dream is big enough for everyone.*

The speaker resorts as a team voice when addressing the audience to an image of the party as one holding the idea of unity that will propose and success in future elections:

- *It is. It is worth it. And so we need -- we need you to keep up these fights now and for the rest of your lives.*

As for the use of ‘our’, it is displayed a frequency of 26 representing a total of 2’2% of first-person possessive adjectives in the speech as *Figure 10* shows.

Inclusive uses are presented with a frequency of 1 representing a total of 3’8% regarding first-person possessive adjective total count, whereas exclusive uses are presented with a frequency of 23 constituting a total of 88’5% concerning first person possessive adjective total count.

Through inclusive uses, the speaker denotes a positive image of patriotism by anchoring the image of the Constitution as a deictic center, symbolizing democracy and territorial unity; as well as the nation and the country to portray a united image of America:

- *Last night, I congratulated Donald Trump and offered to work with him on behalf of **our** country. I hope that he will be a successful President for all Americans.*
- *So let's do all we can to keep advancing the causes and values we all hold dear: making **our** economy work for everyone, not just those at the top; protecting **our** country and protecting **our** planet;*
- *We have seen that **our** nation is more deeply divided than we thought.*
- *Now -- And -- And let me add, our constitutional democracy demands **our** participation, not just every four years but all the time.*
- *It has been a joy getting to know them better, and it gives me great hope and comfort to know that Tim will remain on the front lines of **our** democracy representing Virginia in the Senate.*
- *To Barack and Michelle Obama, **our** country owes you an enormous debt of gratitude.*
- *I will always be grateful to the creative, talented, dedicated men and women at **our** headquarters in Brooklyn and across our country.*



- *Finally -- Finally, I am so grateful for **our** country and for all it has given to me. I count my blessings every single day that I am an American.*

The speaker places herself among the people as relying on the political campaign and on proposed policies to present interest's country and social concerns as a sharing common purpose:

- ***Our** campaign was never about one person or even one election.*
- *[...]making our economy work for everyone, not just those at the top; protecting **our** country and protecting **our** planet;*

The speaker positions among the audience appealing to their values such as responsibility and unity for country progress, as well as collective teamwork as crucial for future policymaking:

- *For everyone. So now, **our** responsibility as citizens is to keep doing **our** part to build that better, stronger, fairer America we seek. And I know you will.*
- *I will always be grateful to the creative, talented, dedicated men and women at **our** headquarters in Brooklyn and across our country.*
- *And I still believe, as deeply as I ever have, that if we stand together and work together with respect for **our** differences, strength in **our** convictions, and love for this nation, **our** best days are still ahead of us –*

Through exclusive uses of ‘our’, the speaker removes the audience from the deictic center to share the load of defeat with the whole party, discussing as a team voice that was defeated in the elections but saying yes to defeat leaning on democratic principles:

- *We've spent a year and a half bringing together millions of people from every corner of **our** country to say with one voice that we believe that the American dream is big enough for everyone --*

Research has found instances of historical uses of ‘our’ by the speaker when embracing herself, the audience, and people not present in the utterance, representing a frequency of 2 meaning a total of 7.7% regarding first-person possessive adjectives total count. Through them, the speaker expresses gratitude to the ones supporting and contributed during the electoral campaign considering family and democrat candidates partners, by placing them as deictic center:

- *I want to thank Tim Kaine and Anne Holton for being **our** partners on this journey.*
- *And to Bill and Chelsea, Mark, Charlotte, Aidan, our brothers and **our** entire family, my love for you means more than I can ever express.*

### 5.2.2. INCLUSIVENESS AND EXCLUSIVENESS IN TRUMP’S SPEECH

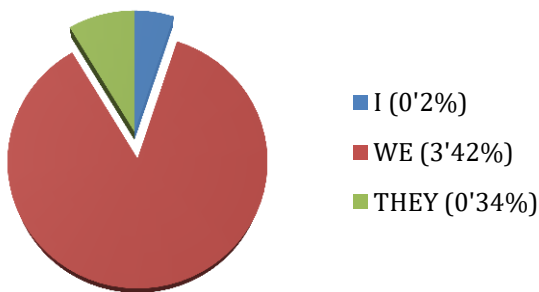


Figure 11 Frequency use of ‘we’ regarding personal pronouns

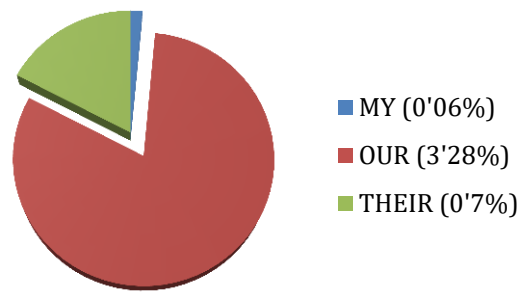


Figure 12 Frequency use of ‘our’ regarding possessive adjectives

Regarding the use of ‘we’, it is displayed a frequency of 50 representing a total of 3.4% of first-person plural pronouns in the speech, as *Figure 11* shows. The analysis denotes that first-person plural pronouns seem to be the highest frequency use of person deictic in Trump’s speech.

Despite the use of first person pronominal system implies a disassociation from the opposition party and hence the inclusion of the speaker and the audience as a collective entity, the speaker establishes the header’s inclusiveness or exclusiveness from membership.

Inclusive uses are presented with a frequency of 48 representing a total frequency of 96% regarding the use of first-person plural pronouns in the speech. They comprise the inclusion

of both the speaker and the audience bringing on to his side republican supporters after electoral victory.

He recurs to 'we' from the very beginning of the speech as a government strategy placing himself among the audience as American citizen creating a relationship among them featured by responsibility and contributions in the forward country policy-making:

- *We, the citizens of America, are now joined in a great national effort to rebuild our country and restore its promise for all of our people. Together we will determine the course of America and the world for many, many years to come. We will face challenges. We will confront hardships, but we will get the job done.*
- *Every four years we gather on these steps to carry out the orderly and peaceful transfer of power.*

Moreover, he recurs to 'we' expressing shared gratitude to Barack Obama and First lady Michelle, like previous governors in the USA:

- *and we are grateful to President Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama for their gracious aid throughout this transition. They have been magnificent. Thank you.*

A patriotic image of America is conveyed by appealing to national unity:

- *We are one nation, and their pain is our pain. Their dreams are our dreams. And their success will be our success. We share one heart, one home, and one glorious destiny.*

The patriotic image of America is reinforced by comprising the republican supporters appealing to their contributions in economic growth, security, defense, and progress in the country in order to convey a common fighting political cause relation between the party and the hearers:

- *For many decades we've enriched foreign industry at the expense of American industry, subsidized the armies of other countries while allowing for the very sad*

*depletion of our military. We've defended other nations' borders while refusing to defend our own, and spent trillions and trillions of dollars overseas while America's infrastructure has fallen into disrepair and decay.*

- *We've made other countries rich while the wealth, strength, and confidence of our country has dissipated over the horizon.*

He brings the republican supporters into his side by focusing on collective work and immediacy in policymaking for future country progress:

- *But that is the past and now we are looking only to the future.*
- *We assembled here today are issuing a new decree to be heard in every city, in every foreign capital, and in every hall of power.*

The idea of collective teamwork is developed and encouraged by presenting republican policy measures focused on autarchy policies as the common cause to fight for a commonwealth in America:

- *We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries making our products, stealing our companies, and destroying our jobs. Protection will lead to great prosperity and strength*
- *We will bring back our jobs. We will bring back our borders.*
- *We will bring back our wealth. And we will bring back our dreams.*
- *We will build new roads and highways and bridges and airports and tunnels and railways all across our wonderful nation*
- *We will get our people off of welfare and back to work rebuilding our country with American hands and American labor*
- *We will follow two simple rules: Buy American; and hire American. We will seek friendship and good will with the nations of the world, but we do so with the understanding that it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first.*
- *We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example –we will shine -- for everyone to follow.*

- *We will reinforce old alliances and form new ones and unite the civilized world against radical Islamic terrorism, which we will eradicate completely from the face of the earth.*

He anchors moral values such as loyalty as a deictic center to convey a compromising image of the party. The encouraging of compromising is supported by the assuring of safety through the image of God and the army:

- *[...] we will rediscover our loyalty to each other*
- *We are protected, and we will always be protected. We will be protected by the great men and women of our military and law enforcement and most importantly, we will be protected by God.*

He recurs to ‘we’ to bring the audience into his side through the idea of unity to persuade the audience by appreciating their contributions as crucial for country progress:

- *Finally, we must think big and dream even bigger. In America, we understand that a nation is only living as long as it is striving. We will no longer accept politicians [...] No challenge can match the heart and fight and spirit of America. We will not fail.*
- *We stand at the birth of a [n]ew millennium ready to unlock the mysteries of space[...]*

The idea of unity is reinforced by an image of a glorious historical past through images related to the Patria such as race, blood, and flag:

- *It's time to remember that old wisdom our soldiers will never forget -- that whether we are black or brown or white, we all bleed the same red blood of patriots. We all enjoy the same glorious freedoms. And we all salute the same great American flag.*

The appealing to unity is lastly launched by referring to a past period in American politics featured by inflation and high unemployment rates, referring to the republican campaign

slogan from the Ronald Reagan: ‘make America great again’, thus reinforcing a conceivable successful legislature:

- *We will make America strong again*
- *We will make America wealthy again*
- *We will make America proud again*
- *We will make America safe again*
- *And, yes, we will make America great again!*

Exclusive uses of ‘we’ are displayed with a frequency of 2 representing a total of 4% regarding first-person plural pronouns. The exclusion of the audience from group membership is encouraged by maintaining a firm position referring to the speaker himself and the Republican Party.

The speaker disassociates the listeners from the deictic inside by portraying his party as an institutional entity, seeking to establish direct contact with the people by positioning them as beneficiaries:

- *Today's ceremony, however, has very special meaning because today **we** are not merely transferring power from one Administration to another, or from one party to another, but **we** are transferring power from Washington, D.C. and giving it back to you, the people.*

Regarding the use of first-person possessive adjective ‘our’ has displayed a frequency of 48 representing a total of 3’28% of first-person possessive adjectives in the speech, as *Figure 12* shows. Uses of ‘our’ are related to inclusion with no instances of exclusion.

Inclusive uses have presented a frequency of 47 representing a total of 99% concerning first- person possessive adjectives. The speaker recurs to inclusive uses of ‘our’ as part of nation-building strategy by placing the country, the nation, and the people as deictic center:

- *We, the citizens of America, are now joined in a great national effort to rebuild **our** country and restore its promise for all of **our** people.*

- *For too long, a small group in **our** nation's capital has reaped the rewards of government while the people have borne the cost.*
- *What truly matters is not which party controls **our** government, but whether **our** government is controlled by the people[...] The forgotten men and women of **our** country will be forgotten no longer.*
- *The establishment protected itself but not the citizens of **our** country. And while they celebrated in **our** nation's capital, there was little to celebrate for struggling families all across **our** land.*

The speaker calls for nation-unity scoping republican supporters by putting an emphasis on emotional ties:

- *This American carnage stops right here and stops right now. We are one nation, and their pain is **our** pain. Their dreams are **our** dreams. And their success will be **our** success.*
- *A new national pride will stir **our** souls, lift **our** sights, and heal **our** divisions.*

The idea of national unity is encouraged by presenting their contributions for exterior policies' advancement and progress as a negative repercussion for their own country:

- *For many decades we've enriched foreign industry at the expense of American industry, subsidized the armies of other countries while allowing for the very sad depletion of **our** military. We've defended other nations' borders while refusing to defend **our** own, and spent trillions and trillions of dollars overseas while America's infrastructure has fallen into disrepair and decay.*
- *We've made other countries rich while the wealth, strength, and confidence of **our** country has dissipated over the horizon. One by one, the factories shuttered and left **our** shores with not even a thought about the millions and millions of American workers that were left behind.*
- *The wealth of **our** middle class has been ripped from their homes and then redistributed all across the world.*

The support for the idea of national unity is shifted by presenting the common assets concerning economic, political, and social issues as deictic center appealing republican's contribution in future country policymaking.

- *From this day forward, a new vision will govern **our** land.*
- *We must protect **our** borders from the ravages of other countries making **our** products, stealing **our** companies, and destroying **our** jobs. Protection will lead to great prosperity and strength.*
- *We will bring back **our** jobs. We will bring back **our** borders.*
- *We will bring back **our** wealth. And we will bring back **our** dreams.*
- *We will build new roads and highways and bridges and airports and tunnels and railways all across **our** wonderful nation. We will get **our** people off of welfare and back to work rebuilding **our** country with American hands and American labor.*
- *We do not seek to impose **our** way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example - we will shine -- for everyone to follow.*

The speaker conveys a compromising image of collective teamwork by placing as a deictic center through values such as loyalty, the adaption of political flexible attitudes and the assurance of defense through the image of the army:

- *At the bedrock of **our** politics will be a total allegiance to the United States of America, and through **our** loyalty to **our** country, we will rediscover **our** loyalty to each other. When you open your heart to patriotism, there is no room for prejudice.*
- *The Bible tells us how good and pleasant it is when God's people live together in unity. We must speak **our** minds openly, debate **our** disagreements honestly, but always pursue solidarity.. We will be protected by the great men and women of **our** military and law enforcement and most importantly, we will be protected by God.*
- *No challenge can match the heart and fight and spirit of America. We will not fail. **Our** country will thrive and prosper again.*
- *A new national pride will stir **our** souls, lift **our** sights, and heal **our** divisions.*



It can be argued that the speaker peaks the idea of national unity by placing a close image of the Patria as deictic center:

- *Your voice, your hopes and your dreams will define **our** American destiny.*

Moreover, the speaker recurs to inclusive uses of ‘our’ when placing society concerns affected by the previous government as deictic center, reporting the opposition’s party speech to reinforce supporter and party’s teamwork:

- *These are just and reasonable demands of righteous people and a righteous public, but for too many of **our** citizens, a different reality exists: mothers and children trapped in poverty in **our** inner cities; rusted-out factories scattered like tombstones across the landscape of **our** nation; an education system flush with cash but which leaves **our** young and beautiful students deprived of all knowledge; and the crime and the gangs and the drugs that have stolen too many lives and robbed **our** country of so much unrealized potential.*

Despite exclusive uses of ‘our’ are not exposed in the speech, the research has found 1 instance of historical uses of ‘our’, representing a total of 1% regarding first person-plural possessive adjective embracing entities not present in the utterance when placing as deictic center the fallen soldiers fighting for America, reinforcing again the idea of patriotism:

- *It's time to remember that old wisdom **our** soldiers will never forget -- that whether we are black or brown or white, we all bleed the same red blood of patriots.*

### **5.3. THIRD PERSON DEIXIS**

According to Bramley (2001), politicians tend to use third person plural deictics to establish separation from themselves or the group they represent and others. By punctuating ‘they’ as the ones who are not we, it is established an oppositional relationship that tends to be negative.

The ‘us’ and ‘them’ separation allows the speaker to portray a positive image of himself or the group he represents (182)

But do Clinton and Trump tend to use third-person plural deictics (they and their) portraying a negative image from the opposition party?

### 5.3.1 THIRD PERSON DEIXIS IN CLINTON’S SPEECH

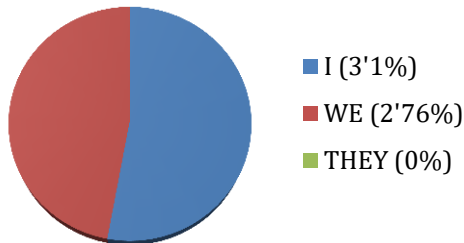


Figure 13. Frequency use of ‘they’ regarding personal pronouns

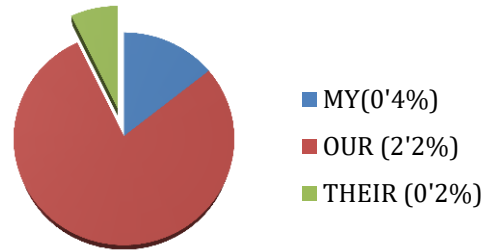


Figure 14. Frequency use of ‘our’ regarding possessive adjectives.

The analysis presents a low frequency of third-person deixis in Clinton’s speech. As for third person plural pronoun ‘‘they’’, no occurrences have been found , as *Figure 13* shows. However, the analysis presents that Clinton makes use of the third person plural possessive adjective ‘‘their’’ with a frequency of 3 representing a total of 7% of third person plural deixis in her speech, as *Figure 14* shows. Through an anaphoric usage in all the instances, the speaker refers to the democrat supporters ; any person owning the American nationality, and young women supporting her campaign.

- *Tens of millions of Americans who invested **their** hopes and dreams in this effort.*
- *Any American back from achieving **their** dreams.*
- *Especially young women who put **their** faith in this campaign and in me.*

### 5.3.2. THIRD PERSON DEIXIS IN TRUMP'S SPEECH

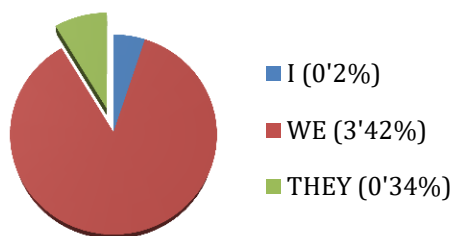


Figure 15. Frequency use of 'they' regarding personal pronouns

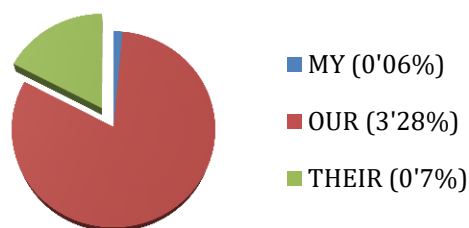


Figure 16. Frequency use of 'their' regarding possessive adjectives.

The analysis in Trump's speech shows the speaker makes use of 'they' with a frequency of 5 representing a total of 6,9% of third-person plural deictics in his speech, as *Figure 15* shows. Through an anaphoric use in all the occurrences, the speaker relates to the previous government in the USA, Obama, and Michelle in (1) and (2). He also uses 'they' referring to future generations of Americans regardless of social status (1), (2), (3) meaning children born in the heart of the biggest city of the USA such as Detroit or born in a rural area such as Nebraska. Going deeper, by using 'they' addressing the "the future generations of Americans", he removes them from his deictic center in order to put a distance endowing them with hope (3) and worth (4).

- ***They** have been magnificent.*
- *And while **they** celebrated in our nation's capital, there was little to celebrate for struggling families all across our land.*
- *And whether a child is born in the urban sprawl of Detroit or the wind-swept plains of Nebraska, **they** look up at the same night sky.*
- ***They** fill their heart with the same dreams.*
- *And **they** are infused with the breath of life by the same Almighty Creator.*

As for the use of 'their', the speaker makes use of it with a frequency of 11, representing a total of 25'6% third- person possessive adjectives in his speech, as *Figure 16* shows. Through anaphoric uses, he denotes gratefulness to the previous government in the USA:

- *and we are grateful to President Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama for **their** gracious aid throughout this transition*

Moreover, the speaker resorts to “their” to emphasizing negative information of the opposition party;

- ***Their** victories have not been your victories*
- ***Their** triumphs have not been your triumphs.*

When referring to social concerns such as children, family or home;

- *Americans want great schools for **their** children, safe neighborhoods for **their** families, and good jobs for themselves.*

And when depicting abstract entities, concerning morality issues such as pain, dreams and success.

- *We are one nation, and **their** pain is our pain.*
- ***Their** dreams are our dreams*
- *And **their** success will be our success.*

Besides, it can be stated Clinton does not recur to the use of third-person deictics to portray a negative image of the opposition party. However, it can be stated she recurs to third-person plural deictics emphasizing an opposition towards some ideas pronounced in Trump’s speech such as the opportunities for the American generations descending from the first generations of Americans:

- *TRUMP: Everyone is listening to you now. You came by the tens of millions to become part of a historic movement, the likes of which the world has never seen before. At the center of this movement is a crucial conviction that a nation exists to serve its citizens. Americans want great schools for their children, safe neighborhoods for their families, and good jobs for themselves*
- *CLINTON: “Any American back from achieving **their** dreams.”*

## 6. CONCLUSION

To summarize, having carried the analysis of person deixis in Clinton's Concession and Trump's Inauguration speech, the following conclusions can be stated.

Trump's frequency use of first person-singular deictics 'I' and 'my' holds a lower frequency of use in his speech than in Clinton's. It can be argued the reason behind a lower frequency of use is related to the political speech genre since it belongs the speech to an inauguration speech, delivered by the winning candidate during elections. The uses of 'I' and 'my' detaches the speaker from the audience to reassert his authoritarian role by highlight personal qualities such as assertiveness, compromise, and responsibility compassing the audience the assurance of competence leadership. Meanwhile, Clinton's speech belongs to a concessive political genre, delivered by the lost candidate during elections. The detachment from the audience by means of 'I' ad 'my' is encouraged by the assurance of her representative role showing political maturity and loading the burden of defeat.

Clinton's uses of first person- plural deictics 'we' and 'our' are lower than in her speech than in Trump's. Nevertheless, both speakers resort to an inclusive predominance use over an exclusive use, the purposes resemblance. Clinton points inclusive uses of 'we' and 'our' are encouraged by a nation-building strategy to bring supporters into her side despite the electoral defeat. Hearers inclusion in party membership is perpetrated by the deictic anchoring of ideas such as 'unity', 'compromise' and 'responsibility' for national progress and grow. On the contrary, hearer's exclusion from party membership is related to mark the democrat party as an institutional identity placing as a deictic center party democratic principles and the party's compromise with country policymaking despite the electoral defeat.

Trump points an inclusive predominant use of 'we' and 'our' to convey an image of collective teamwork , addressing the hearer and compromising himself and his party to restrict membership inclusion to every single American or Republican supporters. Hearer's exclusion from membership is related to mark the Republican party as an institutional identity by anchoring the target audience as a deictic center to present them in a beneficiary position in policymaking.

Clinton's uses of third-person plural deictics are not related to the portrayal of a negative image of the opposition party but to draw a line between 'us' and 'them', referring to Americans, democratic women supporters and any democratic supporters, to endow with objectivity her speech. However, it can be stated she recurs to the use of these pronouns in the purpose of reporting indirectly the opposition's party discourse in some instances.

Trump's uses of third-person plural deictics coincide with Clinton's in some points since he establishes a separation between 'us' and 'them' when referring to the American citizens. Moreover, he resorts to the use of 'they' and 'their' when referring to previous government candidacies, social and political concerns; and the portrayal of negative points reporting the opposition's party image indirectly. It can be argued both speakers recur to these deictics adapting an observer position endowing the socio-political frame speech with objectivity assuring certainty in the audience.

The research paper in the main shows that politicians tend to manipulate the linguistic system for persuasive ends varying speaking reference points depending on the political speech genre belonging to within an electoral calling.

Person deictic uses function as a linguistic weapon in a Concession speech to win the audience *benevolentiae* after an electoral defeat and to keep it after an electoral victory in an Inauguration's speech.

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## **8.ANNEXES**

### ***8.1 Donald J. Trump - Presidential Inaugural Address, 2016***

Chief Justice Roberts, President Carter, President Clinton, President Bush, President Obama, fellow Americans, and people of the world: Thank you.

We, the citizens of America, are now joined in a great national effort to rebuild our country and restore its promise for all of our people. Together we will determine the course of America and the world for many, many years to come. We will face challenges. We will confront hardships, but we will get the job done.

Every four years we gather on these steps to carry out the orderly and peaceful transfer of power; and we are grateful to President Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama for their gracious aid throughout this transition. They have been magnificent. Thank you.

Today's ceremony, however, has very special meaning because today we are not merely transferring power from one Administration to another, or from one party to another, but we are transferring power from Washington, D.C. and giving it back to you, the people.

For too long, a small group in our nation's capital has reaped the rewards of government while the people have borne the cost. Washington flourished, but the people did not share in its wealth.

Politicians prospered, but the jobs left and the factories closed. The establishment protected itself but not the citizens of our country. Their victories have not been your victories. Their



triumphs have not been your triumphs. And while they celebrated in our nation's capital, there was little to celebrate for struggling families all across our land.

That all changes starting right here and right now -- because this moment is your moment. It belongs to you. It belongs to everyone gathered here today and everyone watching all across America. This is your day. This is your celebration. And this, the United States of America, is your country.

What truly matters is not which party controls our government, but whether our government is controlled by the people. January 20th, 2017, will be remembered as the day the people became the rulers of this nation again. The forgotten men and women of our country will be forgotten no longer.

Everyone is listening to you now. You came by the tens of millions to become part of a historic movement, the likes of which the world has never seen before. At the center of this movement is a crucial conviction that a nation exists to serve its citizens. Americans want great schools for their children, safe neighborhoods for their families, and good jobs for themselves.

These are just and reasonable demands of righteous people and a righteous public, but for too many of our citizens, a different reality exists: mothers and children trapped in poverty in our inner cities; rusted-out factories scattered like tombstones across the landscape of our nation; an education system flush with cash but which leaves our young and beautiful students deprived of all knowledge; and the crime and the gangs and the drugs that have stolen too many lives and robbed our country of so much unrealized potential.

This American carnage stops right here and stops right now. We are one nation, and their pain is our pain. Their dreams are our dreams. And their success will be our success. We share one heart, one home, and one glorious destiny. The oath of office I take today is an oath of allegiance to all Americans.

For many decades we've enriched foreign industry at the expense of American industry, subsidized the armies of other countries while allowing for the very sad depletion of our military. We've defended other nations' borders while refusing to defend our own, and spent trillions and trillions of dollars overseas while America's infrastructure has fallen into disrepair and decay.

We've made other countries rich while the wealth, strength, and confidence of our country has dissipated over the horizon. One by one, the factories shuttered and left our shores with not even a thought about the millions and millions of American workers that were left behind. The wealth of our middle class has been ripped from their homes and then redistributed all across the world. But that is the past and now we are looking only to the future.

We assembled here today are issuing a new decree to be heard in every city, in every foreign capital, and in every hall of power: From this day forward, a new vision will govern our land. From this day forward, it's going to be only America first.

America first.

Every decision on trade, on taxes, on immigration, on foreign affairs will be made to benefit American workers and American families. We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries making our products, stealing our companies, and destroying our jobs.

Protection will lead to great prosperity and strength.

I will fight for you with every breath in my body, and I will never, ever let you down. America will start winning again, winning like never before.

We will bring back our jobs. We will bring back our borders.

We will bring back our wealth. And we will bring back our dreams.

We will build new roads and highways and bridges and airports and tunnels and railways all across our wonderful nation. We will get our people off of welfare and back to work rebuilding our country with American hands and American labor.

We will follow two simple rules: Buy American; and hire American. We will seek friendship and good will with the nations of the world, but we do so with the understanding that it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first.

We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example - we will shine -- for everyone to follow. We will reinforce old alliances and form new ones and unite the civilized world against radical Islamic terrorism, which we will eradicate completely from the face of the earth.

At the bedrock of our politics will be a total allegiance to the United States of America, and through our loyalty to our country, we will rediscover our loyalty to each other. When you open your heart to patriotism, there is no room for prejudice.

The Bible tells us how good and pleasant it is when God's people live together in unity. We must speak our minds openly, debate our disagreements honestly, but always pursue solidarity. When America is united, America is totally unstoppable. There should be no fear. We are protected, and we will always be protected. We will be protected by the great men and women of our military and law enforcement and most importantly, we will be protected by God.

Finally, we must think big and dream even bigger. In America, we understand that a nation is only living as long as it is striving. We will no longer accept politicians, who are all talk and no action, constantly complaining but never doing anything about it. The time for empty talk is over. Now arrives the hour of action. Do not allow anyone to tell you that it

cannot be done. No challenge can match the heart and fight and spirit of America. We will not fail. Our country will thrive and prosper again.

We stand at the birth of a [n]ew millennium ready to unlock the mysteries of space, to free the earth from the miseries of disease, and to harness the energies, industries, and technologies of tomorrow. A new national pride will stir our souls, lift our sights, and heal our divisions.

It's time to remember that old wisdom our soldiers will never forget -- that whether we are black or brown or white, we all bleed the same red blood of patriots. We all enjoy the same glorious freedoms. And we all salute the same great American flag.

And whether a child is born in the urban sprawl of Detroit or the wind-swept plains of Nebraska, they look up at the same night sky. They fill their heart with the same dreams. And they are infused with the breath of life by the same Almighty Creator.

So to all Americans in every city near and far, small and large, from mountain to mountain, from ocean to ocean, hear these words: You will never be ignored again. Your voice, your hopes and your dreams will define our American destiny. And your courage and goodness and love will forever guide us along the way.

Together we will make America strong again. We will make America wealthy again.

We will make America proud again. We will make America safe again.

And, yes, together, we will make America great again! Thank you. God bless you and God bless America!

Thank you. God bless America.

## ***8.2 Hillary Clinton- Presidential Campaign Concession Address ,2016***

**Secretary Clinton:** Thank you so very much for being here --

**Audience Members:** We love you all.

**Secretary Clinton:** And I love you all, too.

Last night, I congratulated Donald Trump and offered to work with him on behalf of our country. I hope that he will be a successful President for all Americans.

This is not the outcome we wanted or we worked so hard for, and I'm sorry that we did not win this election for the values we share and the vision we hold for our country. But I feel - - I feel pride and gratitude for this wonderful campaign that we built together -- this vast, diverse, creative, unruly, energized campaign. You represent the best of America and being your candidate has been one of the greatest honors of my life.

I -- I know how disappointed you feel because I feel it too, and so do tens of millions of Americans who invested their hopes and dreams in this effort. This is painful and it will be for a long time, but I want you to remember this: Our campaign was never about one person or even one election. It was about the country we love and about building an America that's hopeful, inclusive, and big-hearted.

We have seen that our nation is more deeply divided than we thought. But I still believe in America and I always will. And if you do, then we must accept this result and then look to the future. Donald Trump is going to be our President. We owe him an open mind and the chance to lead.

Our constitutional democracy enshrines the peaceful transfer of power, and we don't just respect that -- we cherish it. It also enshrines other things: the rule of law; the principle that we are all equal in rights and dignity; freedom of worship and expression. We respect and cherish these values, too, and we must defend them.

Now -- And -- And let me add, our constitutional democracy demands our participation, not just every four years but all the time. So let's do all we can to keep advancing the causes and values we all hold dear: making our economy work for everyone, not just those at the top; protecting our country and protecting our planet; and breaking down all the barriers that hold any American back from achieving their dreams.

We've spent a year and a half bringing together millions of people from every corner of our country to say with one voice that we believe that the American dream is big enough for everyone -- for people of all races and religions, for men and women, for immigrants, for LGBT people, and people with disabilities. For everyone. So now, our responsibility as citizens is to keep doing our part to build that better, stronger, fairer America we seek. And I know you will.

I am so grateful to stand with all of you.

I want to thank Tim Kaine and Anne Holton for being our partners on this journey. It has been a joy getting to know them better, and it gives me great hope and comfort to know that Tim will remain on the front lines of our democracy representing Virginia in the Senate.

To Barack and Michelle Obama, our country owes you an enormous debt of gratitude. We - - We thank you for your graceful, determined leadership that has meant so much to so many Americans and people across the world.

And to Bill and Chelsea, Mark, Charlotte, Aidan, our brothers and our entire family, my love for you means more than I can ever express. You crisscrossed this country on our behalf and lifted me up when I needed it most -- even four-month-old Aidan who traveled with his mom.

I will always be grateful to the creative, talented, dedicated men and women at our headquarters in Brooklyn and across our country. You poured your hearts into this campaign. For some of you who are veterans, it was a campaign after you had done other campaigns. Some of you, it was your first campaign. I want each of you to know that you were the best campaign anybody could have ever expected or wanted.

And to the millions of volunteers, community leaders, activists, and union organizers, who knocked on doors, talked to neighbors, posted on Facebook, even in secret, private Facebook sites, I want everybody coming out from behind that and make sure your voices are heard going forward.

To everyone who sent in contributions as small as five dollars, and kept us going, thank you. Thank you, from all of us.

And to the young people in particular, I hope you will hear this. I have, as Tim said, spent my entire adult life fighting for what I believe in. I've had successes and I've had setbacks, sometimes, really painful ones. Many of you are at the beginning of your professional public and political careers. You will have successes and setbacks, too. This loss hurts, but please never stop believing that fighting for what's right is worth it. It is. It is worth it. And so we need -- we need you to keep up these fights now and for the rest of your lives.

And to all the women, and especially the young women, who put their faith in this campaign and in me, I want you to know that nothing has made me prouder than to be your champion. Now, I -- I know -- I know we have still not shattered that highest and hardest

glass ceiling, but some day someone will and hopefully sooner than we might think right now.

And -- And to all the little girls who are watching this, never doubt that you are valuable and powerful and deserving of every chance and opportunity in the world to pursue and achieve your own dreams.

Finally -- Finally, I am so grateful for our country and for all it has given to me. I count my blessings every single day that I am an American. And I still believe, as deeply as I ever have, that if we stand together and work together with respect for our differences, strength in our convictions, and love for this nation, our best days are still ahead of us -- because, you know -- you know, I believe we are stronger together and we will go forward together. And you should never, ever regret fighting for that.

You know, Scripture tells us, "Let us not grow weary in doing good, for in due season we shall reap if we do not lose heart."<sup>1</sup> So my friends, let us have faith in each other. Let us not grow weary. Let us not lose heart. For there are more seasons to come, and there is more work to do.

I am incredibly honored and grateful to have had this chance to represent all of you in this consequential election.

May God bless you and may God bless the United States of America.