Exploring Ideological Narratives:
A Critical Linguistic Study of Trump and Obama Selected Speeches

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Abstract

The present study aims at analyzing the linguistic, and argumentative strategies employed in Trump's speech (2017) in Saudi Arabia and Obama's speech (2009) in Cairo to represent some of their ideologies. The questions that this study attempts to answer are related to the two political leaders' use of linguistic strategies, argumentative patterns and tools to validate their ideologies and visions. To answer these questions, the current study adopts different models and approaches: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and the argumentative patterns by van Eemeren (2013). Moreover, this study reveals how Trump and Obama employ certain strategies to represent and legitimize their ideology and policy to win the audience support. Both Obama's and Trump's speeches highlight their commitment to addressing security threats, promoting peace through cooperation, and encouraging Muslim-majority countries to take proactive measures in combating terrorism. Their ideology, as articulated and implied in the speech, centers on the principles of partnership and a shared goal of defeating extremism to ensure stability and security in the region.

Keywords: *discourse analysis, argumentation, CDA, Trump, Obama, narrative ideology, political speech*

1. Introduction

As in many regions across the globe, language and ideology are used for political purposes as a tool of perception, narrative framing, and shaping of men's mentalities in the particular region. Leaders of different countries, politicians, are often seen using language in particular situations with the objective of touching one's feelings, uniting people, and controlling them. For these kinds of narratives, there are ideologies, which act as an umbrella under which different policies and activities, which naturally seem controversial, are used. Language has the potential for spin and propaganda, it possesses the ability to use the words selectively and change facts, it can create divisions and garner support for a specific cause, all of which can alter democracy and governance. Indeed, such manipulation is worsened by the media and technological advances, thus the need to examine the relationship between language, ideology, and political power.

This research studies how Trump and Obama use the linguistic and argumentation tools and strategies to persuade Arabs that there is no enmity between America and the Arab world. The current study specifically examines the complex relationship between language and politics because it shows how politicians effectively use language specifically topoi in argumentation as a potent communication tool to convey their social representations and

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experiential perspectives to influence the perceptions of their target audience which is the research's gap knowledge. Due to the socially constructed nature of the interactants, the use of language and various consequences of perception's change imply the view of language as a social practice and the impact of ideology on all text layers, from the linguistic to the cognitive and the political. (Fairclough, 2003, p. 22)

This study analyzes the speeches of both Barak Obama and Donald Trump. It focuses on how Trump and Obama use the argumentative and linguistic tools to convince the Islamic world of their ideology. Also, it discusses the similarities and differences of their style and ideology. This study attempts to answer the following questions:

1. What linguistic, rhetorical, and argumentative strategies do Presidents Obama and Trump employ in their communications, and how do these strategies compare and contrast?
2. What are the linguistic, rhetorical, and argumentative strategies employed by President Obama?
3. What are the linguistic, rhetorical, and argumentative strategies employed by President Trump?
4. What are the similarities and differences between the strategies employed by president Trump and president Obama?

2. Theoretical Background: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

This study relies on interdisciplinary fields of study: critical discourse analysis (CDA) and the theory of argumentation as proposed by van Eemeren et al. (1996). Fowler (1996) states that "Critical Linguistics emerged from our writing of language and control as an analysis of public discourse, an analysis designed to get at the ideology coded implicitly behind the overt propositions, to examine it particularly in the context of social formation" (p. 3). Also, van Dijk (1998) defines it as "a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and restricted by text and talk in the social and political context" (p. 1)

van Dijk (1998), as one of the founders of (CDA), indicates that the use of language, conversations, spoken interactions, and communication are part of the smaller scale of social organization (micro level). While terms such as power, control, and disparities among social groups are usually associated with a larger scale of analysis (macro level).

2.1 Ideology (van Dijk's Ideological Square)

According to van Dijk (2017), there are three elements in the socio-cognitive approach to CDA: society, cognition, and discourse. Society can be referred to as the macro level, including the power struggle between local interlocutors and international social institutions. Social power is a device used to steer the ideas and actions of a person or group. Discourse can refer to various discourse systems, such as language, which at the micro level represent ideas. The main difference between van Dijk's framework and that of other scholars is the

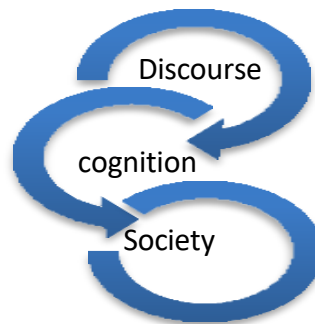mediating layer of cognition (ideology) that, as represented in Figure 1, lies between society and discourse.

Figure 1: Illustration of van Dijk's (1998) Model

van Dijk's (1998) ideological square (cognition)serves as the primary analytical framework in use. He describes it as a polarization of Us and Them in which the advantages and disadvantages of the in-group (Us) and out-group (Them) are (de)emphasized. He identifies (Us) with Positive-Self representation and (Them) with Negative-Other representation.

a) Positive –Self representation: presenting the members of the in-groups (Us) in a favorable light through speech by highlighting their positive traits and downplaying their flaws.

b) Negative-Other representation: Negatively portraying the members of the out- groups (Them) through conversation by over emphasizing their flaws and underplaying their virtues.

2.2 Political Rhetoric and Persuasion

According to Charteris-Black (2015), persuasion refers to the intention, the act and the effect of changing the audience's thinking, so persuasion is considered a speech act. He also reports that it is particularly important to distinguish between two types of persuasion. The first one is the active role which is characterized by deliberate intentions and the purpose of it is to change the audience's opinion about something. Additionally, social cognition should be considered, as it involves the audience's thinking changing after the persuasion process. The second type is the explicit one which is easy to be noticed.

Blanckenship and Craig (2011) also state that the art of persuasion means convincing someone to alter their opinions, attitudes, or actions. It entails influencing the target audience by applying a variety of strategies. Reciprocity, scarcity, authority, consistency, likability, social proof, and emotional appeal are some of those strategies. Those strategies can be combined in many ways to provide a more powerful and persuasive message. But it is crucial to employ these strategies sensibly and ethically—that is, without trying to mislead or manipulate the intended audience. Through a comprehensive grasp of the many persuasive

strategies and their suitable use, individuals and organizations can effectively convey their messages and accomplish their objectives. Atkinson (2005) suggests that political speech writers consistently rely on a range of powerful techniques such as repetition, lists (three- part lists), and lexical choices to persuade the audience.

Additionally, Rapp (2002) explains that rhetoric is used in persuasion to influence an audience's thoughts, beliefs, and behaviour through a variety of strategies and techniques. Rhetoric's goal is to persuade or convince listeners by using emotional appeal, logical argumentation, and the speaker's credibility.

As discussed before, persuasion, rhetoric, and argumentation are closely related concepts within linguistics. Therefore, they all involve the use of language to influence the beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors of others. This is the core of the study.

2.3 Argumentation

This section sheds the light on the original and different definitions of argumentation. It also refers to various models including the model used in this study.

According to van Eemeren and Garssen (2014), argumentation is a phenomenon practiced consciously or unconsciously in daily life. It is known not only from formal debates but also from less formal discussions at work and even from informal exchanges in social life. Argumentation arises in response to or in an anticipation of a difference of opinion whatever it is real or imagined. During the argumentation, there is one party that has an opinion and another one that is in doubt whether to accept this opinion or not.

According to Sieradzan (2012), the concept of argumentation appeared first in the 15th century. It is defined as the process or act of forming reasons and reaching conclusions through the application of constructive discussion.

> Argumentation is a verbal and social activity of reason aimed at increasing (or decreasing) the acceptability of a controversial standpoint for the listener or reader by putting forward a constellation of propositions intended to justify (or refute) the standpoint before a rational judge. (van Eemeren et al., 1996, p. 5).

As Fowler (1996) states, during the classical era, the rhetoric of both Aristotle and Alexander were the only theoretical studies from this era. Beginning from these Greek sources especially Aristotle, rhetoric came to be seen as the study of the discourse particularly argumentative discourse. From this study, rhetoric can be defined as the study of persuasion involving not only the use of logos, but also ethos and pathos. Higgens and Walker (2012) also explain that Pathos, often known as the appeal to emotion, is the literary device used to persuade readers by deliberately arousing particular feelings in them in order to influence their opinions. Logos, or the appeal to logic is known as appealing to an audience's sense of reason or logic. The author uses facts and data along with logical, obvious links between ideas to employ logos. Finally, Ethos is used to demonstrate the writer's authority

and reliability. When assessing a work of writing, the reader needs to be aware of the author's qualifications to make comments on this matter

As Kennedy (1994) explains, the word *rhetor* in Greek means public speaker but often has a narrower connotation of a politician. In the twentieth century, the scope of rhetoric has been broadened to be defined as the ability of humans to use symbols to communicate with each other, so they believe that rhetoric is equal to communication.

Numerous scholars have studied argumentation in discourse. Among them is Toulmin (2003), who proposes one of the most influential handlings of argumentation and his contribution to analyzing the structure and layout of arguments is valuable. Toulmin (1958) speaks of arguments as organisms. Taking into consideration that organisms, like human beings, have organs, his suggested analysis of the layout of arguments becomes more insightful as it throws light on the skeletons of framing arguments as he focuses on the justificatory function of argumentation.

The current study is based on the model proposed by van Eemeren (2013) for two reasons. The first is related to the fact that van Eemeren's handling of argumentation is more insightful than that of Toulmin's (2003) because he aims to reveal different types of argumentation as well as the fallacies used by the arguing parties, while Toulmin (2003) focuses on the structure of argumentation in terms of claims and warrants. The argumentation supports the viewpoint of the speaker or writer who advances the argument, which is principally represented by van Eemeren's model. In reality, the opposing party is still inactive. The second reason is that this model provides a tool to detect the skeleton of the argumentative discourse by focusing on the forms and the patterns of arguments.

2.4 van Eemenren's pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation

van Eemeren and Garssen (2014) state that the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation was introduced at Amsterdam University by van Eemeren and Grootendorst in the 1970s. It was developed from a perspective that presents the communication dimension inspired by pragmatic insights from speech act theory and discourse analysis. It has a critical dimension inspired by dialectical insights from a formal dialectical approach.

van Eemeren (2018) uses different labels from argumentation theory like rhetoric, logic, and discourse analysis. Some linguists have a background in philosophy and logic so they will focus on soundness and the logic of argument, while others take argumentation from the communication perspective. They focus on rhetoric and persuasive techniques. In an argumentation theory, both dimensions are needed. To reach the peak of the argumentation quality, theorists have to be sure that they do not examine it only from verbal communication aspects, but also from the reasonableness of the argument. van Eemeren divided the argumentation into two main types: Simple and Complex and then, Complex argumentation is divided into Multiple, Coordinative, and Subordinative.

2.5 Topoi

Wodak and Meyer (2009) explain that the term "topos" has its roots in Aristotle's rhetoric, and it has been utilized extensively in all types of persuasive elements. Nonetheless, topoi have emerged as one of the essential argumentation tools with the development of contemporary argumentative theories. Ten main topoi are included in Wodak's and Meyer's model. Among the topoi that are most frequently employed and pertinent to the current study are: topos of threat, topos of responsibility, topos of reality, topos of advantages, topos of history, topos of humanitarianism, and topos of culture.

3. Previous Studies

In terms of political speeches, to the best of our knowledge, there are not many previous analyses concerning the use of argumentation techniques in these speeches.

Ashmawy (2017) applies argumentative discourse theory to selected articles tackling face veil "Niqab" ban issue in France in some English and Arabic newspapers. The study of Ashmawy aims at showing how argumentative discourse is used to support controversial opinions; investigating the various argumentative structures and strategies used in the selected English and Arabic articles; finally, it explores how fallacies are legitimate justifiable moves that arguers apply to defend their standpoints. van Eemeren et al.'s (1996) Pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation is used in her study as a model for explaining and understanding argument. She uses some fallacies such as the fallacy of the stick, appeal to pity, the abusive variant and the circumstantial variant.

Meanwhile, Zarefsky (2011) uses pragma-dialectic theory to study Obama's speech in Cairo university. He utilizes the methodology of pragma-rationalistic hypothesis. The meaning of this methodology calls into practice the opposite dimension between rhetoric and dialect based on audience. Furthermore, he uses the strategic maneuvering as a tool of argumentation in investigating Obama's discourse. He presumes that pragma-dialectic application to expository argumentation recommends the structure van Eemeren and his colleagues produce for argumentation.

4. Methodology
4.1 Data

The data of this study consists of the script of president Obama's speech to the Islamic world held on June 4,2009 in Cairo, and the script of president Trump's speech to the Islamic world held on May 21,2017 in Saudi Arabia. The researcher collected the data by watching the videos of the full speeches and then downloading the speeches' scripts.

4.2 The Rationale for Choosing Obama's and Trump's Speeches

A-Obama's Speeches'Context

In Obama's speech, he refers to many factors as the causes of tension between Muslims and the US. The first of which is extremism. The second one is the situation between the Israelis,

the Palestinians, and the Arab world. As for the third source of tension, it is the shared interests in the rights and responsibilities of nations concerning nuclear weapons. The fourth issue is democracy and its connection with the war in Iraq. The fifth issue is religious freedom, which is that people in every country should believe in the religion that they are convinced of both mentally and spiritually. The sixth one is women's rights, and the last issue is concerned with economic development and opportunity. As can be noticed in Obama's speech, he uses argumentation forms and strategies to justify tension between the US and the Arab world. He indicates that the reason behind this tension is the claim of the hostility between Islam and the West.

B-Trump's Speech Context

Trump delivered his speech in Saudi Arabia for several reasons. The first reason is Strengthening Regional Alliances as the trip was part of his administration's efforts to strengthen relationships with key Middle Eastern allies, particularly Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia is a significant player in the region and a longstanding U.S. ally. Second, the speech aims to promote unity among Muslim-majority countries in the fight against terrorism and extremism. He also wanted to explore economic opportunities and partnerships between the United States and Saudi Arabia. Also, the speech provided an opportunity for president Trump to address regional conflicts, such as the Israeli- Palestinian issue. The trip marked an early and significant diplomatic engagement for President Trump, signaling his administration commitment to addressing global issues and maintaining relationships with key international partners. In summary, President Trump delivered this speech to advance various foreign policy objectives

4.3 Theoretical Framework and the Analytical Toolkit

The analysis of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) within the language, power, and ideology framework is influential. It enables scholars to examine the cultural politics embedded in texts. Van Dijk's ideological square is a valuable tool for analyzing group representations in communication. The model of the study highlights promoting one's own group, downplaying the opposing group, and how language shapes societal perspectives, revealing biases in public discourse.

A)Argumentation

According to van Eemeren et al. (2002), the argumentation patterns are divided into two main types; Single and Complex argumentation. Then, they divide the subtypes for Complex argumentation into three types: Multiple, Coordinative, and Subbordinative. They differentiate between them as follows:

1-Single Argumentation

As van Eemeren (2008) explains, single argumentation explicitly consists of two premises usually one of them is unexpressed. In order to make the argument clearer, you need to make the other premise explicit.

An example of this type (I will reward you because you worked hard). The implicit premise here is that you worked hard and this needs a kind of appreciation.

2- Complex Argumentation:

There are several subtypes of complex argumentation, such as multiple, coordinative, and subordinative argumentation.

A-Multiple Argumentation

van Eemeren et al. (2002) state that when you have different reasons for an argument within the same importance or weight; the mentioned arguments do not depend on each other.
e.g.: I cannot play with you today because I have exam and an important interview tomorrow.

B- Coordinative Argumentation

As van Eemeren et al. (2002) state, the components of the arguments depend on one another for several reasons: the argument is too weak: a second argument supports and reinforces the first one.
e.g.: I had to study outside yesterday as there were guests in my home, and there are no empty rooms.

C- Subordinative Argumentation

According to van Emeren et al. (2002), it can be seen as a chain of arguments where the weakest link determines the strength of the whole; the defense of the standpoint is made layer after layer.
e.g.: I cannot help you with the party preparation next month because
I have not time
Because
I will study for my masters
Otherwise,
I will
not be able to go to PHD scholarship
Because,
I am not making a good progress in my studies

D- Topoi

As described by Aristotle, topoi are argument systems that allow specific arguments to be made under the method of enthymemes, or partial syllogisms. In what has been argued as Aristotle's only definition of the term (Solmsen, 1929, p. 164).

According to Wodak& Meyer(2009), there are different types of topoi; the most important to this study are the following :

1- Topos of threat: One should take all reasonable steps to prevent any potentially harmful or threatening consequences of a political action or decision.

2- Topos of responsibility and authority: When an individual or group of individuals is held accountable for certain issues, they come up with a solution.

3- Topos of reality: It is crucial to take a certain action if reality is as it is.

4- Topos of advantages and usefulness: An action should be taken if it will be beneficial.

5- Topos of history: One should do or not do a particular action in comparison to the historical example since history demonstrates that particular actions have particular effects. This is comparable to van Dijk's "Lesson of History" argumentation maneuvers.

6- Topos of humanitarianism: One should not participate in any political activity or make any decisions that are at odds with humanitarian principles or human rights convictions.

7- Topos of culture: A group of people's culture leads to certain consequences in particular circumstances.

III) Besides that, there are some other tools used such as presupposition and pronouns

E-Presupposition:

Presupposition refers to assumptions or inferences implicit in specific linguistic constructions which are capable of triggering presupposition (Cummings 2005 p.29). Yule (1996) describes presupposition as inferences about what is assumed to be true in the utterance rather than directly asserted to be true. The inferences are very closely linked to the words and grammatical structures actually used in the utterances, but they come from our knowledge about the way language user conventionally interprets these words and structures.

Levinson (1983) also explains that a presupposition is a common ground relating to utterances that

. 1) must be mutually known or assumed by the speaker and addressee or utterances to be considered appropriate in context.

. 2) generally will remain a necessary assumption whether the utterance is placed in the form of an assertion, denial or question.

3) generally will be associated with a specific lexical item or grammatical feature (presupposition trigger) in the utterances. To identify the presupposition, which is produced by the speaker, it can be seen from constructing the grammar and the use of particular words such as *before, begin, accuse*, and so on. For example:

-"Before Strawson was even born, Frege noticed presupposition". It presupposes Strawson was born. There are six types of presuppositions (Lexical, Existential, Factive, Structural, Counter Factual, and Non Factive). According to Yule (1996);

1-) Lexical presupposition: This indicates that the presupposition is derived from the vocabulary selection rather than the sentence's grammatical structure.
e.g.: He stopped smoking>> he used to smoke.

2)-Existential presupposition: is the presumption that the entities the speaker named exist. Noun phrases and possessive construction are used to signify it. e.g: The teacher taught English >> there is a teacher.

3) Factive presupposition; is the presumption that something is true because certain words, such "know," "realise," "be glad," "be sorry," "regret," "aware," "odd," etc., are present.
e.g. We regret telling him>> We told him.

4) Structural presupposition: refers to the presumption that goes along with using specific structures. The information being given is perceived by the listener as necessarily true rather than merely the questioner's assumption.
e.g. : Where did the boy buy the toy? >> the boy bought a toy.

5) Counter Factual presupposition: is the presumption that the information being assumed is not only false, but also the reverse of what is true or in conflict with the facts.
e.g.: If you had money, you would have bought a car. >> you do not have money.

6) Non-Factive presupposition: is an untrue statement made in reference to an assumption.
e.g: We imagined we were in Bali. >> we are not in Bali.

F)-<u>Pronouns:</u>
Linguistic elements such as pronouns may be used to convey very different purposes. As Taha (2023) discusses, they can be used both for the purpose of clarification and concealment of elements in a situation. For example, the use of the first person singular pronoun "I" declares who is responsible while using the first person plural pronoun *"we"* is sometimes used to convey the image of one political party as a team, and therefore a shared responsibility. According to Karapetjana (2011), the use of the pronoun *"we"* can be divided into two categories: the inclusive *"we"*, which can be used to refer to the speaker and the listener/viewer and the exclusive *"we",* that refers to both the speaker and the people who are with him only. [We] as a pronoun is also used sometimes by politicians to avoid speaking about themselves as individuals, and instead suggest that others are involved, perhaps to lead negative attention away from the speaker in question. Bramley (2001) states that by using the pronoun *"we"*, the speaker includes others in the utterance, creating a group with a clear identity, making others responsible for potential issues as well.

The following examples show whom "*we"* refers to and whom it excludes in the two presidents' speeches.

" *We* have increased our budget at a responsible 4 percent" (Bush, 2001).

"We beat cynicism with hard work. We beat negative, divisive politics with a positive vision that brings Canadians together." (Tradeau, 2015)

In the first example, Bush shows how he as a president and the other American leaders affect the budget of America in a positive way. In the second example, when Tradeau mentions the second pronoun (we), He includes himself and the Canadians excluding the divisive politics.

5. Analysis of Obama's Speech

The following analysis examines the impact of positive self-representation and the negative effects of portraying others in a detrimental light. It emphasizes their influence on shaping perceptions, reinforcing societal biases, and forming ideologies.

1. Positive-Self representation

1.1 Argumentation Patterns

As one can notice, there **are eleven single** argumentation patterns. There is one in paragraph four, five, seven, ten, fifteen, twenty-three, twenty-four, thirty-two and the final single one in paragraph forty-six.

As for **complex** argumentation patterns, one can find seven multiple argumentation patterns, five coordinative argumentation patterns, and two subordinative. When we collect them all, we find that they are seventeen so, we can deduce that the number of complex argumentation patterns exceeds the number of the single ones

A-Simple Argumentation

(1) **"We** meet at a time of tension between the United States and Muslims around the world-tension rooted in historical forces that go beyond any current policy debate "

As shown here, this argumentation is composed of one expressed premise "we meet at a time of tension between the United States and the Muslims" and the unexpressed premise which is the implied meaning (because of the assumption of the hostility between Islam and the west which is clear in the lexical word (tension) due to the historical issues that he mentioned during his speech in detail. Thus, Obama is not responsible for such hostility and he as a president of America has a good relationship with Muslims

B-Coordinative Argumentation:

In addition, Obama added another argumentation for the raising of this tension, by means of **coordinative argumentation,** as shown in the following diagram.

(2) "tension has been fed by colonialism that denied rights and opportunities to many Muslims, and a cold war in which Muslim-majority countries were too often treated

as proxies without regard to their own aspirations. Moreover, the sweeping change brought by modernity and globalization led many Muslims to view the West as hostile to the traditions of Islam."
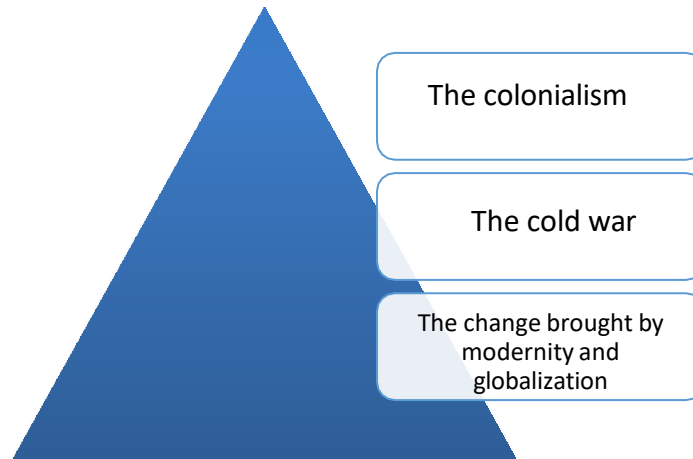

Figure 2: The tension between US and Muslim world

Then, he supports his argument with the title of the speech (New Beginning), which connotes that the relationship between the US and Muslims is strained, and he is seeking a new beginning based on shared values and interests.

C-Multiple Argumentation:

The following diagram shows what multiple-argumentation pattern consists of:

(3)

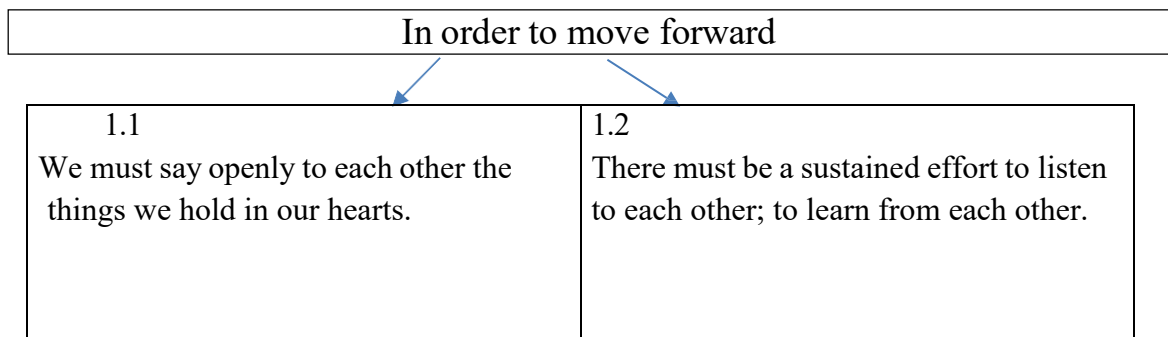| In order to move forward	
1.1 We must say openly to each other the things we hold in our hearts.	1.2 There must be a sustained effort to listen to each other; to learn from each other.

Figure 3: Multiple-argumentation pattern

In this kind of argumentation, Obama tries to unify the West with the Muslim world through using the development concept and this will be achieved through saying what is impeded in our minds and hearts. At the same level, there must be a mutual listening and learning between the West and Muslims. Here, he gives both self and other positive representation about Muslims.

D- Subordinative Argumentation:

"The interests we share as human beings are more powerful than the forces that
drive us apart"

(4)

	1-My father came from a Kenyan family that includes generations of Muslims
	2-As a boy, I spent several years in Indonsia and heard the call of the azaan at the break of dawn
	3-As a young man, I worked in Chicago communities where many found dignity and peace in Muslim faith
	4-As a student of history, I also know civilization's debt to Islam.

Figure 4

In this example, he gives many powerful arguments about his relationship with Islam all
over his life stages. First, he talks about his father's nationality and its relation to Islam.
Second, he speaks about how the Azaan voice affected him during his stay in Indonesia.
Moreover, he refers to how he finds dignity and harmony in the Muslim faith while working
in Chicago communities. Finally, he realizes well how Islamic civilization has such a great
effect on the whole world. Therefore, all of the examples here give positive self-
representation about himself (positive self-representation) and positive- other representation
about Islam and Muslims.

1.2 : Topoi:
There are some types of Topoi that are applied on the following speeches:

1-Topos of Advantages and Usefulness:

(5) "So long as our relationship is defined by our differences, we will empower those
who sow hatred rather than peace, and who promote conflict rather than the cooperation
that can help all of our people".
All over his speech, Obama highlights the advantages of cooperation and emphasizes the
usefulness of building strong diplomatic and cultural ties between the US and the Muslim
world to address global challenges collaboratively. The pronoun "we" here highlights that
America and Muslims are one party (positive Self- representation). He also stresses that this
cooperation should include action for the people who sow hatred (extremists) to reach the

ideology that the US is not against the Muslim world but against extremism and terrorism.

2- Topos of Responsibility

(6)-Today, America has dual responsibility: to help Iraq forge a better future – and to leave Iraq to Iraqis. I have made it clear to the Iraqi people that we pursue no bases, and no claim on their territory or resources.

(7)-All of us have a responsibility to work for the day when the mothers of Israelis and Palestinians can see their children grow up without fear.

(8)-The third source of tension is our shared interest in the rights and responsibilities of nations on nuclear weapons.

In the previous examples, Obama attempts to show the Muslim world that America knows its responsibility towards the tensions between the West and the Muslims. Also, he shows Muslims how America realizes the responsibility of making the world live in peace and prosperity.

3- Topos of History

(9)-For many years, Iran has defined itself in part by its opposition to my country, and there is indeed a tumultuous history between us. In the middle of the Cold War, the United States played a role in the overthrow of a democratically-elected Iranian government.

(10)-The fifth issue that we must address together is religious freedom. Islam has a proud tradition of tolerance. We see it in the history of Andalusia and Cordoba during the Inquisition. I saw it firsthand as a child in Indonesia, where devout Christians worshiped freely in an overwhelming Muslim country. (p.13)

In the first example, Obama mentions how the US played a positive role in Iran during the Cold War. In the second example, he mentions the history of his childhood where Christians could practice their religion freely among Muslims. In those examples, he gives a positive representation of America and Iran as a Muslim country during a certain time in history. So, here there is positive presentation of both the self and the other.

4- Topos of Reality:

11) We meet at a time of tension between the United States and Muslims around the world – tension rooted in historical forces that go beyond any current policy debate

12) The relationship between Islam and the West includes centuries of co-existence and cooperation, but also conflict and religious wars.

13) More recently, tension has been fed by colonialism that denied rights and opportunities to many Muslims, and a Cold War in which Muslim-majority countries were too often treated as proxies without regard to their aspirations.

All over his speech, Obama acknowledges the historical tension between the United States and the Muslim world. He refers to the centuries of co-existence and cooperation, as well as the conflict rooted in historical forces, colonialism, and the Cold War. This acknowledgment reflects the complex reality of the relationship between Islam and the West, emphasizing the historical context that shapes the contemporary challenges. He tries to show that the tension is not because of him and America but because of some other factors such as wars and colonialism. So, he reflects the positive representation of self and the other (Muslims).

5- Topos of Authority

> (14) There must be a sustained effort to listen to each other; to learn from each other; to respect one another; and to seek a common ground. As the Holy Quran tells us, "Be conscious of God and speak always the truth." (Applause.)

In this extract, Obama tries to convince his audience that he came to Cairo mainly to make a conciliation between Americans and Muslims, using the Authority strategy from the Holy Quran that we must all speak the truth. He claims that all of his words are true and frank. Actually, this is an effective tool for convincing Muslims as Quran is a Holy book for them. First, Obama delivered his speech to Muslims so, he appeared to be knowledgeable of the Muslim culture and the Qur'anic verses in his speech. He mentioned the Holy Quran five times. He made positive representation for self and the other. Here are some of the examples:

(15) As the Holy Quran tells us, "Be conscious of god and speak always the truth." Applause.

(16) The Holy Quran teaches that whoever kills an innocent is as—it is as if he has killed all mankind. (Applause)

(17) The Holy Quran also says whoever saves a person, it is as if he has saved all mankind. (Applause)

(18) The Holy Quran tells us: "O mankind! We have created you male and a female; and we have made you into nations and tribes so that you may know one another."

1.3-Presuppositions:

(19) A)- "I've come here to Cairo to seek a new beginning between the United States and Muslims" (p)

- There was a relation between US and the Muslim world. (q)

The lexical item "new beginning" triggers the presupposition that there was actually an old era and the relation will start again between the United States and the Muslim world after a long tension. So that, he tries to reset the relationship positively after a long tension.

(20) A)- "I believe that America holds within her the truth that regardless of race, religion, or situation in life, all of us share common aspirations – to live in peace and security; to get an education and to work with dignity; to love our families, our communities, and our God.

These things we share. This is the hope of all humanity." (P)
B)- America holds the truth around the world like any other nation regardless of region and race issues. (q)

The word "believe" strengthens the presupposition that America seeks the truth and treats all the world equally and this also gives a positive presentation of America and the American people. (Factual presupposition)

1.4- Pronouns :

(21) "**I**'ve come to Cairo to seek a new beginning between the United States and Muslims."

(22) "**I** know that there's been a lot of publicity about this speech"

(23)"There will be many issues to discuss between our two countries, and we are willing to move forward without preconditions on the basis of mutual respect"

 (24) "We will say in public what we say in private to Israels and Palestininians and Arabs"

In order to express Obama's duty as the president of the US, he employs the first-person singular pronoun (I) to show his responsibility as a president and his knowledge about what's going on. Obama frequently uses the pronoun *"we"* to refer to both the United States and the Muslim world, fostering a sense of shared accountability and cohesion. By saying *"we,"* he was trying to make clear that both parties have a part to play in fostering better bonds and resolving shared problems. This verbal choice encourages collaboration and teamwork. It promotes a shared sense of duty, cooperation, and partnership between the United States and the Muslim world. It emphasizes the need for having a shared goal and working together to overcome the world's problems.

By using the pronoun "I," Obama assures responsibility for the claims and promises he makes throughout his speech. It represents his personal dedication to the principles and policies he is supporting, like fostering understanding and respect between the Muslim and American communities. Using the first pronoun "we" fosters a sense of solidarity and shared accountability by implying that the objectives and difficulties covered in the speech are group undertakings, requiring cooperation and teamwork, while the use of "they" to denote exclusivity can sometimes lead to the "othering" of certain people or societies. This can contribute to feelings of alienation or estrangement.

Negative- Other representation:
Argumentation
1.1 The structure of the argumentation
a- Simple argument:
25)The first issue that we have to confront is violent extremism in all of its forms.
    This argumentation is composed of one expressed premise (The first issue that we have

to confront is violent extremism in all of its forms). and the unexpressed premise which is the implied meaning (because of their deeds toward the whole world), negating the hostility between them America and Muslims, and declaring the hostility towards the Islamist extremism. Here, he stresses the idea of the negative other representation (extremism).

b-Coordinative argumentation:

(26) Al Qaeda killed nearly 3,000 people on that day. The victims were innocent men, women and children from America and many other nations who had done nothing to harm anybody. And yet al Qaeda chose to ruthlessly murder these people.

In this argumentation's type, Obama tries to set his own arguments of why all nations should act against al-Qaeda as thy killed around three thousand people, adding to that that these people are victims who did nothing.

c- Multiple argumentation:

(27)"For more than 60 years they've endured the pain of dislocation. Many wait in refugee camps in the West Bank, Gaza, and neighboring lands for a life of peace and security that they have never been able to lead. They endure the daily humiliations
— large and small — that come with occupation. So let there be no doubt: The situation for the Palestinian people is intolerable."

In this extract, President Obama emphasizes the equal importance of addressing the legitimate aspirations and suffering of both Israelis and Palestinians in the conflict. He highlights the shared history of pain and the need for a compromise to underscore the complexities and challenges faced by both parties. The major negative representation of the situation of the Palestinian people in the given excerpt is their suffering and hardships. Another negative representation that can be deduced from the excerpt is their lack of power and control over the happenings. Phrases like "they've endured the pain of dislocation" and "wait in refugee camps" give the meaning of helplessness and prolong victimization. This reveals more about the physical and psychological costs of their situation, but equally about the systemic factors which make it impossible for them to attain peace and security.

1. Topoi
1.2.1   Topos of Threat
(28) Violent extremists have exploited theses tensions (between US and the Muslim   world) in a small but potent minority of Muslims.

  (29) When violent extremists operate in one stretch of mountains, people are endangered across an ocean. And when innocents in Bosina and Darfur are slaughtered, that is a stain in our collective conscience.

(30) In Ankara, I made clear that America is not- and never will be - at war with Islam. We will, however, relentlessly confront violent extremists who pose a grave threat to our security.

(31) Over seven years ago, the United States pursued al Qaeda and the Taliban with broad international support…But let us be clear: al Qaeda killed nearly 3000 people on that day. The victims were innocent men, women and children from America and many other nations who had done nothing to harm anybody.

(32) 9/11 was an enormous trauma to our country.

Obama states many times the dangers of extremists 'deeds and how the US and Muslims should take serious action towards these deeds. By addressing the threat of violence and extremism; he underscores the shared interest in promoting peace and security.

1.2.2-Topos of Humanitarianism

(33)" All of us must recognize that education and innovation will be the currency of the 21st century, and in too many Muslim communities there remains underinvestment in these areas."

(34)"The fear and anger that have followed in the wake of 9/11 are not just the product of a few violent extremists."

(35)"We will confront extremism through... education."

(36) "Let there be no doubt: the United States will continue to aggressively pursue Al-Qaeda and its extremist allies."

The first statement suggests a lack of investment in education and innovation as a key issue within Muslim communities, potentially oversimplifying the complexities of socio-economic conditions. The second statement tries to contextualize the greater societal fear and anger as being far beyond extremism. It often winds up propagating an unintended narrative of a Muslim community as that source for those feelings. It unwittingly persists in urging the idea that the greater Muslim populace by nature has an attachment to the violence that is perpetrated by extremists. While the third suggests that education alone will solve extremism oversimplifies the multi-dimensional roots of violence-poverty, social injustice, political disenfranchisement. These risks portraying those affected as simply needing an education rather than pointing to the path of struggle against the deep systemic evils. The statement prioritizes security interests over humanitarian concerns. This indicates that the U.S. response will be influenced by a sense of threat rather than a compassionate approach to addressing the root causes of extremism. This negative-other representation may overshadow the experiences of individuals affected by violence, reinforcing narratives of hostility instead of promoting understanding.

1.2 - Presupposition

From the very beginning, Obama presupposes that the relationship between the US and Muslims is not in good terms by saying,

(37) A)-"The first issue that we have to confront is violent extremism in all of its forms." (p)

B)- There is violent extremism and we have to confront it (both American and Muslim countries). (q)

The word *"confront"* triggers that there is a dangerous extremism that America and Muslims should confront together. Here, he draws a positive representation of America and moderate Muslims and gives Negative-Other representation of extremism.

1.3- Pronouns

38) They have killed in many countries. They have killed people of different faiths – more than any other, they have killed Muslims. Their actions are irreconcilable with the rights of human beings, the progress of nations, and with Islam.

Here, the pronoun "they" is used to refer to extremists who pose a grave threat to security and engage in violent actions. By using "they" in this context, President Obama creates a clear distinction between the extremists and the broader Muslim communities, emphasizing the need to isolate and reject those who promote violence and extremism.

In conclusion, President Obama's speech in Cairo is a significant diplomatic effort to address the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and broader issues in the Middle East. Through a combination of historical context, moral reasoning, and calls for mutual understanding, and the skillful use of the argumentative strategies, Obama navigates the complexities of the conflict with a balanced and empathetic approach.

5- Analysis of Trump's Speech
Positive- Self representation:
2.1Argumentation:

Trump employs a few argumentative strategies to give his advanced propositions some credibility. His patterns contain three types of argumentation patterns: simple, multiple and coordinative.

(39)Simple --- Your father would be so proud to see that you are continuing his legacy

(40)Simple…. I stand before you as a representative of the American people to deliver
          a message of friendship and hope.

(41)Multiple--- We are here to offer partnership—based on shared interests and values – to pursue a better future for us all.

(42)Coordinative – The Middle East is rich with natural beauty, vibrant cultures, and
          massive amounts of historic treasures.

Though the tone in the first is more personal, directed toward an individual, there is a positive connotation associated with the continuation of legacy. It means to refer to pride in values and achievements from the past, trying to mean that this individual is contributing positively to a larger narrative. The second example is an example of positive self-representation using the first pronoun (I). While the third example explains the positive

other representation because it is expressed by the use of the inclusive pronoun "we," hence laying emphasis on cooperation. There is a message of hope and struggle toward a better future, promoting common interests and values that allow for the building of a sense of community and business partnership. While the fourth example highlights the positive attributes of the region, such as beauty, richness in culture, and historical importance, promoting pride and a feeling of appreciation toward what it has given to the world.

As shown in the examples above, Trump uses different types of argumentation for the sake of persuasion as Trump depends on how Middle East is a great area with natural beauty and historic treasure. Adding to that, Trump uses the argumentation effectively to ease the international communication between US and the Middle East by saying they share values and interests and to appraise the father of king Soliman and his people. In the above examples, Trump shows the positive representation of self as a president in extract 39 offering friendship and hope. While in the other examples, he reveals the positive other representation of the Muslim people.

2.2 Topoi:
1)-The Topos of Advantages and Usefulness:

(43) A new spirit of optimism is sweeping our country: in just a few months, we have created a million new jobs, added over 3 trillion dollars of new value.
(44) We lifted the burdens on American industry, and made record investments in our military that will protect the safety of our people and enhance the security of our wonderful friends and allies—many of whom are here today.
(45) We signed historic agreements with the Kingdom that will invest almost $400 billion in our two countries and create many thousands of jobs in America and Saudi Arabia.

> Trump states how he adds positive effect on America and the Islamic world. He brings up many jobs to the American people and develops America's industry. Also, he amplifies the safety and the security among his people as well as the Muslim world. In addition, he offers a lot of jobs and investments by signing a contract between America and Saudi Arabia.

2) - Topos of Reality:
(46) "We must seek partners, not perfection- and to make allies of all who share our goals. Above all, America seeks peace-not war."
In this quote, Trump highlights the importance of seeking practical partnership based on shared goals rather than seeking the unsustainable perfection. By stressing prioritizing peace over war, he appeals to a pragmatic approach to international relations and conflict and conflict resolutions. This reflects the topos of reality by acknowledging the complexities of global challenges and the need for achievable solutions.

3- Topos of Authority:

(47) America is prepared to stand with you- in pursuit of shared interests and common security.

(48)- You also hosted me in the treasured home of King Abdulaziz, the founder of the kingdom who united great people.

(49)- Working alongside another beloved leader—American President Franklin Roosvelt—King Abdulaziz began the enduring partnership between our two countries.

Trump understands that the authority lies within him and that there is no need to mention any other name for that based on his character traits as a president. During the speech, he strengthens his authority by citing historical figures like King Abdulaziz and Franklin D. Roosevelt, emphasizing their importance and the long- lasting alliance between their countries.

1.3 The use of presuppositions:

The use of presupposition as a convincing tool in discourse analysis stresses the value of context to accommodate presuppositions. Here are examples from the speech:

Here are some examples:

(50)- a-Historic gathering is a symbol to the world of our shared resolve and our mutual respect. (p) (Existential Presupposition)

b-America and the Arab countries have shared resolve and respect. (q)

(51) a-These are the blessing of prosperity and peace. These are the desires that burn with a righteous flame in every human heart and these are the just demands of our beloved people. (p) (Existential Presupposition)

b- The utterance presupposes that America and the Islamic countries are in peace and beloved relations. (q)

2.3 The Use of Pronouns:

(52)I stand before you as a representative of the American people, to deliver a message of friendship and hope.

(53)We are not here to lecture… . Instead, we are here to offer partnership—based on shared interests and values to pursue ap better future for us all.

The frequent use of the pronoun "I" highlights the personal power and leadership of Trump when he makes proclamations, pronouncements, and promises. It presents him as the principal voice and decision-maker for the US. In addressing global challenges, Trump highlights inclusivity and collaboration by utilizing "we" pronouns. It proposes a cooperative strategy in which US and Muslim countries collaborate to achieve shared goals while encouraging a spirit of collaboration and support amongst them.

The use of the first-person pronoun "I" and "we" by Trump more than the third person pronoun

is an attempt to create a personal connection with the audience, highlighting his direct involvement and dedication to the issues discussed. The use of these first- person pronouns convey a sense of leadership and responsibility, positioning President Trump and the United States as actively involved in addressing the challenges and opportunities presented at the summit. Additionally, he emphasizes collaboration between the US and Muslims rather than focusing on the conflict between one another. Donald Trump also uses the second-person pronoun "you" to directly engage with the audience. This choice highlighted his connection and communication with the leaders and citizens of the countries he was addressing, fostering a sense of partnership and solidarity.

Negative- Other representation:
1- Argumentation
1.1 Structure of Argumentation:
A-Single argumentation:
(54) Terrorists do not worship god, they worship death

In this argument, Trump tries to convince the audience why all countries should ally together to eliminate terrorism. He mentions the first premise which is that they are addicted to death and there is an implied premise of the horror actions that they did to the world.

B- Coordinative argumentation

(55) But this future can only be achieved through defeating terrorism and the ideology that drives it… America has suffered repeated barbaric attacks—from the atrocities of September 11th to the devastation of the Boston Bombing, to the horrible killing in San Bernardino and Orlando.

The quote stresses the requirement for eliminating terrorism and its ideology in order to secure a peaceful future. President Trump supports the negative effects of terrorism in America by referring to a number of previous terrorist attacks that occurred in America, such as September 11th, the Boston Bombing, San Bernardino, and Orlando, in order to support his argument regarding the need for defeating terrorism by nations.

C- Multiple argumentation

(56)" If we do not act against this organized terror, then we know what will happen. Terrorism's devastation of life will continue to spread. Peaceful societies will become engulfed by violence. And the futures of many generations will be sadly squandered"

President Trump advocates for practical counterterrorism measures, appealing to countries to unite, cooperate, and execute tactics to combat transnational terrorism and he clarifies why nations should act against it as violence will eventually overtake peaceful cultures as a result of it, many generations' future will be lost and there will be a huge spread of terrorism.

1.2- Topoi

1.Topos of Threat:

(57)America has suffered repeated barbaric attacks—from the atrocities of September 11th to the devastation of the Boston Bombing, to the horrible killing in San Bernardino and Orlando.

58) We now face a humanitarian and security disaster in this region that is spreading across the planet. It is a tragedy of epic proportions. No description of the suffering and depravity can begin to capture its full measure.

The topos of threat is evident in Trump's focus on the dangers of terrorism and extremism. He emphasizes the impact of terrorism globally, highlighting specific incidents in the United States, Europe, Africa, South America etc... by describing terrorism as a "humanitarian and security disaster "with a "devastating reach". Trump frames it as a significant and urgent threat. The language used as "barbaric attacks, unspeakable horror and vile creed" contributes to portraying terrorism as a menace that needs to be confronted collectively.

2- Topos of Humanitrianism

59) The deadliest toll has been exacted on the innocent people of Arab, Muslim and Middle Eastern nations.

This statement highlights the suffering of these communities while implicitly contrasting them with the perpetrators of violence, who are often portrayed as outsiders or enemies. Here, Trump tries to show the bad effect of terrorism and extremism (negative other representation).

3.Topos of Reality

60). We now face a humanitarian and security disaster in this region that is spreading across the planet. It is a tragedy of epic proportions. No description of the suffering and depravity can begin to capture its full measure.

This example recalls the immense damage caused by terrorism, calling it a global tragedy of enormous proportions. It calls for urgent action on the humanitarian and security crisis in the

region, resisting the destruction caused by terrorist groups against civilians and future generations.

4-Topos of Responsibility

61) "Every country in the region has an absolute duty to ensure that terrorists find no sanctuary on their soil."
In this statement, Trump highlights the power and duty that each nation in the area possesses to make sure that terrorists are prevented from finding refuge inside their borders. Invoking the topos of power, Trump frames this as an "absolute duty," stating that nations have a moral and practical imperative to take decisive action against terrorism. This emphasizes the notion that power carries responsibility and stresses the value of teamwork in thwarting threats to the region's security and stability.

1.2 The use of presupposition
(62)   a-We must strip them (the terrorists) of their access to funds. (p)
    b- Terrorists exist. (q)
      c-p>>q   p presupposes q   (Existential presupposition)
(63)   a-if we do not act against this organized terrorist, then we know what will
        happen. (p)
     b- the word (know) presupposes the realizing of what will happen of serious danger if they do not face terrorism and the terrible consequences that will face not only America or Muslims, but the whole world . (q) (Factual Presupposition)
        c-p>> q   p presupposes q.
Through all presuppositions of Positive -Self representation and Negative – Other representation, Trump focuses on the idea that "America is not in enmity with the Muslim world". On the contrary, Americans and the Muslim world share a lot of things throughout history, but he is against the terrible terrorism in the Muslim world and how they must unite and fight terrorism. Facing terrorism is the actual ideology he wants to reach the Muslim community.

1.3 Pronouns:
 (64) They have borne the brunt of killings and the worst of the destruction in this wave of fanatical violence.
(65) Terrorists do not worship god, they worship death.
Trump employs the personal pronouns *"they"* to make himself and the other members of the United Nations feel less responsible for the conduct of other groups and to condemn their cruel deeds and actions.

6. Discussion and Conclusion

Concerning argumentation, both Obama and Trump use argumentation in a skillful way, Trump depends more on coordinative argumentation to reach his standpoint as mentioned in extract (42). On the other hand, Obama depends more on complex argumentation. As for Topoi, Obama depends more on the Topos of Usefulness and authority rather than threat and danger as stated in extract (5). His argumentation is more towards the Positive self-representation and solution rather than on making Other negative-representation. On the other hand, Trump starts by Positive self- representation as stated in extracts (42,43,44,45) and after that, he focuses on the danger and getting rid of terrorism and extremism as mentioned in extracts (54,55,56,57). Both of Obama and Trump assure the good reputation of Islam and its great history and that America stands aside with Muslims in confronting extremism. What distinguishes Trump's from Obama's speech is that Trump focuses on Islamist extremism and does not mention any other extremism around the world "That means honestly confronting the crisis of Islamist extremism and the Islamist terror groups it inspires". On the other side, Obama speaks neutrally about extremism around the world

Regarding Presuppositions, Obama depends mainly on Factive presupposition while Trump relies on Existential presupposition in reaching out his ideology. The use of linguistic presupposition in speech helps to create common ground, effectively frame issues, generate urgency, encourage action, and build credibility. These elements work together to strengthen the overall impact of the message and cultivate a sense of unity among the audience. Both of the presidents succeed to represent positive self and other representation through abstracts (19,20,49,50) and show negative other representations through extracts (37,62,63)

As the study shows, Obama mentions the word Islam 18 times, the word Muslims 19 times, extremism 2 times. He always assures the Positive Self- representation of the US and the Muslim world as shown in extracts 5,9,10,12,20. On the other hand, Trump uses the word Muslims three times, Islamist Extremism 2 times, terrorists 11 times, terrorism 8 times and extremism 4 times. Also, Trump stresses the danger of terrorism and how to face and attack it; that is why, he repeats the concept many times with bad connotations. So, all over his speech, He stresses America and Muslim positive representation as mentioned in extracts (39,40,41,42,43,44,45,46), but negates the actions of terrorists and extremists (Negative Other-representation) as shown in extracts (54,55,56,57).

Regarding the use of pronouns, it is clear that Obama use the first pronoun(I) more than Trump does. Both of them use frequently the first pronoun (we) for the positive representation of self and the other. Also both Obama and Trump use the third pronoun (they) for the negative other representation of terrorism and extremism as shown in the previous analysis.

To conclude, the ideology behind these speeches revolve around combating extremism and terrorism, specifically in the Middle East. Both emphasize that terrorism does not represent any particular faith, sect, or civilization but rather represents a battle between Good

and Evil. Also, these speeches strongly condemn those who invoke the name of God falsely and assert that they do not reflect genuine religious beliefs.

The aim of the argumentation in these speeches is to foster unity and collaboration among Muslim-majority countries and the United States in the fight against terrorism. It calls for collective action to eliminate terrorists and extremists from communities, places of worship, and the entire Middle East region. The speeches underscore the importance of denying terrorists access to territory and funds, while promoting peace, security, and prosperity in the area.

Additionally, the speeches highlight the untapped potential of the Middle East, including its historical and cultural heritage as in extracts (4,9,10,42). They encourage nations to work together to eliminate terrorism and create opportunities for their citizens. Moreover, they acknowledge the significance of interfaith dialogue and cooperation as in extracts (12,40)

Overall, these speeches aim to inspire and rally nations towards a shared objective of eradicating extremism, fostering stability, and promoting peace and cooperation not only in the Middle East but also on a global scale.

To conclude, this study focuses on how language, argumentation and ideology could change people's mindset. It answers the question of how Obama and Trump use the linguistic, argumentative and ideological strategies to convince people to believe the idea that America and the Arab countries are on good terms and they should fight together against Islamic terrorism and extremism. This study further supports that argumentation, language and ideology are generally characterized by carefully selected linguistic expressions by speakers especially presidents or government elites to achieve a specific aim or objective and to have a specific kind of impact on listeners. The importance of the study is embedded in its findings, which may give insightful remarks into the nature of the argumentation and ideology impact on audience. Moreover, this study can be a good reference for discourse analysts who use van Dijk (2017)'s ideological square model adding to van Eemeren's argumentative patterns and its syntactic effect on language. The limitation of this current study is that it does not provide other speeches to compare between them ideologically due to the theme used.

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