



IRAQI
Academic Scientific Journals



العراقية
المجلات الأكاديمية العلمية

ISSN: 2663-9033 (Online) | ISSN: 2616-6224 (Print)

Journal of Language Studies

Contents available at: <http://www.iasj.net/iasj/journal/356/about>



A Critical Pragmatic Study of National Identity Representation in American Political Discourse

Rafah Abdulkareem Adham*

Tikrit University – college of Education for Humanities

rafahabdalkareem@gmail.com

&

Asst. Prof. Abid Hmood Ali (Ph.D.)

Tikrit University – college of Education for Humanities

abdhmod@tu.edu.iq

Received: 12 / 7 /2023 , Accepted: 6 / 8 /2023, Online Published: 29 /2/2024

Abstract

National identity is considered the main reason for displaying the national flag ,celebrating national holidays and even declaring solidarity with millions of people whom we do not meet. The study investigates how national identity can be defined along both ethno-cultural and civic lines. This study is a critical pragmatic study of national identity used in American political discourse. One political speech is selected to be the data.This speech belongs to Trump. The model adopted in the analysis is based on Grice's Maxims Breaching (1975) and Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory (1987). A mixed method

* **Corresponding Author:** Rafah Abdulkareem, Email: rafahabdalkareem@gmail.com

Affiliation: Tikrit University - Iraq

© This is an open access article under the CC by licenses <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0>



is used in analyzing and representing the results. This work tries to answer the following questions: What are the types of national identity that are represented in American political discourse? What is the most common type of maxims breaching and politeness strategies? Which one of these strategies that is highly used? This study aims at identifying the most frequent type of national identity, investigating the most frequent type of maxims breaching and politeness strategies in addition to identifying one of these strategies that is highly used. To answer the above questions, the study hypothesizes that: politicians present their ethnic national identity higher than the civic version, flouting quality maxim is extremely employed, positive politeness strategies score high frequency, and finally politeness strategies are the most dominant strategies used in the adopted model. The most important conclusions the study has come up with are: 1) ethnic national identity is highly demonstrated within American political discourse more than the civic one. 2) Regarding maxims breaching, flouting quality maxim is the most commonly one used in the political speech under study. 3) Politicians make use of politeness strategies. Positive politeness strategies are the most dominant ones 4) According to the pragmatic strategies, it is shown that politeness strategies are highly utilized in presenting national identity.

Key Word : National identity, political discourse, ethno-cultural, civic, pragmatic strategies.

دراسة تداولية نقدية لتمثيل الهوية الوطنية : في الخطاب السياسي الأمريكي

رفاه عبد الكريم ادهم

جامعة تكريت كلية التربية للعلوم الإنسانية

و

ا.م.د. عبد حمود علي

جامعة تكريت كلية التربية للعلوم الإنسانية

المستخلص

تعتبر الهوية الوطنية السبب الرئيسي لعرض العلم الوطني للاحتفال بالأعياد الوطنية وحتى إعلان التضامن مع ملايين الأشخاص الذين لا نلتقي بهم. تبحث الدراسة في كيفية تعريف الهوية الوطنية على أسس عرقية وثقافية ومدنية. هذه الدراسة عبارة عن دراسة تداولية نقدية للهوية الوطنية المستخدمة في الخطاب السياسي الأمريكي. تم اختيار خطاب سياسي واحد ليكون بيانات هذه الدراسة. هذا الخطاب لترامب. النموذج المعتمد في التحليل هو Grice's Maxims Breaching and Politeness theory (1987) (1975) and Brown and Levinson's. أسلوب مختلط يستخدم في تحليل وتمثيل نتائج التحليل ، تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تحديد النوع الأكثر شيوعاً للهوية

الوطنية في الخطاب السياسي الأمريكي ، ايجاد النوع الأكثر شيوعاً في خرق الأقوال ، واستراتيجيات التأدب, تحديد اكثر الاستراتيجيات التي يتم الاستفادة منها بشكل كبير. تحاول الدراسة الإجابة على الأسئلة التالية: ما هي أنواع الهوية الوطنية التي يتم تمثيلها في الخطاب السياسي الأمريكي ، وما هو النوع الأكثر شيوعاً من خرق الأقوال ، واستراتيجيات التأدب التي يتم استخدامها بشكل كبير، ما هي اكثر الاستراتيجيات التي يتم الاستفادة منها بشكل كبير. للإجابة على ما سبق تفترض الدراسة أن: (١) يقدم السياسيون هويتهم القومية العرقية أكثر بكثير من النسخة المدنية في خطاباتهم السياسية. (٢) يتم اللجوء إلى خرق ماكسيم النوعية أكثر من غيرها. (٣) تحقق الإستراتيجيات الايجابية للتأدب الأكثر تكراراً في الخطابات السياسية الوطنية. (٤) تحقق الإستراتيجيات الايجابية للتأدب أكثر الاستراتيجيات المستخدمة في الخطابات السياسية الأمريكية. أهم الاستنتاجات التي توصلت إليها الدراسة هي: (١) تم إثبات الهوية القومية العرقية بشكل كبير في كل من السياقات السياسية الأمريكية أكثر من الشكل المدني للهوية الوطنية. (٢) فيما يتعلق بخرق الأقوال ، فإن خرق ماكسيم النوعية هو الأكثر استخداماً. (٣) يستخدم السياسيون استراتيجيات التأدب. الاستراتيجيات الايجابية هي الأكثر انتشاراً (٤) وفقاً للاستراتيجيات التداولية ، يتضح أن الاستراتيجيات الايجابية للتأدب تستخدم بشكل كبير في تمثيل الهوية الوطنية .

الكلمات الدالة:الهوية الوطنية،الخطاب السياسي، عرقية-ثقافية، مدنية، الستراتيجيات التداولية

1.Intoduction

National identity is the process of producing and reproducing ingroup identity for the recognition of 'positive US -negative Them '.Such feeling of inclusion is the outcome of national identity.It is joined with the undesirable perception of outgroups and the tendency to define them negatively showing a kind of asymmetrical relationship (Korostelina, 2007: 4-6).Barrett (2007:195) defines national identity as a person's attachment to a nation. It refers to the identity of the citizens of a country with their own country's historical and cultural traditions, values, ideals, beliefs, and so on. The stronger the national identity, the stronger the sense of attachment one has for his nation. Guibernau (2007:11) defines national identity as "a collective sentiment based on the belief of belonging to the same nation".

According to Moghadam (1999:138), national-identity is "the process of construction of shared meanings regarding the nation-state, the natural culture and heritage, and members of the community". Jenkins (1996:197) states that national identity is a process of identification, categorization and classification into us and them. A person has a national identity if the person classifies himself as belonging to a particular country. The more self-classified individuals, the stronger is their common

national identity. Billig (1995: 8) states that “having national identity means to possess ways of thinking and to be situated legally, socially, as well as emotionally within a homeland, which itself is situated within a world of nations”. National identity refers to the ways in which people understand their place in the world, who they see as being one of them, who they see as different, and who they see as being against them. Bloom (1990:26) defines national identity as “a kind of shared identification by means of which individuals are related within the same psychological bond and act together to defend their common identity”.

Accordingly, this study attempts to answer the following questions: what are the types of national identity that are represented in American political discourse? What is the most common type of maxims breaching and politeness strategies? which strategy is highly used?

2. Types of National Identity

Although there are two types of national identity which are civic and ethnic, the distinction between the two types of national identity is not so clear-cut. Kymlicka (1999) (cited in Zwet,2015:65-66) states that although these types can lead to categorizations of nations, one of them is included in the other arguing that ethnic nations must have civic elements.

2.1 Civic National Identity

Psarrou (2014:112) states this type accentuates citizenship criteria. It is highly integrating and assimilating. It appears to be tolerant since it allows outgroups to become members of the nation. The civic elements set the political, administrative, judicial and economic criteria as part of the national state. Byung(2003:338-339) describes this version of national identity as the ecological one which adopts the way of acknowledging and accepting the identities of other people. It is a matter of coexistence and harmonization.

The civic concept of the nation shows abroad political identity which is exemplified in France and Canada (Yack,1996:103).According to Ignatieff (1993:3),civic national identity visualizes the nation as a community of equal rights-bearing citizens united in chosen and patriotic attachment to a shared set of political practices, values and principles. Individuals subjectively have a choice in terms of belonging and adhering to laws and values of the country. It is called the ‘citizenship model’ maintaining that everybody can be part of the nation as soon as s/he believes in the nation’s political doctrine. It is considered the democratic version since it guarantees sovereignty and grants full citizenship rights to the foreigners who respect its rules.

2.2 Ethnic National Identity

This type depicts the nation as a cultural, ethnic, religious or linguistic group, attachment to which is not voluntary but inherited. According to this ethnic model, national identity is made by common descent, language, tradition, and even religion. It is regarded as authoritarian and exclusionist, since it supports the rights to a particular group (Psarrou,2014:112-114). The ethnic idea of the nation shows the narrow cultural identity which is acquired by early socialization giving human beings a natural sense of belonging because it includes prototypical features inherited by ancestors. It is exemplified in Germany, Japan and most Eastern European countries (Yack 1996: 103).Ignatieff (1993:3) defines this type as “an individual’s deepest inherited, not chosen, attachment :it is the national community which defines the individuals, not the individuals who define

the national community”. It is considered objective and obligatory because individuals have no control over whether they belong to a nation or not.

3. Political Discourse

Van Dijk (1998:12-14) defines political discourse as “the text and the talk of professional politicians or political institutions, such as presidents and prime ministers and other members of government, parliament or political parties, both at the local, national and international levels”. Politicians are not the only participants in the domain of politics. It also includes recipients in political communicative events. They are involved in the political discourse to take part in the political process. Politicians talk politically only if they and their talks are contextualized.

Mohamed (2016:35-36) states that political discourse is about doing things with words to achieve specific political goals. It has a major role in the enactment, reproduction, and legitimization of power and domination. In political speeches, similar words and phrases may come to be reinterpreted within different ideological frameworks. Everyday words can be organized politically implicated for directing thoughts about particular issues. Even the process of uttering someone’s name may become a political act.

4. Research Methodology

This section explains the methodology of the study. It sheds light on data selection, data description and research design.

4.1 Data Selection

The data of this study are not randomly or accidentally selected. One political discourse is chosen for Trump .It is an inauguration speech which is delivered on the 20th of January, 2017. In his inaugural speech, Trump promises to improve the nation by putting America and its people first. Inauguration is realized as a big event in America to reveal the governmental policies.

4.2 Data Description

The discourse consists of a number of extracts. It is delivered in the United States in 2017 .It is taken from Miller center which specializes in United States presidential speeches. The purpose behind the selection of this speech is the relevance to the paper’s objectives. Thus, this political speech could fulfill the aims of the present study to pick out the ways of the representation of national identity in political discourse highlighting the ideologies and the messages behind words. This speech has influential roles in enforcing national identity among citizens.

4.3 Research Design

The present study has a mixed method of qualitative and quantitative analysis. The qualitative method is used to analyze the selected political discourse to find an adequate interpretation. A quantitative method is also used for quantifying the number of occurrences of the pragmatic strategies presenting numerical data in the form of tables and figures.

5. The Model Adopted

Investigating political discourse requires a model to know to which extent the concept of national identity is involved in political speeches. This model includes two dimensions which are Grice’s Maxims Breaching (1975) and Brown and Levinson Politeness theory(1987).

5.1 Maxims Breaching for Grice (1975)

The Gricean idea of ‘what is meant but not said’ is the basic principle in this theory. Communication is a matter of cooperation between interlocutors to convey messages effectively. Cooperation is considered the most important pillar in any verbal interaction. Speech is a cooperative engagement (Grice,1975:46).

Grice (1975:49-58) states that participants in a conversation may fail to observe the maxims in different ways which include the following:

- 1.The speaker may VIOLATE a maxim to mislead the listener.
- 2.The speaker may OPT OUT from both the maxim and the cooperative principle.
- 3.The speaker may be confronted by a CLASH.
- 4.The speaker may FLOUT a maxim intentionally for the purpose of implicating information. Breaching a maxim conveys a message. Although meaning is not explicitly stated, it is understood as in the following examples in the table (3.1) below which illustrates how maxims are flouted at the level of what is said but they are observed at the level of what is implicated making observation/ exploitation dichotomy.

5.2 Brown and Levinson’s Politeness Theory

Brown and Levinson(1987:28-42) define politeness as “a means of showing concern for people’s face”. Politeness is an aspect of communication which is governed by rules and strategies to maintain social cohesion via the maintenance of individuals’ public face.

5.2.1 Bald on record

Are those strategies that can be used when the speaker wants to do the act with maximum efficiency more than he wants to satisfy the hearer’s face (Brown and Levinson,1987: 71-73).

5.2.2 Positive Politeness

Positive politeness is oriented towards a hearer's positive face which means the listener has the desire to be liked and approved of.Positive politeness aims at supporting the listener’s positive face.Positive politeness strategies are exploited in order to decrease the threat to the hearer’s positive face (Brown and Levinson,1987: 101).

5.2.3 Negative Politeness

Negative Politeness is a mitigated action addressed toward the hearer’s negative face which is the hearer's desire to be left free from imposition to act as he/she chooses.It aims at softening the listener’s negative face.The speaker attempts to save the listener’s negative face by keeping the distance between them (Brown and Levinson,1987: 129).

5.2.4 Off -Record:

Off record utterances are those indirect ones in which the hearer must make inferences to get what is meant (Brown and Levinson,1987: 211).

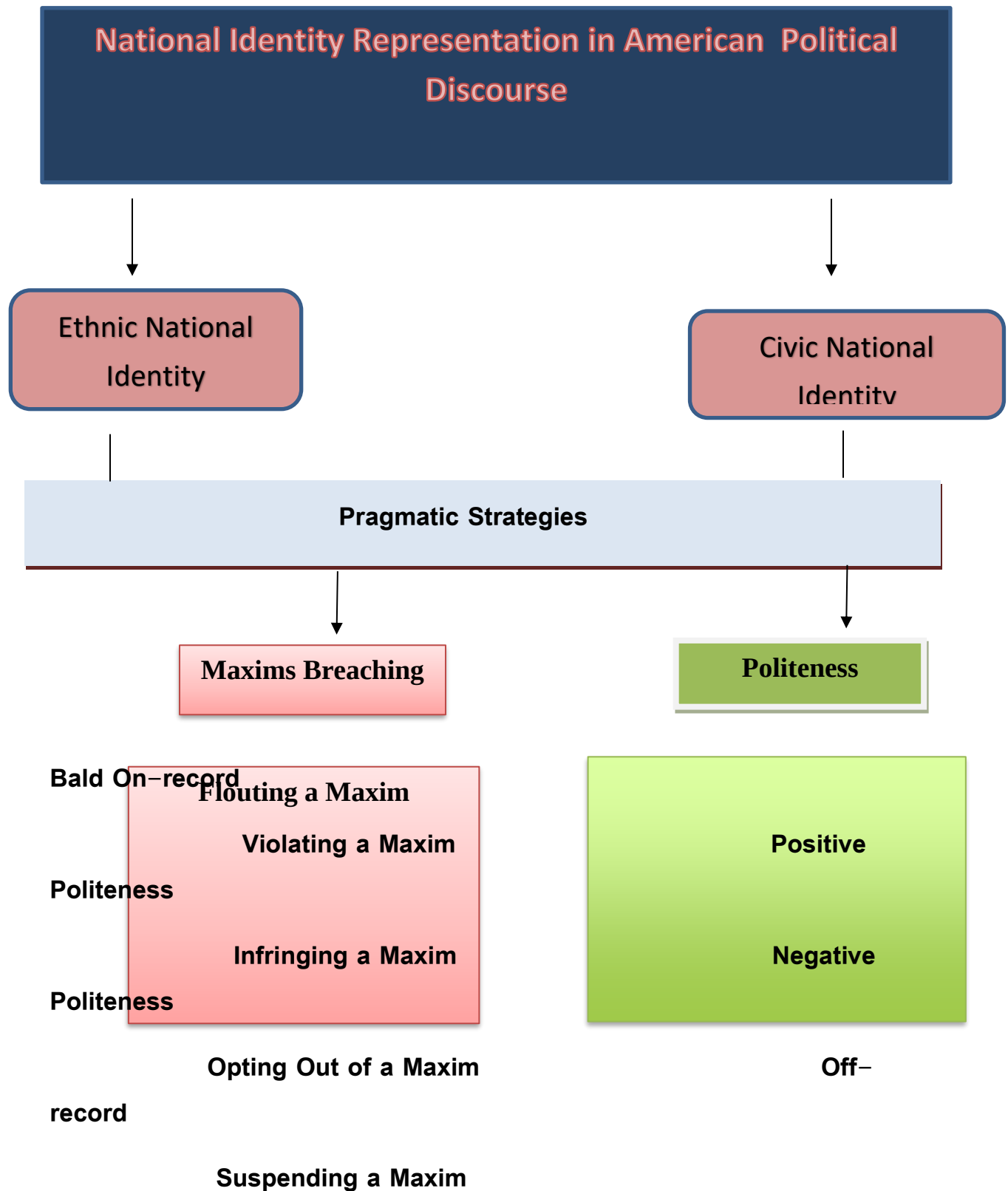


Figure (1) : The Model Adopted in the Study

6.Data Analysis

This section is dedicated to the practical part of the study. It presents the analysis of the selected data in American political contexts. It will also present a qualitative and quantitative analysis.

6.1 Qualitative Analysis

The qualitative method tries to analyze non-numerical data to understand some concepts and experiences. In other words, it depends on descriptions rather than on statistical information. It is further considered a subjective analysis. This method is helpful because it explicates implicit ideologies

6.1.1 Trump Inauguration Speech

Extract (1)

*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.*

Contextual Hints

Trump reflects his **ethnic** national identity in a clear way by mentioning *fellow* specifying the nationality of his target audience. *Americans* and *citizens of America*

Analysis

With respect to maxims breaching, the utterance *to rebuild our country and restore its promise* flouts the maxim of quality. Only in this utterance there are two metaphors. Firstly, he describes America as a building which can be rebuilt by American hands. Secondly, America is described as a person since the person is the only one who has the ability to make promises. In one way, he implies that under his administration America can restore its promises.

Concerning politeness, the utterance *we the citizens* ...is categorized as positive politeness. It is a combination of the seventh and the twelfth strategies. They are 'Presuppose/raise/assert common ground' and 'Include both S and H in the activity'. Trump claims the common ground with his listeners without considering outsiders. *America* is categorized as the fourth strategy of positive politeness which is 'Use in-group identity marker'. Also, the utterance *every for years...* is categorized under

negative politeness. This strategy is classified into the eighth strategy ‘state the face threatening acts as general rule’.

Extract(2)

*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.*

Contextual Hints

Trump in the above extract shows his **ethnic** national identity stating that the country and the celebration belong only to Americans. This transition is for the good of American citizens.

Analysis

Regarding maxims breaching , Trump flouts quality maxim .A metaphor is utilized in the word *reaped*. Trump conceptualizes money as a plant or crops in the hands of a specific group to make a clear division between the former government and the American people. Also,a human metaphor is used in the word *protect*.The establishment is described as a person since it is expressed by the words used to represent a person.Trump considers it as a person to make people recognize what kind of a country the establishment is like, and what kind of qualities it possesses.

Based on the theory of Brown and Levinson, the utterances *because today we are not merely* and *because this moment...* are categorized as positive politeness into the thirteenth strategy ‘give reason’. Trump tries to explain why this moment is of special significance to the Americans. Also, the utterance *that all changes...* is categorized as positive politeness to go under the eleventh strategy ‘be optimistic’. Despite all of the problems presented at the beginning and the pessimistic view, Trump then switches to an optimistic call for the American people. Additionally, *America* goes under the fourth strategy of positive politeness which is ‘Use in-group identity marker’ to show solidarity among the interlocutors. Moreover, the utterance *we are not merely transferring* is categorized as positive politeness. It is a combination of the seventh and the twelfth strategies. They are ‘Presuppose/raise/assert common ground’ and ‘Include both S and H in the activity’

Extract(3)

*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.*

Contextual Hints

Trump in the above transcript declares his **ethnic** national identity with the date in which the Americans become the rulers of their country.

Analysis

As for maxims breaching, Trump flouts quality maxim using a hyperbolic expression in *you came by the tens of millions to become part of a historic movement, the likes of which the world has never seen before*. He tries to convey the message that the losers will return to their rightful place of dominance. The losers will be winners in a way that the world has never seen before.

Concerning politeness, the utterance *you came by the tens of millions to become part of a historic movement* is regarded as positive politeness under the strategy 'Exaggerate'. Trump shows his excessive sympathy for the American people, as if this celebration is a very special celebration that has never been experienced by previous presidents. Moreover, the utterances *our government...our country* can be seen as a combination of the seventh and the twelfth strategies of positive politeness. These strategies are 'Presuppose/raise/assert common ground' and 'Include both S and H in the activity'. Using *our* enhances the sense of belonging to that country.

Extract (4)

*"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 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**."*

Contextual Hints

The linguistic marker *American* is uttered three times to reflect Trump's **ethnic** national identity since the issues that Trump touches are only related to US citizens.

Analysis

An abundant use of maxims breaching is shown in this extract. Trump flouts quality maxim using metaphor in the word *serve*. A nation is described as a person who can present services to its people not to other nations. Such a metaphor is used to enhance the sense of belonging between the nation and the citizens fostering the national attachment. Also the above extract is full of hyperbolic expressions. Trump provides a very ugly description of the United States utilizing words and phrases connected with violence, crime and death. He speaks about people being *trapped* like animals, bankrupted factories looking like *tombstones*, with gangs and drugs which have been brought in by foreigners *stealing* and *robbing* people's lives.

In terms of politeness, the utterance above *we are one nation....* is categorized as positive politeness which belongs to the seventh and the twelfth strategies which are 'presuppose/raise/assert common ground' and 'Include both S and H in the activity'. Here, Trump tries to eliminate the social status among them. Another positive politeness strategy closes the extract which is the eleventh one 'be optimistic' in the utterance *this American carnage stops right here and stops right now*. Throughout his extract, Trump paints a bleak pessimistic picture of a country ravaged by crime, poverty, drug addiction, unemployment, and hopelessness. At the end he shows that this carnage can stop with unification.

Extract (5)

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 nation's 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 shuddered 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.

Contextual Hints

In the above extract, Trump speaks in an anti-foreign tone to not prioritize other countries. Trump demonstrates superiority for the American country. This demonstrates the **ethnic** form of NI.

Analysis

With respect to maxims breaching, Trump flouts quality maxim using a journey metaphor in the utterances *left our shores, left behind, horizon*. America is described like a large sailing ship or boat which has a long journey. Such a metaphor is a very colorful and

powerful in political speech since it has many implications. He likens America to a large ship that can sail around the world. Also, factories are likened to massive ships that left the American shore. Such a metaphor connotes movement, power and progress but not for the sake of Americans. Also, the words *trillions* and *millions* are regarded as hyperbolic expressions deal with the quantity of the jobs and the money lost because of the failures of past administration.

Based on Brown and Levinson theory, the employed strategy is overstatement which goes under off record strategies. Trump exaggerates to show that *the country has spent trillions of dollars overseas while America's infrastructure has fallen into disrepair and decay*. Trump tries to exaggerate because he suggests that the loss of American jobs and borders is a loss of the American identity. In the statement above, the speaker uses the word *American* as his group identity marker giving the impression of formality.

Extract (6)

*But that is the past, and now **we** are looking only to the future. **We** assembled here today **our** 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.*

Contextual Hints

This extract is of a strong link to the **ethnic** national identity definition especially at the end when he specifies the identity of the builders. The linguistic marker is repeated four times *American workers* , *American families*, *American hands* and *American labor*.

Analysis

Regarding maxims breaching ,Trump flouts quality maxim using hyperbole two times and metaphor three times. Trump uses hyperbolic expressions concerning other countries and immigrants describing them as *ravaging* our borders, *stealing* our companies and *destroying* our jobs to convey the message that the current state of America is miserable. In the above extract ,the sentence *I will fight for you with every breath in my body* is a war-like sentence which is combined with hyperbole to reflect Trump's national identity who tends to sacrifice his life to protect Americans, their identities, their borders, their jobs and their families. War metaphor is expressed with the help of the verb

fight. Politicians are described as fighters, defenders and soldiers because they fight to win against their enemies or political opponents expressing a strong national identity. Another non-observance is made via metaphor. Game metaphor is used in the word *winning* which is repeated two times in which America is described as a person who can win.

Moreover, building metaphor is used in the above extract in the utterance *rebuilding our country with American hands and American labor* to describe America as a building that must be built, according to Trump, with only American hands. Quantity maxim is also flouted because of the repetition “*in every ..., in every ..., and in every ..., from this day forward ..., from this day forward, ... only America first. America first*”. Trump tries to emphasize the idea that the American voice is heard in every single part of the world. Trump also flouts quantity maxim repeating many words and constructions like *We will bring back our... America first... American...* to emphasize the American NI.

Concerning politeness, the fourth strategy of positive politeness which is in-group identity marker *America* is used by Trump to mean that both the speaker and the hearer have a close relationship. Overstatement which goes under off-record strategies is used because Trump tends to exaggerate in his exclusion of other countries in the utterance *the ravages of other countries making our products, stealing our companies and destroying our jobs*. He overstates to show how outsiders violate the American wholeness. Furthermore, the utterance *from this day forward: a new vision will govern our land, from this day forward, it's going to be only America first* is considered as negative politeness using the strategy ‘State the FTA as a general rule’. Trump tries to oblige his team and his crowd to put America first. Trump employs the structure *we will* which is a combination of the seventh and the twelfth strategies of positive politeness which are ‘presuppose/raise/assert common ground’ and ‘Include both S and H in the activity’. This use urges people to act alongside with him. This becomes an implicit call for a united action.

Extract (7)

*We will follow two simple rules: **buy American**, and **hire American**. We will seek **friendship** and goodwill 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.*

Contextual Hints

From the very beginning of the extract, Trump reflects his **ethnic** national identity identifying the nationality of the products and the workers in *buy American, and hire American*. He seeks to protect American workers and to strengthen the American economy.

Analysis

Maxims breaching is represented in the word *friendship* in which America is described as a person who has many friends with other countries promising them that America will be a shining model for all other friends. Also, America is likened to a sun that will *shine* to be a source of goodness bringing life to others. Trump intends that America will be a good example and a beacon worth of imitating. Moreover, Trump uses another metaphor in the word *eradicate*. Terrorism is described as a weed that needs to be eradicated..

Furthermore, the utterance *eradicate completely from the face of the Earth* can be classified as hyperbole due to the fact that it is impossible to reduce terrorism from the face of the Earth. Trump could eradicate the radical Islamic terrorism from America. However, it is quite hard in other countries where the groups are originated and gained an amount of support. So, Trump exaggerates to wipe terrorism off the global map and eradicate the injustice.

From the very beginning of the extract, one of the negative politeness strategies is used which is the strategy 'State the FTA as a general rule' in *follow two simple rules: buy American, and hire American* in addition to the in-group identity marker *American* which goes under positive politeness. Trump seeks to create higher employment rates for U.S. workers to protect their economic interests. This reflects in-group ideology. Furthermore, the construction *we will* can be seen as a combination of the seventh and the twelfth strategies of positive politeness which are 'presuppose/raise/assert common ground' and 'Include both S and H in the activity'.

Extract(8)

*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, 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.*

Contextual Hints

The relationship between national identity and one of its components or variables which is religion stands here to show the American exceptionalism since Americans are considered, according to Trump, God's people. This echoes Trump's **ethnic** NI.

Analysis

Regarding maxims breaching, Trump flouts quality maxim using a metaphor in the above extract which is presented in the sentence *When you open your heart to patriotism, there is no room for prejudice*. Trump uses the metaphor of room to describe the audience hearts as if they were a part of a building with rooms and doors that can be opened in an attempt to bring Americans together to overcome division.

Furthermore, quantity maxim is not observed since the construction *we will be protected* is repeated three times to emphasize the idea of militaristic and divine protection.

Politeness is used in the above extract. Overstatement which goes under off-record strategies is used in the utterance *we will be protected by God* because Trump tends to exaggerate in his exceptionalism of America. *America* is an example of the positive strategy of using in-group identity markers. Using the construction *we will....* involves the speaker and hearer in the same activity. For this reason, it goes under the seventh and the twelfth strategy of positive politeness which are 'presuppose/raise/assert common ground' and 'Include both S and H in the activity'.

Extract(9)

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.

Contextual Hints

Trump in the above extract shows his **ethnic** NI. He shows his anti-establishment attitude. He makes a division between the era of empty words and the era of actions.

Analysis

The breaching of maxims is represented in the utterance *the heart and fight and spirit of America*. America is described as a person or a living creature who has a spirit, heart and the ability to fight for the sake of its citizens. Trump tries to empower the attachment between the nation and its citizens ..

According to Brown and Levinson theory, bald on record strategies in Trump's speech are characterized by the intent to achieve maximally efficient communication. In this excerpt there is no attempt to minimize the face threats since efficiency and urgency is preferred. The utterance *Do not allow anyone to tell you that it cannot be done* is a case of non-minimization of face threat. Regarding off-record strategies, Trump uses overstatement claiming that *no challenge can....* Also, the utterance *The time for empty talk is over ...* is categorized as positive politeness to go under the strategy 'be optimistic'. Trump implies that the speech of the previous era is meaningless or empty but Trump's era will be meaningful, better and different. Additionally, the utterances *we understand..., we will..., we must...* belong to the seventh and the twelfth strategy of positive politeness which are 'presuppose/raise/assert common ground' and 'Include both S and H in the activity'. *America* is an in-group identity marker that springs solidarity among the citizens

Extract(10)

*We stand at the birth of a new millennium, ready to unlock the mysteries of space, to free the Earth from the miseries of disease and to harness the 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 windswept 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.*

Contextual Hints

Trump in the above extract tries to heal the divisions painted among Americans unifying all of them of whatever colour skin they are. Trump manifests his **ethnic** national identity because he touches its criteria or components.

Analysis

As for maxims breaching, Trump flouts quality maxim using the metaphor of family that shares the same blood in *we all bleed ...*. The nation as a family metaphor combines biological and cultural principles. Also, Trump flouts quantity maxim listing all the colours of the skin repeating the same structure "*We all ...the same...*". Such a repetition is made to show to what extent Americans have shared features and are connected.

Concerning Brown and Levinson theory of politeness, the utterances *we stand at...., we all bleed...*, *we all enjoy...*, *we all salute* are categorized as positive politeness under the seventh and the twelfth strategies of positive politeness which are 'presuppose/raise/assert common ground' and 'Include both S and H in the activity'. Trump implicitly claims the common ground with his listeners. *American* is an in-group identity marker that can build and maintain social relations between interlocutors.

Extract (11)

*So 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 **we** will make **America** great again. Thank you. God bless you. And god bless America. Thank you. God bless America.*

Contextual Hints

From the beginning of the extract, Trump specifies his target audience in the utterance *to all Americans....* in which Trump shows his **ethnic** national identity repeating the linguistic marker *America* nine times. As if Trump gives a summary to finish his speech.

Analysis

An abundant use of maxims breaching is shown in the above extract. Trump flouts quality maxim using journey metaphor to describe politics as a political journey in *guide us a long the way*. In this journey, travelers who are the leader and his citizens walk toward specific goals. He uses journey metaphor to enable the Americans to comprehend the political process. Within the maxims breaching, another metaphor is used which is a human metaphor in which America is described as a person who can be *strong, proud* and *wealthy*. This use represents flouting the quality maxim. Trump is trying to make America closer to the American citizens enforcing the sense of belongingness and inclusiveness. Additionally, Trump flouts quantity maxim repeating some phrases to make a sense of emphasis as in *We will make America...again* and *God bless America... from mountain to mountain, from ocean to ocean*. He uses repetition and parallel constructions to emphasize his intentions and to persuade people to follow him and his ideas.

According to Brown and Levinson theory, the above extract is categorized as positive politeness to go under the eleventh strategy 'Be optimistic'. This optimistic extract concludes a speech that was remarkably pessimistic. Trump tells them that their *voice, hopes, and dreams* will never be ignored again. Using the construction *we will...* is another example of positive politeness to go under the seventh and the twelfth strategies of positive politeness which are 'presuppose/raise/assert common ground' and 'Include both S and H in the activity'. They indicate mutual participation among Trump, the government and the citizens especially he uses the word *together* to enhance the sense of togetherness. Making America strong, proud, wealth, great and safe isn't only Trump's task. Additionally, the word *America* can be classified as in-group identity marker which is the fourth strategy of positive politeness.

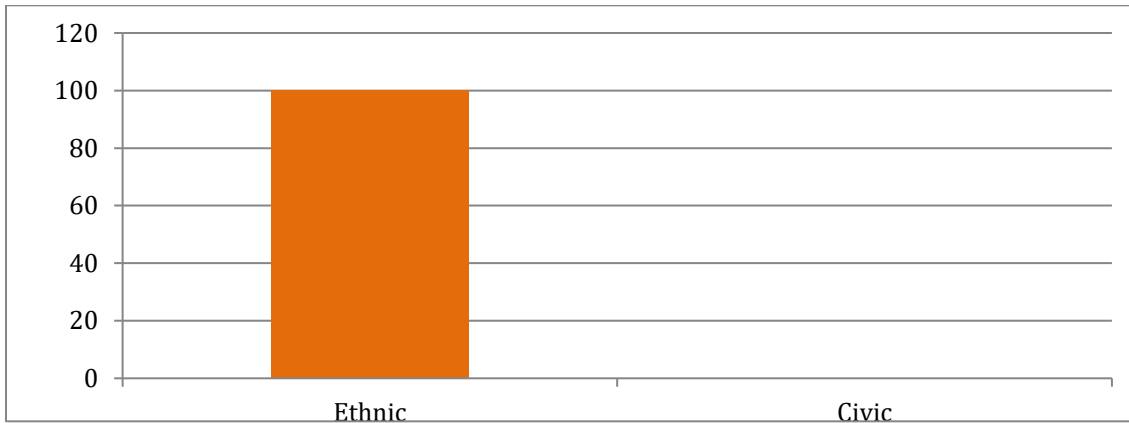
6.2 Quantitative Analysis

This type of analysis is necessary to represent an objective analysis of the extracts that shows the representation of national identity in the discourse under study. It supports the subjectivity of the qualitative analysis made in the previous section.

As shown in Table (1) and Figure (2) below, the types of national identity used in American political discourse are ethnic and civic. Ethnic national identity represents the highest frequency with (11) at (100 %) whereas civic national identity represents the lowest frequency with (0) at (0%). These findings verify the first hypothesis which reads: ethnic national identity is highly used in the political discourse under study.

Table (1) : The Frequency of the Types of National Identity in Trump's Political Discourse.

National Identity Types	Trump's Speech	
	Frequency	Percentage
Ethnic	11	100%
Civic	0	0 %
Total	11	100%



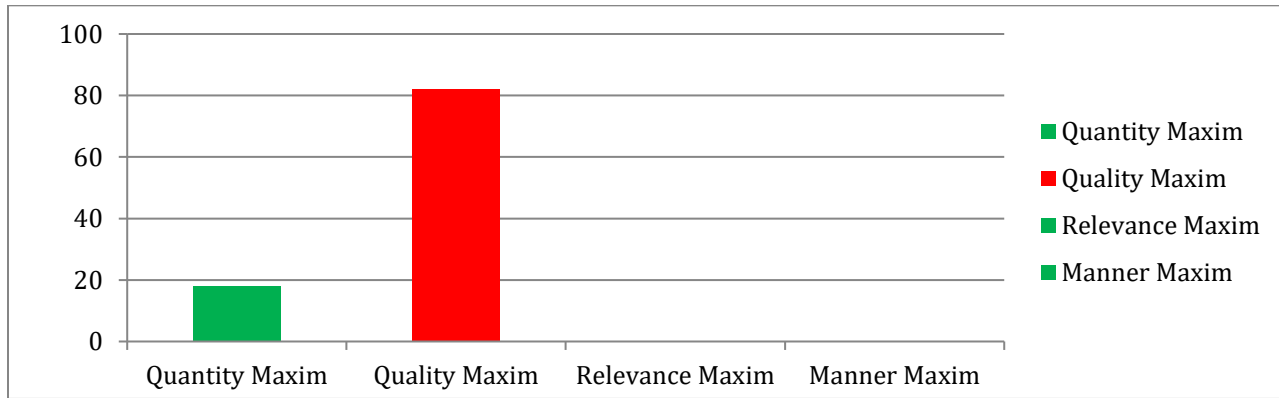
Figure(2): Rates of the Types of National Identity in Trump's Political Discourse

As manifested in Table (2) and Figure (3) below, the types of maxims breaching are flouting quantity, quality ,relation and manner maxim. In American political discourse, flouting quality maxim represents the highest frequency with (23) at (82,143%) whereas flouting quantity maxim represents the lowest frequency with (5) at (17,857%).Relevance and Manner maxim have not been used. These findings verify the second hypothesis which reads: flouting quality maxim is the most commonly one used.

Table (2) : The Frequency of Maxims Breaching in Trump's Political Speech

Maxims Breaching	Trump's Speech	
	Frequency	Percentage

Quantity Maxim	5	,857%17
Quality Maxim	23	82,143%
Relevance Maxim	0	0%
Manner Maxim	0	0 %
Total	28	100%



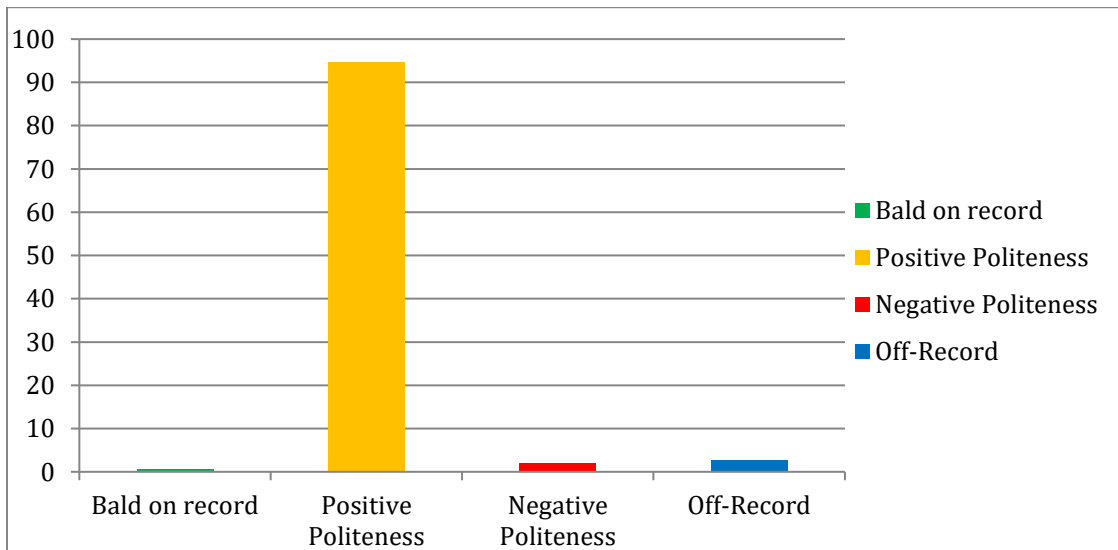
Figure(3): Rates of Maxims Breaching in Trump's Political Discourse

As indicated in Table (3) and Figure (4) below, the types of politeness strategies used in American political discourse are bald on record, positive politeness, negative politeness and off –Record. It is revealed that positive politeness represents the highest frequency with (138) at (94,523%) whereas bald on record represents the lowest frequency with (1) at (0,684%). These findings verify the third hypothesis which reads: positive politeness strategies are highly used in the national political discourse.

Table (3) : The Frequency of Politeness Strategies in Trump's Political Discourse

Politeness Strategies	Trump's Speech
-----------------------	----------------

	Frequency	Percentage
Bald on record	1	0,684%
Positive Politeness	138	94,523%
Negative Politeness	3	2,054%
Off-Record	4	2,739%
Total	146	100%

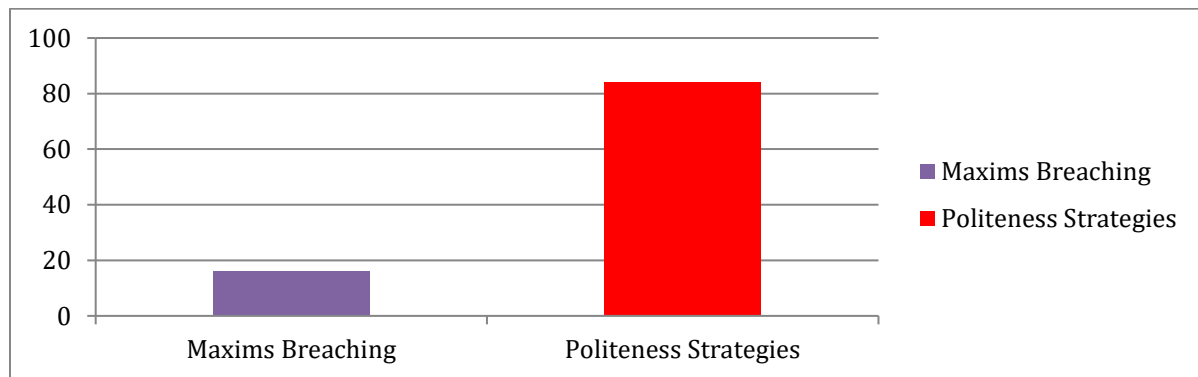


Figure(4): Rates of Politeness Strategies in Trump's Political Discourse

As shown in Table (4) and Figure (5) below, the types of the pragmatic strategies in American political discourse are maxims breaching and politeness strategiesd. With respect to the statistical comparison of the types of pragmatic strategies in American political discourse, it is revealed that politeness strategies are the dominant type employed with (146) at (83,909 %) whereas maxims breaching represent the lowest frequency with (28) at (16,091%).

Table (4) : Statistical Comparison of the Pragmatic Strategies in Trump's Political Discourse

Pragmatic Strategies	Trump's Speeches	
	Frequency	Percentage
Maxims Breaching	28	16,091%
Politeness Strategies	146	83,909%
Total	174	100%



Figure(5): Rates of the Pragmatic Strategies in Trump's Political Discourse

7. Conclusions

This study has extracted the following conclusions:

1-It is found that ethnic national identity is highly demonstrated than the civic one. Politicians try to present this form of national identity to convey the ideology that their nations are better than other nations. Those citizens with ethnic national identity have stronger attachment to their nation than those who hold the civic one. This verifies the first hypothesis and answers the first question.

2-Regarding maxims breaching, flouting the quality maxim is the most commonly used one. Such non-observance has been used to convey messages implicitly. Correspondingly, hypothesis No. 2 is verified.

3- Politicians make use of politeness strategies. Positive politeness strategies are the most dominant ones to build a state of uniqueness, distinctiveness and inclusiveness among the members of a nation. By this, hypothesis No. 3 is verified.

4-According to the pragmatic strategies, it is shown that positive politeness strategies are highly utilized in presenting national identity in the speech under scrutiny. They are used frequently within each extract. Correspondingly, hypothesis No. 4 is verified.

References

- Barrett, M. (2007). *Children's knowledge, beliefs and feelings about nations and national groups*. Hove: Psychology Press.
- Billig, M. (1995). *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage Publications.
- Bloom, W. (1990). *Personal Identity, National Identity, and International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown P., and Levinson S. (1987).*Politeness:Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Byung-Jin, L., (2003). "Education and National Identity". *Policy Futures in Education*. Vol 1(2), pp. 332- 341.
- Grice, P. (1975)."Logic and Conversation". In Cole, P. and Morgan, J. L. , *Syntax and Semantics*. New York: Academic Press.
- Guibernau, M. (2007). *The identity of nations*. Cambridge, England: Polity Press.
- Ignatieff, M. (1993). *Blood and Belonging*. Toronto: Viking.
- Jenkins, R. (1996). *Social Identity*. London: Routledge.
- Korostelina, K. V. (2007).*Social identity and conflict: Structures, dynamics, and implications* .New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Moghadam, V.,(1999). "Gender, national identity and citizenship: Reflections in the Middle East and North Africa". *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East*. 19 (1), pp. 137-157.
- Mohamed , H. Y. M. (2016). "Obama as a Political Orator : A Critical Discourse Analysis". *M.A.Thesis* .Sudan University of Science and Technology.
- Psarrou,E.,(2014). "National Identity in the Era of Globalization". *Doctoral Dissertation*. London School of Economics.
- Richards,B.,(2013). "National identity and social cohesion: theory and evidence for British social policy".*Doctoral Dissertation*. London School of Economics and Political Science.
- Van Dijk, T. (1998). "What is Political Discourse Analysis?". *Belgian Journal of Linguistics*, 11, 11–52.
- Yack, B. (1996). "The Myth of the Civic Nation". *Critical Review* .10 (2), 193–212.