

Donald J. Trump: A critical discourse analysis.

Donald J. Trump: Un análisis crítico del discurso.

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Abstract

Donald J. Trump is an “off the spectrum” President who creates controversial headlines of the media around the world. Where does his appeal come from? What is new about him? This paper tries to answer these questions from a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective. The essay is divided into three chapters. The first one gives a general overview of Trump’s discourse styles. The second one deals with the family model developed by George Lakoff in terms of metaphors and more specifically with the representation of the strict father pattern in Trump’s discourse. The third and final chapter is dedicated to the portrayal of “the other” in Trump. Strategies to depict “otherness” are analysed from an ideological discourse viewpoint. Racism, immigration and Trump’s depiction of “the establishment” are not neglected.

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, "make America great again", family models, otherness, racism.

Resumen

Donald J. Trump es un presidente "fuera del espectro" que crea titulares polémicos en los medios de todo el mundo. ¿Cuál es el origen de su atractivo? ¿Qué hay de nuevo en él? Este artículo trata de responder estas preguntas desde la perspectiva del Análisis crítico del discurso. El ensayo se divide en tres capítulos. El primero ofrece una descripción general de los estilos de discurso de Trump. El segundo aborda el modelo familiar desarrollado por George Lakoff en términos de metáforas y más específicamente en cuanto a la representación del "padre estricto" en el discurso de Trump. El tercer y último capítulo está dedicado a la representación de "el otro" en Trump. Las estrategias para representar la "alteridad" se analizan desde el punto de vista del discurso ideológico. El racismo, la inmigración y la descripción del "*establishment*" formulada por Trump no se descuidan.

Palabras Clave: Análisis crítico del discurso, "make America great again", modelos de familia, alteridad, racismo.

Sumario

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1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper I will analyse Donald's Trump's argumentative resources from a Critical Discourse perspective. Mr. Trump presents himself as an outsider able to solve the problems of America. He emphasises the idea that he is not a typical politician, but one who, having financed his own campaign for election, operates independently of all established economic and political power. He insists on the belief that he has nothing to do with the bureaucrats of Washington, or with the rest of the establishment. He presents himself as a radical and an "antisystem personality"; he makes constant use of the social media, namely Twitter and Facebook to create headlines of the media around the world. He targets the press and political opponents as his main foes. His comments on immigration have triggered wide controversy. His victory outraged voters from the losing side. (And yet his message has an undeniable appeal to many millions of American voters). Some of the key questions that arise about Trump's discourse are therefore: What is new about it? Is it new to Americans? How distinctive is it from his predecessors' styles? What similarities are there between this type of discourse and the one in other countries?

1.1. State of the art

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is influenced by functional approach of linguistics. The majority of its research is based on Halliday functional grammar. This discipline studies the relationship between language and power and focuses its attention on discovering the elements of fight and conflict that lay underneath all sort of discourse, whether its source be the media, institutional or political entities. Within its scope, theoreticians study political speeches to explore concepts such as *ideology*, *social cognitions* and *hegemony*. CDA seeks to bring to light relations of power, domination, inequality and control conveyed through language, whether via clear (explicit) or hidden (implicit) messages. Since the discipline sides with the dispossessed of the earth, it may be viewed as biased from the outset. However, this potential for bias does not wholly negate the discipline's scientific validity. CDA is centred in social problems and especially in the role played by discourse in the production

and reproduction of power abuse and dominance. For Dijk this fact not only upholds its biased character but gives a good reason to feel proud about it (2001, p. 144).

The School of Frankfurt is its main source of theoretical concepts. Especially relevant is the work of Habermas and his analysis of language as a means to legitimize the organised power. Three concepts are key factors in CDA: *Power, History and Ideology*.

I have already pointed out that there is a strong connection between *language and power*. Language does not have power in itself, it is awarded by the way powerful instances use it (Wodak, 2001: 30). According to this professor CDA sides with the ones who suffer by scrutinising the use of language that creates inequality and discrimination.

Any study on discourse analysis should be focused on *history* and more specifically on intertextually. Text is an object historically produced and interpreted. It does not come from the void, it has an origin and a predecessor. As Fairclough affirms when explaining the concept of intertextuality:

the text responds to, reaccentuates, and reworks past texts, and in so doing helps to make history and contributes to wider processes of change, as well as anticipating and trying to shape subsequent texts (Fairclough, 1992, p. 102).

The third significant concept is *ideology*. This notion is controversial. Marx considered that ideology was nothing but “false ideas” produced by the dominant class in order to maintain the status of the subjected working class. Dijk considers that ideologies are “the fundamental beliefs of a group and its members” (2003, p. 14). They play an important role in shaping group members’ interpretations of events and accordingly, give ground for social practices. By carrying out activities inspired by an ideology, a sense of self awareness is developed by those who share the same beliefs. Ideology helps to draw a line between us and the “other”. This concept of “otherness” shall be later on discussed on the paper. According to Althusser human beings are modelled by ideology and mainly by what he calls “Ideological state Apparatuses” (ISA). ISA are constituted by structures such as Churches, Family, Media or School systems that shape the way people think, behave and feel. These dominant structures create social conventions that are regarded as natural. They are taken for granted and acquire stable and natural forms.

The main scholars of CDA are the Following. Ten A. van Dijk is a Dutch professor who has focused his research on racism and its influenced on political discourse. He is the author of many papers and has carried out research on parliamentary debates and how racism influenced them, *Ideology and Discourse* (2003). The Austrian professor Ruth Wodak is another of the founder scholars of the discipline. She shares with Dijk her interest on racism in the political arena. She developed research on the manifestations of racial discrimination of the campaign promoted by the Austrian party FPÖ led by Jörg Haider, “Österreich zuerst”. Her work on methodology should not be neglected, *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (2003). Norman Fairclough, pays attention to the theoretical based of the discipline and is influenced by the concept of order of discourse developed by Foucault. He is well known for his three dimensional concept: *text, discourse and social practices*. He emphasises on the

social changes and has carried out research on globalisation, political discourse, language and education, *Discourse and Social Change* (1992), and *Critical Discourse Analysis* (1995). Margaret Wetherell's studies on methodology and framework to implement CDA are also noteworthy, *Discourse Theory and Practice* (2001). All these authors have been co-editors of books with other researches and they all come from different academic background, which explains the multidisciplinary character of this science.

The last author mentioned in this state of art section is George Lakoff. Although Lakoff is not a follower of the Critical Discourse Analysis, he is a renowned cognitive linguist. His research on metaphors constitutes a reference for anyone who is interested in this field. He has published papers and books supporting liberal ideas against conservative and his latest updates of his blog are a "must" for researchers and journalist willing to understand Trump from a metaphorical vision: *Metaphors We live by* (1980), *Don't think of an Elephant* (2004) and *Moral Politics* (2016).

1.2. Methodology

In reference to the methodology that I have implemented to write this paper I believe it is necessary to begin clarifying some theoretical premises about the scope of the term "discourse". The discipline of discourse analysis makes use of a very large notion, it includes written, verbal speech as well as non-verbal language. The ideal situation is to combine them to obtain a "fixed meaning". However the nature of this paper and the limitation of space have forced me to concentrate the effort mainly on written discourse.

Trump's discourse is displayed in all sorts of manifestations: interviews, speeches at rallies, posters, banners, freebies (caps and other gadgets), formal addresses or legislative documents (executive orders). His love for social networks and namely Twitter are not to be neglected. Last but not least Mr. Trump's non-verbal language reveals how much importance he attaches to transmitting a relevant message to American citizens and to the rest of the world. A good example of how his attitudes can summarize in a few seconds his ideology took place at a NATO Summit in Brussels when he shoved aside Prime Minister of Montenegro to occupy the first rank of dignitaries.¹

For the reasons above explained I mainly focus my work on the following material: Donald Trump's speech at the Republican Convention, Inaugural Speech and interview made by anchor David Muir on Wednesday, Jan. 25, 2017, on the program ABC News "*World News Tonight*". The sources of information are mainly YouTube where a great amount of data is available. The web sites of different journals or Trump's official pages constitute also a source of material. A special attention is paid to Mr. Trump's fondness of his Twitter accounts, which no doubt constitutes one of the "newness" of this presidency.

¹See Images of the NATO Summit held in Brussels on May 25th 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=limj0j4NYME> [last retrieved 23/06/2017]

The retrieved data is analysed from an intertextual point of view, as all text have a predecessor. The second perspective used on the analysis is multidisciplinary. Texts are not only regarded from a linguistic point of view but from other perspectives due to the fact that Mr. Trump is the main actor of the whole discourse. This requires a contextualization of Trump's discursive styles within a political theory frame.

1.3. Content

The paper is divided into three chapters. The first one is entitled: Main Features of Donald Trump's Discourse and aims to offer a general overview of the main characteristics of the President's discourse. Every one of the features is illustrated with examples.

The second chapter is entitled: Metaphors Trump lives by. It is inspired in the book of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors we Live by* (1980). Here the most known slogans of the President's discourse are explained in metaphorical terms. Special attention is given to the family model developed by Lakoff, where he distinguishes between the nurturant parent and the strict father pattern. The repercussions of these models in moral order and legitimate authority are also studied.

The third and final chapter is dedicated to the "other". I devote this section to explain how "otherness" is depicted and its diverse manifestations. The chapter is divided in two subsections. The first one focuses on another of Trump's famous slogans "America First" and its link to racism. The last one aims to explain Trump's relationship with the establishment and why they constitute another type of "other". The paper ends with the conclusions I have drawn after my research.

2. MAIN FEATURES OF DONALD TRUMP'S DISCOURSE

To introduce the analysis of Donald Trump's political discourse I have judged necessary to give a general overview of the main features of his discourse. This is helpful not only to get acquainted with Trump's style and basic issues, but also to know his personality. Through the texts here offered, the reader gets a first glimpse of who Mr. Trump is and what his main concerns are, his ambitions, his likes and dislikes, his main phobias as well as his passions. Trump presents himself as a "self-funder", and as a "businessman who gets along with everybody". Unlike the rest of the candidates running for the election, he does not seem to be aware that he is being filmed² and acts naturally.

Trump's discourse is characterised by the following elements that are displayed in all manifestations of his discourse.

²See Interview of linguist John MacWhorter on Trump, *Don Lemon CNN*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FUODY5ok0tM>; [Last retrieved 23/06/2017]

2.1. Simplicity

Simplicity is one of the main features of his discourse and what renders it so unique. Trump makes use of very simple words, a “down to earth” vocabulary that can be understood by everyone. It is purposely unsophisticated, as sophistication and flowery language is considered a feature of the establishment composed of politicians and bureaucrats whom he bitterly criticises. A sample of how simple his words are, is shown in this extract where 172 words are one syllable, 39 two syllable, 4 are three syllable and 2 are 4 syllable or more.

Example 1: Interview of Donald Trump on Jimmy Kimmel Live, December 16th, 2015³

JIMMY KIMMEL: *Isn't it un-American and wrong to discriminate people based on the religion?*

DONALD TRUMP: *But, Jimmy, the problem – I mean, look, I'm for it. But look, we have people coming into our country that are looking for tremendous harm. You look at the two - Look at Paris. Look at what happened in Paris. I mean, these people, they did not come from Sweden, okay? Look at what happened in Paris. Look at what happened last week in California, with, you know, people dead. Other people going to die, they're so badly injured. We have a real problem. There is a tremendous hatred out there. And what I wanna do is find out what it - you know, you can't solve a problem until you find out what's the root cause. And I wanna find out, what the problem, what's going on. And, it's temporary. I've had so many people call me and say thank you. Now, if you remember, when I did that a week ago, it was like bedlam. All of a sudden– and you watch last night, and you see people talking. They said, “Well, Trump has a point. We have to get down to the problem.” The people that are friends of mine that called say, “Donald, you have done a tremendous service.” Because we do have a problem. And we have to find out what is the... (emphasis is mine)*

2.2. Repetition

The second most important feature of Trump's argumentative resources is repetition. He goes on some favoured words endlessly. Examples 2 and 3 are very illustrative of how he repeats himself so that at the end the listener retains one single word: *mistake* or *lawful*.

³See Jimmy Kimmel Live show on December 16th, 2015; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aFo_BV-UzI [last retrieved 23/06/2017]

Example 2: Republican Presidential Debate CBS News⁴

INTERVIEWER: *Should President George W, Bush have been impeached?*

DONALD TRUMP: *First of all I have to say, as a business man I get along with everybody. I have businesses all over the world [crowd cheer] I know so many people in the audience, by the way I'm a self funder. I don't have – I have my wife and I have my son, that's all I have. I don't have this.[crowd cheer] So, let me just tell you. I get along with everybody which is my obligation to my company, to myself, etc. Obviously, the war in Iraq was a big mistake. You can take it any way you want, and it took – It took Jeb Bush, if you remember at the beginning of this announcement when he announced for president, took him five days – he went back, it was a mistake, it wasn't a mistake – took him five days. Before his people told him to say and he ultimately said "it was a mistake". The war in Iraq. We spent 2 trillion dollars, thousands of lives – we don't even have it – Iran's taken over Iraq with the second biggest oil reserves in the world. Obviously it was a mistake, George Bush made a mistake. We can make mistakes. But that one was a beauty. We should have never been in Iraq. We have destabilised the middle east.[emphasis is mine]*

Example 3: Donald Trump's speech at the Republican Convention.⁵

I have been honoured to receive the endorsement of America's Border Patrol Agents, and will work directly with them to protect the integrity of our lawful, lawful, lawful immigration system, lawful. By ending catch-and-release on the border, we will stop the cycle of human smuggling and violence. Illegal border crossings will go down. [emphasis is mine]

2.3. Parataxis

The structure of his syntax is paratactic, therefore he uses independent clauses and sentences are juxtaposed. He is disinclined to the use of subordinate clauses and therefore to conveying complex reasoning. The concepts he transmits are very simple and therefore accessible to everyone. The above examples speak for themselves.

2.4. Frames

Trump constructs solid concepts out of two separate ideas, forming what is denominated *fixed beliefs* by the neuroscientist David Poeppel, or *frames* by the Cognitive Linguist George Lakoff if we consider them from a metaphorical point of view. These frames are repeated endlessly till they are transmitted from Trump to "every radio station, every TV

⁴See Republican Presidential Debate CBS News, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=youtu.be&v=uOEPpQAF-xA&app=desktop> [last retrieved 23/06/2017]

⁵See Donald Trump's Speech at the Republican Convention; <http://www.univision.com/noticias/convencion-republicana/donald-trumps-speech-at-the-republican-convention> [last retrieved 23/06/2017]

station, [and] every newspaper” (Lakoff, 2004, p. 4). The audience shape the world through these fixed beliefs that end up by constituting a brand of Trump. Samples are for instance the following: “crooked Hillary”, “fake News”, “travel Ban”, “muslim Ban”, “dishonest press”, “dishonest stories”, “dishonest reporters” or “lousy president”. These frames share something in common, a negative connotation which aim to portray a world full of dangers. The President is very good at using negative terminology or by giving negative responses when interviewed. See the reiteration of expressions like “tremendous”, “dead”, “bedlam”, “problem” or “mistake” in the above example (number 1).

Frames also appear very often in Trump’s tweets because this social network requires no more than 140 characters, so by using a fixed belief he is able to convey his message without further ado. Frames match his needs.

Example 4: Tweet 13/06/2017

Donald J. Trump @realDonaldTrump: *“Well, as predicted, the 9th Circuit did it again Ruled against TRAVEL BAN at such a dangerous time in the history of our country. S.C.”*

Example 5: Tweet 13/06/2017

Donald J. Trump @realDonaldTrump: *“The Fake News Media has never been so wrong and so dirty. Purposely incorrect stories and phony sources to meet their agenda of hate. Sad!”*

2.5. Informality

According to linguist John McWhorter, Mr. Trump is “doing what anybody does”⁶ and he talks the way Americans like to talk. His speech matches American taste; the same that a certain kind of music or a type of food become a trendy commodity. For this author informality is a brand of American people, and although some of his predecessors have already shown a degree of informality Trump seems to epitomize it: rather than speaking, he talks (McWhorter, 2017, p. 2).

Example 6: Tweet 15/02/2017

Donald J. Trump @realDonaldTrump: *“The fake news media is going crazy with their conspiracy theories and blind hatred @MSNBC & @CNN are unwatchable @fox and friends is great”.*

⁶See interview of linguist John MacWhorter on Trump, Don Lemon, CNN <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FUODY5ok0tM>; [last retrieved 23/06/2017]

2.6 Punchy words

Trump begins sentences awkwardly but he ends them with final words that become the crucial message the audience remember as they constitute a mental model. According to Alba Juez (2009, p. 307) “*what people remember of a text is not precisely its meaning, but the subjective model they have created to represent the particular event in question*”. This is exactly what takes place thanks to Trump’s strategy. Examples 1 y 7 provide support for this theoretical explanation.

Example 7: Donald Trump on the State of the Union interviewed by Jack Tapper, CNN⁷

JACK TAPPER: *Ok. Let me just finish my question. A 22 year old sees that. And what the official tells to me is, do you think that 22 year old seeing Donald Trump saying that with all those people cheering, do you think this disenfranchised, disaffected 22 Muslim American is less or more likely to turn into ISIS?*

DONALD TRUMP: *Jack, we gotta stop the problem. We can talk about it. For ever. We can talk about it for ever. There’s a real problem. And it’s called radical Islamic terrorism.*

JACK TAPPER: *Are you making things worse?*

DONALD TRUMP: *Wait a minute. Look, what’s worse, is it worse when they shoot people, and they kill people, and the others laying in the hospital? What about Paris? Where they have hundreds of people dead - in Paris! Same thing, It’s Paris, but same thing. And many more people going to die, they’re laying in the hospital practically dead. We’re got to stop the problem. There’s a real problem.*

2.7. Deictics

The role of deictics in Trump’s argumentative resources is so important and significant that it would deserve to write a whole paper about it. Apart from using imperatives and commands (“look”, “believe me”), he often uses the pronouns *you/they* in order to establish the binary opposition between his supporters and the others, between an unsophisticated America and the America of career politicians and Washington bureaucrats represented by Hillary Clinton. Chapter 3 is dedicated to explain these ideas further. An example of this type of deictic can be seen in the following extract. Here the “other” is portrayed as bad and negative.

⁷See Interview on CNN by Jack Tapper, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0P59ny4_5g and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gUEP0hij8A0&feature=youtu.be&app=desktop> [last retrieved 23/06/2017]

Example 8: Discourse in Iowa during Presidential campaign:⁸

DONALD TRUMP: *People don't know how great you are. People don't know how smart you are. These are the smart people. There are the smart people. There are the really smart people. And they never like to say it. But I say it. And I'm a smart person. These are the smart. We have the smartest people. We have the smartest people. And they know it. And some say it. But they hate to say it. But we have the smartest people.* [emphasis is mine]

Another pair of pronouns that Trump uses is *I/we*. Trump makes a difference use of these pronouns depending on whether he is a running candidate or an elected President. As a running candidate he tends to use the first person pronoun unless he addresses his supporters as members of the same project. Notice this use in the following extract taken from Donald Trump's speech at the Republican Convention at the Quicken Loans arena:

Who would have believed that, when we started this journey on June 15 of last year, and I say we, because we are a team, would have received almost 14 million votes, the most in history of the Republican Party. (...)

I have joined the political arena so that the powerful can no longer beat up on people who cannot defend themselves. Nobody knows the system better than me, which is why I alone can fix it. (...)

My pledge reads: "I'M WITH YOU – THE AMERICAN PEOPLE" I am your voice. [emphasis is mine]

On the other hand in the inaugural speech the pronoun *we* predominates as Trump purports to give a message of national unity and to build bridges with Democrats and the rest of Americans: "We do not seek (...), we will shine (...), we will reinforce (...) we will eradicate (...), we must speak our minds (...), we will be protected (...), we must think big and dream even bigger (...)"

2.8 Intensifiers

Trump uses intensifiers with profusion. Expressions like "very", "obviously", "great", "tens of thousands" or "Yes, absolutely" remind the audience of the "businessman" he purports to be. Citizens are treated like consumers and vote as a commodity sold by the main actor of the discourse. Consequently he neglects any constraint to rights and liberties that are innate to anyone holding office, and depicts his goods (mainly his electoral platform) like "attractive, simple and maximally unconstrained; yet the peculiar nature of 'goods' on offer makes it imperative that consumers' access to them be controlled by rules and safeguards" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 116).

⁸See Real Life Language Language. Donald Trump Repetition Skills; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=youtu.be&v=no6r3KZ0f-Q&app=desktop> [last retrieved 23/06/2017]

2.9. Inarticulation

Trump sometimes behaves in an erratic way. His ideas are not completely consistent and his style is also chaotic. Inarticulation is an example of this behaviour. At times his prosody sounds awkward as he interrupts himself constantly and he does not end sentences.

Example 9: South Carolina rally 2015⁹

DONALD TRUMP: *Look, having nuclear – my uncle was a great professor and scientist and engineer, Dr. John Trump at M.I.T.; good genes, very good genes, O.K., very smart, the Wharton School of Finance, very good, very smart – you know, if you’re a conservative, if I were a liberal, if, like, O.K...*

2.10. Hearsay evidence

Proof of evidence is given by presenting rumours as valid information. Dijk has studied the influence of this sort of evidence in racist discourse (Dijk, 2003, p. 67). According to this professor, every spokesman is responsible for what he says and he/she is expected to produce relevant evidence. At the same time every culture establishes their own criteria as to assess what is a valid proof and what is not. In modern societies media pieces of news attain the status of credibility. That is why it is so common to back up statements against immigrants, for instance, on information read on papers or that appear on the media. As we can see on the example here given, Trump shows a god skill to use this mechanism.

Example 10: Interview on Jan. 25th, 2017, ABC News, “*World News Tonight*”¹⁰

PRESIDENT TRUMP: *Let me just tell you, you know what’s important, millions of people agree with me when I say that if you would’ve looked on one of the other networks and all of the people that were calling in they’re saying, “We agree with Mr. Trump. We agree”. They’re very smart people. The people that voted for me - - lots of people are saying they saw things happen. I heard stories also. But you’re not talking about millions. But it’s a small little segment. I will tell you, it’s a good thing that we’re doing because at the end we’re gonna have an idea as to what’s going on. Now, you’re telling me Pew report has all of a sudden changed. But you have other reports and you have other statements. You take a look at the registrations, how many dead people are there? Take a look at the registrations as to the other things that I already presented.[emphasis mine]*

⁹See Interview of Linguist John McWhorter in Don Lemon CNN, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FUODY5ok0tM> [last retrieved 23/06/2017]

¹⁰See interview by anchor David Muir on Wednesday, Jan. 25th, 2017, ABC News “*World News Tonight*”; <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/transcript-abc-news-anchor-david-muir-interviews-president/story?id=45047602> [last retrieved 23/06/2017]

3. METAPHORS TRUMPS LIVES BY

To explain the basic tenets of metaphors and its repercussions on Trump's speech I will follow George Lakoff theories.

Metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action (...) our conceptual system thus plays a central role in defining our everyday realities. If we are right in suggesting that our conceptual system is largely metaphorical, then the way we think, what we experience and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor. (Lakoff-Johnson, 1980, p. 3)

If metaphors are inherent in our discourse, a key question results in finding out how unconscious they become, so that speakers can develop strategies to manipulate people's thoughts.

By way of introduction I offer here three examples of metaphors illustrated with extracts from the President's discourse.

Argument is War (Lakoff-Johnson, 1980, p. 4): This metaphor is inherent in any political debate but it shows special relevance in Trump's discourse as he is prone to show the darker side of life as I have already hinted and as we shall later see.

You are our greatest asset in helping our movement deliver the truth to the American people. Which is why I need to take the Mainstream Media Accountability Survey to do your part to fight back the media's attacks and deceptions.¹¹ [emphasis is mine]

Life is a Gambling Game (Lakoff-Johnson 1980, p. 51). This metaphor appears in Trump's statement referring to the case of John McCain, whom he does not consider a war hero because he was shot. For Lakoff (2016 b, p 3) the President's reasoning is the following: "McCain got shot down. Heroes are winners. They defeat big bad guys. They don't get shot down. People who get shot down, beaten up, and stuck in a cage are losers, not winners."

Significant is Big (Lakoff-Johnson 1980, p. 51): It is another metaphor frequently used by Trump and that can be recovered in citations like this one: "they defeat big bad guys".

Or this one taken from the interview by anchor David Muir on ABC "World News Tonight", Jan. 25th, 2017:

This location was given to me. Mike Pence went up before me, paid great homage to the wall. I went up, paid great homage to the wall. I then spoke to the crowd. I got a standing ovation. In fact, they said it was the biggest standing ovation since Peyton Manning had won the Super Bowl and they said it was equal. I got a standing ovation. It lasted for a long period of time. What you do is take – take out your tape – you

¹¹Donald Trump's Facebook. Mainstream Media Survey: <https://www.facebook.com/trumpforcolorado/posts/261578327598259> [last retrieved 23/06/2017]

probably ran it live. I know when I do good speeches. I know when I do bad speeches. That speech was a total home run. They loved it. I could've...

Life is Journey: It is an ever present metaphor and it is also noticeable in this extract: "In this journey, I'm so lucky to have at my side my wife Melania and my wonderful children, Don, Ivanka, Eric, Tiffany, and Barron (...)"¹²

3.1. Make America Greater Again

"Make America Greater Again" has become the most popular slogan of Trump's way to the presidency. No matter how erratic and chaotic his campaign can seem, it was ever present at any rally, being reproduced in caps, ads, banners and freebies. It now symbolises "Trumpism" as the general public associates the slogan with him.

According to an interview given to the Washington Post on January 18th, 2017, he came across with the idea in 2012 and immediately had it registered and trademarked by his team of lawyers.¹³ Reagan has already used "Let us Make America Great again" in his 1980 campaign, though he did not trademark it. In the same interview Trump explains the reason the phrase inspired him. For him: "it meant jobs. It meant industry and meant military strength. It meant taking care of our veterans. It meant so much."

This phrase can be analysed following the patterns of metaphors developed by Lakoff,¹⁴ that specifies that "states are locations in space: you can enter a state, be deep in some state, and come out that state". This was exactly the reasoning used by British citizens in Brexit. Supporters of leaving the European Union thought that stepping out of Brussels meant nothing but returning to the state of affairs back in 1972 when the UK became a formal member of the European Economic Communities. But as we all know much has changed since that date and stepping out probably means today something else. *Mutatis mutandis* the same reasoning can be extended to "Make America Great Again".

What does Trump mean by "making America Great and Safe again" and for whom was or should be "greater" and "safer"? What is the ideal state he aims the country to move backwards? Was it great upon the arrival to the Moon, was it great dropping down a bomb on Hiroshima, was it great liberating Europe from the Nazis, was it great in the Big Depression, was it great in the Spanish-American war, was it great when the Bill of Rights was passed? What does he mean? There seems to be no way to know it for sure, however a possible answer could be the desire to provide Americans with chance of rebirth. The idea once again is not new. Burke on his article "*The Rethoric of Hitler's Battle*" affirms that:

¹²See Donald Trump's speech at the Republican Convention; <http://www.univision.com/noticias/convencion-republicana/donald-trumps-speech-at-the-republican-convention>, [last retrieved 23/06/2017]

¹³See How Donald Trump came up with 'Make America Great Again', The Washington Post on Jan. 18th, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/how-donald-trump-came-up-with-make-america-great-again/2017/01/17/fb6acf5e-dbf7-11e6-ad42-f3375f271c9c_story.html?utm_term=.4db4d5e7f26b [last retrieved 23/06/2017]

¹⁴ See *Understanding Trump*, page 8.

The projective device of the scapegoat, coupled with the Hitlerite doctrine of inborn racial superiority, provides its followers with a “positive” view of life. They can again get the feeling of moving forward, towards a goal (a promissory feature of which Hitler makes much).¹⁵

Here is a good sample of the desire of rebirth in which Trump’s discourse is based:

My plan will begin with safety at home – which means safe neighborhoods, secure borders, and protection from terrorism. There can be no prosperity without law and order. On the economy, I will outline reforms to add millions of new jobs and trillions in new wealth that can be used to rebuild America. A number of these reforms that I will outline tonight will be opposed by some of our nation’s most powerful special interests.¹⁶

3.2. The world is a mess

The World is a mess, has become another of the famous sentences that Trump repeats in every opportunity he faces. The example here is taken once again from the interview carried out by anchor David Muir for ABC News on “World News Tonight”, Jan. 25th, 2017:

Example 11:

PRESIDENT TRUMP: ... David, I mean, I know you’re a sophisticated guy. *The world is a mess. The world is angry as it gets.* What? You think this is gonna cause a little more anger? The world is an angry place. All of this has happened. We went into Iraq. We shouldn’t have gone into Iraq. We shouldn’t have gotten out the way we got out. *The world is a total mess.* Take a look at what’s happening with Aleppo. Take a look what’s happening in Mosul. Take a look what’s going on in the Middle East. And people are fleeing and they’re going into Europe and all over the place. The world is a mess, David. [emphasis is mine]

A fearful world vision is neither uncommon for the American culture nor for Trump. In chapter 1 we have already seen examples of how prone Trump is to convey a negative image of the society he purports to change. In the next subsection I will tackle the family model designed by Lakoff using a metaphorical perspective. The *strict father* pattern is one of these models and one of its main characteristics is precisely the vision of a world full of threat and danger. But before analysing these patterns I believe it is useful to take a previous look to the “cosmogonic” visions that lay underneath such manifestations: *Utopias* and *inverted utopias*.

¹⁵ See *The Rethoric of Hitler’s “Battle”* by Burke on <https://www.evernote.com/shard/s499/res/eb26489a-2a81-49b0-8297-1dd6bb8cce95/burke-kampf.pdf> [last retrieved 23/06/2017]

¹⁶ See *Donald Trump’s speech at the Republican Convention*; <http://www.univision.com/noticias/convencion-republicana/donald-trumps-speech-at-the-republican-convention> [last retrieved 23/06/2017]

The term *Utopia* was first coined by Thomas More in the book of the same title written in 1516. Utopism is then derived from the afore mentioned word and turned into a political current, very successful in the past and now experiencing a decline.

Utopia is a perfect state where need has been abolished, the absence of conflict prevails and violence and oppression are avoided. This state of affairs brings about social harmony, freedom without limitation, total emancipation and in some cases the elimination of the state. These principles explain why utopism has been developed by different and antagonistic ideologies. We may find that utopic anarchism, primitive socialism or communism share some of these ideas.

Interestingly enough for this research is to analyse the other side of the coin: the *dystopias*. A variation appears as an alternative thought, the dystopia or inverted utopia. Its main aim is to highlight the negative tendencies of the current society. Books like *Brave New World* by Aldous Huxley or *1984* by George Orwell provide good samples.

The decline of utopism seems to appear after the decades of 1960/70. According to Heywood (2010:418), this phenomenon is due to the desradicalization of modern society and because movements of protest focus their attention on the failures of the current society but they neglect the conditions of future society. We witness how globalization has triggered a state of risk and uncertainty, created because of the so called connectivity of modern world. The fact that a relative minor event in one part of the World can bring about a disaster at the other end of the Planet, creates a feeling of vulnerability and impotence. People tend to think that their destiny as well as the fate of nations are out of control. For Heywood (2010:419) other facts add more pessimism to these situations: The fight for energetic resources, the threat of ecologic disaster or the increasing power of big corporations over governments that accelerate the rhythm of pollution.

All these predicaments hover over Trump's discourse in one direction or another. He has been considering global warming and climate change a hoax (Baker 2017:1-5) and therefore has ordered the withdrawal of the USA from the Treaty of Paris. Notwithstanding his vision of the World is chaotic and dangerous and takes advantage of it in order to sell his political platform to his supporters.

3.3. Family models: The Nurturant Parent and the Strict Father Family

To understand how various policy positions of conservatives hang together and as part of his research in cognitive and brain sciences, Lakoff studied family values. He started his research from the metaphorical premise that *nation* is a *family* and from here he developed two patterns of family: the *strict father* and the *nurturant parent*. The first one is male oriented, believes that the world is dangerous, considers that children are bad and need to be punished and aims for the self-interest of man and his self-fulfilment without governmental interferences. The nurturant parent, on the other hand, is a non gender parent, believes that the world is a good place to live and that children need protection, the

same way that the Earth needs environmental protection laws which will enable society to progress.

According to Lakoff (2004, pp. 11-13 and 2016 a, pp. 108-140) the *nurturant parent* model is characterised by the following features. The parent is gender neutral. Both parents (in case there are two) share household responsibilities. They believe that children are good and that they can become responsible, self-disciplined and self-reliant through support and protection. Obedience comes out of love and respect for the parents and not out of punishment. Parents hold legitimate authority by explaining their off-springs the reasons of their decisions and why they serve the cause of protection and nurturance. A major job of the nurturant parent is to protect an innocent and helpless child from external danger. Children are protected “from cars without seat belts, from smoking, from poisonous additives in food. So progressive politics focusses on environmental protection, consumer protection, and protection from disease” (Lakoff 2004, p. 12). Finally children are raised in order to feel empathy for others, to be compassionate and reach self-fulfilment by nurturing others. In this model of family “nurturance takes priority over the pursuit of self-interest” (Lakoff 2016 a, p. 140).

The *strict father* model on the other hand is male oriented. It is based on the belief that the world is a dangerous place, evil and competitive. For this pattern, “there will always be winners and losers. There is absolute right and absolute wrong. Children are born bad [...] therefore they have to be made good” (Lakoff, 2004, p. 7). As the strict father is a moral authority who knows right from wrong, children are required to be obedient and it is through obedience how men become prosper and self-reliant. Once the good children have become mature, “the strict father is not to meddle in their lives. This translated politically into no government meddling”. (Lakoff, 2004, p. 8)

Does Mr. Trump fit in any of the above family models? Taking into consideration the metaphor a *nation* is a *family*, Trump can be depicted like the father of the nation, someone with enough authority as to decide what is right and what is wrong. In the next section the concepts of order, morality and legitimate authority and their links with the strict father model will be further developed.

3.3.1 Moral order and Moral authority

We have already seen that the President worries about the enforcement of *law and order* in the country. As the strict father of Lakoff’s model, Trump emphasizes on the world is “a dangerous place” issue. In this sense he goes along with the American trend of a worldview inspired by violence and fear. The President is regarded as the father of the nation who will provide protection against the violence that threatens the country. Here are two examples of how he copes with this topic:

Americans watching this address tonight have seen the recent images of violence in our streets and the chaos in our communities. Many have witness this violence personally, some have even been its victims.¹⁷

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.¹⁸

As it has been said the father in the strict moral family is regarded as a moral authority. At the same time the metaphor of moral order plays a leading role in this type of model. What lies underneath this thought is the natural hierarchy of power linked with the *Great Chain of Being*. That means God has a moral responsibility for the well-being of human beings, which in turn are superior and have a responsibility over animals, plants and the rest of the nature. In Lakoff's opinion (2016 a, p. 83):

For superpatriots, the U.S. ranks higher in the moral order than any other nation in history. And there are people (typically, wealthy people) who believe that the rich are morally superior to the poor. Indeed, that belief is explicit in forms of Calvinism, where worldly goods are a reflection of righteousness.

If this idea is linked with the metaphor a *nation is a person*, we consequently find out that there are nations who are inferior than others, that there are good and bad nations; nations that behave correctly and others that are mischievous, nations that abide by the rules and others that comply with the superior commands:

I have a different vision for our workers. It begins with a new, fair trade policy that protects our jobs and stands up to countries that cheat, which there are many. (...)

We are going to enforce all trade violations, including through the use of taxes and tariffs, against any country that cheats. This includes stopping China's outrageous theft of intellectual property, along with their illegal product dumping, and their devastating currency manipulation, they are the greatest currency manipulators ever.¹⁹

If the moral authority theory is applied in foreign policy in a strict father environment, we find out that inferior nations are treated like children by the father-superior-nation. In this situation the strict father does not negotiate, nor ask his children-nations what they should do, but tell them what is to be done. For Lakoff (2004, p. 10) "there is no back talk. Communication is one-way. It is the same with the White House. That is, the president does not ask; the president tells." Mr. Trump's intention of building a wall

¹⁷See Donald Trump's speech at the Republican Convention; <http://www.univision.com/noticias/convencion-republicana/donald-trumps-speech-at-the-republican-convention> [last retrieved 23/06/2017]

¹⁸ See Donald Trump's Inauguration Speech. Annotated; <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/01/20/us/politics/donald-trump-inauguration-speech-transcript.html> [last retrieved 23/06/2017]

¹⁹See Donald Trump's speech at the Republican Convention; <http://www.univision.com/noticias/convencion-republicana/donald-trumps-speech-at-the-republican-convention> [last retrieved 23/06/2017]

along the border of Mexico and his announcement that it would be at the expense of the Aztec country provides us with a good example of this procedure:

Example 12:

DAVID MUIR: *What are you gonna say to some of your supporters who might say, "Wait a minute, I thought Mexico was going to pay for this right at the start."*

PRESIDENT TRUMP: *Well, I'd say very simply that they are going to pay for it. I never said they're gonna pay from the start. I said Mexico will pay for the wall. But what I will tell my supporters is, "Would you like me to wait two years or three years before I make this deal?" Because we have to make a deal on NAFTA. We have to make a new trade deal with Mexico because we're getting clobbered.*²⁰ [emphasis is mine]

3.3.2 Legitimate authority

Legitimate authority plays an important role in the configuration of the strict father pattern. A parent knows better what the child's interests are and once the child attains maturity he is assumed "to act on his best interests for himself" (Lakoff, 2016 a, p. 79) and meddling on his affairs is considered as an illegitimate interference. For Lakoff, this is an American innovation of the strict father model (Lakoff, 2016 a, p. 80). This way Americans feel resentment for any illegitimate meddling in their sphere of action which is explained by Lakoff like this:

Advocates of Strict father morality show such a resentment of illegitimate authority, not just toward meddling parents but toward any moral authority seen to be illegitimately meddling in their lives. The federal government is a common target. We regularly hear arguments that the federal government doesn't know what's best for people, that people know what's best for themselves, and that the government is not acting in the interests of ordinary people. (Lakoff, 2016, p. 79)

How are these concepts implemented in Trump's discourse? I have already pointed out the rejection of the President towards any idea of "global warming" and consequently towards any environmental regulations. From his point of view these norms would prevent Americans from developing their industrial activities and therefore they would hinder the creation of jobs. His dislike of regulations is expressed for example here:

Then we are going to deal with the issue of regulation, one of the greatest job-killers of them all. Excessive regulation is costing our country as much as \$2 trillion a year, and we will end it, very, very quickly. We are going to lift the restrictions on the production of American energy.²¹ [emphasis is mine]

²⁰ See Interview by anchor David Muir on Wednesday, Jan. 25, 2017, ABC News "World News Tonight"; <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/transcript-abc-news-anchor-david-muir-interviews-president/story?id=45047602> [last retrieved 23/06/2017]

²¹ See Donald Trump's speech at the Republican Convention; <http://www.univision.com/noticias/convencion-republicana/donald-trumps-speech-at-the-republican-convention> [last retrieved 23/06/2017]

Trump's attitude against regulations is complemented with his aversion towards the establishment, which will be analysed in the final chapter of the paper.

4. THE OTHER

The last chapter of this paper is dedicated to the analysis of the "otherness" in Trump's discourse. Trump focuses his attention in two types of others: *the immigrants* and *the bureaucrats*. What do they have in common? How is the image of the "other" represented?

The "other" is portrayed from a binary form of representation (Hall, 2001, p. 326):

They seem to be represented through sharply opposed, polarized, binary extremes –good/bad, civilized/primitive, ugly/excessively attractive, repelling –because-different/compelling because-strange-and-exotic. And they are often required to be both things at the same time!

Sometimes the image that is given is "highly ambiguous" (Hall, 2001, p. 324) or "ambivalent" (Dijk, 2003, p. 64). We find many literary examples where readers are repelled and attracted at the same time by the "other", covered with a touch of sexual appeal and exoticism. Shakespeare characters like Caliban or Othello provide good samples of this ambiguous attraction.

The representation of the "other" in ideological discourse in opinion of Dijk (2003: 55-76), follows the strategy of given detailed information about our positive aspects and the negative sides of the "others" and at the same time being vague when talking about our failures. Negative information is very explicit, crimes and misdemeanours of minorities are presented with a profusion of details while very few information is given of everyday racism. This strategy helps to build an inside/outside pattern of the group, a we/they binary opposition.

4.1. America First

Another of Trump's most known slogans is "America First". It is a nationalist approach that thrills his followers, it has already been used in other countries by other political leaders in similar context and for similar purposes. It is very convenient in this study to approach the concept of the "other" from the racist perspective.

In his inaugural speech Trump could not let go the opportunity to introduce it:

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.

The message is neither exclusive of Trump nor new in the world of politics. As I have already mentioned intertextuality plays a significant role in all types of discourse analysis

and this is no exception. Wodak (2003, pp. 101-142) explains how the Austrian party FPÖ led by Jörg Haider launched a proposal called “Österreich zuerst” or Austria First. The context that led Haider to back up his proposal in the decade of the 1990 was very similar to the one that faces Trump: prevent immigrants from coming into the country.

As I have previously explained, the basic strategy of a racist discourse is to portray an image of the other that highlights the “enemy’s” faults and our merits. This pattern of behaviour can be summarised like this according to the following model of Dijk (2003:58):

- Stress our positive aspects.
- Stress their negative aspects.
- Disregard our negative aspects.
- Disregard their positives aspects.

With the help of this strategy it is built an image of the “other”, as someone brutal or uncivilised. The “muslin ban” refers to all muslin as being terrorists without mentioning the fact that most of the terrorist attacks perpetrated in US territory were carried out by American citizens and disregarding that the majority of muslims in the world live peaceful and harmonic lives. The same thing can be said about immigrants. Trump emphasises how many aliens try to enter illegally into the country, but he does not say how many of them are leaving. He highlights the number of them who commit crimes, but he is silent about the number of them who hold no criminal record. Figures of criminality within American citizens are also silenced. The “alien” is presented to the Americans as someone devoid of any human trace, like sadist and uncivilised terrorists:

Example 12:

PRESIDENT TRUMP: *I would do – I wanna keep our country safe. I wanna keep our country safe.*

DAVID MUIR: *What does that mean?*

PRESIDENT TRUMP: *When they’re shooting – when they’re chopping off heads of our people and other people, when they’re chopping off the heads of people because they happen to be a Christian in the Middle East, when ISIS is doing things that nobody has ever heard of since Mediaeval times, would I feel strongly about water boarding? As far as I’m concerned we have to fight fire with fire. (...)²² [emphasis is mine]*

²² See Interview by anchor David Muir on Wednesday, Jan. 25, 2017, ABC News “World News Tonight”; <https://www.evernote.com/Home.action?login=true#n=1502e558-03cf-4d0b-a784-c182fe1da28e&ses=4&sh=2&sds=5&> [last retrieved 23/06/2017]

The extract shows another of Trump's inconsistencies. If ISIS actions are savage and barbaric, upholding torture methods like "water boarding" does not seem very civilised or proper of the Head of State of a modern democracy.

In other occasions the *apparent negation* strategy is used (Dijk, 2003, p. 64). Speakers seek to avoid receiving a negative image when speaking about immigrants and they utter phrases like: "I have nothing against X, but..." Here are some examples taken from Trump's speeches

By the way, I love Mexican people, I have such a great relationship with Mexico, I hire thousands, people, the rich, Mexicans, they are great people (...) I love Mexican people. I love the spirit of the Mexican people. I love them.

They are bringing crime, they are rapist and some – I assume they are good people.²³

4.2. The Establishment

The second representation of "otherness" in Trump's discourse is based on the establishment, namely career politicians like Hillary Clinton, Washington bureaucrats and "fake news" (the media). Those are his main foes and he targets all his verbal violence against them. The positive/negative strategy is here implemented. The establishment is depicted as formal and sophisticated, more worried about the political correctness of language than to solve the real problems of the citizens. On the other hand Trump speaks like any of his supporters, in plain and unsophisticated English. He reaches out and touches people's hands and connects with citizens, who do not feel comfortable anymore with a high elite society as they have abandoned them. Trump, again as father of the nation, provides them with what they need when he says: "*I will present the facts plainly and honestly. We cannot afford to be so politically correct any more.*"²⁴

In his inaugural speech, he shows that there is nothing flowery in his discourse delivered in a simple fashion:

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.²⁵

²³ See Donald Trump "loves Mexicans" (Episode 2); <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OyLfclBqZw>, [last retrieved 23/06/2017]

²⁴ See Donald Trump's speech at the Republican Convention, <http://www.univision.com/noticias/convencion-republicana/donald-trumps-speech-at-the-republican-convention> [last retrieved 23/06/2017]

²⁵ See Donald Trump's Inaugural Speech, Annotated; <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/01/20/us/politics/donald-trump-inauguration-speech-transcript.html> [last retrieved 23/06/2017]

And again he targets the “establishment” when he talks to the audience by aiming to extract a general truth out of an incident:

I have embraced crying mothers who have lost their children because our politicians put their personal agendas before the national good. I have no patience for injustice, no tolerance for government incompetence, no sympathy for leaders who fail their citizens.²⁶ [emphasis is mine]

I believe that this procedure shows another of the inconsistencies of Trump’s discourse. On one hand he runs down the “establishment” and on the other hand he himself is a billionaire and billionaires are just part of the establishment he criticizes. He targets the typical politicians but he runs for the republican ticket, an ordinary political party and member once again of the establishment.

5. CONCLUSIONS

After studying the main tenets of Trump’s discourse I am in the position to answer the question raised at the beginning of the paper: What is new in Trump’s discourse? But before going into detailed explanations I would like to settle one premise. Donald J. Trump is a great entertainer and that is its main appeal. Working only with transcripts does not allow you to perceive how entertaining Trump is, no matter how inconsistent and chaotic his speeches might seem. His tweeters do not provide either with this flavour so it is necessary to watch him at rallies or TV interviews to get a taste of his appeal. He is fun, he is a salesman and always keeps very American at the same time. His character, his sense of humour matches perfectly the American way of being. In my opinion this is the main reason why he is being able to reach out and touch Americans who belong to a middle and lower class and who had the feeling of having been forsaken by politicians who did not speak their language.

Trump is unique because there has never been nothing like him before, he is completely off the spectrum. He has never hold office and his political positions are not known in many occasions.

His uniqueness derives also from his informality which has various ways of expression. Not only his language is simple, but many a times borders the limit of state decorum. The President loves to tweet and he is prone to engage himself in discussions like the side of the crowd in the inauguration ceremony, which would be consider irrelevant for any Head of State.

Finally and though he ascribes to the strict father model of family of Lakoff, he could be considered a pragmatic conservative because he supports the LGBTQ movement, wants

²⁶ See Donald Trump’s speech at the Republican Convention, <http://www.univision.com/noticias/convencion-republicana/donald-trumps-speech-at-the-republican-convention> [last retrieved 23/06/2017]

to keep Social Security and Medicare and is against certain policies of the pharmaceutical corporations (Lakoff 2016 b, p. 4).

On the other hand there are many aspects of Trump which are not new. As a strict father his vision of a dangerous world, full of fear and threat is not unique, I would rather say that is indeed very American. I lived in the USA for a whole school year as an exchange student back in 1985. I was leaving in a rural community of Ohio, stranded in the middle of cornfields, alone in the middle of nowhere and I was shocked to learn how much feared the inhabitants of this rural town felt. We were going to be raped and robbed and mugged, and I used to raise my head, look around me and asked myself, "by whom?" Fear is an innate feeling in American culture and Trump just takes advantage of it.

Trump is also very American in the way he reasons. Americans are very prone to use *topoi* of menace or burden (Wodak, 2001, p. 116) in order to justify his actions. They also take hold of direct causation instead of systemic causation to frame proposals (Lakoff 2016 b: 5). This way if immigrants flood in from Mexico Trump builds a wall without thinking which might be the ultimate cause for this migration, and if ISIS terrorist attack America, Trump bombs them without taking a second to reflect about which might be the ultimate reason, maybe people are being stolen their natural resources... Once again we come across with simplicity. Direct causation thinkers love it simple, while systematic causation is complex. Once again the direct causation seems to be very characteristic of the American culture, or at least of a large majority of it.

And last but not least intertextuality provides us with an explanation for the non-uniqueness of Trump. The President is neither unique when he affirms "America First". We have seen that the slogan had already been used in Austria in a similar context. I end this paper with this citation taken from Lakoff which I believe epitomises the ultimate sense of this research:

The cynical liberal explanation is the Orwellian one, that any Big Lie repeated often enough will be believed. But that assumes an old-fashioned stimulus-response view of the human mind that both ignores what is known about the human brain and the effects of culture. We are all immersed in American Culture. Our cultural knowledge is physically encoded in the synapses of our brains. People do not get new worldviews overnight. New ideas are never entirely new. (Lakoff, 2016, p. 47) [emphasis is mine]

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