



جمهورية العراق
وزارة التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي
جامعة بابل
كلية التربية للعلوم الانسانية
قسم اللغة الانكليزية

دراسة تداولية نقدية للتمكين و الاضعاف في المناظرات الرئاسية الامريكية

اطروحة تقدم بها

الى مجلس كلية التربية للعلوم الانسانية/جامعة بابل
وهي جزء من متطلبات نيل شهادة دكتوراه فلسفة في
اللغة الانجليزية وعلم اللغة

الطالب

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**A CRITICAL PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF
EMPOWERMENT
AND DISEMPOWERMENT IN AMERICAN
PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES**

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE COUNCIL OF THE COLLEGE
OF EDUCATION FOR HUMAN SCIENCES/UNIVERSITY OF
BABYLON IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTORATE OF PHILOSOPHY IN ENGLISH
LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS

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February 2027 A. D.

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الخلاصة

تتناول الدراسة الحالية تحليلاً عملياً نقدياً للتمكين والاضعاف كاستراتيجيات اجتماعية و تداولية تتجلى بصورة حاسمة من قبل المرشحين الأمريكيين وهم ترامب وكلينتون ورومني. و يهدف الخطاب التداولي المتمثل في تمكين وإضعاف خطاب الرؤساء الأمريكيين الى استخدام استراتيجيات القوة. حيث يتم طرح العديد من القضايا ذات الصلة. و تتعلق هذه المظاهر بمعايير التمكين ، وأشكاله واستراتيجياته الأيديولوجية ، والاستراتيجيات التداولية ، والآليات التداولية الحاسمة ، والعناصر الاجتماعية والثقافية التي يستخدمها المرشحون لتلقي التمكين والاضعاف في مجتمعات مختلفة في الولايات المتحدة ، وموضوعات أخرى و من أجل فهم أهدافها بصورة أفضل ، والتي تشمل تحديد المعايير اللغوية والأشكال والاستراتيجيات الأيديولوجية الأكثر انتشاراً ، والاستراتيجيات التداولية الأكثر بروزاً ، والأبعاد والمتغيرات الاجتماعية والثقافية ، والوظائف التداولية للتمكين والاضعاف، وأوجه التشابه والاختلاف بين المرشحين ، فان هذه الدراسة تهدف لتحليل البيانات من خلال نموذج الدراسة. و يمكن اتخاذ الخطوات التالية لتحقيق هذه الأهداف: مراجعة الدراسات السابقة حول أهمية التداولية. وضع التعاريف التشغيلية ؛ تحديد فكرة التمكين والاضعاف لدى الشعب الأمريكي ؛ ونموذج عملي لتحليل البيانات المختارة عشوائياً من المناظرات الرئاسية الأمريكية. ان هذا النموذج هو نموذج انتقائي قائم على كل من التداولية النقدية ونظريات الخطاب النقدي ، أي النظرية الجدلية التي وضعها "نورمان فيركلاف (١٩٩٢) ، والنظرية التاريخية لوداك (٢٠٠١) ، ونظرية فان دايك الاجتماعية المعرفي (١٩٩٥) ونظرية الممثل الاجتماعي لفان ليوين (١٩٩٦) ". اختار الباحث خمس مناظرات رئاسية حول "ترامب وكلينتون ٢٠١٦" و "رومني وأوباما ٢٠١٢". تقدم هذه الدراسة استنتاجات قابلة للتطبيق. يستخدم المرشحون الاستراتيجيات الأيديولوجية للتعبير عن التمكين والاضعاف؛ و تلعب التداولية دوراً رئيسياً في تفسير فعل التمكين وخطاب الاضعاف بشكل نقدي ؛ يستخدم المرشحون العوامل الاجتماعية والثقافية كما يتضح من مبادئ التهذيب وعدم التهذيب لتلقي الناس وتمكينهم / أو اضعاف قوتهم. تستخدم الدراسة النوعية الحالية نهجاً تداولياً نقدياً لتقييم الأدوات التداولية التي توضح مفهوم التمكين والاضعاف في المناظرات المذكورة أعلاه. كما يسعى إلى تحديد الأيديولوجيات المرتبطة بمفهوم التمكين والاضعاف ومقارنة نتائج كل مرشح. بعد إجراء دراسة عملية نقدية ، تبين أن جميع الادوات التداولية تساهم في بناء مفهوم التمكين او الاضعاف، ولكن بترددات مختلفة لكل مرشح ، مما قد يظهر أن كل مرشح يدرك ويطور المفهوم بشكل مختلف.

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﴿وَلَقَدْ مَكَّنَّاكُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ وَجَعَلْنَا لَكُمْ فِيهَا مَعَايِشَ قَلِيلًا مَّا تَشْكُرُونَ﴾

صدق الله العلي العظيم

(الاعراف: ١٠)

In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful

" It is We Who have placed you with authority on earth, and provided you therein with means for the fulfillment of your life: small are the thanks that ye give! "

Allah Almighty has told the truth

(Al-A'raf: 13)

(Ali, 1938: 151)

The Supervisor's Declaration

I certify that this dissertation (A CRITICAL PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF EMPOWERMENT AND DISEMPOWERMENT IN AMERICAN

PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES) written by Ahmed Ibrahim Abed has been prepared under my supervision at the College of Education for Human Sciences, University of Babylon, as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Philosophy of Doctorate in English Language and Linguistics.

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Dedication

To my Family

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

All praise and thanks are to Allah, the Lord of the worlds, for His favor upon me in completing this dissertation.

Foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Asst. Prof. Hussein Hameed Ma'ayuf (Ph.D.), firstly for suggesting the topic of dissertation, secondly for his invaluable advice and constructive suggestions all through the research.

I am extremely grateful to the professors of the Department of English, College of Education for Human Sciences , University of Babylon who taught me during the first year of my Ph.D. study: Prof. Dr. Riyadh Tariq Al-Ameedi, Prof. Dr. Hameed Hassoon Al-Mas'udi, Prof. Dr. Fareed Hamed Al-Hindawi, Prof. Dr. Salih Mahdi Adday, Asst. Prof. Dr. Hussein Hameed Ma'ayuf, Prof. Dr. Ahmed Sahib Mubarak, Prof. Dr. Qassim Obayes Al-Azzawy Prof. Dr. Qassim Abass Al-Tufeili and Prof. Dr. Razaq Naif Al-Shafa'ai. I am deeply grateful to all those, who provided me with important critical material required for this study.

This work would have never been completed without the unwavering support of my family. I am immeasurably grateful to my parents, wife, and whose love, patience, and endurance while conducting this work can hardly be overstated.

Abstract

The present study deals with a critical pragmatic analysis for empowerment and disempowerment as a social and pragmatic act that is critically manifested by the American candidates namely Trump, Clinton and Romney. It discusses the pragmatic discourse of empowering and disempowering speech by American Presidents and the use of the strategies of power. Several pertinent issues are brought up. These concerns relate to the criteria for defining empowerment, its ideological forms and strategies, pragmatic strategies, critical pragmatic mechanisms, sociocultural elements used by candidates to indoctrinate empowerment and disempowerment in various communities in the United States, and other topics. In order to better understand its objectives, which include identifying the most prevalent linguistic criteria, ideological forms and strategies, most outstanding pragmatic strategies, socio-cultural dimensions and variables, pragmatic functions of empowerment and disempowerment, and similarities and differences between the candidates, the study attempts to build a model. The following steps can be taken to accomplish these objectives: analyzing the literature on critical pragmatics; establishing operational definitions; outlining the idea of empowerment and disempowerment within the American people; and a practical model is made to analyze the data that is randomly chosen from the American presidential debates. This model is an eclectic model based on both critical pragmatics and critical discourse theories namely, dialectical approach by “Norman Fairclough (1992), Wodak’s Historical Approach (2001), Van Dijk’s Socio-cognitive Approach (1995) and Van Leeuwen’s Social Actor Approach”. The researcher selects five presidential debates of “*Trump and Clinton 2016*” and “*Romney and Obama 2012*”. This study presents applicable conclusions. Candidates use ideological strategies to convey empowerment and disempowerment; pragmatics plays a crucial role in interpreting the act of empowerment and disempowerment discourse critically; candidates use socio-

cultural factors as exemplified by the principles of politeness and impoliteness to indoctrinate and empower/or disempower people. The present qualitative and quantitative study employs a critical pragmatic approach to evaluate the critical pragmatic devices that reveal the concept of empowerment and disempowerment in the aforementioned debates. It also seeks to identify the ideologies associated with the concept of empowerment and disempowerment and compare the findings of each candidate. After conducting a critical pragmatic study, it is revealed that all pragmatic devices contribute to the construction of the concept of empowerment and disempowerment, but at different frequencies between candidates, which may show that each candidate perceives and develops the concept differently.

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List of Abbreviations

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CDS	Critical Discourse Studies
CP	Cooperative Principle
CPA	Critical Pragmatic Analysis
CPs	Critical Pragmatics
FCS	Felicity Conditions
FSA	Face Saving Act
FTA	Face threatening Act
P.P.	Politeness Principle
PCC	Propositional Content Conditions
S	Speaker
SA/s	Speech Act(s)
SAT	Speech Act Theory

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

1. Introductory Notes

This chapter provides the problem and its questions. Then, the aims and the hypotheses follow the questions. The subsequent sections are procedures of the study, limits and significance.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

New studies about the concept of power, for example, focus on expressions and aspects in discourse, especially in conversational settings. In this concern, power involves the influence in one's favor the forces that affect one's life area.

According to Fairclough (2001:38), the term "critical" is used to show how language, power, and ideology are related. Language, according to critical discourse analysts "Norman Fairclough," "Ruth Wodak, and Teun van Dijk, is a tool for social construction. It both shapes and is shaped by social processes. Ideologies are reproduced, legitimized, and naturalized as "acceptable" society standards through the use of discursive activities like texts and images.

The notion of power has been investigated from several perspectives. Fairclough (ibid), for instance, defines power as "strong players dominating and limiting the input of less powerful participants." Thomas and Wareing (1999: 10-11) assert that "power is a somewhat abstract term that has an enormously significant impact on our lives, and one way to observe power in action in society is through politics. Brockeriede (1971:313) provides an additional really valuable perspective on power. According to him, power is "the ability to exercise interpersonal influence" (Brockriede, 1971:313).

The idea of empowerment seems to be the result of a number of criticisms and discussions sparked by the international feminist movement. In this connection, Freire (1996:25) explores the idea of “empowerment”, for the first time, in his book *“Pedagogy of the Oppressed”*. Several academics who agree with him, particularly those who believe it to be a significant step for women's emancipation, followed him. It is described as a redistribution of power by Moser (1993). However, confusion around the idea of empowerment arises because the fundamental definition of "power" is up for debate. Power is viewed as a source of debate in social science. Some definitions place a strong emphasis on a person's ability to convince a person or group to act in a way that goes against their desires. Making judgments, engaging in conflict, using force, or having the ability to create friendships based on love, and legitimacy, among other things, are all examples of this kind of power (Rowland, 1997:1).

In the same stream, the aim is to examine the theoretical concept of empowerment and disempowerment. In this respect, Hasenfield (1987:65) defines “empowerment as the process by which clients acquire personal, organizational, and community resources that enable them to exert greater control over their environment and achieve their goals”. Power is related with concepts of domination and control. Instead of identifying power with control and dominance, sociolinguistics views it as a creative source of energy, and possibility for change, mostly in the service. In other words, empowerment is the ability or self-Esteem to make decisions in one's life.

In this concern, our social power or ideology may affect how we produce or understand language. Aspects of the discipline of critical pragmatics are relevant to every speech act performed in an impolite form as opposed to a polite form. Despite the fact that Morris (1938) defines pragmatics as the study of the relationship between utterances and their users; it has been one of the earliest

paradigms to link language with context which views language as an activity. It fits easily into “critical” and “social” “discourse studies”. These are represented in critical pragmatic studies, pragmatic concepts and their application to important problems.

Mey (2001: 320) believes that a critical study of how language functions in society is required in order to comprehend its applications. Language usage inherently refers to it as linguistic variants and sociocultural characteristics. Pragmatics, socially conducted, must assist us in recognizing social injustice, inequality, and prejudice so we can fight to eliminate them (ibid: 321). Criticality relates to the attribution of authority to social groupings, whether at the production or interpretation level (Fairclough, 1989). In this view, language can be produced or interpreted in a potent or impotent manner. Power has been investigated as a social factor in the concept of politeness, along with distance and rank of imposition and power is a trait that people or their vocations are given depending on the situation ((Brown and Levinson, 1987: 79-83).

The current study falls within the realm of critical pragmatics in American Presidential Debates. In this concern, the researcher here tries to deal with the criticality of pragmatic analysis of empowerment and disempowerment in the context of American Presidential Debates . To the best of the researcher's knowledge, no prior research has been done to look at how the idea of empowerment and disempowerment is expressed linguistically in American debates. By investigating how the idea of empowerment and disempowerment is constructed using the framework of critical Pragmatics, this study considerably contributes to the literature of linguistics in general and of critical studies in particular. The problem of this study will be posed as the following questions:

1. What is the critical pragmatic structure of analysis in the context of American Presidential Debates?
2. How is empowerment of the individual constituted by the empowerment of others in meaningful relationship to them?
3. How is language of power produced, re-produced, distributed and abused in the American Presidential Debates?
4. What are the most common motivations that trigger people to start their empowerment or disempowerment?
5. What are the most common pragmatic strategies that are used to represent empowerment?
6. What are the pragmatic strategies used in showing the implication of empowerment and disempowerment in the context of American Presidential Debates?
7. How are person's relationships with others influenced by their own characteristics?

1.2 Aims of the Study

This study aims at:

1. Reviewing the literature about the realm of critical pragmatics, its definition, related theories, etc.
2. Presenting the theoretical tools of empowerment and disempowerment in the context of American Presidential Debates?
3. Investigating the use of powerful language and the specifying the distribution of power between the candidates in the American Presidential Debates.

4. Finding out the depth and breadth of the motivations of empowerment and disempowerment employed by American Presidential Debates and how their discourse takes ideological perspectives to establish power.
5. Uncovering the most frequently used pragmatic strategies processes of empowerment and disempowerment in the language of American Presidential Debates.
6. Determining the pragmatic strategies used in showing the implication of empowerment and disempowerment in the context of American Presidential Debates.
7. Discovering the relationship of people concerning the issue of empowerment or disempowerment.

1. 3 Hypotheses of the Study

The study hypothesizes the following:

1. The pragmatic strategies that are utilized for expressing empowerment and disempowerment are not similar in each extract.
2. Impolite expressions are strategies used to disempower people in the American presidential debates.
3. Pragmatic theories are used to show the implication of empowerment in the context of American Presidential Debates.
4. The most prevalent strategies for empowerment and disempowerment in the American presidential debates are the enhancement and suppression.
5. The most common pragmatic strategies to represent empowerment are speech act and politeness.

1. 4 Procedures of the Study

The procedures followed in this study include the following:

1. Surveying the literature of the realm of critical pragmatics.

2. Investigating the literature of the language of empowerment and disempowerment in the American Presidential Debates.
3. Making a revision of the language of the American Presidential Debates.
4. Surveying the theory of criticality and its importance.
5. Formalizing an eclectic model based on both critical pragmatics and critical discourse theories. In this study, dialectical approach by “Norman Fairclough (1992), Wodak’s Historical Approach (2001), Van Dijk’s Socio-cognitive Approach (1995) and Van Leeuwen’s Social Actor Approach” are adopted. The data for the study are confined to extracts taken from American Presidential Debates, which are anchored on critical pragmatic theory.
6. Analyzing certain presidential speeches of the American Debates according to the model adopted by the researcher quantitatively-qualitatively approach.
7. Discussing the results of the analysis to reach out the suitable conclusions, findings of the analysis, and supporting the findings of the pragmatic analysis.

1.5 Limits of the Study

The language of empowerment and disempowerment is widely represented in the society. It is highly used in political speeches to represent taking a control or mastering the situation or the contrary. In this term, the study tackles the empowerment and disempowerment from critical pragmatic analysis.

The present study will be limited to the American Presidential Debates that are considered as written texts. Trump, in particular is chosen to represent the data because he a controversial character, and the other nominee namely, Clinton and Romney in their electoral campaigns 2012-2016. These debates are collected randomly. In this concern, Thirty extracts have been chosen randomly. Moreover,

the model adopted is an eclectic one utilizing the critical pragmatic theories in accordance with critical theories.

1. 6 Value of the Study

The current study will be of a great value to those who are interested in linguistics in general and pragmatics in particular. It is hoped that this study will supply linguists, specialists in critical pragmatics and students with a valuable theoretical and practical information about the pragmatic study of empowerment and disempowerment.

Chapter Two

Literature Review and Previous Studies

2. Introductory Notes

This chapter provides the literature review of five sections. These sections are part of this study: the first section deals with critical theory, the second section tackles pragmatism and the third one concerns empowerment and disempowerment.

2.1 Critical Theory

This study demonstrates that researchers and authors who write about critical theory employ a difficult and perplexing approach. Hence, critical theory is an expression with two separate meanings: one originates from sociology and the other from literary criticism (Sim and Loon, 2005: 80). The first falls within the scope of this study. Critical theory refers to a school of thought that is originated in Frankfurt, Germany between 1929/1930 and the present day, including multiple historical periods and generations (Bohman, 2016: 1). In this regard, any philosophical approach with close practical goals, such as feminism, post-colonialism, and critical race theory, is referred to as critical theory (ibid).

The Frankfurt school identifies three unique theses for critical theories: they have a specific position as a guide to human activity, they have cognitive substance (i.e., they are forms of knowledge), and they are reflective. As a philosophical endeavor, its primary interest is the critical evaluation and analysis of society and culture based on humanities and social science knowledge (Geuss, 1981: 3). In terms of Horkheimer (2002: 244), a theory is significant if it tries to "liberate human beings from conditions that enslave them".

Society is the focus of critical theory, which supposedly originates from "Marx's" work and is described in the critique of ideology (Geuss, 1981: 3). For How (2003:3), constitutional assertion deals with the origins of the current and future state of affairs. Meanwhile, Critical theory's core promise is to justify and explain how to contribute to the moral and ethical development of society, accordingly, critical theory must take into account the progress of social morality and ethics (Leist, 2008: 1).

Fraser (2003: 245) adds that the objective of the critical theory of society is to incorporate the social sciences into philosophy. Nonetheless, numerous fields of study can be merged into critical studies due to their shared interests in sociology, anthropology, psychology, literary theory, political sciences, ethnography, history, etc. (Bloor and Bloor, 2013: 2). Numerous specialists, including historians, lawyers, legislators, educators, and medical professionals, are increasingly fascinated by the study of social issues relevant to their fields of expertise. They achieve this through discourse studies and critical studies (ibid). Consequently, the critical approach and the language disciplines that fall under its umbrella have been highlighted. The different methods to language study, such as linguistics, sociolinguistics, pragmatics, conversation, and discourse analysis, lack such an investigative perspective.

2.1. 1 Critical Studies

When applying critical analysis in discourse studies, we get Critical Linguistics. This area of investigation, which can be traced back to Roger Fowler in the 1970s, aims to understand texts based on linguistic analysis (Simpson, 1993: p.4). Crystal, in the same perspective, (2003, 117), shows that the field of linguistics investigates the hidden ideologies and power structures in any given

text. Thus, critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) is an important approach to critical studies. It is the study of "the relationship between discourse events and sociopolitical and cultural elements" as well as "how discourses ideologically influence and are influenced by power relations in societies" (Crystal, 2003: 118). A discourse analyst focuses on phonological, grammatical, and semantic elements of language to identify linguistic regularities. A discourse analyst is primarily concerned with discourse relations and linkages that exist between the linguistic constituents itself (ibid: 141). However, some researchers question CDA's limitations.

Widdowson (2004: 173) notes in his book *Text, Context, and Pretext* the lack of systematic analysis in CDA work. He thinks that critical discourse analysts to be "lackadaisical academics." They must acquire a methodology. In terms of critical analysis, they are considered activists, but in terms of discourse analysis, they are academics. In this aspect, this complaint cannot be generalized to the entire CDA. In the same stream, another critique is that "CDA compresses semantics and pragmatics" since pragmatics is reduced to semantics because "a text's function is determined from its meaning"(Blommaert, 2005: 33). Neglecting the entirety of contexts is a key critique of the critical discourse method in socially relevant types of language analysis. In this regard, Wodak (2007: 204) emphasizes that the context-dependency and indirectness that characterize traces of ideologies in discourse are crucial factors for the integration of an interdisciplinary theory and methodology that combines pragmatics, CDA, cognition, history, and political science, among other disciplines.

One of the drawbacks of the CDA is that it neglects the function of the receiver or reader in the interpretation analysis while demystifying the ideological elements of discourse (Hart, 2010: 4). It is asserted that cognitive linguistics can

inform critical studies, yet critical discourse studies that have grown due to critical linguistics have utterly missed this point (Hart, 2010: 6). The pragmatic paradigm has relationships with cognitive elements. Therefore, the pragmatic viewpoint must be incorporated into the critical effort.

Hence, Verschueren (1999: 78) expresses his perspective regarding the type of CDA proposed by Fairclough (2012). His criticism may be applied to other CDA paradigm models. Using examples from Fairclough's work, he concludes that all context-related elements should be incorporated into the analysis because they enhance understanding and improve critical reflections (ibid.). As Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 67) write, "CDA does not endorse a specific interpretation of a text, but it may endorse a particular explanation." Verschueren (1999:80) asserts that context, along with "any element of a speech event," contributes to the processes of meaning production.

Fairclough (2013: vii) argues that sociolinguistics, conversational analysis, and pragmatics must actively interact with political and social questions of power and hegemony and link the micro to the macro in their descriptions of language and its usage. In this regard, van Dijk (2001: 352) indicates that critical viewpoints can be combined with those of other disciplines, including pragmatics, stylistics, rhetoric, and sociolinguistics, among others. This is why the critical perspective has been welcomed into pragmatics.

2.1.2 CDA

CDA has been on the search for new linguistics-related fields and professions in recent years as a means of addressing unresolved issues. Additionally, the models of discourse analysis (DA) and CDA are developed in order to supply an interdisciplinary model in which different parts of discourse methodology are related with other disciplines that are relevant to CDA in some way (Wodak and

Chilton , 2005: XI).Consequently, they emphasize the idea that discourse is an interdisciplinary subfield with numerous disciplines, pragmatics being the most prominent (Wodak and Chilton , 2005: XI).

This section provides a brief overview of CDA's fundamental principles, goals, relationship to ideology, and most practical models, including “Fairclough's dialectical approach, Wodak's discourse historical approach, van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach, and van Leeuwen's social actor approach”, in order to connect CDA to other disciplines.

Depending on the paradigm they employ, diverse approaches have generated a range of CDA definitions. Fairclough (1993: 134) describes a CDA as the "interaction between discursive practices, events, and texts; and socio-cultural processes," or what "causes and determines" these connections. In his concept of CDA, van Dijk (1997: 3) emphasizes the reproduction of specific social situations by highlighting the sources of power, domination, prejudice, and social inequality. As for Van Leeuwen (2006: 290), a CDA is crucial to the application of several linguistic schools. He draws significantly from systemic functional grammar, which asserts that language serves the ideational, interpersonal, and textual purposes (Halliday, 1997: 33).

Follower et al. (1979: 185) provide a novel way to linguistics that combines the hidden derivations of language usage with contextual elements for accurate interpretation. The primary method utilized by the critical linguistics school is providing critical commentary on a specific dialogue at multiple levels of micro and macro linguistic devices. In terms of "critical", it is derived from the Marxist-influenced Frankfurt School of Philosophy. In this instance, it refers to the interpretive and explanatory part, which is contingent upon the language analysis of the entire scenario. Although CDA has been tried and explored by multiple practitioners, resulting in conflicts and the development of various ways, there are

basic tenets on which the vast majority of these practitioners agree, and this study seeks to disclose those meanings (van Dijk, 2003: 353). These are exemplified by studies of hegemony, power, and social issues via the lenses of discourse, analysis and explanations of written and spoken language, and discussions of social actions (ibid). As a result, Ramanathan and Hoon (2014: 58) provide a summary of the central goals of CDA. Since CDA's inception, four theories have offered and proposed models for assessing text using CDA tools, each of which makes an attempt to produce a holistic portrait of discourse as a social practice.

2.1.2.1. Dialectical Approach

This approach is presented by Fairclough (1992: 11), who argues that the interaction between discourse and society is dialectical and reveals the connection between language and society. Fairclough links language and other social activities by adhering to Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar and Functionalism in general, in accordance with the Marxist principles of power, authority, and hegemony. Other theorists such as Foucault, whose concentration is on discourse, and Gramsci, under the subject of hegemony, bring Fairclough's approach, the essence of which is "the link between discourse and other parts of social practices is a dialectical one" (1992: 13). In other words, there is a dialectical relationship between language as a social activity and other factors such as sectarianism, racism, and power. Such manifestations suggest that language is greatly influenced by society.

Fairclough (1989: 26) presents three levels to examine discourse in accordance with this approach:

- a. Text (spoken or written) with semiotics employed as necessary.
- b. Discourse practice refers to the production of text as a social activity, since it is a practice with a sensitivity to society.

c. Sociocultural practice is used to identify the cultural and social norms that are especially relevant to language use.

Regarding the formal qualities and levels of language, this approach establishes three levels of analysis (Fairclough, 2010: 136):

a. Description describes the use of linguistic structures as well as their roles inside and beyond the text.

b. Interpretation establishes the link between the text and other social practices (ideologies). These additional social activities have a significant impact on the text (ibid):

c. Explanation refers to the relationship between language and society; it indicates the aim of employing language under certain social consequences related to a specific culture, such as utilizing a particular level of language in a religious context to express sectarian ideology (ibid):

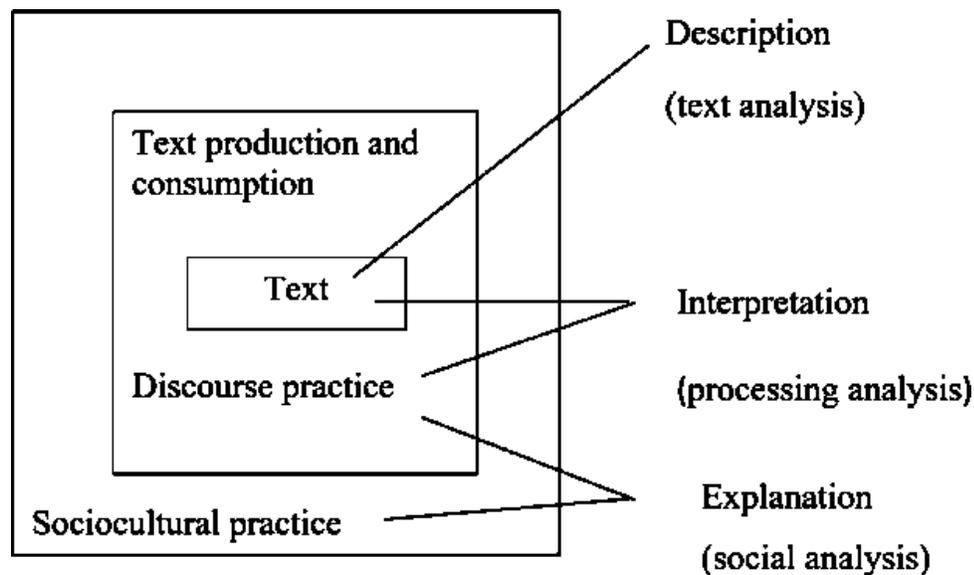


Figure (1) Fairclough's Three-Dimensional View of Discourse

(Adopted from Fairclough, 2001)

2.1.2.2. Discourse Historical Approach

Based on Fairclough's (1989) conceptions of CDA, Wodak (1997) adds the historical aspect to her model in the sense that historical manifestations of the provided discourse are one of the contextual cues for CDA. This approach's primary argument can be summed up in terms of the diachronic features of speech, utilizing the dialectical relationship between society and discourse as argued by Wodak (1997). Certain CDA qualities are incorporated in this approach in order to investigate discourse from a holistic standpoint. As such, Wodak (2009: 94-96) lists these characteristics, including:

- a) The inter-disciplinarity of the discourse where it overlaps with many fields;
- b) Problem-oriented in that discourse always tries to sort out certain social problems;
- c) Discourse relies on many different theories to cover all the aspects of analysis;
- d) It is highly related to the ethnography of society;
- e) It moves back and forth between the theoretical accounts and empirical data.

To analyze discourse, Wodak and Meyer establish three dimensions (ibid: 34) that are represented by the topics or contents, i.e., the ideologies used such as racism, sectarianism, ethnics, etc.; the discursive strategies such as in/out-group strategies; and the linguistic constructions that convey the first two dimensions, such as the syntactic, phonological, and semantic constructions Wodak and Meyer, 2009b: 34)

In conclusion, the historical element is vital to CDA in the sense that, according to Wodak (2009: 89), it is one of the pillars of CDA that serves the text and its background environment. The discourse is tied to all that is occurring or has occurred.

2.1.2.3. Socio-cognitive Approach

Van Dijk (2001: 379), one of the CDA's pioneers, is famous with introducing this approach along with others that are regarded as complementary. This approach's central point is that the relationship between language and society is not dialectical; rather, cognition is the intermediary between the two extremes: language and society (Van Dijk, 2001: 380). This is the most important reason for employing the socio-cognitive approach, which is defined as socially shared representations, indicating that certain social groups with shared cultural norms (Van Dijk ,2009: 65) share particular mental processes.

As such, social practices are represented in the mind; hence, different social practices have their own mental representations. This type of social cognitive enterprise can connect the social system to the individual system because it deals with the social system via individual representations of cognitive features whose foundations are social (ibid).

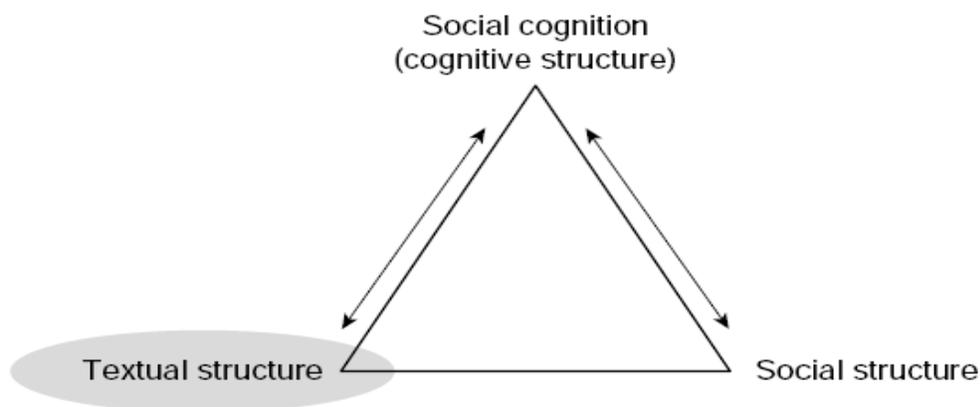


Figure (2) : Van Dijk's Textual-Cognitive-Social Triangle

(adopted from Hart, 2010:15)

Based on psychological concepts, van Dijk (1995: 4) divides the social cognition system into two forms of social memory: short-term (words and structures in mind) and long-term (connected to discourse), which includes

episodic memory, which stores personal experiences. Although van Dijk's approaches of CDA from a variety of perspectives, he emphasizes the classification of discourse into micro and macro discourse as the overarching characteristic. Micro, on the one hand, refers to the main disciplines of linguistics, such as phonology, syntax, and semantics, in accordance with Wodak's subjects and contents, as well as everything pertinent to the text. On the other hand, macro refers to all characteristics associated with societal and cultural features. Regarding CDA, the two most significant models are presented:

The first consists of six steps used in the process of analysis as classified by Meyer (2001: 26), beginning with the analysis of semantic topics and propositions (macro-propositions); analyzing indirect/implicit meaning such as implicature, presupposition, allusions, vagueness, omissions, polarizations, etc.; the linguistic significant markers; the global and local discourse analysis; analyzing special linguistic realizations; and finally, analyzing contingency.

The second type is known as the ideological squares, in which speakers transmit their views by emphasizing what is relevant to them and critiquing everything else. In the same stream, van Dijk (2009: 70) introduces two significant terms: representations of "we" and "others." We, us, and us are used to indicate positivity in speech in the sense that the speaker adopts his or her own philosophy. On the other hand, 'otherness,' 'youness,' and 'yourness' all indicate the negative characteristics that the speaker opposes, i.e., those who do not adhere to his ideology.

2.1.2.4. Social Actor Approach

This strategy is presented by Van Leeuwen (1993: 30). Based on this perspective, the social factor (the agent in the formal classification of the sentence is not only taken at the formal level but also at the functional level in society).

Following Bernstein's created word of re-contextualization, which is described as removing some elements of speech from the main context and placing them in a different context to suit other implicatures and ideologies, a core concept of this approach is re-contextualization (Baker and Ellece, 2011: 136).

This factor is distinguished by two essential characteristics: its inclusion and/or exclusion. Extending these two concepts, when a social actor is excluded, he or she is ideologically assaulted and out-grouped. When the actor is included, however, it indicates that this object exists and is in-group. Thus, it is indirectly analogous to what van Dijk (1995: 17) established with his ideological squares; the whiteness and otherness concepts.

As articulated by Van Leeuwen (2008: 4-16), the concept of inclusion is accomplished through the following strategies:

- a. Activation/passivation refers to the use of active or passive voice to include members of particular groups.
- b. To generalize or specify in support of the speaker's chosen ideology is to generalize or specify.
- c. Individualization/assimilation emphasizes the importance of speaking of oneself or a group for the sake of integration.
- d. Association/disassociation can relate to either the group's portrayal as associated within one ideology, such as a particular religious or political group, or the group's separation as individuals within one another.
- e. Indetermination/differentiation refers to the homogeneity or diversity of social actors based on their respective beliefs.
- f. Nomination/categorization refers to the distinguishing characteristics of social actors or their shared characteristics that categorize them.
- g. Functionalization/identification can be utilized based on what social actors do or are.

- h. Personalization/impersonalization refers to the property of possessing human characteristics or not, a factor that can serve as a source of criticality in discourse.

Using these strategies, participants [social actors] can crucially implicate what they seek to transmit by incorporating themselves (Wodak, 2000: 186). Nonetheless, for the same reason stated previously, social actors employ two tactics to exclude others from the worldview they wish to express. The following are examples (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 20-4):

- a. Radical suppression denotes the entire elimination of anything related to the language and acts of social actors.
- b. Contextualization links the exclusion of social actors to specific evidence of exclusion. In other words, this viewpoint is less extreme than the previous one.

2.1.3 Basic Concepts in Critical Works

Concerning stance, critique, power, dominance and even reproduction, they are indispensable in critical works (Wodak, 2007: p.209). Such terms are presented in the following subsections:

2.1.3.1 Stance

According to Wodak (1989:xvi), researchers and analysts are compelled to take sides. As van Dijk (2001: 352) argues, an explicit position must be taken by the analyst; this is a central and intrinsic theme of the critical process. Originally, stance was defined as "a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects with respect to any significant dimension of the sociocultural field" (Du Bois, 2007: 163). Analysts represent their values and their community in this manner (Bloor and Bloor, 2013:

49). In a similar spirit, Johnston (2008) asserts that posture (or, more precisely, stance-taking) involves a comparison to a standard.

Du Bois (2007: 124) asserts that appraisal is the most significant form of stance-taking. He provides two examples: "I am pleased" and "I am uncertain" (ibid.: 143). These examples illustrate indexing an effective stance and an epistemic stance, respectively.

Baynham (2011: 70) states that the literature on stance is considerable since it has been the subject of persistent study interest for nearly two decades. As for Vandergriff (2012, 57), stance identifies one's orientation: when you analyze something (the stance object) in order to align yourself with a particular point of view, you have a particular stance or positioning. One argument is that one can comprehend a particular perspective by inferring the significance and influence of social activities as a result of taking a stance.

Both text creators and text interpreters acquire a stance. Speakers and authors have their own stance with regard to the claims they make (Bloor and Bloor, 2013: 33). What individuals produce to be realized verbally or conceptually reflects their points of view (such as uncertainty, friendliness, or impotence), attitudes, social identity representations, or ideologies (ibid: 47). Similarly, critical analysts must be conscious of their own position in relation to the object of analysis (ibid). It appears that their perspectives, attitudes, and beliefs influence how individuals interpret or comprehend dialogue. Prior to engaging in any dialogue, critical analysts must recognize the perspective to which they adhere. This study demonstrates how racist ideology in conversation can be eradicated. Thus, it advocates the anti-racist ethical position.

2.1.3.2 Critique

The term critical might be misleading in critical works. It is typically associated with a critical evaluation. For example, "The chair of the board of governors is critical of the head teacher" indicates that the chair believes that the head of teachers is not effectively managing the school (Bloor and Bloor, 2013: 5). However, it is also employed in the sense of critique (ibid).

By the term critical, theorists allude to the concept of critique and not to simple criticism (How 2003: 4). Here, a critic's objections to particulars are grounded in their own unique experiences and values, but fail to address the object's deficiencies. Conversely, criticism is based on the assumption that there are reasons to support the situation. Therefore, criticism looks to reality to inform its assessments of what should be and could be. Therefore, critique is more than just criticism; it must be grounded in history and have the potential to improve one's outlook on life (ibid.).

According to Fairclough (1989: 5), the term "critical" is utilized to reveal hidden relationships, such as those between language, power, and ideology. As for Fairclough (2013: 28), he contrasts descriptive studies with critical ones, he defines critique as "basically making objects' interconnections obvious" (ibid.: 36). He associates critique with being critical. Bloor and Bloor (2013: 5) suggest that, in critical studies, critique means that the analysis can be directed at both positive and negative outcomes, such as in the works of the anti-racial discrimination movements of the 1960s. The term critique might refer to the Frankfurt paradigm, Marx's ideas, or literary criticism (Wodak, 2007:209). However, the notion can be interpreted as "having distance to the data, embodying the data in the social,

making the relevant political stance explicit, and focusing on self-reflection as research researchers" (ibid).

2.1.3.3 Power

Power is of interest to critical analysts, who typically examine the language use of the powerful or those responsible for social, political, and economic inequality. Thus, they emphasize how power is formed through language and sustained by the abuse of power by the dominant groups. Fairclough (2013: p.1) defines power as "asymmetries among actors in discourse events" and "unequal ability to regulate how texts are generated, circulated, and consumed."

According to Van Dijk (1996: 84), power is primarily described by relationships between social groups, institutions, and organizations. He focuses on the social power of groups or organizations as defined by control (van Dijk, 2001: 354). Language users participate in discourse as members of social groups, institutions, or organizations, therefore if one group can (more or less) influence the opinions and actions of another group's members, they may have (more or less) power (ibid: 355).

Social resources, such as money, fame, status, information, knowledge, and culture, form the basis of social power. Parental power is based on knowledge and authority, while military power is based on force. The wealthy have power because they own wealth (ibid.). It is crucial to keep in mind that "language does not acquire power by itself; rather, language acquires power through the use of powerful people" (Wodak, 2007: 209).

As "the structural sociocultural framework that permits and reproduces dominant group power," racism embodies power (van Dijk, 1989: p.220). The

exercise of power is facilitated by the ideological operations of language (Fairclough, 1989: 2). Whereas Fairclough (2013: 18), mentions that "ideology is linked to power and dominance." Several social characteristics, including race, age, gender, and educational background, are instrumental in the exercise of power within discourse (LoCastro, 2013: 211).

2.1.3.4 Dominance

Critical analysts are interested in how discourse develops and reproduces one group's social dominance over another (Wodak, 2001: 9). The relationship between power and domination is symbiotic. Other social activities such as delegitimization, discrimination, derogation, problematization, and marginalization, etc., are intrinsic to the definition of dominance (van Dijk, 2004: 59).

Dominance arises in economically mature cultures that employ complicated justifications for the unequal allocation of resources in order to preserve social hierarchies among groups (van Dijk, 1996: 85). Hegemony, according to Gramsci (1971) as cited by van Dijk, occurs when the power of a dominant group becomes institutionalized, normalized, and exercised covertly in public discourses such as those found in politics, the media, education, etc (1971: 355).

In this manner, Van Dijk (1991: 205), domination is social, political, and economic, and not symbolic. Those with greater influence over language are more influential and dominant. Consequently, control over discourse is an essential component of social power: lawyers control legal discourse, politicians control public political discourse and policy, journalists control media discourse, etc. The second element is access: more powerful social groups and organizations have access to public discourse because they exert influence over it (van Dijk, 2001:

356). Those that control the most influential discourse (such as politics or the media) have greater possibilities to influence the thoughts and behaviors of others.

2.1.3.5 Reproduction

Reproduction refers to a mechanism or procedure that has the potential to offer alternatives to expressions or statements that are negatively perceived (Muhammed, 2018, p. 89). A set of alternatives can be provided to minimize or avoid negative expressions. These are borrowed from a previous work by Muhammed (2018). They include:

Using a hedge, adding a word or a phrase, modifying a word or a phrase, deleting a word or a phrase, asking a question, or the total avoidance mechanism.

1. Total avoidance means the person should not have uttered the negative form from the start as no amendment would be possible.
2. Hedges are one kind of mitigating devices, such as modal verbs (can, may, or could); particles (possibly, or probably) and minimizes, (just, or a little) (Holmes, 2009, p. 713).
3. By adding, modifying or deleting words or phrases, the negative implications are minimized or reduced.
4. Questions, that are the opposite of statements, are used to ask about propositions. They have the potential to soften the negative point as they are characterized by less imposition.

Thus, reproduction mechanism suggests that each extract need to be modified according to the utterances spoken.

2.1.3.6 Context

Context plays a fruitful role in developing and interpreting meanings in encounters. Typically, linguistic and nonlinguistic elements determine meanings (Verdonk, 2002: 6). Hymes attacks the linguistic theory that disregards the impact of context on language usage. Furthermore, the competence/performance distinction of Chomsky (1957, 1965) does not appeal to Hymes, as cited in Lillis (2006: 93). Context should be considered in terms of contextualization, as this is essential for making meaning.

Context consists of communicatively generated links between actual discursive elements and pertinent chunks of historical, social, and political information (Silverstein, 1992: 56). As such, the micro-macro dichotomy of context views micro-contexts as those factors that directly affect and inform locally situated events, such as the time, the participants, the topic, etc., whereas macro-contexts represent the broader nonlocal factors of the event that are indirectly influential, such as the historical, sociocultural, and political circles, for the purpose of clarifying the picture (*ibid*). Context comprises the categories of setting (time and location), participants, ongoing actions, social or institutional roles, and their mental representations (goals, views, attitudes, knowledge, and ideologies) as they pertain to the creation and comprehension of discourse (van Dijk, 2001: 365). In the context of a parliamentary debate, for example, only members of parliament have access to the debate, and they speak for a certain amount of time with the Chair's consent (*ibid*).

The Ethnography of Communication was the topic of a special issue of *The American Anthropologist* that was published in 1964. This problem focuses on Hymes' well-known idea of the context of vocal communication. Setting, persons,

aims (purposes, results), act sequences, key (attitudinal qualities), instrumentalities (speech norms and styles), norms of interaction and interpretation, and genre (the discourse type) are all included in his acronym SPEAKING (Hymes, 1964: 13). The original contribution was enhanced, modified, and enlarged by other contributions. On the other hand, knowledge of culturally specific methods of communication and the numerous beliefs and attitudes connected to them is necessary (Trappes-Lomax, 2005). Since they consider utterances as intentional acts with locutionary contents that involve the intentions, beliefs, and all mental states of speakers, Korta and Perry (2011: 59) define context as "the set of circumstances or facts surrounding a certain occurrence, scenario, etc."

To summarize the discussion of the preceding parts, the examination of the idea of empowerment and disempowerment in this work incorporates these six essential elements. In terms of language, empowerment and disempowerment present themselves in what individuals say to or about others. After specifying an empowered and disempowered position, the utterances are critiqued to demonstrate how power and dominance are transmitted through the words expressing and manifesting their empowerment and disempowerment ideology in particular contexts of encounters.

2.2 The Concept of Pragmatism

Pragmatism is the school that "considers the connections between theoretical work and the social life-process" in the sense that the scholar and his theoretical work are incorporated into the apparatus of society in order to preserve and continually renew the present state of affairs (Horkheimer, 2002: 196). In the late nineteenth century, this philosophical movement emerged in the United States (Ray, 2004: 319). American pragmatism is a pragmatic ideology that focuses on

improving the conditions that allow people to succeed in life (Kelemen and Rumens, 2013: 4). In its heyday (1890s-1930s), it influenced "thinking and practice in and across the domains of politics, psychology, education, and religion" (ibid.).

Mead's (1934: 165) development of human connections reveals an essential pragmatic concept. He believes that a person's activity elicits a response from another person (supplemented by the concept of cooperation principle), which elicits still another response, which elicits yet another response, and so on, until a continuous cycle of communication is produced (ibid). Through these dynamic processes that help us know ourselves, others, and the world, one becomes socialized with any given group of people (ibid). As a result, the meanings we create are either reinforced or enhanced, questioned or completely shattered based on various premises, such as the setting, previous encounters, interlocutors, ideologies, status, and power, among others. These elements have a pragmatic nature. It appears that pragmatics is derived from a tradition between semantics and the social sciences, notably American pragmatism (Koyama, 2006: 21).

2.2.1 Critical Pragmatics

This subsection provides an overview of a variety of pertinent studies and publications, focusing mostly on critical pragmatics as a theoretical framework for determining the contribution of the present approach. In this outline, it analyzes the critical pragmatics literature. The explanation of earlier studies on the subject and how drastically different this approach comes first in this part. The second paragraph explores the definitions and best practices for CDA. The third subparagraph, which examines the connection between pragmatics and CDA, emphasizes the value of pragmatic accounts in bridging the CDA gap. The fourth paragraph talks about pragmatic, criticality and how challenging it is.

2.2.2 Critical Theory and Pragmatics

Currently, Fraser (2003: 46) questions how pragmatics-related critical work may be activated. For the pragmatist, everything depends on the participation requirements of some social peers. People must redirect their attention to disadvantaged or dominant groups, examine the precise language in which attributable differences are now stated, etc (ibidser, 2003.: 47). Depending on the nature of the challenges they may be facing at the time, different types of acknowledgement may be necessary for different persons. Therefore, a "critical social theory that is normatively oriented, empirically informed, and driven by the practical goal of eradicating injustice" is required (ibid).

Habermas (1984: p.86) defines communicative activity as "the interaction of at least two speech- and action-capable individuals who establish verbal or nonverbal interpersonal links." By reconstructing critical theory from ideological criticism to communicative acts, he introduces human language and communication into the critical activity. According to Ray (2004), Habermas "mixed critical theory with American pragmatism and linguistic philosophy."

2.2.3. Critical Discourse Analysis and Pragmatics

Each of the aforementioned approaches focuses on three interconnected core concepts: society, culture, and cognition, after considering language realizations and strategies. CDA practitioners should pay special attention to context in this situation, as it connects to all three of these principles in a manner consistent with van Dijk (1998: 3).

Opponents have noted several deficiencies in the CDA based on a variety of arguments. Beginning with Widdowson (1995: 158), he criticizes CDA on two levels "The requirement for clear distinctions between text and discourse. In other words, it is uncertain when a particular part of language constitutes text or

dialogue". On a deeper level, CDA has a bad reputation for being biased since its practitioners can't help but bring their own preconceived notions and prejudices into their work (Widdowson, 1995: 169).

Widdowson (ibid: 12–7) claims on CDA's drawbacks concerning the arbitrariness, the limits of length and data representation, and the concepts of CDA which are vague. In relation to the selection of texts for analysis, they are picked arbitrarily, in the sense that no criteria for selection are set, making the study more subjective than objective. In addition to CDA practitioners' adoption of imprecise terminology and concepts, the obtained data are insufficient to serve as representative samples for generalizing about discourse as a social practice.

Titscher et al. (2000: 53-7) concur with Widdowson that CDA presents problems that need to be taken into consideration. Among these challenges is the extensive use of context, as CDA applies numerous contexts drawn from various linguistic theories to the analysis of dialogue, resulting in incompatible frames of data. On the other hand, discourse analysts find it difficult avoiding a political stance concerning the investigated speech.

Wodak and Meyer (2001: 4-5) deal with the shortcomings of CDA and argue that contextual elements in language usage are among the most pressing needs for fixing CDA's flaws. As Wodak and Meyer (ibid.: 17) show, "context justifications" are the link between textual analysis and ideological representations. In this instance, factors of context are connected with culture and society in order to objectively examine discourse. By defining the common rules and principles of language usage [using Brown and Levinson's (1987) conceptions of pragmatics], objectivity can be achieved.

According to Widdowson (2004: 97), CDA requires both theoretical and practical revisions. Not only are concepts like action, power, and emancipation the results of CDA, but they are also its guiding principles. The reader's entire process

of interpretation is eliminated by this approach. It is believed that linguistic theories and systematic CDA research are related.

Wodak (2007: 203) asserts that "pragmatics is a good strategy for overcoming CDA's unresolved concerns" by focusing on the breadth of the context and multidisciplinary approaches. After indirectness and context-dependence, several transdisciplinary concepts—such as allusion, shared knowledge, and background assumptions from Searle 1970, as well as mutual manifestations and common sense knowledge from van Dijk—are included (2005).

Pragmatics is crucial to discourse analysis, especially in terms of being critical. Ji (2009: 23) contends that speakers might utilize pragmatic assumption to normalize particular beliefs, which then affect the collective consciousness of the reader. Here is a second opportunity for pragmatics to join the CDA team.

Recent studies into the role of pragmatics in CDA seeks to identify all possible interactions among CDA and pragmatics. Chen (2020: 25-6) shows through three arguments why all pragmatic concepts are essential for CDA by addressing all three concerns CDA is seen as highly subjective since most practitioners are biased and prejudiced, and because semantic/pragmatic discrepancies are not addressed. The CDA-based latent ideologies conclusions lack detailed accounts and explanations of how particular ideologies were developed. The statement "Britain was overrun by an army of illegal immigrants" is implicitly racist. However, there is no persuasive reason for the expression of these ideas. CDA is applicable not only to the analysis of ideological expressions, but also to the investigation of several other social problems such as fraud, linguistic ugliness, and uncertainty that underlie the usage of languages.

Pragmatics addresses both positive and negative ideologies in response to the claim that the CDA shows some views in an unfavorable light. In other words, pragmatics can be utilized to counteract implicitly negative or positive attitudes in

conversation. Verschueren (2009) claims that depending on the situation and pragmatic application, it may contain both excellent and terrible ideas.

Therefore, pragmatics has the ability to explain the CDA issue in a way that is more objective. Critical discourse analysis should be viewed as a comprehensive approach because it is quite related to pragmatics.

The three linguistics subfields that are most intimately related to one another are pragmatics, (critical) discourse analysis, and sociolinguistics (Reisigl, 2007: 20–6). Instead of a hierarchical framework, these interactions are based on a circular one. In other words, some subfields may be dominating at some levels while being submissive at others (ibid: 13).

Mey (2001: 6) inserts CDA in his taxonomy of pragmatics, highlighting the idea of criticality in pragmatics, as a sub discipline of macro-pragmatics overlapping with social-pragmatics and intercultural pragmatics. This explanation of CDA was drawn from Verschueren's (1999: 7) inclusion of discourse analysis as a branch of pragmatics. Contrary to what some pragmatists and sociolinguists claim, pragmatics is merely one branch of discourse analysis (Schiffrin (1994) and Gumperz (2001)). This is illustrative of the differing viewpoints on the question of the paternity of the child in question. The researcher here adopts the view that pragmatics is a branch of discourse analysis.

Beyond this defense, it is simple to draw a link between pragmatics and discourse analysis. Therefore, these disciplines must finally support one another. Discourse analysis must be able to examine a wide range of text types and contexts as an method or approach (Johnstone, 2002: 4). The need for pragmatism is now abundantly obvious. CDA implies a pragmatic approach, but this does not preclude the recognition of important similarities and distinctions.

According to Reisigl's theories (2011: 20), there are three key distinctions between pragmatics and (critical) discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is a

technique or group of techniques that examines language usage using specific models; pragmatic analysis is not one of these techniques. The use of speech is employed in the study of language. As a result, pragmatics is a subset of discourse, and it is necessary for pragmatics to expose the real implicature, assumption, illocutionary variables, etc. that underlie the language used in different contexts.

CDA employs a vast array of linguistic and non-linguistic disciplines, whereas discourse analysis employs fewer inter- and trans-disciplinary features. This is a further distinction that may introduce pragmatism to the CDA domain.

The third distinction is between the mental representations of pragmatics and discourse analysis. Pragmatics and discourse analysis are mirrored in various cognitive domains. These distinctions demand that pragmatics be incorporated into discourse analysis (critical). This puts both fields in the same linguistic boat by highlighting their similarities and distinctions (Reisigl, 2011: 21).

Pragmatics and discourse analysis are more functionally oriented than formally oriented; they both rely on context rather than the abstract use of language. Despite their varied approaches to context, pragmatics focuses on all pragmatic context elements while studying language (ibid: 22).

Pragmatism, like discourse, is centered on utterances, however it places more emphasis on the function and meaning of particular utterance types. Even though (critical) discourse analysis starts with words, sentences are evaluated depending on the linguistic strategies they employ (ibid).

According to Fairclough's (1992: 23) definition, Both pragmatics and discourse analysis view language as a social activity in line with Halliday's (1994) Systemic Functional Grammar. Pragmatics sees social elements as the means by which the speaker's intention and the listener's anticipated interpretation are accomplished. Discourse analysis that incorporates the concept of criticality sees language as similar to other ideological social activities. As a result, while they have different

approaches and vocabularies, they have similar foundations and goals (Fairclough's, 1992: 23).

Pragmatics and discourse analysis are inter- and trans-disciplinary at the CDA level because they work with many different disciplines to assess the consequences of a given conversation. Discourse analysis, in the tradition of Habermas, Bourdieu, and Luhmann, encompasses a wide range of distinctive domains that could normalize other fields of study, like CDA, as macro-dimensions of discourse. Only a small number of other disciplines can work with pragmatics to provide thorough explanations of language users' intents. The benefits of other fields are, nevertheless, shared by these two disciplines.

Along with the aforementioned, it is clear that pragmatic analysis is only occasionally utilized in conjunction with critical analysis when dealing with criticality. To put it simply, CDA can offer a straight path to practical concepts like implicature, assumption, and relevance, among others. Pragmatics, in the opinion of Levinson and Mey (1983: 4), reveals the hidden purposes of language users. Macro-pragmatics reveals particular speaker attitudes that the listener is expected to understand. (Critical) discourse examines the ideas of the language user after pragmatics clarifies and interprets the function.

Since pragmatics and CDA are multidimensional grounded methodologies, approaches, or disciplines, they have an integrative link. Utilizing a variety of factors to expose hidden attitudes, meanings, and social behaviors like sectarianism, racism, and sexism. It is obvious that CDA cannot complete the work by itself; pragmatics is necessary to provide extra objectives and the proper interpretation. This, according to Mey (2001), makes it easier to integrate CDA with pragmatics.

2.2.4. Critical Pragmatics and Other Disciplines

Verschueren (1999b: 871-875) examines the critical potential of pragmatics, offering insight on the discipline's body and soul. By the body and soul, he means the institutionalization of the discipline as an academic enterprise with numerous textbooks, journals, book series, and conferences, as well as the stability of the phenomena usually alluded to there: SAs, reference, implicature, deixis, presupposition, etc. All of these should characterize pragmatics as a "element of a theory of language" rather than merely as a tangible indication of the existence of a recognizable pragmatic paradigm (ibid.: 872). Verschueren analyzes how authority is generated with regard to the key notions of pragmatics in his book "The Soul of Pragmatics" (ibid.: 873). He challenges the manner in which pragmatics has constructed its approach to language use (ibid.: 874). For example, the Gricean notion of intentionality should not be left unchecked when discussing pragmatic literature with an emphasis on the speaker's aim to generate an effect; instead, the richness of meaning in human interaction should be acknowledged and emphasized (ibid.). He concludes that other pragmatic ideas, such as courtesy, context, functionalism, the cooperative principle, and culture, require critical awareness so as not to exceed questioning.

CDA is one of the well-known disciplines that examines power and ideology in discourse . It is a critical approach to the study of critical discourse study (henceforth CDS). CDS is not interested in the language unit in and of itself; rather, the emphasis is on analyzing, comprehending, and explaining social processes that are bad or grave on the political or social level (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 3). Another example is critical stylistics, a discipline of applied linguistics that was formed to offer the needed linkages between stylistics (textual choices) and critical studies (ideological issues) (Jeffries, 2010: 1). The difference between

CDA and CDS, according to Polyzou (2018: 198), is that CDS includes any critical approach or work on discourse, such as critical linguistics or critical stylistics. Therefore, CPs is a type of CDS. CPs differ from CDA in that it attempts to tackle significant concerns that cannot be addressed by the CDA approach. For critical discourse analyzers, the pragmatic norms of Grice's maxims or Austin's conditions are limited as cognitive principles (ibid). These maxims might be disregarded, for instance, to generate inappropriate humor, and our interlocutors are able to comprehend the intent. The use of a particular SA may be influenced by social power.

The two strategies have unclear boundaries separating them. Both are efforts to establish critical perspectives on language, culture, and society (van Dijk, 2009: 62). Both are problem-oriented disciplines with "similar objectives in deconstructing ideologies and power through the rigorous examination of semiotic data," as is the case with all CDS (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 4). CPs differs from CDA in that the emphasis must be placed on an empirical method that can be understood within the discipline of linguistic pragmatics.

Pragmatics, on the other hand, is the field that tolerantly lends itself to criticism because it analyzes language use, a significant portion of which may be simply and justifiably defined as abuse (Verschueren, 1999: 871). This location is abundant in CPs. In this approach, pragmatics is characterized as a "generic functional perspective on any element of language" that considers the social, cultural, and cognitive functions of language in the context of human life (ibid.: 870). Consequently, if pragmatics is the study of all aspects of language usage (Crystal, 2003: 364), then CPs is the study of language misuse. In this regard, the focus is on the ideological underpinnings that are concealed in the pragmatic communication tactics utilized to attain ideological ends (Crystal, 2003: 364).

Archer et al. (2012: 41) assert that empirical investigations take into account the interactional element of language and the function of receivers. As for LoCastro (2013: 6), an inclusive perspective of pragmatic analysis should include aspects such as the speaker's intended meaning, the perceived meaning, the purpose of the conversation, social and cultural contexts, the distance between interlocutors, and nonverbal elements, among others. Critical Problem Solving is viewed as an analytic methodology in which critical issues are analyzed in light of the pragmatic paradigm. In this regard, the following table shows the Distinction Between Pragmatics and CPs.

Table (1): The Distinction Between Pragmatics and CPs Adopted from Muhammad,W. (2018:45)

Pragmatics		CPs
1.	It is basically concerned with language use in general.	It is particularly concerned with the social functioning of language abuse as one aspect of language.
2.	It is vital to know relevant contextual factors to determine the communicative meanings.	Other aspects such as power and ideology are vital to determine meanings in addition to the contextual factors.
3.	It is interested in speakers' intentions in the first place.	It is interested in receivers' interpretations as well as in speakers' intentions.
4.	It focuses on the analysis of the pragmatic phenomena to see how meaning is constructed in language use.	It focuses on the analysis of the pragmatic phenomena to see how they reveal language abuse.

5.	It can be applied to any communicative event or discourse.	It needs to be studied in terms of communicative events or discourses where negative or critical issues profound.
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This study concerns itself with a critical pragmatic approach that probes into the political context of American debates. It opts for a methodology that has been inspired by some previous introductions of CPs. Some modifications and elaborations, however, have been added due to the course of the study itself. These ideas are explained in below:

2.2.4.1 Mey's Approach (2001)

Fowler and his colleagues created the concept of critical linguistic analysis in 1979. They highlight the connection between language use and social power (Mey, 2001: 315). In the same year, Mey (1979) published an article in Germany titled *Toward a Critical Theory of Language* in which he attempted to outline the conditions for linguistic emancipation. Sadly, the article did not attract sufficient attention from the linguistic community (ibid.). These efforts ultimately led to the resuscitation of critical traditions in England and Australia and the incorporation of Lancaster School concepts (ibid.: 316).

In 1996, a conference was held in honor of Professor Jacob Mey's retirement and 70th birthday; the conference's innovative theme was Pragmatics: The Loaded Discipline, and presenters were asked to take "a critical approach to the subject of pragmatics" while considering the field's present and future. Several papers were presented that dealt with either the field of pragmatics as a whole or with fundamental issues within it, such as politeness or figurative meaning

It might be argued that this meeting marks the start of cooperative projects. It promoted a synthesis of several approaches to language study, with a focus on exposing language misuse as a byproduct of social authority. The integration of critical analysis and pragmatics has given rise to a new area of study in the study of language that promises to broaden the horizons of possible pragmatic results. Mey (2001: 316) defines critical pragmatics and discusses its origins, citing the writings of van Dijk and others as well as the Lancaster School on critical language awareness founded by Fairclough and Mey's own earlier works in the critical field (1989, 1992, 1995) with other colleagues (Mey, 2001: 316). Because language is such a potent tool for exerting authority, the term "Critical" is used to describe the study of the dynamics through which different social groups are given varying degrees of influence.

Archer et al. (2012: 133) explain how the pragmatic investigations of power constitute a critically-based pragmatics approach. Thus, the pragmatic investigation of power is a fundamental element of CPs. Courtroom discourse, police engagement, political interviews, doctor-patient interactions, and workplace discourse are instances in which power appears as a potent factor, and are thus rich genres for critical pragmatic research (Archer et al., 2012: 134-142). For instance, in political interviews, the interviewer does not provide sufficient interactional space for the interviewee to respond to the questions, which is a tactic adopted to achieve instances of rudeness and aggression.

Language usage is intrinsically a combination of linguistic variants and sociocultural characteristics. The social dimensions of pragmatics pertain to our use of language and the authority we derive from it. What is significant about power as a social aspect is not its sheer might per se, but its acceptance as natural (Mey, 2001: 318). Naturalization occurs when something that ought to be analyzed

critically is regarded as natural and therefore accepted as common sense (ibid: 320). Omotosho and Chukwumezie (2014: 157) contend that CPs is not concerned in varied language use solely as linguistic diversity, characterized and classed in purely theoretical terms, or analyzed using social variables representing class, race, or other factors. CPs focuses on distinguishing or recognizing social prejudice in order to combat it.

In labor dispute jargon, for instance, employees and employers use different terminology (Mey, 1985: 166). The same holds true for powerful people, whose language reflects their power. Fairclough (1992: 50) utilizes the term "critical" to emphasize the importance of studying the power-assigning relationships between various social groups. Concerning power, however, it is essential to establish what is captured through discourse. Thus, texts are interpreted differently depending on whether we are in a position of strength or weakness (Mey, 2001: 317). As a result of their lack of authority, slaves do not carry out their linguistic responsibilities in accordance with their own preferences, but rather as instructed. As language users, their language is thus enslaved along with them. According to Koyama (2006: 19), CPs is a social-scientific type of pragmatics situated at the center of language use involving social conflicts, power struggles, and identity (re)formations (ibid: 20). This indicates that the (re)formations of identities, power relations, and sociocultural conflicts as occurring in and being produced by language are important to the purview of CPs research (Mey, 2001: 23).

Here, an important argument must be presented. Since the critical approach in pragmatics proposed by Mey (2001) relies on CDA, as Mey himself admits, it may be argued that CDA models can be incorporated into the critical pragmatic paradigm. Fairclough's (2013: 5) analytical approach, for instance, comprises three dimensions: textual, discursive, and social. Each can be susceptible to the

pragmatics' critical orientation. Aspects of language use can concentrate on pragmatic difficulties such as SAs, references, and inferences in the textual dimension. As Wodak (2007: 203) demonstrates, the pragmatic devices associated with rhetoric, such as allusions and puns, can be studied in terms of their functions in discourse including critical aspects (such as power). She explains how such pragmatic tactics are employed to communicate anti-Semitic bias.

The second feature of discursiveness in Fairclough's (2013) approach is open to critical examination. Omotosho and Chukwumezie investigate the discursive forms of power and domination in a single text from a critical pragmatic perspective (2014). Through discursive activities, they explore how dominance and power were actualized in the text under consideration (*ibid.*: 153). They determine why the author of the work under consideration has cited or borrowed from particular texts rather than others (*ibid.*). They discuss how power has been depicted, developed, and reinforced throughout the text's power relations.

Discursiveness relates to intertextuality and how it is incorporated into the production of texts or how other discourses influence or emerge in the development of a certain text. Moreover, it is tied to the consumption of texts (as well as their production), leaving room for both text creators and recipients to express their thoughts and perspectives. The same holds true for the third dimension of Fairclough's (2013) model, in which critical pragmatic viewpoints can be applied to social analysis. Consequently, the term CPs can be understood in two distinct ways. The first is associated with CDA, in which pragmatic analysis is a degree of critical analysis. The second is to consider it to be a separate variant of CDS.

2.2.4.2 Korta and Perry's Approach (2011)

Korta and Perry's (2011) contribution to CPs is crystallized in the introduction to the book *Critical Pragmatics: An Investigation into Reference and Communication*. Their key argument is that a critical perspective on pragmatic reasoning is necessary. Semantics supplies the listener with unrefined content, whereas pragmatics gives refined content. CPs supplies candidates for the output of both (raw and refined content) and maintains that the speaker's precise intent is determined in addition to the semantic meanings of the words he employed (Rolf, 2012: 494). As Ponte (2014: 103) explains, the co-author proposes a new approach to pragmatics that must attract the attention of philosophers of language and linguists because it is extremely unique and contains challenging and well-developed concepts.

Korta and Perry (2011: 3) define CPs and explain why they think the theory provides a coherent overview of how linguistics studies fit into the bigger picture of human thought and behavior. In other words, CPs aim to critically analyze how humans use language to shape and alter the reality of the community to which they belong by painting a picture of how components of language are used to actualize human ideas and behaviors. With this in mind, the idea that one can exert influence over others merely by using words seems more realistic. There are three main points to their ideas. These are described below:

Language is an agent of action. This is based on Austin's (1962) assertion that we do actions with words. Similar to this perspective, Korta and Perry (ibid.) consider "acts of employing language" or utterances to have the same fundamental structure as actions. The locution has an illocutionary significance and a

perlocutionary effect. Consequently, a theory of action and thought is the primary objective of their project (Korta and Perry, 2011: 3).

Meaning is generated from the intentions of the speaker. This pragmatic concept is inspired by Grice's (1989: 88) conception of communicative aim. It is expected that communicative intentions would be understood. Understanding any utterance is the process of perceiving the speaker's communicative aim, even by inference, or recognizing the illocutionary force of that utterance, according to Korta and Perry (2013: 161). They propose for an emphasis on intention discovery since "speaking is an intentional action and intention discovery is important to understanding" (ibid: 2). In this context, the co-author acknowledges that intentions are a component of plans because plans do not emerge on their own, but rather in conjunction with beliefs (ibid: 4). Plans are conceived and fostered mentally. They blend the structure of acts and intents in that one thing is accomplished by carrying out the other if the beliefs are relevant; plans that are founded on false beliefs are doomed to fail (ibid).

Different levels are intrinsic to utterances. The contents or truth-conditions of information-bearing events or utterances are diverse. The foundation of this argument is Perry's (1979, 2001) distinction between reflexive and referential truth-conditions. According to Korta and Perry (2013: 162), when assigning contents, one must evaluate "what the rest of the world must be like in order for the utterance to occur and be true." Thus, the meaning of words provides one level of content, and further layers are supplied by other factors associated with the utterance, such as the speaker, addressee, place, time, and the speaker's communicative goals.

According to their words, CPs "provides candidates for the output of semantics, raw content, and refined content, which should delight minimalists without disturbing contextualists' insights" (Korta and Perry, 2011: 145). Even the most conventionally simple utterances, according to CPs, include a diversity of information. Diverse recipients comprehend distinct contents in various circumstances. The word crucial refers to how carefully the context is provided to identify the specific or intended meaning.

They feel that current pragmatics have never given sufficient consideration to these concerns. In theory, language as action is validated, but not in practice. The significance of speakers' intentions is either overstated or understated. Previous pragmatic theories have employed mono- propositionalism as opposed to pluri- propositionalism (ibid.: 158). For their contribution to make sense, the following points are presented:

1. Korta and Perry's (2011) work is founded on widely theorized and researched pragmatic theories (SAs and Gricean work). This offers their constructed premises a solid foundation and gives rise to the pragmatic focus of their work.

2. They (ibid) claim that language motivates mental actions. In their creation and interpretation of language, language users reveal what is in their minds. Mind links to ideology, which is the central component of this work.

The second argument adds intentionality, the fundamental principle of pragmatic activity. Language reflects intents, which are associated with future goals and schema that are dependent on the structure of acts included in utterances: the actual structure (what motions are produced) and the outcomes.

The third argument is based on the numerous interpretations and meanings of language. Multiple meanings emerge when viewed from multiple vantage points and elements are considered. At one level of interpretation, a single utterance may indicate racism. Such a statement reveals intentions and incites action (e.g., promotes and/or reproduces racism in society and the minds of listeners, or simply expresses the speaker's racist worldview).

Current pragmatic challenges and theories must be analyzed with a critical eye. Incorporating pragmatic concerns into a critical assessment of language usage is an illustration of one such technique. Such a critical perspective on pragmatics is conceivable due to the adaptability of the elements that comprise this field: speakers, hearers, place, time, intention, context, etc.

The co-author argues that all pragmatic study is essential to linguistic studies because it gives all other disciplines of linguistic inquiry purpose and meaning. Ponte (2014: 104) asserts that CPs still has much to say and that new fruitful research avenues are accessible for further growth, as Korta and Perry's (2011) work stimulates a theoretical foundation that requires further elaboration (105).

2. 3 Discourse of Politics

Political context is regarded as a power struggle with the aim of enforcing specific political, economic, and social goals. Since language facilitates, accompanies, influences, and supports to all political activity, it is essential in this context.

Speeches, debates, and political interviews are examples of political discourse, which focuses largely on politics and can take many different forms. Political discourse analysis (henceforth PDA) is one of the most well-known and well-researched applications of discourse analysis (CDA), for van Dijk (1997: 11), since

its most salient characteristic finds the most successful use in assessing political texts and dialogues. Three important aspects, according to Van Dijk, influence whether a discourse is considered "political":

- a. the participants' conceptions of PDA;
- b. the kinds of actions and practices engendered by political text and conversation;
- c. the overall setting.

It is postulated that the availability of the three traits is necessary to categorize a discourse as "political," and that this is the most important factor to consider, in spite of the fact that van Dijk distinguishes each of the three characteristics separately. Thus, discourse of Politics is "when political actors, both inside and outside of government, discuss political topics to attain political aims," (Gastil, 1992: 469). Political speech is, to put it simply, communication that has been influenced and directed by political actors. In the same stream, people are politicians, aspirants for public office, government employees, and policy consultants, to name a few.

Politics is occasionally viewed as a power struggle between those who want to challenge it and those who want to assert it. Contrarily, politics is seen as cooperation and as a society's traditions and institutions for resolving conflicts over resources, power, and freedom (Chilton 2004: 3).

Politicians, for Van Dijk (1997: 13), are those whose main line of work is politics, which involves pursuit of and maintenance of power within a government as well as influencing the actions and policies of a government. their election depends on positions of authority as compensation for their contributions to the politics.

According to Wodak (2009: 2), texts and speeches are an important part of political communication, which is important for a politician, especially the

president. Despite the fact that they are just a subset of discourse. The main goal of political communication is relationship building with allies, supporters, and common citizens (such as voters), i.e., persuading them that a politician has the moral rectitude and ethical character traits required to successfully administer his or her office, is competent to do so, and is trustworthy and accountable to the people of his or her nation. Numerous new communication channels have evolved as a result of the recent social media boom, making it simpler to spread information and increase political candidates' accessibility to their followers (Wodak, 2009: 2).

2.3.1 Discourse and Power

Power is one of the crucial concepts in the field of CDA, which is considered as a central condition in social life. Power is usually related to difference, and their effects in social structures. According to the theory that language and aspects of society are intertwined, there are numerous ways in which language and social power are connected: power is indexed by language, as well as articulated by language, and language is implicated whenever there is a challenge to power. The use of linguistic elements in various power manifestations and manipulations piques CDA's interest. A person's authority over a social event through the genre of a text is another way to define power in addition to the linguistic structures seen in a text (Weiss and Wodak, 2003: 15). Thornborrow (2001: 8) claims that power is "a set of actions" which can be used more or less effectively according to the speakers i.e. who they are and what their contexts are. In the same stream, Fairclough (2013:p. 1) describes power; (i) in the sense of dissimilarities between the participants who are taking part in producing a discourse. (ii) in the sense of uneven capability to manage how texts are formed, distributed and understood...in certain sociocultural contexts.

Moreover, Wodak (1996: 66) depending on Foucault (1977), van Dijk (1985) and Bourdieu (1991) works, identifies power as "discursive control" which includes the speakers who are able to use the different types of discourse i.e. refer to who is able or disable to talk to whom, taking into account the situation, and the subject. It is noticed that the powerful people usually have more verbal possibilities in their discourses (ibid.).

CDA, in perspective of Van Dijk (2008), is focused in how discourse participate to the reproduction of power and the misuse of power between discourse structures and social structures (dominance). Structures include parents, lawyers, judges, political party members, Businesspeople, and other societal players. They frequently operate inside institutional frameworks like parliaments, schools, families, or research institutes and take acts in the areas of legislation, education, discrimination, and dominance. In this regard, "Power is one of the critical discourse analysis tenets that has to do with the social sphere". The social context of people's financial problems or low and high positions can occasionally lead to power relations between them. Power as control can have a detrimental impact on some organizations if it goes too far or occurs too frequently because those groups that have control over all communications can manipulate thoughts and actions (van Dijk, 2008: 89).

According to Wodak and Meyer (2001: 2), CDA is concerned with a number of vague concepts, such as dominance, dissimilarity, "power as control, and power as threat," all of which are reflected in the language used. In this stream, threat from Power, mentioned by Davies, that every individual is threatened, which instills fear (2001: 134). In international law, the danger of the judge's power causes the suspect to feel fear. Devkota (2010: 8). offers a different perspective, claiming that

the power can only be released if one of the participants is disjunctive Devkota (2010: 8). Despite the fact that there are contexts within the language.

Cameron (2001: 16) states that “the authority to categorize people is frequently inseparable from the authority to act upon them”. Therefore, he contends that the link between practicing and speaking is "power/knowledge." As of today:

power and social control are exercised not by physical or even economic coercion, but through the actions of specialists who are permitted to define, characterize, and classify both things and people through the use of language (Cameron , 2001: 16).

Fairclough (2001: 3) asserts that politically dominant and controlling powerful people of society could force their ideas on the language of the news. Dominance, which signifies "power and control," can be exercised via "coercion" or "consent." In the context of speech, power and control are typically exercised through the use of persuasion to achieve public approval.

Fairclough (ibid: 38) defines power as "the process through which dominant people influence and restrict the participation of less powerful ones." In light of Van Dijk (1993), he mentions that power equates to influence and command. In the meanwhile, Thomas and Wareing (1999: 10-11) claims that "power is a highly abstract concept that exerts a negligible effect on our life," claiming one way of power at action in society is through politics. Brockeriede's perspective on power is yet another exceptionally valuable one (1971: 313). According to him, power is "the ability to exercise interpersonal influence." Fairclough (2001: 38) defines power as "strong participants dominating and restricting the engagement of less powerful players."

In the same aspect, The ability to exert interpersonal influence is how he defines power. Oha (1994: 110) has much to say about how power operates in

discourse and asserts, "understanding how power functions as a tool for understanding how inequalities in discourse must be viewed as a constraint between the speakers' and their audiences' social roles, as well as the consequences of such social roles on discourse roles." Power is an ongoing process that occurs within the context of social conflict, and it is always a struggle that is won, exercised, perpetuated, and lost through "coercion" or "consent"; power can be "won, exercised, perpetuated, and lost within the context of social conflict" (Fairclough 2001: 57).

Political philosophy and political theory provide a conceptual foundation for understanding power. The two prevalent philosophies of power, pluralism and elitism, are inextricably intertwined. These two viewpoints handle separate issues. Machiavelli and Hobbes who originates "Pluralist theory" view the concept of powerful talk as an effect that could be analyzed objectively outside of political processes, whereas elitist theory, which emerged after World War II, sought to analyze the sources and effects of power through the works of a variety of authors (Berndtson, 1995: 31).

Machiavelli (quoted in Hobbes 1968: 150) considers power to be an instrument, rather than a resource, for the purpose of achieving strategic benefits like as increased military might. Machiavelli was driven by a thirst for power, while Hobbes advocated for the consolidation and concentration of authority through state sovereignty. In addition, he claims that power is "a man's currently accessible means of attaining an ostensibly future advantage". Unmistakably, Hobbes concentrates on the idea that power should be set far from society and onto the individual or group.

Foucault (cited in Weedon (1987: 108) describes discourse "as means of constructing knowledge in relation to the social practices, subjectivities, and power relations intrinsic to such knowledge and its exchanges". Moreover, powerful

individuals "restrict and limit the contributions of less powerful individuals" in conversation. "Power penetrates individuals, touches their bodies, and infiltrates their actions and attitudes, discourses, learning processes, and daily lives" (Fairclough, 1989:p. 46). Whereas Foucault (2002: 337), mentions that the concept of power is linked through a "ensemble of actions that excite and flow from one another."

In a similar vein, and according to Foucault in his book (ibid: 340) he postulates "power only exists when it is exerted by some over others, when it is implemented, even if it is ensconced in a field of few viable possibilities anchored by permanent institutions". Therefore, "power" is established and demonstrated relationally when an individual or group exercises control over the behavior of others within the context of preexisting practice frameworks. A power connection, according to this point of view, is something that involves the resistance and counter-conduct of social actors, in addition to the prospect of social revolution.

Regarding Foucault's definition of power, which is used in Fairclough (1995: 1), power is an all-pervasive force that has symmetrical relationships and dominates all aspects of society but does not reside solely in the hands of one specific group. In this context, Fairclough argues that power is asymmetrical, unequal, empowering, and restricted to a particular class or group of people.

The concept of power appears repeatedly in both Foucault's research and his worldview. He defines power as "a term that refers to a developed strategy inside of a certain society; it is neither an organization nor a structure; nor is it a certain strength we possess..." (1978: 93). He goes on to say that power is "a term that refers to a sophisticated strategic position inside of a certain society." A "constantly present" force is referred to the term "omnipresent power." The production of it never stops in any of the regions.

In conclusion, van Dijk (1993a: 254) suggests that there are two levels of exerting influence over other people:

- a) on the “level of actions”: power based on force and money, i.e., those related to violent or military, such as male violence against woman; and
- b) (ii) on the “level of cognition”: power based on knowledge, information, and dominance, which is described as modern and effective because it is employed by the media, journalists, professors, and parents. Both of these levels of power have their origins in patriarchal societies. CDA is concerned with the level of cognition because it uses more sophisticated approaches such as dissimulation, persuasion, and manipulation, and it tries to change "the thinking of others in one's own interests" in relatively normal and acceptable ways. This is why CDA is concerned with the level of cognition.

2.3.2. Ideology and Discourse

The CDA is permeated with the notion of ideology. It aims to shed light on the often-concealed ideas that are reflected, reinforced, and generated through every day and institutional discourse. Ideology is a remarkable and nebulous notion that can be handled from a multitude of perspectives. Ideologies are subcategories of belief systems (Van Dijk, 2006: 116). This theory incorporates a cognitive element that appropriately accounts for the notions of belief systems investigated by present cognitive research. Moreover, he observed that members of social groups share similar beliefs (Van Dijk, 2006: 116). Ideologies, according to Van Dijk (2006), “are social representations that shape a group's social identity”.

Fowler (1991: 92), in terms of ideology, refers to the aspect of "how humans arrange and explain their lives”. Additionally, “Ideology is the representation of 'the universe' through the lens of a particular interest” as stated by Fairclough (1995: 44). In a similar vein, Thomson (1990: 7) mentions that “ideology in its broadest sense is the use of meaning to enhance power”. While Fowler attempts an

objective definition of ideology, Fairclough and Thomson emphasize ideology's political function (Thomson, 1990: 7).

Moreover, Ideology is defined by Simpson (1993: 5) as "a set of shared beliefs, conceptions, and value systems shared by social groups." The reader is informed by Simpson's superb demonstration that ideology is a characteristic shared by all societies and social organizations.

Wodak, R., (1996: 18) regarding the definition of CDA concerning ideology, states that ideologies are varied means for the expression and constructing of a society that perpetuate unequal power, dominance, and exploitation. Moreover, Ideologies, as defined by the CDA, are "different systems of explaining and building society" that maintain unequal power, dominance, and exploitative connections (Wodak, 1996: 18). Ideology, for Fairclough (2013: 14), is "meaning in terms of power." As for CDA, ideology is a matter of determining unequal power relationships. Consequently, ideology is "the multiple ways in which meaning is generated and communicated via symbolic forms". In the same respect, Eagleton (1991: 15) argues that understanding ideology requires a variety of concepts and theorists who have investigated the link between thinking and social reality. Each theory assumes that "there are specific historical causes for how humans evolved in terms of emotion, reason, desire, and imagination." Nonetheless, it is essential to examine ideology from both structural and event-based vantage points (Fairclough, 2013: 71).

Additionally, Fairclough (2010: 62) mentions the way in which "language, ideology, and power relations all need to be rethought in terms of sociocultural transformation discourses. As a result, It is also essential to acknowledge that Fairclough's views are heavily influenced by Gramsci's (1971) concept of "ideology". Moreover, he claims that "ideology is related to action, and ideologies are judged based on their social implications rather than their truth values".

2.3.3 Discourse and Domination

Van Dijk (1993: 249) argue that the most effective way to address these concerns and dimensions is by focusing on the function of speech in the (re)production and challenge of dominance, despite the fact that there are a variety of methods for researching and criticizing social inequality. It is challenging to distinguish “social dominance” from other forms of social inequality.

Dominance is a matter of exercising social power by a small group of people, institutions, or organizations, resulting in political, cultural, economic, ethnic, racial, and gender inequality.

Concerning dominance theory, it is also social, political, and economic. In other terms, it is a struggle for the interests of the white people (Van Dijk 1991: 205). In addition, Van Dijk (1991: 85) states that “social power” and dominance are often organized and institutionalized, allowing for more efficient forms of control and power reproduction." Mature economic civilizations generate many arguments for unequal resource distribution and the maintenance of a number of social hierarchies, resulting in the emergence of dominant groups (ibid).

Gramsci (1971: 15) asserts that the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci created the phrase "cultural hegemony. “As for the context, hegemony outlines the ability of the dominant classes to portray their version of reality or worldview in such a way that it is accepted as "common sense" by other classes”. Gramsci argues (ibid) that this method would marginalize any groups who hold a different viewpoint. The author adds, "A social group's supremacy is shown in two aspects: through dominance and intellectual and moral leadership. “The author describes the 'typical' exercise of hegemony on the now-classic terrain of parliamentary democracy as a balance between force and agreement, with neither being dominant”.

Van Dijk does not distinguish between hegemony and domination as social power plays, two terms that are frequently used interchangeably in reference discourse (Baker and Ellece, 2011: 55). Gramsci's (1971), for the same respect, dominance assumes the form of hegemony when the power of superior groups is integrated, normalized, and subtly exercised in public discourses including politics, the news media, education, and regulation (Gramsci, 1971: cited in: Van Dijk, 1998: 355). The elements of hegemony and discourse, according to Hall (1992: 293), can also be used to gain a better understanding of how power relations appear in language.

2.4 Historical Overview of Empowerment

Earlier contemplations in development of empowerment shows the structural reasons of powerlessness and other subordinated groups. In the late 1960s and 1970s, the area of social work and, in particular, Paolo Freire's promotion of popular education to enable disadvantaged groups to develop critical consciousness gives rise to the concept of empowerment (Freire, 1968:25). Consequently, "empowerment" is a word and a political aim that is soon adopted in radical rhetoric and tied to numerous emancipation schemes. Yet, In the United States and internationally, feminists coined the term "empowerment" to represent women's community meditation on the nature and reasons of their oppression, epitomized by the expression 'the personal is political,' and their collective action to oppose patriarchal structures (Hanisch, 1970; Krollokke and Sorensen, 2006).

The term empowerment has been used to denote two different concepts since it was first used in the middle of the nineteenth century. In the past, it refers to the fact that power has been "given," "invested," or "authorized" by such a higher authority, which reflects its early beginnings. Alternately, as evidenced by its contemporary meaning from the middle of the 1970s, it may refer to a method by

which people gain the capacity to take action and wield power. As a result, it is thought of as something that people independently grow. In this sense, the phrase comes during a time when conflicts and global/local interconnections become more remarkable (i.e., the 1970s and 1980s). Its support at all political levels shows that it is widely acknowledged that the realization of any social objective requires the exercise of local and/or personal power. It also indicates a trend toward self-actualization and self-determination-based emancipatory activities and a response against large, hierarchical, and bureaucratic institutions. Thus, empowerment as a "grassroots" or "bottom-up" vision of social transformation emerged during a time of agency, subjectivity, and identity explosion. The growth of left feminist, neoliberal, and social-liberal empowerment viewpoints can help us understand the alternative politics in these unique projects and the different conceptualizations of agency, subjectivity, and power (Biewener, C and Bacque, M, 2015: 58)

As such, Development groups have prioritized empowerment since the 1980s. In the meanwhile, empowerment is an emancipation process that allows the impoverished to exercise their rights, access resources, and actively participate in society's creation and decision-making. Thus, empowerment is a political concept that involves fighting restrictive social ties together. Others define it as consciousness and the ability to express and act on wishes. The term's many origins and uses cause these variances.

In the same line, Empowerment is also difficult to be translated. Hence, the Spanish word "empoderamiento" means "power over"—a donor gives power to a recipient. The dictionary mentions that "empoderar" is obsolete. However, Garcia Moreno (2005) wonders why development agencies use empoderamiento instead of apoderamiento or fortalecimiento, which are current verbs. He claims that empoderamiento's ambiguity allows institutions with different ideologies to set

their own goals. In this respect, German and French use two verbs for "empower": *ermächtigen/autoriser* ('power over') and *befähigen/rendre capable* ('power to'). The Quebec French dictionary uses *autonomisation*, however the World Bank (2000) cited in Doligez (2003) uses *demarginalisation* and *intégration*. The literature calls empowerment *renforcement des capacités* and *involvement* (Doligez, 2003). Both concepts may need to include both the formal, legal strengthening of entitlements and the ability to put them into reality to produce a coherent notion of empowerment (Luttrell, C et al. 2009: 1).

4.1 The Concept of Empowerment

Across the disciplines of community studies and interventions, the concept of empowerment has been central (Perkins, 2010 and Maton 2008). The term "empowerment" refers to a theory that applies people's innate strengths and abilities as well as their networks of support and their own initiative to the improvement of social policies and the evolution of (Rappaport, 1984). Basically, empowerment connects an individual's happiness to the greater social and political context in which they operate.

Literally, the word "empowerment" means "to authorize or enable." Possession of one's own ideology (one's core beliefs, values, and attitudes) and mastery over one's own resources (physical, human, intellectual, and monetary) constitutes empowerment (beliefs, values and attitudes). As such, empowerment is a complex concept that spans several disciplines, including law, economics, culture, and politics. The term "empowerment" is used to describe a concept for allowing individuals and groups to improve their communities by making meaningful changes to the physical and social worlds. Acquiring more knowledge, resources, and experience increases one's overall competence (Sonwalkar, J., and T. Nandedkar, 2016: 122).

According to Batliwala (2010: 111), the term "empowerment" has been "'mainstreamed' in a way that has virtually stripped it of its original meaning and strategic value," despite having been central to the social and political struggles of the mid- to late-20th century Black power movement, feminism, popular education, labor rights, and liberation theology. As a concept, "empowerment" has been around since the 1700s. To permit, delegate, or allow anything is to empower people. Scholars from all around the world have used a wide variety of descriptors to explain what it is like to be empowered. Multiple studies have found a correlation between freedom and authority. Rappaport (1984: 2) argues that its absence is easier to describe (alienation, impotence, helplessness), but its presence is more nebulous and "takes on numerous shapes for different persons and settings" (Rappaport, 1984: 2).

The phrase 'empowerment' has various meanings depending on context, culture, and political, economic, and social circumstances. Investigating local vocabulary of empowerment throughout the world always makes a variety of definitions. These concepts include, among others, self-strength, self-control, self-power, self-reliance, personal choice, the ability to fight for one's rights, independence, the ability to choose one's own judgments, and freedom. These ideas have their origins in regional belief and value systems. Both intrinsic and instrumental benefits result from empowerment. Accordingly, empowerment is typically understood to mean giving a previously powerless group the same degree of power as a previously powerful group (Bhadra, 2001: 61). Even more, it varies depending on the depth of analysis performed. An individual's sense of empowerment includes their Participatory actions, their will to exert influence, and their sense of mastery over their environment. Thus, opportunities for corporate empowerment through shared leadership contribute to employee growth, organizational development, and effective community engagement.

It was in the 1980s that the concept of "empowerment" developed as a movement for fundamental social change, with the goal of helping previously powerless groups to define and assert their rights as a whole. The implications of this issue extend to multiple levels of power. These levels of power are shown in the following table below:

Table (2): Understanding Implications for Empowerment

Relation of Power	Implications for an understanding of empowerment
Power Over: ability to influence and coerce	changes in underlying resources and power to challenge constraints
Power To: organize and change existing hierarchies	Increased individual capacity and opportunities for access
Power With: increased power from collective action	Increased solidarity to challenge underlying assumptions
Power from Within: increased individual consciousness	Increased awareness and desire for change

Empowerment based on a notion of power as "power over," as argued by Rowlands (1997: 1), places an emphasis on participation within existing economic and political structures but does not seek to transform them. If power is understood as "power over," then the dominating person is in charge of it and can impose it upon subordinates. Furthermore, in contrast to "power over," "power with" highlights how attaining power really enhances the power of others. Having this distinction is what sets collective empowerment apart from individual empowerment (ibid).

In the same line, empowerment theories, however, are often phrased in individualistic terminology, with the ultimate goal being to increase individual

freedom of choice and self-reliance. Similar to how the focus on 'power to' has resulted in an increased emphasis on participation in decision making, the focus on 'power inside' has resulted in an increased emphasis on fostering confidence. Gaining such authority needs a shift in one's own ideas about one's own rights, abilities, and potential, and this shift must begin within the individual (Rowlands, 1997: 6-7).

Four definitions of power have been used over the years to help people understand the idea of power within the empowerment. Following are definitions that illustrate what the phrases "empowerment" and "disempowerment" mean and how they are used by and among people:

“Power within” denotes the evolution of personal consciousness, which results in newfound courage to act" (Rowlands, 1977). Together, people may do great things, and this is what we call "power with" (Gannage et. al 2016). This power, according to Cornwall (2016), is the "solidarity or sociality that the processes of empowerment entail." Power is the ability to enact change or to resist it. According to Allens (1999), this form of power is the ability to take action, which is frequently related to empowerment. The power that deals with social relations of dominance or subordination between people is known as power over. This view of power as an individualistic trait is expressed in the phrase "I am empowered."

2.4.1.1 Moving Towards a New Definition of Power

An innovative manipulation for the idea of power is proposed by Galièa, A. and Farnworth, C.R. (2019: 14). In addition to the four meanings of power previously described, "power through" refers to an unintended aspect of empowerment and disempowerment. Power can have normative dimensions, as was previously established, and this is common knowledge. Power through, however, gives power without a new dimension in the same stream. Instead, changes in individual empowerment are mediated by:

1. The extent to which they feel empowered in relation to their significant others, such as their parents, siblings, spouses, kids, and other relatives.
2. How a person's relationships with others are influenced by their own characteristics.
3. A person's level of empowerment may change even if they take no action if the position of influential people changes. Additionally, it might change depending on how a person is empowered or diminished by their close friends and family. Because the community would "transfer" the virtues of that work to the job holder and their family, members of that household would naturally feel empowered. Being in a higher social position was supposed to increase the "possible" width of their future personal agency and empowerment (Galièa and Farnworth , 2019: 14–15).

The dominant theory holds that power is an emergent quality of a social connection or social interaction rather than an attribute of an object or an individual (Hogg, 2001). According to the interdependence hypothesis (Thibaut and Kelley, 1959) or social exchange theory (Molm, 1997), one party (P+) in a relationship has power over another (P-) if P- desires items from P+ that P- cannot acquire from any other source. If they're both reliant on one another, they're in a situation where they can 'swap' meeting each other's needs. However, dependence can also be asymmetrical, possibly favoring the dependent party. As such, Power relations are dynamic because needs are dynamic because context is dynamic, and people's preferences, possibilities, and conceptions of their own identities and those of others change through time. Furthermore, the relative influence of a party may vary within each of its dyadic links. One within the dyadic relationship becomes more dependent on the other, nonetheless, due to limited access to essentials from outside the partnership.

Cruelly, Pratto, F. (2016: 5-6) asserts that one may think that having power involves being able to affect the actions of another party (Simon, 1957). This definition is flawed since no one can be made to perform any action. You can only stop someone from acting violently by physically restraining or hurting them. Another definition of dominating power is the capacity to persuade a party to act in opposition to that party's interests.

There are three major impacts of dominance on inequality that can be derived from this theory. To begin, although it is a form of power inequality, party freedom inequality is not the same as the kind of inequality we normally mean when we talk about social inequality. It is possible to quantify indicators of social inequality with a specific measure. Indicators of social inequality may be subjectively agreed upon, such as social standing, or objectively measurable in the here and now, as with material wealth. In contrast, the ability to make one's own decisions at a later date is a future possibility. Second, some perspectives hold that people regularly challenge authority. The self-determination hypothesis proposes that people both explicitly and implicitly want to exercise agency, but reactance theory predicts that people would typically react negatively to the impression of being dominated.

According to the social dominance hypothesis, intergroup dominance and oppression, even when relatively stable, can be a symptom of a dynamic system due to power struggles between groups. Lastly, positional power is bestowed through social positions such as rank, status, leadership, or the tasks associated with these positions (even temporary ones like "card dealer"). Positions, such as dealer/player, leader/follower, and organization member, are pairs of identities in society that are generally accepted and work well together. In various settings, such as constitutional governments, employers, and labor regulations, these relationship types are described in detail. Governments and its leaders make decisions, distribute resources, and establish priorities on behalf of the public.

Despite the common belief that one must enlist the aid of others in order to exert power, those in authoritative positions are able to render subordinates' agency moot (Pratto, F., 2016: 6)

Since it was originally used in the middle of the nineteenth century, the concept of empowerment has been used to refer to two distinct ideas. Historically, and in keeping with its earliest usage, it has signified that a person's authority has been "given," "invested," or "authorized" by someone in a position of authority above them (such as the state or a church). It may also refer to a process by which people acquire the ability to act and wield power, as shown by its current definition from the middle of the 1970s. As a result, people may believe that they cultivate it on their own (Biewener and Bacqué, 2015: 5).

2.4.2 Disempowerment

The empowerment discourse is criticized by Cornwall and Anyidoho (2010: 145–149) for having that exclusive view of women. They claim that empowerment is frequently viewed as "individualistic, utilitarian, and neo-liberal." Moreover, gender myths that maintain the idea of the "good woman" as the deserving consumer of development cooperation are also to be blamed. Cornwall also emphasizes the need for a fundamental change in how we view gender issues and the fact that men and women may both experience vulnerability, disempowerment, and disadvantage in the context of relations of power and powerlessness.

Being self-alienated could therefore be viewed as a condition of disempowerment, which may be a result of the relationship between men and women. Similar claims are also made by Arendt (1970: 56) but she goes further and asserts that exercising "power over" is a result of what can be described as disempowerment. She argues that the very ability to exercise power is what allows individuals to cooperate and work toward shared objectives. She continues by

saying that it is insufficient to assert that power and violence are distinct from one another. Power and violence are polar opposites; none exists where the other does. Wherever power is threatened, violence appears...Power can be destroyed by violence, but it cannot be created at all.

In the stream, Silberschmidt, M (2011:106) finds in her studies in East-Africa that men tended to be aggressive and exaggerating of masculine behavior, in order to take control over their situation, when they felt that their masculinity is no longer as beneficial for them as before. Men seem to have lost, to some extent, control or agency over their lives by having the need to be aggressive. And when a person engages in this battle for more recognition by having 'power over' another, it could be argued that they, in the light of power over, don't exercise autonomy. Thus being disempowered, Silberschmidt says that: "many men resort to other measures to establish their authority.

In the same respect, men or boys, strives for superiority when they experience a kind of disempowerment, i.e. fear of not fulfilling their role as a man. Male violence has often been presented as something natural to men or an effect of gender differences arranged by hierarchical structures (Grieg 2000:28). However, it rather seems to be an effect of men feeling disempowered, and be argued that "there is no political system in which the spectacle of two men fighting is not a striking, if unintended, image of the political impotence of most men" (Oates 1987:63 cited in Grieg 2000:28). And as Grieg puts it: "power and impotence co-exist in men's lives" (ibid:29). Thomson argues that there is a need to see boys and men as victims as well as perpetrators (Thomson 1999a cited in Cleaver 2002:12). Moreover, men tend to be violent at the very point when they feel at least powerful". To be a 'man' seems to be very important for many men, and men

wage daily battles in many cultures to prove to themselves and others that they are 'real men'. This is the representation of empowerment of the self-esteem.

Thus, having 'power over' someone doesn't imply that one is empowered, on the contrary, it might be argued that it's an effect of disempowerment. it's not necessarily the case that we only have to feel disempowered in a space of domination; even in seemingly equal spaces, disempowerment can be seen.

2.4.3 Types of Empowerment

It's obvious that many people and groups have tried to give their own definitions of "empowerment." It goes through everything from helping women feel more confident to increasing their output. In modern times, however, women's empowerment has been broken down into five distinct areas: social, educational, economic, political, and psychological.

2.4.3.1 Social Empowerment

Societal empowerment addresses social inequalities based on disability, race, ethnicity, religion, or gender. Commonly, empowerment is defined as a complex social process that assists individuals in taking ownership of their life. People are granted the ability to exercise their power in their own lives, communities, and civilizations by taking action on topics they deem significant. A definition substantially comparable to this one is provided by Valsamma, A. (2006: 27), who states that "women's empowerment is a multidimensional process that enables individuals or groups to realize their full identity and capabilities in all aspects of life." Empowerment means granting women the same privileges, independence, and opportunity to pursue their own interests as males.

Griffin (1987) described female autonomy as "being able to contribute to society at all levels, not simply at home. Additionally, power also requires acknowledging and respecting women's efforts. On the other hand, McWhirter

(1994: 13) states that "Empowerment is the process by which powerless or marginalized people, organizations, or groups (a) become aware of the power dynamics at work in their life context, (b) develop the skills and capacity for gaining some reasonable control over their lives, (c) which they exercise, (d) without violating the rights of others, and (e) which coincides with actively supporting the empowerment of others in their communities.

2.4.3.2 Educational Empowerment

"Traditional notions acknowledge higher education as a tool for human growth. It contributes to the expansion of an individual's intellectual horizons, well-being, and empowerment potential". It is regarded as the most essential tool for sociopolitical and economic revolution (Prasad, S: 32). Education is extremely important in the field of empowerment. Pathak (2003) (cited in Mandal, K.C., 2013: 20) argues that "people must be empowered socially, educationally, politically, economically, and culturally." ". He proceeds to remark, "When the rate of illiteracy rises, individuals will be able to comprehend the true liberties their state grants them.

From a more comprehensive perspective, Mandal, K. C., 2013: 21) explores the concept of "empowerment". She believes that the weak person needed to be given authority. "Empowerment is emancipation from deprivation; it implies equal access to knowledge and information; it also signifies awareness of one's position within one's own group; it demands organization; and it signifies the construction of an information system and knowledge base." Illiteracy and poverty are inextricably related. The majority of the impoverished are uneducated or illiterate. This group of illiterate people feels helpless in some way. They think that mysterious outside forces are in charge of their lives. This sense of inferiority and weakness instills awe in others. They started to rely heavily on luck, good fortune, fate, and most importantly, God or other supernatural beings. Jhabvala, R (2004:

33) mentions that “Empowerment is the process through which disempowered or powerless people can gain control over their lives and transform their circumstances”. This approach is a way in which the weak can change the distribution of power, their way of life, and the existing inequalities.

2.4.3.3 Economic Empowerment

In today's world, economic empowerment is essential in that “Wage employment is a strong economic indicator” (Elliott, 2008: 86). By working and earning money, women and girls might become "breadwinners," contributing home members with a strong sense of financial independence. Economic freedom is a powerful asset against poverty (Biswas, 2010: 27).

2.4.3.4 Political Empowerment

Political empowerment is the state in which individuals have the authority to affect social norms and laws as well as decisions over who gets what, when, and how. This may involve formal or informal (e.g., sociocultural) laws or institutions, as well as the family, community, subnational, and national levels. It may also involve governmental or private groups (Biswas, 2010: 27).

2.4.4 Discursive Power

The subject of power changes has been at the forefront of societal consequences research. This means that the issue of power is intrinsic to modern media systems. Linguistic manifestations of authority are now integral to modern ideas of power:

“discursive power refers to the extent to which the categories of thought, symbolizations and linguistic conventions, and meaningful models of and for the world determine the ability of some actors to control the actions of others or acquire new capacities”. (Reed 2013: 203)

The ability to establish normative discourses, those emerging from political competition, and issue-specific debates is a vital part of power. While this process

remains "often imprecise, ambiguous, or referentially vague (Reed 2013: 200). We propose that political contributors with "discursive power" over others can be identified by their ability to initiate, magnify, and sustain subjects, frames, and speakers that are then picked up by other contributors. Politicians, activists, and famous people have all found this idea to be a useful foundation for understanding the need of controlling the dissemination of information through multiple channels of contact. Those with influence in the media system are those who are able to establish, tap, or direct information flows across a number of traditional and modern media contexts in a way that influences, empowers, or inhibits the agency of others.

According to Chadwick, power is the ability to manipulate information flows in modern media systems to advance one's own strategic goals at the expense of those of others. This adds a new and crucial dimension to the ongoing political debate. From where I'm sitting, there are two major problems with this idea. To begin with, it is unclear how Chadwick's ability to "create, tap, or direct information flows" can be operationalized in terms of quantifiable empirical metrics. Second, this conceptualization has turned the focus away from a systems-view that aims to uncover regular patterns, power dynamics, and their causes, and onto the option that individual actors have between "older" and "newer" logics to achieve their objectives (Chadwick, 2017: 285).

2.5 Previous Studies

Investigating the critical pragmatic approach, a number of studies have been found in this area.

In this concern, "On Power and Empowerment" by Pratto, F. (2016) provides a conceptual explanation of social power. The most prevalent theories of power are social-relational, a strategy exemplified in a variety of modern studies that allow

participants the opportunity to exert control over other individuals. How can this new conceptualization describe the many types of power social relations? is the primary research issue. The phrases control and freedom, influence and independence, agency and commanding obedience are discussed in this study. Power is evidently a difficult notion, given the variety of frequently contradictory phrases used to describe it.

Moreover, "Power and Empowerment" by Demircioglu, M. A., (2016) addresses two interrelated topics: power and empowerment. The investigation began by examining the parallels between these themes. Second, the concept of empowerment was the focus of the study. On the one hand, power is the ability to perform something or act in a specific way, such as the power of speech. On the other hand, empowerment is the delegation of authority to perform something.

A study entitled "A Critical Pragmatic Approach to Racial Discourse in American Contexts" by Muhammed, M. (2018) investigates how the ideology of racism manifests itself in discourse in terms of the critical pragmatic approach. As one kind of the critical studies on discourse, akin to critical discourse analysis and critical stylistics, this approach is based on the pragmatic theories to scrutinize the reflection of aspects of power and ideology in language use. These theories, in turn, provide the pragmatic strategies that underpin the illegitimate issues.

In addition, "Power, Empowerment and Social Participation" by Irene Corrêa Cavalieri and Helena Neves Almeida (2018) is a research paper that examines social intervention that integrates multidisciplinary and participatory concepts and practices that, in various areas, contribute to social empowerment processes. It is considered to be one of the intervention paradigms in modern society. This study demonstrates that the term empowerment has been used frequently in the

disciplines of psychological and social intervention, and that its definition requires the application of diverse expertise. This necessitates the contextualization of its operational concept. Based on a literature study, this paper seeks to frame and contextualize empowerment as a strategic intervention process. It is organized around three themes that describe the power dynamics in contemporary society, as well as the conceptualization of empowerment and social involvement.

In the same stream, the study titled "Power through: A new idea in the empowerment discourse" by Galièa, A. and Farnworth , C.R. (2019) represents a new horizon in the field of empowerment discourse. In the stream of empowerment and disempowerment, they hypothesize a new manipulation for the concept of power. In addition to the four previously described definitions of power, the concept of "power through" explains an unintended aspect of empowerment and disempowerment. As previously stated, it is well known that power can have normative dimensions. In the same stream, though, power through adds a new dimension to power without.

In this concern, Koukpossi, A, O. (2020) deals with a study entitled "A Pragmatic Analysis of Donald Trump's Remarks at Women's Empowerment Panel". Using a Critical Discourse Analysis methodology, he studies critically Donald Trump's remarks at a session on women's empowerment (White House). The objective is to examine the speech using Austin's (1962) Speech Acts Theory, Searle's (1969) Taxonomy, Leech's (1983) Politeness Principle, Grice's (1989) Conversational Principle, and Levinson and Brown's (1987) Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) to reveal and gain a better understanding of Trump's emotions and attitudes toward American women, as well as the type of policy he intends to implement for their empowerment.

Jubair, B. (2021) conducts a study entitled “A Critical Pragmatic Approach to Muslim Preacher’ Sectarian Discourse in British and American Contexts”. This study investigates sectarianism as a social and pragmatic act displayed critically by Sunni and Shiite preachers, for which a critical pragmatic approach of analysis is presented. It examines how British and American Muslim preachers express their sectarian speech pragmatically, as well as how to recreate such discourse in order to de-sectarianize it.

To the best of the researcher's knowledge, no prior research has been done to look at how the idea of empowerment and disempowerment is expressed critically, from a pragmatic standpoint , in American debates. By investigating how the idea of empowerment and disempowerment is constructed using the framework of critical Pragmatics, this study considerably contributes to the literature of linguistics in general and of critical studies in particular. Thus, this study is different from the ones tackled before because it deals with the concept of empowerment and disempowerment from a critical pragmatic standpoint. This is not done so previously.

Chapter Three

The Model of Analysis

3. Introductory Notes

This chapter is concerned with formulating the model of analysis of empowerment and disempowerment in terms of critical pragmatics. Based on CDA relevant approaches, the pragmatic notions and domains, critical pragmatic analyses, and linguistic realizations of empowerment and disempowerment as a social practice, the model is developed and introduced.

Recent studies focusing on the use of pragmatic notions to analyze ideologies behind the discourse are considered and commented on in order to take what is relevant from them.

3.1 Relevant Approaches

Revealing particular ideologies at the discourse level implies the use of linguistic strategies and realizations that could be appropriately implicated within the given context. Beside, CDA strategies are considered as highly relevant. They will be introduced briefly.

According to Machin & Mayer (2012: 6), all CDA practitioners face a number of common challenges. **some of these are word order, lexical style, coherence, topic selection, speech acts, rhetorical figures, syntactic structures, repairs, hesitations, and turn-taking.**

These issues engage in the CP as pragmatically and ideologically multi-modal analyses, which can be conducted according to the following multi-model levels (ibid: 6-9).

3.1.1 Dialectical Approach by Fairclough (1992)

At the analytical level, Fairclough introduces certain key elements to do the CDA. These are:

- a. Genre, focusing on the importance of using language within the genre to be analyzed sheds light on the discourse analysis; this introduces the way of analyzing the genre of empowerment (Fairclough, 1993: p. 138).
- b. Order of discourse reflects the structure of the genre used and the dialectical relation (ibid).

The analysis starts from text [spoken, written, and even semiotic], then the discourse practice [the three stances of production, distribution, and consumption], and finally the socio-cultural practice which indicates the use of discourse within a frame and/or speech event (Fairclough, 1998: p. 144).

These three levels are conducted by means of strategies. According to Fairclough (2010: p. 133), three stages are included:

- a. Description refers to the formal properties of the text, for instance, the formal and structural devices of empowerment and disempowerment.
- b. Interpretation represents the relation between empowerment and disempowerment and the text which should be dialectical.
- c. Explanation reveals the relationship between empowerment and disempowerment and the social practice as explained at the ideological reproduced levels.

3.1.2 Historical Approach by Wodak (2001)

Wodak (2001: 70) proposes a model of analysis used in racism and anti-Semitism based on background knowledge and the various relevant models applicable to the CDA. The idea is that the model is "... to operate with several approaches, empirical data, and background information..." (Wodak, 2001: 70).

In this respect, Wodak (2001: 70) concentrates on applying numerous linguistic tools and realizations to expose the appropriate interpretation of a given discourse through the employment of multiple approaches that can lead to any indication. In addition to semiotic practices, it is crucial for her model to take into account the diachronic relationship between discourse and the communicative events for which discourse is used (ibid.:74), a factor that is fundamental to critically assessing pragmatic acts.

Three aspects of analysis are followed, which Reisigl and Wodak (2009: 90) refer to as the successive stages of analysis:

- a. It is crucial to start with the topic content of a particular discourse; for example, it is essential to discuss empowerment and disempowerment as the topic, power and dominance as the content inside the topic of empowerment and disempowerment.
- b. Investigating discursive strategies, i.e., the ideological structure such as "us" versus "them", "in-group" versus "out-group," etc.
- c. The study of linguistic manifestations and means, which lead and manifest the ideological framework. In other words, both empowerment and disempowerment establish language standards as social practices.

Each communication event can be perceived from a variety of vantage points due to its reliance on intertextuality and contextualization (Wodak and Siegel, 2010: p. 90-93):

- a. Interdiscursivity describes the relationship between discourse frameworks like genre and texts.
- b. Filed [genre] is one of the constituents of the discourse frame, meaning that different genres have distinct discursive purposes, such as the genre of empowerment and disempowerment as a field constituting the discourse frame.

- c. Texts can serve as the container for their subject matter, such as sectarian and racist themes, etc. These can serve as actions directed toward social actors or recipients.

These three steps are contingent on the answers to the five most crucial questions.

- a. Whether linguistic references are employed for people, things, events, etc.?
- b. What features and criteria define these aspects, such as presupposition, metaphor, rhetorical figures, etc.?
- b. What form of argument/position was employed to persuade the recipient?
- d. From what angle is the argument given to the recipient?
- e. Are the statements explicit?

3.1.3 Socio-cognitive Approach by Van Dijk (1995)

According to van Dijk (1995: 18), discourse is analyzed to determine how social structure, mental representation, and speech mediate one another. "Socially shared representations," i.e., mental representations are socially and customarily taken for granted by the members of society. The mediation occurs between social systems and cognitive systems, including interpretation, argumentation, drawing inferences, and so on. These three elements are interconnected in that one is processed and interpreted in relation to the others (ibid: 64).

1. Semantic macrostructure refers to the topics and themes of specific texts, such as the topic of empowerment and disempowerment.
2. The analysis of local meaning indicates the meaning that depends on the pragmatic conceptions such as the indirect and /or implicit meaning shown by implicature, assumptions, ambiguity, etc.

3. The analysis of formal text structures such as discourse markers and standards, indicating the linguistic as well as the para-linguistics purposes of the discourse, for instance, the use of genre-sensitive markers for ideological purposes, such as the use of sectarian terms.
4. The analysis of discourse globally and locally forms as a way of linking both to show how local [pragmatic] use of discourse leads to the communicative event that the speaker tries to convey.
5. Discourse of linguistic realizations and devices is to open discourse such as rhetorical figures (metaphor, hyperbole, litotes...etc) and other structural devices such as passivation, impersonalization... and so on.
6. Marking and finding out the contextual factors are of the greatest use in relating social, cognitive elements to the discourse interpretation.

At the level of social structure, van Dijk (2002: 207) introduces the situational parameters such as the domain, globally/locally interaction, type of communication, functions, intentionality, purpose, date and time, place, circumstances, important objects, the role of the profession, role of participants, and social role of participants. These can be considered when dealing with the empowerment and disempowerment situations as a matter of giving a detailed description of the situation where these two terms are revealed.

3.1.4. Social Actor Approach by Van Leeuwen (1996)

Van Leeuwen (1996: 30) offers his approach that places a greater emphasis on social actors than social structures, based on the notion of demonstrating the critical progression of both good and negative features of a given discourse, and their congruence with the notions held. Here, the meaning is reframed and given new connotations in accordance with the society in which it is reframed. Only

social actors are capable of framing and reframing because "meaning is cultural rather than linguistic" (Leeuwen, 1996: 32).

Every social practice is studied based on a many elements that serve as a context-based influence on the interpretation of meaning. These are listed below:

Participants, activities, performance of the activities, indicators (discourse markers), time, eligibility to employ a certain discourse, participants' reactions to a particular discourse, assessments, and ideological legitimacy are all considered and scrutinized for appropriateness. This is how pragmatics evaluates meaning and deals with significance.

In this approach, Van Leeuwen claims the use of socio-semantics rather than formal linguistic devices and realizations such as nominalization, deletion, and passivation; instead, the social roles that social actors play are given significant weight (ibid.: 43).

On the same stream, re-contextualization and representation are the most pertinent essential elements in this approach. Regarding re-contextualization, it relies on removing the text from its regular context and placing it in another ideological framework. This could serve the ideological interest of the social actor. Accordingly, the meaning can only be interpreted through the cultural context of the social actors. Thus, meaning is recreated through the re-contextualization of cultural conceptions (Leeuwen, 2008: 4). This is applicable when social actors from one politician's use the same terminology with re-contextualized meanings to incite against or attack members of another group.

In terms of representation, social actors depict social behaviors under two broad categories: inclusion and exclusion, often known as in-grouping and out-grouping. The emphasis is on the action and how it is done and represented through discourse via social actors such as subjects, objects, etc. (Leeuwen, 2008: 55).

Exclusion of social actors is possible through the suppression of the other or the textual relegation to the margins [marginalization]. These can be examined pragmatically to determine the speaker's intent. Regarding inclusion, it can be achieved by a variety of approaches: activation/passivation, generalization/specification, association/disassociation, indetermination/differentiation, nomination/categorization, identification/functionalization, and personalization/depersonalization. All of these can be used to the advantage of social actors (ibid: 30).

3.1.5 Theory of Ideology by Van Dijk (1995)

The theory of ideology is viewed as a multidisciplinary framework for understanding multiple ideologies and their applications. Ideologies typically oversee social groups' cognitive processes, which correlate to the fundamental social characteristics of a group based on its identities, standards, positions, goals, and resources (Van Dijk, 1995: 10). This approach correlates cognitive and social attributes to ideological application. According to Van Dijk (ibid.: 47), social cognition is a framework that includes sociocultural information shared by members of a certain group, society, or culture.

A social group's members acquire ideologies through a protracted process and diverse types of social information preparation. The proximity of the words "us against them" is a fundamental element of the ideological depiction. The connection between these two portions is crucial, as "we" is associated with positive characteristics and "them" with negative characteristics (ibid: 110- 135).

Cognitive functions are the primary types of ideological qualities that organize, filter, and regulate a social group's perspectives. Each ideological representation is accompanied with an individual's experiences that serve as proposed models. According to Van Dijk (1987), models represent a person's experience, including exact details about each event or movement that are processed by working

memory. In other words, models are analogous to cognitive function since they assess an individual's reasoning, thought processes, and knowledge. Models are uniquely constructed because they have the capacity to influence the experiences of a socially functioning actor and are influenced by the cognitive processes of other members of the community (Van Dijk, 1995: 145-147).

The previously stated theory of ideology approaches Van Dijk's substantial structure, known as ideological square of Van Dijk. Van Dijk (2000:139) identifies four moves that enable delicate ideological analysis to express many ideologies. The four criteria are the following:

1. Highlight positive aspects of Us.
2. Highlight bad aspects of Them.
3. Downplay negative aspects of Us.
4. Downplay positive aspects of Them.

A more comprehensive contextual approach to positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation must include these four actions. Self-presentation is the study of a person's behavior in a group setting while successfully presenting a variety of beliefs. Positive behavior is emphasized by positive self-representation, such as stating positive things about Us while saying negative things about Them (Van Dijk, 2000).

The negative other-presentation means that neither a good nor a bad statement should be attributed to Us or to Them (ibid). This shows that the term "Them" generally alludes to negativity, judgment, and other negative attitudes, whereas the term "Us" generally refers to positive assertions and views in a social environment.

3.2 Critical Pragmatic Mechanism (CPM)

In critical pragmatic mechanism (henceforth CPM), many models and approaches attempt to bring pragmatic notions to the ideological interpretation and critiquing hidden ideologies under the commentary analysis, following Mey (1993-

2001). To this end, critical pragmatic analysis (henceforth CPA) greatly draws on the models adopted by the practitioners of CDA. The core definition of pragmatics deals with the speaker's intention, CDA practitioners poorly represent certain ideologies that are hidden at the level of intention. This can be reached out through investigating the pragmatic theories such as implicature, presupposition, inferences, speech acts, and relevance theory.

Hence, CPA is tackled within the main concepts, as mentioned above, which have direct relevance to the data to be analyzed. These concepts are mixed with the discourse tools, i.e., linguistics realizations, strategies, and devices, along with the contextual and situational factors to uncover the hidden implications of an ideology. Finding out the implicit ideology leads to the critical interpretation of the text to be analyzed.

According to Mey (2001: 316), speakers use presupposition, implicature, and speech act to connect and naturalize them through the principle of relevance. The key element here is the process of naturalization, i.e., giving the freedom to language users to quit the institutionalization of using language as a way of critically implicating different meanings.

Accordingly, pragmatic notions are employed here as tools for certain social practices, such as the strategies used in conveying any implicated language. "Different language use is not just a matter of linguistic variation." (Moses and Michael, 2014: 155). There can be different purposes, among which is the pragmatic, implicit ideological meaning. This is because language users are not in a position that they can reveal their ideological tendencies in public, a matter which causes them to look for pragmatic strategies to emancipate their language and to convey their hidden ideologies.

Following Mey's (2001) reasoning which is based on Fairclough's approach in CDA, the hidden ideologies can be interpreted by pragmatic concepts as follows:

a. Ideology represents an implicit meaning conveyed through certain contextual factors. This can indicate the use of implicature and the breaching of the CP maxims.

b. Ideology is a back-grounded concept that refers to the shared knowledge between the speaker and the listener.

c. Ideology is taken for granted, indicating the use of presupposition, an essential concept in pragmatics that highly relies on the contextual factors and the mutual knowledge between the speaker and the listener.

d. Ideology is the meaning that not all people are aware of unless it is figured out through particularized contexts. This brings about the pragmatic concept of inference as to reach the speaker's intention.

According to Al-Hindawi and Muhammad (2018: 165), critical pragmatics is characterized by certain basic concepts as ideology, power, and ideological manifestations. Through the pragmatic investigation of power and ideology as an implicit meaning, implicatures and presuppositions are heavily drawn on as a way of unveiling the hidden ideologies. This can be done through the contextual factors which are connected through the relevance principle of communication, following Archer et al (2012: 13).

The relevant pragmatic tools used in the analysis of discourse critically are viewed by Al-Hindawi and Muhammad (2018: 165) as pragmatic strategies used to reproduce certain ideologies. These are as follows:

a. Speech acts (following Searle's classifications) to issue ideologically oriented acts;

b. Reference (following Kupa and Porta's conceptualization of pragmatic reference, 2013: 4) as contextualist references;

c. Strategic maneuvering as introduced by Emeren and Grootendorst, (1992);

d. Implicature and maxim breaching to show an implicit ideology; and

e. Presupposition as pragmatically viewed.

It is believed that it is necessary to add the relevance theory as a cognitive concept that makes all the processes of relating the contextual factors to the hidden, intended ideological manifestations. Additionally, Kepa and Porta (2013: 4) rely on the contextualist approach which starts counting the minimal contextual factors reaching the major ones. This can be used within such pragmatic viewing.

Chen (2020: p. 29-38) introduces a critical pragmatic model for analyzing Chinese public discourse viewing CPs through the following pragmatic concepts:

- a. Deixis is the indicator using language to refer to things. This can be pragmatically manifested, especially the notion of inclusion and/ or exclusion using deictic expressions “you” and “we”, in addition to other deixes that could be of relevance.
- b. (Im)politeness theories are also used as both rarely positive and mostly negative strategies to convey an ideology such as being inconsiderate, rude, aggressive, inappropriate, and so on.
- c. Presupposition (pragmatic presupposition) is employed in the same way of shared knowledge, mutual knowledge, or the common ground regarding an ideology that is implicitly taken for granted. However, this affects the appropriateness of the illocutionary force(s) of the given speech acts (Chen, 2020: 36).
- d. Speech act theory: as AlHindawi et al. (2014: 27) point out, Speech Act Theory (henceforth SAT) is a pragmatic notion that has been provided with studies from its inception in 1962 to 2014. AlHindawi (1999:6) writes that "the study of meaning has been left to linguistic philosophers, in contrast to linguistics, which has long been focused with the study of form." On the other hand, linguistic philosophers have been concerned with the truth or falsity of statements and the

significance of referential meaning. However, Wittgenstein (1958) later attacked this approach with the slogan "meaning in use" and the idea that utterances can only be explained in reference to the activities in which they play a role. In this respect, the two views by Austin and Searle are introduced as follows:

1. Austin's Version of Speech Act Theory

Austin (1962) begins by dividing assertions into two categories: "constatives," which are the sentences he most often uses, and "performatives," which are more seldom used. Constatives, on the one hand, are statements about the current state of circumstances, and they must pass the truth or falsehood test before they may be produced. The production of performatives, on the other hand, might be either happy or sad depending on whether or not certain "felicity conditions" are met (henceforth FCs). Therefore, the truth and falsehood test does not apply to performatives like taking an oath, handing down a sentence, or giving a ship its name. Therefore, according to Austin, all utterances, whether constative or performative, have both a "doing" part and a "saying" element (AlHindawi, 1999: 7). To understand an utterance, all Austin's needs is a collection of its illocutionary energies (Austin, 1962: 64-151). The following are examples of illocutionary power:

- a. Verdictives: A verdict is handed down by a judge, jury, arbitrator, or umpire. They can be as tentative as an educated guess, tentative as a calculation, or tentative as an evaluation. The crux of their main argument is that you can never know for sure about anything of value, truth, or significance. Some verdictives are "characterize," "diagnose," "describe," "analyze," and similar words.

- b. Exercitives :Words like "exercise" and "execution" are examples of exercitives. Appointing, voting, ordering, convincing, counseling, warning, etc., are all examples of such verbs.
- c. The act of declaring one's intentions, advocating for one's cause, and making pledges is closely linked with the compliant mindset. Commissioned officers have obvious ties to the other two groups. Verbs like agree, pledge, engage, swear, favor, plan, and so on fall under this category.
- d. Attitudes and interpersonal habits are linked. Expressions of regret, appreciation, praise, and so on are only a few instances.
- e. Expositives: Austin recognizes the challenge in defining these. Whether we're having an argument or just having a casual discussion, it's not hard to see how our words and statements interact with one another. There are many such words, such as respond, dispute, admit, illustrate, suppose, speculate, and so on (Al-Hindawi et al.,2014: 29).

To avoid the constative/performative divide, Austin has called for diverse acts of making an utterance, as was previously stated. In light of this, Austin (1962) proposes a three-act structure consisting of the locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary phases of communication. The locutionary act, as he defines it (1962: 94), entails the use of a specific structure of words to convey a particular meaning. In a similar vein, he (ibid.: 99) argues that the illocutionary act is the act that has the force of the utterance because it concerns the manner in which people use speech in a specific context, which makes a huge difference when giving advice, giving orders, making suggestions, making promises, etc. Statements, questions, orders, promises, apologies, thanks, and other similar expressions are all included in Searle's (1969) list of illocutionary activities. The perlocutionary act, according to Austin (1962: 121), is the intended result of an illocutionary act, with

repercussions for the hearer. The perlocutionary act, as stated by Sadock (1974: 8), results from the communication process.

According to Searle (1969: 101), the perlocutionary act is the impact that the illocutionary act has on the listener or the subsequent repercussions on the emotions, ideas, and behaviors of the parties involved in the conversation. Austin (1962: 101) uses the example of a guy who witnesses a locutionary SA to try and explain the three actions more clearly; AlHindawi (1999: 12-3) does a good job of summarizing Austin's example. When he told me to "shot her," he meant that I should take out the target (locution). He told me I had to kill her and pressed me to do so (illocution). He convinced me to fire at her (perlocution). The following elementary illustration will further illustrate this point: Kindly, I ask that you switch off the lights. Example 1's locutionary act is a query with an obvious subject, while example 2's illocutionary act indicates a request from the speaker, and example 3's perlocutionary act implies the speaker's desire that the hearer go and switch off the light.

Locutionary act refers to what is stated, Illocutionary act to what is meant, and Perlocutionary act to what is understood.

Haverkate (1984:11) adds a new dimension to the concept of "speaking" with the term "alloction." His definition of an alloction is "choice of words and phrases by a speaker that he believes would most effectively bring about the desired effect of persuading his audience to agree with him. Therefore, the tactic of verbal contact is determined by actions of alloction ".

2. Searle's Version of Speech Act Theory

For seven years after Austin's (1962) initial conception of the SAT, Austin's student Searle (1969:33) refined and formalized SAT. In his writings, Searle differentiates between two types of rules that govern speech acts (henceforth SAs): constitutive rules and regulative rules. Constitutive rules, according to Searle's (ibid.: 34) theory, are those that "constitute," "create," or "define" a particular activity, as opposed to regulative rules, which are those that "regulate" an already existing activity. Explaining the importance of rules by using the game of tennis as an example. Without the rules, it is impossible to imagine the game of tennis being played. The rules cover everything from scoring points to volleying and beyond. On the other hand, there are norms of conduct, or regulative rules, that prohibit unfair play and govern the process of the participants. The purpose of these regulations is to guarantee a level playing field for all participants. The expectation that a preacher will give a sermon to his congregation is an instance of a constitutive norm. Preaching without an audience is impossible due to the interconnected nature of society's many roles. To that end, it is worth noting that Stubbs (2010: 34.) claims that it is impossible to find a scientist who preaches to a patient during a job interview. To rephrase, there is a set of criteria that must be met for any proposed social structure to be considered viable. Some have argued that these standards are more than just regulatory; they are constitutive in that they shape the very mechanism by which a community functions (ibid.:33).

Developing his teacher's theory further, Searle offers a set of general-purpose FCs. Certain FCs must be met in order for Cutting (2002:18) SAs to be carried out correctly and effectively. Austin argues that in order for an action to be felicitous, all parties involved must be aware of its context and their respective roles, the action must be carried out correctly, and the actors must have good intentions. It is

acknowledged by Yule (2003:50) that FCs are certain anticipated or appropriate circumstances that must exist for the execution of a SA to be understood in the manner in which it was intended. In some obvious cases, if the interlocutor is not a specific person acting in a specific context, the performance will be deemed infelicitous (inappropriate). Here's an example: you've been given a six-month prison sentence.

In a courtroom, a judge uttering this phrase would be hailed for his or her eloquence. The sentence is correctly constructed if the speaker is a judge, but not if they are not. Simply put, the FC will be met if and only if the speaker is a specific individual acting in a specific circumstance. Consequences for SAs in normal, everyday situations involving regular people also exist. General conditions, content conditions, preparatory conditions, sincerity conditions, and essential conditions are the five categories into which Yule (ibid:50) places the concept of FCs.

By classifying SAs as either direct or indirect, Searle (1975) adds to the fertile soil of SAT. Direct SA is defined by Quirk et al. (1985: 803) as one in which the structure corresponds to the function; more specifically, a declarative makes a statement, an interrogative makes a question, an imperative makes an order, and an exclamative makes an exclamation. However, "a sentence that contains the illocutionary indicators for one kind of illocutionary act can be uttered to perform another kind of illocutionary act," as Searle (1975: 59) explains, in the case of indirect SAs.

Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 61) state that the distinction between syntactic form categories and meaning/use categories can be objectively illustrated. An illustration is as follows: You'll be leaving soon. The preceding sentence is grammatically a declarative, but it could be used as a question because of the rising

tone of voice used. The following is another example: Could you pass me the salt, please? The previous utterance appears to have a question as its primary force, but this is not what the speaker intends because he is not inquiring as to the hearer's ability to pass the salt; rather, the speaker is requesting that the hearer pass the salt (Al-Hindawi et al.,2014:30). Still, Searle (1976:8) argues that SAs can be broken down into a few distinct types. Representatives, Commissaries, Declarations, and Expressives are all types of these. In this respect, we'll break down each of these categories and explain how they're subdivided.

1) **Representatives**

A representative's interlocutor either commits himself to the veracity of the assertions being made or does not commit themselves to whether or not they consider the assertions to be true, as reported by Levinson (1983:240) and Mey (2004:122). By engaging in these actions, the communicator shapes the conversation so that the words match the world or the belief. A representative SA is one that commits the speaker to the truth of an asserted proposition, as defined by Searle (1969:3). This SA expresses the speaker's opinion on a matter that can be evaluated as true or false. In other words, the speaker will use words like "predictions," "statements," "claims," "suggestions," "announcements," "reports," and "how things really are" to try to explain the world as it is. It could be true or it could be false. For instance, the sun is shining and it is a pleasant temperature outside.

a) Reporting

When people refer to "reporting," they are referring to the act of reporting any historical event in relation to the time of the current utterance (Searle and Vanderveken, 1985: 185). Unlike SAs like "stating" and "claiming," the PCC

implies that P occurred at the time of the reported utterance. The FCs for PCC and SAs are essentially the same, and can be summed up as saying and asserting.

b) **Stating**

Speaker (henceforth S) makes statements, and the SA of stating implies that S is concerned with truth and that he intends to say clearly and sufficiently. This is done in accordance with the following FCs, which are provided by Searle (1969: 66): Any P in PCC2. If S believes P to be true, but S does not immediately recognize that H knows P, then S has circumstantial evidence (PC). S's statement is binding as a representation of an agreement that P is a true statement of fact.

c) **Assertion**

It is necessary for S to assert that some particular set of circumstances holds true. According to Searle (1969: 66), its FCs are equivalent to those of the Rep SA of stating, but its illocutionary force of assertion is greater than that of stating.

2. Directives

A speaker who uses directives is trying to persuade the listener to act in a certain way. It's the power of words to move a listener to action. These performances in front of an audience are meant to persuade them to take part in some sort of action. Instructions, requests, invitations, orders, demands, questions, and suggestions all fall under this heading. Communication of the speaker's intentions through commands places the onus of making the world conform to the speaker's words squarely on the recipient (Yule,1996: 54). The following is an example: We would like to invite you to dinner on Friday. Please, I need to borrow a pen. Please turn on the light switch. I'm going to ask this one more time: (if you don't mind) could you please shut the door. In the context of empowerment and

disempowerment, if directives are the most common type of illocutionary act, it means that the Candidates want the audience to do something with their words and are hoping, indirectly, that they will. Different kinds of instructions include the following:

a) Request

Searle's (1969) FCs govern how the requesting process works. PCC: H. in the near future. Condition of Completion: Both H and S agree that H is capable of performing the act, and it is not immediately obvious to either H or S that H will perform the act. SJ: S is pressuring H to perform the action. EC: S's words qualify as an invitation for H to perform the action.

b) Challenging

To issue a challenge to carry out a certain SA, one must use a certain style of utterance. The test is a step in a verbal chess match. This phrase typically indicates that the speaker finds the action questionable or inappropriate. From Senior to Junior: Jad in S2? With the implication that it will be difficult or impossible for S2, S1 dares S2 to prove the assertion "Jad will be senior" (Cohen and Krifka,2017:1).

3. Commissive

As a verb, "commissive" implies that the user will take some sort of initiative. According to Yule (1996:54), the term commissive is employed by speakers to pledge to carry out future actions. It is clear from these actions what the speaker hopes to achieve. For example, the definition of the word "commissive" is the phrase "the speakers undertake to make the world conform with the words via the speaker." The speaker is now committed to taking part in this activity at some unspecified future date. As Leech (1991:106) points out, commissive is

preoccupied with bringing the real world in line with the spoken word. However, the point of commissive is to obligate the speaker to take action; this implies a future intent on the part of the speaker. It could be a sworn statement, an offer, a threat, a promise, or a vow. I, for one, am going to study for my test tomorrow. Tomorrow, if the weather is good, we plan to head to the beach. I'll be get back soon. I will do that examination, if it is the last thing I do.

a) Threatening

Threat is a statement in which one tells somebody, that the speaker will be punished or harmed, especially if he does not do what you want, to make threats against somebody. It is found that threat was used in a warning act to the addressee ((Putri and Murni 2012:6).).

4) Expressive

Yule (1996:53) claims that expressive might be statement of either pleasure or pain, like or dislike, happiness or sadness. This signifies that the speaker is being expressive in telling about their feelings. The primary function of expressives is to help the listener comprehend the speaker's mental state. It can be used to express many different emotions, such as happiness, sadness, regret, regret, apology, greeting, and gratitude (Sitorus,2019:13). For instance: I sincerely apologize for that.

a) Thanking:

Thank you expressions are those in which the speaker expresses gratitude to the recipient. An expression of gratitude is a word or phrase used to show appreciation for something someone has done (ibid:14). The phrase "Thank you for your

suggestion" is one such example. "I find it to be extremely helpful" (Sitorus,2019:14)

b) Regret

Expressive SA for expressing regret is the definition for the expression of apology. According to Searle's theory, a "expressive SA of apologizing" is a form of speech used when a speaker expresses regret for a prior utterance (Searle,1976:14). Take the phrase "I sincerely apologize" as an example.

C) Congratulating

A congratulatory SA is an expression of joy and sympathy for the recipient (Oraiby,2011:45). It's the kind of thing someone says when they feel empathetic towards the other person, whether that's happy for the other person's good fortune or sad for their misfortune. To cite just one example: "I want to congratulate you on your achievement."

D) Greeting

One definition of the SA of greeting is an indication of warmth and friendliness. According to Searle's theory, an expressive SA of greeting is a specific type of utterance in which the speaker conveys a sense of welcome and a physical act of greeting to the hearer (Searle, 1976:14). For instance, "How are you?" "Good day to you" (Sitorus,2019:15).

e) Grice's Cooperative Principle

When talking to other people, it's important for them to work together. They have a firm grasp on the subject matter at hand and work hard to ensure that their audience does as well. H.P. Grice, in his book *Logic and Conversation*

(1975), posits the Cooperative Principle, stating (Grice, 1989:26) that "our talk exchanges...are characteristically, to some degree at least, cooperative efforts, and each participant recognizes in them, to some extent at least, a common purpose or set of purposes, or at least a mutually accepted direction." In line with this idea, Grice (1975) proposes that unless shown otherwise, people assume a fixed set of rules to be in place whenever they engage in conversation. Assuming the CP is active, if the listener determines that the speaker has made a demonstrably false statement, he or she will look for an implicature. As such, the following pages contain the Gricean maxims:

To further clarify the transmission of implicatures, Grice (1975) breaks down his Cooperative Principle (henceforth CP) into maxims of conversation. Then, he divided these adages into four groups: quantity, relation, manner, and quality.

A) Maxim of Quantity:

1. Make your contribution as informative as required."
2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required."

B) Maxims of Quality:

1. Be truthful.
2. Do not say what you believe to be false.
3. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

C) Maxim of Relation:

1. Be relevant.

D) Maxims of Manner:

1. Be perspicuous”.
2. Avoid obscurity of expression”.
3. Avoid ambiguity”.
4. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity
5. Be orderly.

In the same stream, opting out, violating, infringing, and flouting are four behaviors that Cutting (2002: 36-41) identifies as not following the maxims. Non-observance of the maxim occurs when the speaker makes an exception to the rule.

1) Opting Maxims

According to Al-Qaderi (2015:123), "opting out" of the maxim occurs when the speaker deliberately ignores an opportunity to do so. Sometimes, speakers won't be able to give the expected answers because of legal or ethical constraints. A police officer may respond, "I'm afraid I cannot tell you that information," when pressed for additional information about the victim of an accident, for example. Since there are ethical and legal considerations that must be made, the police officer in this case is hesitant to help and does not provide the expected answer. Before all of the family members have been informed, he will not reveal the identity (Cutting,2002:41).

2. Breaking the Maxims

According to Al-Hamadi and Muhammed (2009:6), the maxim is broken whenever one party deliberately withholds information, is dishonest, makes no sense, or confuses the other party into thinking they are working together.

Questioning A: Does your dog bite?

B: No.

A: (He reaches down to pet it and is bitten.)

Ow! So, you claim that your dog is completely bite-free! I can assure you,

B, that is not my dog. Cutting' (2002, p. 40)

Thirdly, violating the Maxims for Cutting (2002, p. 41) occurs when the maxim is compromised due to the speaker's subpar linguistic performance. When a person's comprehension or use of language is inadequate, they risk breaking the rules in their speech.

3.3 The Eclectic Model

The fact that CDA approaches employ pragmatic concepts to a limited extent allows them to disregard the role of pragmatic concepts that are essentially important. The restricted use of pragmatic notions in CDA approaches leads to a disregard for the role of fundamental pragmatic concepts that might significantly contribute to the accuracy of discourse interpretation. These notions are comparable to the role of the speaker's intent, the implicitness of ideologies employed pragmatically, and other pragmatic fundamental concepts including relevance theory, politeness theory, and others. As they are manifested in the social context, they can have a direct effect on. At the level of CPA, the majority of studies employ Mey's (2001), A theoretical introduction to CPA that relies heavily on CDA. The only addition is that implicature, presupposition, and deixis as a pragmatic one. In addition, for the purpose of discovering the connection between pragmatics and CDA, the data analysis is restricted to a certain utterances from the American debates.

The current model is an attempt to deal with the CDA process into stages. Each stage includes the verbal realization, ideologies and pragmatic strategies that lead to the subsequent step. Nonetheless, it is possible to account for varied ideological

manifestations belonging to numerous ideologies. This is due to the fact that ideology in general shares common characteristics with every speech event in which it is disclosed (Eagleton, 1991). According to these commonalities, the many ideologies are incorporated into the society, structure, stages, and approaches of the current model, which have been constructed to accommodate these commonalities. The concept of empowerment and disempowerment revealing the act of power is manifested in stages, beginning with the triggers of the power ideology, the ideologies employed relating to empowerment and disempowerment, then the pragmatic strategies communicating those triggers, and concluding with the critique.

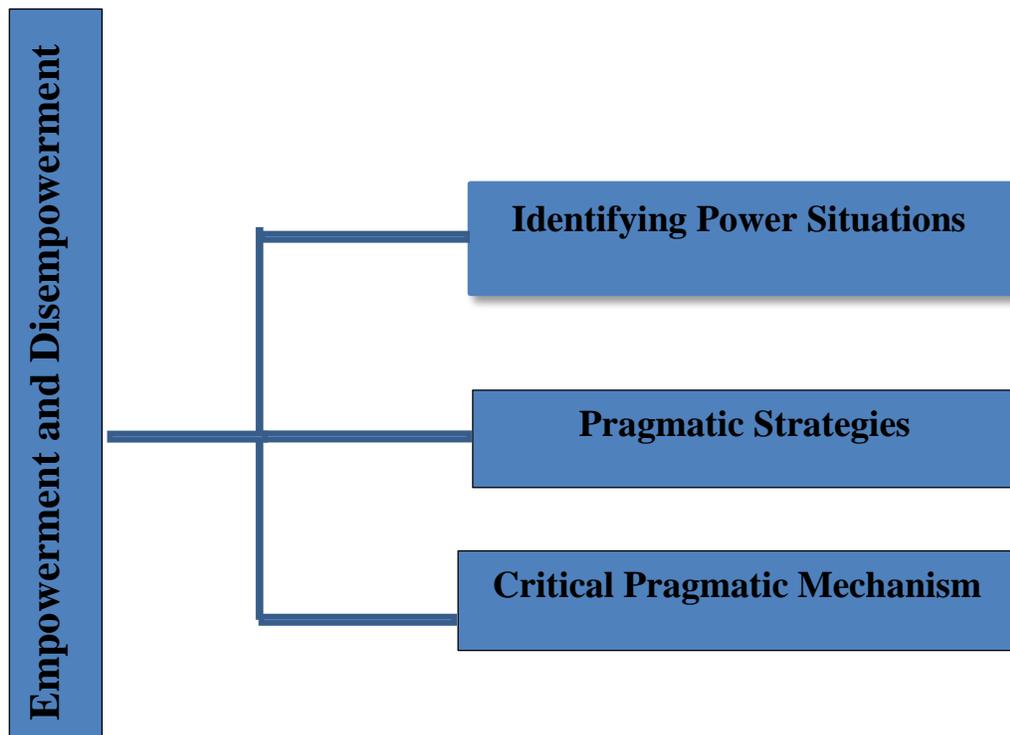


Figure (3): Identification of Empowerment and Disempowerment

3.3.1. Identifying Criteria of Empowerment and Disempowerment

In order to analyze empowerment and disempowerment in American Presidential debates, it is necessary to identify instances in which utterances are powerful or powerless. The following are the linguistic and paralinguistic criteria for identification.

- a. Lexical indicators and words used as linguistic identifiers to identify the Nominees as powerful.
- b. Lexical pragmatic phrases that are used in particular settings between the Nominees and the congregation for pragmatic objectives, such as being courteous, feigning, hinting, etc.
- c. De-contextualization, which is utilized by Nominees to expose power behaviors by giving particular remarks.
- d. Implicature, which is frequently exploited by Nominees as a kind of power concepts employing its pragmatic implications, violations of conversational norms, and similar usages.
- e. The use of pragmatic presumption to demonstrate the Nominees and their audience's shared knowledge of the matter, which indicates empowerment and disempowerment.
- f. The usage of deictic terms that represent power, particularly those that demonstrate inclusivity and exclusivity, which van Dijk (2009: p. 70) refers to as the ideological square.

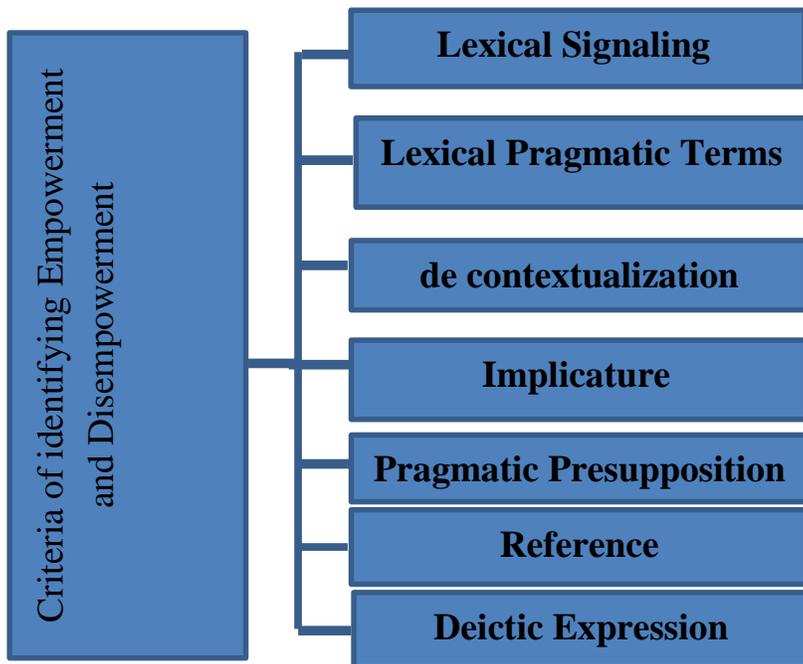


Figure (4): Criteria of Identifying Empowerment and Disempowerment

3.3.2 Pragmatic Strategies

Here, contextual elements are collected so that they can be tailored to the ideology for which discourse is produced . Consequently, all contextualization cues and de-contextualization phases are used to establish the contextual elements that determine the interpretation of the powerful language. The historical, social, cognitive, and other pertinent contextual variables are considered in order to appropriately examine the interpretation.

These indicators can be incorporated into the analytical model, as detailed below:

a. Contextualization

1. Contextual Factors

According to Wodak and Siegel (2010), powerful actions are contextualized by determining the relationships between the following elements:

- a. Relevant is the relationship of discursive practices between the genre [Debate] and the text that contains powerful discourse.
- b. The functions of a certain genre [Debate] may or may not permit Empowerment and Disempowerment as a topic.
- b. The activities of social actors, as well as their authority and hegemony, involve powerful speech.

Other contextualization cues involve paralinguistic signs including facial expressions, body language, and tone. These play a significant role.

In addition to the previously described indicators, Gumperze's (1992) situational elements are useful at this level. The most pertinent are:

- a. The genre of the speech event must be considered, as some issues are understood differently depending on the speech event.
- b. The location of the speech event is also significant since certain social actors [nominees] modify or expose their views depending powerful or powerless context.
- b. The occasion of the speech event is also crucial in disclosing or concealing the various ideologies.

2. Socio-cultural contextual elements

Contextualization signals take into account all politeness maxims, as adhering to the politeness principle is not always meant to express good attitudes.

Certain ideologies employ various positive politeness maxims to conceal empowerment and disempowerment ideology. The maxims have been taken from Leech (2014) which are based on the value that is placed in favor of the other (O) and/or placed in a low value of the speaker (S). These are listed below:

- a. Generosity Maxim: placing a premium on the O's desires
- b. Tact Maxim: little priority on S's desires
- c. Approbation Maxim: strong regard for O's characteristics
- c. Modesty Maxim(self): low value on O's traits
- e. Responsibility to Others Maxim: placing a premium on S's duty to O
- c. Obligation of Others to Self-Maximize: O's obligation to S is given little weight.
- g. Agreement Maxim: O's thoughts are highly valued
- h. Opinion Reticence Maxim: little regard for S's viewpoints
- i. Sympathy Maxim: placing a premium on O's emotions
- j. Feeling Reticence Maxim: little regard for S's emotions

On the other hand, rudeness is a pragmatic idea that is viewed as a broad contextual aspect in power settings. In this strategy, the idea of face is addressed in terms of the desired negative face "face loss" and/or "face destruction."

3. Pragmatic contextual elements are utilized to discreetly conceal particular ideologies, such as:

- a. The use of deictic phrases as clues to adjust the circumstance to the speaker's perspective.
- b. Violations of the CP maxims that lead to implicature are modified in order to reveal the intended meaning.
- c. Inferences might be seen as part of the contextualizing cues for the sake of the planned, concealed ideology.

4. Pragma-rhetorical contextual elements

These factors are exemplified and clarified as follows:

- a. The principal elements [strategies] of strategic maneuvering can be employed to sensitize the setting of power situations or other ideologies that contribute to empowerment and disempowerment.

b. De-contextualization

The second sub-process for adapting the context to a particular ideology (empowerment and disempowerment) is de-contextualization. Without precise documentation and factual references, the debate becomes prejudiced and discriminating, leading to the promotion of specific beliefs over others.

c. Re-contextualization

This refers to the approach through which Nominees re-contextualize and de-contextualized situations to promote their own purposes. Therefore, they can adopt the following strategies:

1. Historical settings are illustrated through the subjective interpretation of allusions and political texts. This issue reproduces several discourse practices and interpretations, providing the listener with new circumstances.

2. Socio-cultural contexts:

New replicas of the discourse adhere to all of the rules and aspects of the society in which nominees communicate their ideological connotations.

2. Cognitive contexts

Politicians do not introduce an entirely new discourse for reproduction; rather, they utilize cognitively represented discourses and attempt to relate them to new settings and interpretations. This type of replication results in the emergence of new ideas, such as empowerment and disempowerment. Incorporating all of these elements, the setting is modified to accommodate the statements of nominees in conditions of bias, discrimination, and incitement. Each of these ideas represents a different phase or facet of empowerment and disempowerment.

3.3.3 First Stage: Motivations of Empowerment and Disempowerment

The pragmatic strategies that fulfill the ideologies that indirectly expose empowerment and Disempowerment are organized in accordance with the following ideologies that are primarily recognized as the triggers of empowerment and disempowerment:

a. It is considered that prejudice with its own pragmatic strategies is one form of ideology that empowerment and disempowerment can take. It consists of the verbal acts that communicate the following attitudes:

1. Selections
2. No supporting evidence
3. Negatively predisposed

b. Discrimination is an additional type of ideology whose ramifications are pragmatically naturalized discriminating acts constituting empowerment and disempowerment.

The speaking activities that communicate this form include:

1. Differentiating based on religion
2. Discriminating against others
3. Demonstrating the disparity depending on religion

c. Intolerance encompasses all actions that can lead to empowerment and disempowerment in the form of bigotry among sects. It is exemplified by the speaking acts that communicate the following characteristics:

1. Rejection of alternative beliefs
2. Incapable of tolerating the practice of nominees
3. Refusing to embrace other actions.

d. Instigation can relate to the ideology of the act of empowerment and disempowerment, in which nominees attempt to excite the audience using particular pragmatic instruments that they and their audience share. There are specific utterances that communicate this form:

1. Inciting others
2. Provoking others

3. Inducing something to occur
4. Compelling to take some action

e. Racism as stated by Wodak and Reisgil (2001:372) is a stigmatizing headword and political “fighting word” that seems to be on almost everyone’s lips today.

f. Sexism is the use of language to devalue and belittle activities connected with women as well as to discriminate against women. The term "practices of foregrounding gender when it is not the most salient feature" refers to sexism. It comes from greater cultural factors, wider institutionalized power inequalities, and disagreement over who has the right to particular positions and resources, just as racism and other types of language discrimination. Sexism is therefore a sign of the ongoing struggle between men and women (Mills, 2008: 1).

During this stage, realistic techniques are displayed, and the ideas of power (empowerment or disempowerment) discourse, such as bias, discrimination, instigation, intolerance, and, etc., are highlighted. The linguistic realizations of the CDA are also concerned with uncovering the power ideologies in use. Finally, the authority exercised by politicians during their debates manipulates and normalizes the latent ideologies concealed inside the speech.

Primarily, van Dijk's ideological square, and Leeuwen's Inclusion – exclusion dichotomies are utilized. In principle, these interpretations have the same operational meaning, but their applications and included tools are distinct.

3.3.4 Second Stage: Concepts of Empowerment and Disempowerment

According to van Dijk's ideological square and Leeuwen (2008: 4-16), inclusion, exclusion, the following are examples of ideologies-which are selected as empowering concepts:

- a. Enhancing one's own individual is done by communicating all socially acceptable and highly regarded topics.
- b. Indoctrination is employed as a tactic to strengthen one's group and to constantly reinforcing its ideology in the brains of others.
- c. Individualization refers to the politician's utilization of all actions that result in inclusion.
- d. Association the politician might utilize it to depict an in-group.
- e. Indetermination is utilized to clarify certain distinctions and ambiguities that are typically employed to conceal other realities.
- f. Collectivization means to refer to one's group as united.

According to van Dijk's ideological square and Leeuwen (2008:P. 4-16), inclusion, exclusion, the following are examples of ideologies-which are selected as disempowering concepts:

- a. Politicians suppress other opponents and make every effort to disregard and disregard all aspects of these sects.
- c. Politicians utilize the strategy of degrading other individuals to distract audience attention away from them.
- b. specification in order to deformatize the usage of disempowerment is to specify.

C. Assimilation refers to the politician's utilization of all actions that result in exclusion.

d. Disassociation is that the politician might utilize it to depict an - out-group individuals.

e. Differentiation is utilized to clarify certain distinctions and ambiguities that are typically employed to conceal other realities.

f. Politicians marginalizes opponents by emphasizing their own and use language that places other them in a subordinate position. This can cause the dominant sect to become superior and the less prominent sects to become inferior.

3.3.5 Testing Model Workability

To apply the above-developed model, the following piece of discourse representing an empowerment or disempowerment situation is analyzed as a matter of showing the accuracy, applicability, and workability of the model.

“Thank you, Lester. They’re devaluing their currency, and there’s nobody in our government to fight them. And we have a very good fight. And we have a winning fight. Because they’re using our country as a piggy bank to rebuild China, and many other countries are doing the same thing. So we’re losing our good jobs, so many of them. When you look at what’s happening in Mexico, a friend of mine who builds plants said it’s the eighth wonder of the world. They’re building some of the biggest plants anywhere in the world, some of the most sophisticated, some of the best plants. With the United States, as he said, not so much”.

Table (3): The Contextual Factors of the Sample

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	at Hofstra University in Hempstead, NY. September 26th, 2016
Participants	Speaker: Trump Addressee: Clinton and the audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Sexiest

In this piece of discourse, the moderator, Clinton and Trump were discussing the money spent to the American jobs and the life of American workers. Trump

accuses the ex-government of losing the jobs. He says that jobs are fleeing to America. Trump made a comparison between the United States and Mexico concerning the jobs and industry. He claims that Mexico develops its country rapidly based their development on our country. He used the expressive SA of thanking the moderator. A metaphorical expression is also used in this piece of discourse, breaching the maxim of quality. As this, Metaphors are created in the Gricean paradigm by breaching the quality maxim (Grice, 1989, p. 34). Additional information has misled the listener, rendering the speaker uncooperative. Holmgren(2006, p. 96) asserts that metaphors are excellent tools for holding onto positions of authority. The expressions “the eighth wonder of the world” renders it metaphorically. Moreover, positive impoliteness strategy is utilized since the speaker ignores and excludes the other party and deny his existence. Hence, this is regarded a representative SA of hypothesizing. He mentioned the devaluing of the currency which is considered as a good resource for Mexico. The positive-us/negative-them dichotomy is represented by the image.

In the first stage of analysis, Trump uses his sexiest ideology to disempower Clinton. He found many faults with reference to Clinton’s office. Thus, this regarded as a form of disempowerment.

Regarding the ideological representations,

- a. Assimilation strategy is used postulating the strategy of Collectivization. He used the collective pronoun “we” a lot to refer his team as powerful and united. Indetermination is also used since euphoric reference is used.

At the level of critical pragmatic mechanisms, this piece of discourse can be addressed as follows:

a. Critique

Concerning the critique, pragmatic factors are used to show the representation of empowerment and disempowerment in this piece of discourse. The expressive SA of thanking, implicature realized by the metaphorical expressions, positive impoliteness, and the positive-us/negative-them dichotomy is represented by the image. Accordingly, Trump uses expressive speech act thanking the moderator. Then, implicature is utilized flouting the quality maxim which renders the utterance metaphorically and the speaker as uncooperative. In addition, positive impoliteness strategy is embodied in the realm of the analysis since ignoring and snubbing other party is recognized. The ideological representations are assimilation, collectivization and the indetermination.

b. Stance

The standpoint of Trump is that the government of Clinton is very weak. There is incapability of running the office. Thus, it renders the speaker as discriminatory against the hearer. In this way, disempowerment appears in this extract.

c. Reproduction

This piece of discourse is rendered inappropriate to the hearer. Thus, it has negative ideological implications within the society. Hence, the appropriateness of the extract is realized the sexiest ideology adopted by the speaker to reveal disempowerment towards the hearer.

Chapter Four

Data Collection, Description, and Analysis

4. Introductory Notes

This chapter sheds the light on the practical aspects, such as the collection of situations, the collection of representative data, and the analysis using the model adopted. The data are collected from the American Presidential Debates by Republican and Democratic nominees, with the emphasis on empowerment and disempowerment. Both nominees' contextual elements are taken into account.

4.1.Data Collection

The data under analysis consists of 30 extracts taken from five debates. It is necessary to clarify some of the contextual factors of the data before moving on to its explanation. The numerous facets of communication in speech events are described by Hymes' (1974: 55–62) grid of SPEAKING. To describe the contextual factors of the genre types of data under scrutiny, his model is modified and then accepted. Due to the diverse range of the data, the contextual factors of each example under scrutiny are listed in a table below the extract. But some of these factors—like venues, participants, and results—are essential to the data.

The modification adds the kind of empowerment and disempowerment since it is relevant to the analysis as being part of the analytical framework. Moreover, a short background account is added prior to each analysis to give a comprehensive explanation to the understanding of the extract under scrutiny. It is previously that a historical background is indispensable in all critical analyses just as power, ideology and stance (Wodak, 2007: 209). This is interpreted here to mean that each utterance is first introduced by presenting some previous premises and background

information beneficial and vital for understanding the example to be analyzed. Table (4) below shows the dimensions of the model of Hymes (1974) with their explanations taken from Saville-Troike (2003: 95-124).

Table (4): Hymes' (1974: 55-62) Model of Contextual Factors

	Dimension	Subcomponents
S	Settings	a. Indicates the time and place of the event b. Psychological setting: participants' understanding of event or environment of setting
P	Participants	Speaker, sender, addressor, hearer, receiver, audience, addressee (present or absent)
E	Ends	Purpose- goals Purpose- outcome
A	Act sequence	Sequential organization of speech acts Message form Message content (or the form and order of the event)
K	Keys	Tone or spirit of the communicative act.
I	Instrumentalities	Medium of transmission of speech Forms of speech and speech style.
N	Norms	Rules of interaction: rules governing speaking Norms of interpretation: rules governing cultural belief systems
G	Genre	The discourse type that achieves the speech event

4.1.1 Data Description

The data of this study concerned with the debates held from (2012 to 2016). The reasons for choosing this period of time are to widen the scope of data and to see if the vast recent claims that empowerment and disempowerment are not an issue from the past is true or not.

The data are introduced in two appendices (A, B). Each appendix represents the time of the debates : namely (Romney. Vs. Obama 2012/Trump Vs. Clinton 2016). Each extract in the qualitative analysis is followed by a letter (A, B) to indicate that this extract is borrowed or taken from the debate: either 2012-2016 respectively.

Different extracts are distinguished, in each genre type, as including empowerment and disempowerment. Therefore, they are selected for the analysis. The extract is of one, two or more utterances so as to complete the thought. This demonstrates that the utterance itself serves as the analytic unit. An utterance, according to Oxford English Dictionary (2016), is "an unbroken chain of spoken or written phrase that represents a complete unit of speech in language,". From a prosodic perspective, it is characterized by a pause. Words, phrases, clauses, and full sentences all count as utterances. In terms of pragmatics, an utterance needs to convey a communicative intention. It is determined that each utterance conveys one complete thought. This is the meaning of utterance in this work. It is worthy to mention that each extract must have a motivation of empowerment or disempowerment utterances at least to be chosen for the analysis as such”.

4.1.1.1 Length

Debates are chosen to find out how empowerment and disempowerment are shown in the American presidential context. This entails that they vary in length. A debate, on the one hand, may be longer than a speech. On the other hand, chosen extracts are included in the analysis where one, two, three or more utterances are scrutinized under investigation to set the idea comprehensive and to show how empowerment and disempowerment are conveyed via language in each extract.

4.1.1.2 Form

The utterances under scrutiny are transcribed versions of the spoken form as far as debates are concerned. The choice of the written forms comes from the fact that they make the analysis easier and more convenient. The video-recordings of the debates, however, are consulted just to make sure that decided-upon interpretation concerning the specific utterance is an aspect of empowerment or disempowerment.

4.1.1.3 Themes

Utterances related to immigration, refugees and minorities affairs, foreign and domestic policies, or elections are chosen to be under scrutiny. These are the themes where empowerment or disempowerment are expected to include.

4.2 Data Analysis

4.2.1 Methodology

There are two types of data analysis used in this study: qualitative and quantitative. Utilizing the analytical framework adopted in chapter Three, the first

aim is accomplished. In order to demonstrate the fundamental ideas under consideration, it is applied to a few typical examples. The statistical analysis is used to demonstrate numerically that the conclusions of the qualitative analysis are valid. It is carried out by SPSS. The objective is to determine whether or not the hypotheses of the study are verified.

Each utterance is determined to be an example of empowerment and disempowerment based on a set of criteria that unfold during the scrutiny. *“Empowerment is the attitude that is based on the beliefs and feelings of being superior and distinguished as it is inspired by the concept of being positively different in terms of specific aspects of differentiation like those of race, religion, gender and so on”*. This differentiation implies the concept of presenting the Self as positive and the other as negative.

The analysis comprises several levels as the analytical framework suggests. The first level specifies the kind of empowerment. Then, the pragmatic perspective is put under scrutiny within each form. The other step includes applying the reproduction mechanism of CPs. A stance has been taken from the very start . Thus, the stance and critique mechanisms are conducted to proceed throughout the analysis itself. Each utterance is then studied to find out how the reproduction mechanism can be specified.

Extract (1):

"And the Mexican government is much smarter, much sharper, much more cunning. And they send the bad ones over because they don't want to pay for them. They don't want to take care of them. Why should they when the stupid leaders of the United States will do it for them?"

Table (5): The Contextual Factors of Extract (1)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	Cleveland August, 7, 2015
Participants	Speaker: Trump Addressee: audience in a debate
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Prejudice

This piece of discourse is taken from a Republican Debate of ten Republican presidential candidates. Trump, who is being racist against the Mexican people identified by the hate speech, is the owner of these utterances. This utterance is shown as racist because it is directed at the immigrants regarding them as inferior and bad; their government is unable to serve them and give any kind of help to them. The president sees them prejudicially as such. His words come out of his proposed authority. He accuses the Mexican government of sending the bad people in Mexico to the United States. The SA of accusation reveals his speech of disempowerment for the Mexican government for dealing with immigrants. He also states that it does so intentionally in order not to take care of those people. In the same stream, Trump sees himself as superior and the Mexican people as inferior in that he regard them as the subordinate group of people.

For the criteria of empowerment and disempowerment, Trump uses SA of accusation as a kind for accusing the Mexican government for not taking care of their people. In terms of impoliteness, it is a bald on-record direct one that the Mexican immigrants are bad people. Furthermore, this utterance might have an impolite implication that the *Mexican government* intentionally sends all those bad

ones. There is also a positive impoliteness sub-strategy that threatens the face of those immigrants with their desire to be respected. Reference is activated by the use of a proper noun: *Mexican government*. Thus, there is an overt example of disempowerment for the Mexican Government.

The first stage of analysis shows that Trump seems prejudice to his country. His words come out as a result of his authority. He accuses the Mexican government of sending the bad people in Mexico to the United States. Thus, he considers himself as the Guard of United States.

The second stage is represented in the ideological strategies to naturalize his disempowerment discourse:

- a. **Suppression strategy** is used by Trump to empower his country, and on the contrary, disempower Mexican country in return. According to this strategy the speaker neglects and ignores all the things about the one referred to.
- b. **Differentiation strategy** is also used to exclude those who do not follow his country. In this respect, Trump tries to exclude all Mexican people and ignore them.

The third stage of the critical pragmatic mechanisms which have been employed are as follows:

a. Critique

It is utilized, here, using the pragmatic strategies such as **SA of accusation**, and **bald on-record strategy of impoliteness** realized by sub-strategy of impolite implication, the use of lexical signals as identifying criteria for the empowerment and disempowerment situation. Furthermore,

b. Stance

Trump has been trying to show his superiority and make the other subordinate. However, critically, it can be argued that Trump tries to suppress the other party and makes him passive. Thus, Trump's speech is regarded superior and dominant and Clinton's administration is inferior.

c. Reproduction

In this concern, the suppression strategy is replaced with enhancement to eliminate the aspect of accusation. Activation is also replaced by passivation to erase the sense of distinction of being prejudice. According to this mechanism, modification is represented.

Extract (2):

" We take care of illegal immigrants, people that come into our country illegally better than we take care of our vets. That can't happen. Our policemen and women are disrespected. We need law and order, but we need justice too. Our inner cities are a disaster. You get shot walking to the store. They have no education. They have no jobs. I will do more for African-Americans and Latinos that she can do for ten lifetimes. All she's done is talk to the African-Americans and to the Latinos, but they get the vote and then they come back, they say 'we'll see you in four years.' We are going to make America strong again and we are going to make America great again and it has to start now. We cannot take four more years of Barack Obama, and that's what you get when you get her."

Table (6): The Contextual Factors of Extract (2)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	Las Vegas October, 20, 2016

Participants	Speaker: Trump Addressee: Clinton and audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate (Presidential one)
Kind	Discriminatory

This extract is taken from the third presidential debate between Trump and Clinton. It is uttered by a person from the high political elite who is a candidate for the presidency of the United States with the power of such a position. His claim that he will help the Africans and Latinos hints to his superior status. He distinguishes himself as a powerful white man who is capable of helping those different *Others*. Trump seems to postulate more power for himself than Clinton in this declaration. He uses definite descriptions as a referencing strategy. He presents himself as superior and capable of helping those people when he is elected. Those groups of people are seen as weak in the American society.

As for the concept of empowerment and disempowerment, Trump uses SA of promising. It represented in the planning act as a lexical signaling for the empowerment of Latinos and African. Trump's commissive SA of promising is seen superior to African-Americans and Latinos than Clinton. This is an indication of his empowerment. He also used off-record impoliteness which revealed in the attacking of other's face. He attack's Clinton face regarding the kind of help presented to those Latinos and African People.

The first stage of the analysis shows that Trump uses the discriminatory strategy. He makes use of this form of strategy to show his treatment to African-American differently than Clinton does. So, he treats them differently where this not found in Clinton's office. Thus, Commissive SA is an empowering strategy adopted in this extract to deal with the people African-American.

As for the second stage, Trump utilizes two ideological strategies in order to naturalize his empowering discourse. He makes use of:

- a. Enhancing strategy is represented by all the socially acceptable and highly respected things which are the actions of being sided with those poor people. As “I will do more for African-American”.
- b. Collectivization is also claimed here of by Trump to refer to his followers as one united team working together to help African-American people. As in “we are making America strong again”.
- c. Individualization is referred to as a strategy to include all people within the in-group dichotomy.

The third stage of the critical pragmatic mechanisms which have been employed are as follows:

a. Critique

It is utilized, here, using the pragmatic devices such as commissive SA of promising, and off-record impoliteness realized by the sub-strategy of impolite implicature, the use of lexical signals as identifying criteria for the empowerment and disempowerment situation. Thus, the nominee makes distinction and discrimination against the other administration.

b. Stance

Trump tries to show his superiority and make the other subordinate. However, critical pragmatically, it can be argued that the Trump attempts to marginalize the audience with a certain ideology of powerful tenets. Accordingly, this piece of discourse is regarded superior and dominant and Clinton’s administration is inferior.

c. Reproduction

In this concern, the categorization has been replaced by generalization to erase the sense of distinction and discrimination of Trump for making his election campaign strong. Hence, deletion is utilized to make use of the reproduction mechanism.

Extract (3):

“We cannot let it happen. Under my plan, I’ll be reducing taxes tremendously, from 35 percent to 15 percent for companies, small and big businesses. That’s going to be a job creator like we haven’t seen since Ronald Reagan. It’s going to be a beautiful thing to watch. Companies will come. They will build. They will expand. New companies will start. And I look very, very much forward to doing it. We have to renegotiate our trade deals, and we have to stop these countries from stealing our companies and our jobs”.

Table (7) : shows the Contextual Factors of Extract (3)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	September 26th, 2016 at Hofstra University in Hempstead, NY.
Participants	Speaker: Trump Addressee: Clinton and the audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Prejudice

This piece of discourse is taken from a Debate between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. It is spoken by Trump who offended Hillary Clinton. They also talked about the companies that will rebuild the country again. Trump also

confirms the issue of fleeing jobs outside the country and the people of United States are deprived from getting any chance due to the weakness of the democratic party in running the administration. Trump is planning to make his country beautiful as he utters a commissive SA of planning for future action. Trump is prejudicially as such dealing with issues of his country. He prefers his time of presidency over his rivals. He breaches the maxim of quality by adding information more than what is said. reference is manifested outlining the proper noun referring strategy. “**Ronald Reagan**” is a proper noun used as a referencing super strategy. Trump refers to him the one who makes America great.

The use of specific identifiers like signals, lexical pragmatic phrases, references, and deictic expressions indicates that this piece of speech reveals individual empowerment. The use of Commissive SA, SA of obligation and Tact Maxim are employed as three lexical signals to indicate to listeners that Trump is empowered depending on these principles. The purpose of tact maxim itself is to establish feeling of community and social relationship. According to this principle, Trump minimize cost of others and maximize benefits to others. The proper noun description of “Ronald Reagan” is also present as an evidence for his prejudice ideology and feeling of empowerment.

Concerning the ideology in the first stage, Trump show a prejudice discourse especially when he mentions all the things that make him powerful in the next run of election.

As for the second stage of analysis, the ideologies represented in this discourse are Enhancing and association strategies . The first one, on the one hand, deals with all the socially acceptable and highly respected things which are the actions of being sided with those poor people. On the other hand, association refers to the

involvement of social actors in the action mentioned above. Moreover, Individualization is used to include all people within the in-group dichotomy.

At the level of critical pragmatic mechanisms, this piece of discourse can be addressed as follows:

a. Critique

Regarding the critique, Trump used the commissive and obligatory SAs when he is committed for the future plans. He also incorporates politeness principle which is tactic maxim. He tries to minimize the cost to his people and maximize the efforts to put things into effect and these things are considered a source of empowerment. As for the ideologies adopted by him, He makes use of the enhancement and association strategies. In this sense, he shows a positive ideological orientation toward his people. In this case empowerment is revealed in the presidential debates as a source for the competition of election.

b. Stance

Following the ideological rules, this piece of discourse is regarded applicable. The employment of pragmatic strategies by Trump is intended to legitimize the hidden ideology of prejudice discourse to be taken as empowering one.

c. Reproduction

Trump gets the empowering situation by the linguistic devices, as mentioned to earlier, and pragmatic strategies which are decontextualization and recontextualization in order to mitigate the provocative speech acts. Trump intends to enhance and associate the other people through pragmatic strategies and establishing common provocative statements.

Extract (4):

“So just to finish on the borders...She wants open borders. People are going to pour into our country. People are going to come in from Syria. She wants 50 percent more people than Barack Obama, and he has thousands and thousands of people. They have no idea where they come from. And you see, we are going to stop radical Islamic terrorism in this country”.

Table (8): The Contextual Factors of Extract (4)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	Las Vegas October 20, 2016
Participants	Speaker: Trump Addressee: Clinton and the audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Racist

Trump shows his racist ideology against Syrian immigrants is evident in his statements. Because of their propensity to be terrorists, the various Others (immigrants) are not welcomed by Trump. The positive-us/negative-them dichotomy is represented by the image. He connects the Syrians living in the United States and terrorism, which is now linked to Islam. There's a feeling of accusing all Syrians of being terrorists. Trump has selected an urgent theme (immigration) to be connected to (terrorism). This **racist** statement is made clear by utilizing the proper term to refer to Syrians. In the same stream, Trump tries to undermine their existence in the United States and disempowerment is shown toward the Syrian immigrants and refugees.

In this extract, the word "pour" is used metaphorically. It depicts the idea of immigrants and refugees flowing in like unstoppable water in the sense that it is difficult to contain or control them as with liquids; this image evokes feelings of danger, threat, and the need for immediate action. Metaphors are created in the Gricean paradigm by breaching the quality maxim (Grice, 1989, p. 34). Additional information has misled the listener, rendering the speaker uncooperative. Holmgren(2006, p. 96) asserts that metaphors are excellent tools for holding onto positions of authority. At the end of the extract, Trump uses Commissive SA of planning for future actions. He tries to impose restriction on the immigrants for preventing them from coming to America. Besides, Trump used a referring strategy utilizing the deictic expressions of personal pronouns “**she**” referring to Clinton. In line with that, Trump belittle her in front of the audience.

Regarding the ideology in the first stage, the use of racist ideology is revealed in this piece of discourse. He uses his racist ideology toward the immigrants and Islam. As a result, disempowerment ideology towards Syrian, immigrants, and Islam appeared in his speech.

As for the second stage, the ideologies represented in this piece of discourse are as follows:

- a. Suppression, on the one hand, means ignoring and neglecting all the things specific community.
- b. Assimilation, on the other hand, means undermining ordinary people as opposed to individualizing elite group and community. Thus, the ideologies of disempowerment is shown with respect to the preceding two ideologies.

At the level of critical pragmatic mechanisms, this piece of discourse can be addressed as follows:

a. Critique

Regarding the critique, the pragmatic factors revealed in this discourse are: metaphor, implicature by breaching the maxim of quantity, the Commissive SA of planning and the referring strategy of definite reference. In above extract, Trump shows his racist ideology toward the Syrian immigrants and Islam. Moreover, Trump used a referring strategy utilizing the deictic expressions of personal pronouns “**she**”, i.e. disempowerment is clear when using the strategy mentioned earlier toward his rival Clinton trying to belittle her in front of the audience. Then, Trump uses the ideological strategies of suppression and assimilation to ignore and assimilate the ordinary people. Thus, the positive-us/negative-them dichotomy is represented by the image. He connects the Syrians living in the United States and terrorism, which is now linked to Islam. Hence, there a kind of negative ideology toward the Islamic people.

b. stance

In this piece of discourse, Trump’s stance of disempowerment is revealed through the use of the implicit ideologies and pragmatic factors utilized in the extract.

c. Reproduction

critical pragmatic analyst would reproduce such an utterance as follows: “There will be a massive flow of individuals into our country. From every corner of the globe, people will flock here”. This involves presenting more information to mitigate the racist ideology against the Syrian and Islamic people.

Extract (5):

" We need the wall. The border patrol, I.C.E., they all want the wall. We stop the drugs; we shore up the border. One of my first acts will be to get all of the drug lords, all of the bad ones, we have some bad, bad people in this country that have to go out. We're going to get them out. We're going to secure the border. And once the border is secured, at a later date, we'll make a determination as to the rest. But we have some bad hombres here and we're going to get them out".

Table (9): The Contextual Factors of Extract (5)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	National Harbor, Maryland February, 23, 2018
Participants	Speaker: Trump Addressee: Clinton and audience
End	Presidential elections
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	discriminatory

This extract represents Trump-Clinton third debate. Because it contains anti-immigrant implications, this statement is counted as discriminatory ideology. By maintaining the borders, the country's borders will be kept closed to such individuals. They are not welcomed. Trump provides a subtly discriminatory example, which is made explicit by an implication. The SA of promising is represented here. The off-record impolite implicature lies in the sense that the government is going to secure the borders which are unsecured letting immigrants

coming throughout these borders easily. Implicature is also realized when mentioning the bad people, flouting the maxim of quantity which is adding information more than what is said, rendering the speaker as uncooperative.

To what is presented earlier, Firstly, immigrants pose a threat to the country 's security. Secondly, all immigrants living in the country are notified indirectly that they might face expulsion by the statement. Thirdly, it is also conveyed to individuals who want to immigrate to the United States that the new immigration laws and practices make it difficult for them to do so.

The first stage of the analysis shows the ideology behind this statement. The ideology is represented in discriminatory ideological orientation. Trump provides a subtly discriminatory example, which is made explicit by an implication.

The second stage of the analysis deals with the ideological representations. In this extract, there appears two strategies namely, enhancement and the collectivization. Regarding enhancement, Trump enhances the idea of building the wall on the borders. As for the collectivization, he utilized this strategy by mentioning the personal pronoun "we" more than five times referring to his followers united as one team. In this regard, empowering discourse is realized here. In line with these, marginalization is also used where it puts the speaker as the dominant and the listener inferior, i.e. the subordinated. Individualization is manifested to include all people within the in-group dichotomy.

At the level of critical pragmatic mechanisms, this piece of discourse can be addressed as follows:

a. Critique

As for Critique, the SA of promising , Off record impolite strategy and the implicature by breaching the maxim of quantity are used rendering the piece of discourse as racist toward the new comers to the United States. In this extract, there appears two strategies namely, enhancement and the collectivization. Regarding backgrounding, Trump backgrounds the word “the wall””. As for the collectivization, he utilized this strategy by mentioning the personal pronoun “**we**” referring to his followers united as one team. Marginalization is also used where it puts the speaker as the dominant and the listener inferior, i.e. the subordinated. This is where empowerment is realized.

b. Stance

Trump is empowered for having the power over others. The ideologies represented in the second stage of the analysis proves.

c. Reproduction

In this piece of discourse, the utterance is rendered inappropriate lacking the logical rules of uttering an utterance. Such an utterance might be reproduced by a critical pragmatic analyst as follows: "We are going to secure the border against the bad people only." To counteract the ethnicity tendency, some information must be added.

Extract (6):

“He has no respect for her. He has no respect for our president. And I’ll tell you what: We’re in very serious trouble, because we have a country with tremendous numbers of nuclear warheads—1,800, by the way—where they expanded and we didn’t, 1,800 nuclear warheads. And she’s playing chicken.

Look, Putin... ... from everything I see, has no respect for this person”.

Table (10): The Contextual Factors of Extract (6)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	Las Vegas October 20, 2016
Participants	Speaker: Trump Addressee: Clinton and the audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Racist

When Trump uses the pronoun "this person" to refer to Clinton, publicly belittle her because of his discriminatory ideology. When he refers to her as "playing chicken," he suggests that she is engaging in a dangerous game to demonstrate her. This utterance is rendered metaphorically. His utterance is regarded as his discriminatory ideology appears. This is a referring strategy that uses a deictic expression to select Clinton. It is an expressive SA that perceives someone or something as less impressive or important than reality. He employs this expression rather than calling her by name or referring to her as a candidate. Despite the fact that this is a debate between two competitive candidates who are competing for vote support, Trump personally criticizes Clinton, calls her names, and a SA of criticizing. In this regard, He criticizes her political and policy visions. This suggests that he is discriminatory and believes that he is superior to her. This renders the piece of discourse as disempowering discourse to belittle Clinton.

The first stage of the analysis shows that Trump is discriminating Clinton behaving according to his racial ideology toward women. This renders the piece of discourse as the superior over the inferior. Hence Clinton is disempowered.

Concerning the ideological representation, marginalization strategy is utilized when enhancing one's group and ignore the other team or group. Suppression strategy is also used when referring to the "president" as Barack Obama.

At the level of critical pragmatic mechanisms, this piece of discourse can be addressed as follows:

a. Critique

Regarding the critique, certain pragmatic factors are utilized to reveal the ideology of empowerment and disempowerment. The first one is a referring strategy that uses a deixis to talk about Clinton. Thus, "this" is a referring strategy to her, belittling and devaluing her authority. It is an expressive SA. He employs this expression rather than calling her by name or referring to her as a candidate. Trump personally criticizes Clinton, calls her names, and publicly belittle her because of his discriminatory ideology. When he refers to her as "playing chicken," he suggests that she is engaging in a dangerous game to demonstrate her. This utterance is rendered metaphorically. His utterance is regarded as a SA of criticizing. In this regard, He criticizes her political and policy visions. This suggests that he is discriminatory and believes that he is superior to her. This renders the piece of discourse as disempowering discourse to belittle Clinton.

b. Stance

This piece of discourse is rendered negatively and contains a negative ideology towards Clinton. Trump uses the disempowerment strategy to belittle his rival. This is showed in the marginalization and nomination strategies adopted in the second stage of the ideological representations.

c. Reproduction

Here, utterances are recontextualized and reproduced in the course of the discourse: ‘from everything I see, he has a respect for Mrs. Clinton’. Accordingly, the utterance is not appropriate because Trump disempowers Clinton for having many mistakes in running the country.

Extract (7):

“I never met Putin. This is not my best friend. But if the United States got along with Russia, wouldn’t be so bad. Let me tell you, Putin has outsmarted her and Obama at every single step of the way. Whether it’s Syria, you name it. Missiles. Take a look at the “startup” that they signed. The Russians have said, according to many, many reports, I can’t believe they allowed us to do this. They create warheads, and we can’t. The Russians can’t believe it. She has been outsmarted by Putin”.

Table (11): The Contextual Factors of Extract (7)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	Las Vegas October 20, 2016
Participants	Speaker: Trump Addressee: Clinton and the audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Discriminatory

Trump, here, uses his sexist ideology against Hillary Clinton and the Administration of Obama. He accused Putin of enticing Clinton and Obama and pulling their legs in the foreign affairs concerning Syria and other issues. In this

regard, a declarative SA of assertion is utilized. According to Trump's opinion, Putin, with the help of Clinton and Obama, stepped in Syria besides making warheads missiles. Using a demonstrative pronoun to identify **PUTIN** (this) is the refereeing strategy used here that something or someone is less remarkable or significant than it actually is. Instead of calling him by name or identifying him as a president, he uses demonstrative (**this**) for representing the president. Trump openly belittles Putin due to his intolerant ideologies. Here, there is also a representative SA of concluding that Putin outsmarted Clinton for making warheads and signing deals. Regarding the positive impoliteness adopted in this extract. It is used as "maximizing the dispraise of others" as the case with Clinton. In this case, he is disempowering Clinton who, according to him, doesn't suit the president of United Sates.

The first stage of the analysis shows that Trump is intolerant against Clinton since he is rejecting the practice of the office by the Democratic Party.

Concerning the ideological representation, degrading strategy is utilized when. Differentiation strategy is also used when referring to the "Putin" which is a unique identity.

At the level of critical pragmatic mechanisms, this piece of discourse can be addressed as follows:

a. Critique

Regarding the critique, certain pragmatic factors are utilized to reveal the ideology of empowerment and disempowerment. A declarative SA of assertion, referring strategy using demonstrative pronoun to belittle the Russian President are used as a means of disempowerment. Moreover, Trump uses a representative SA of concluding that Putin was pulling the

legs of Clinton and Obama to control the world. In the same stream, positive impoliteness strategy is also adopted using subbing or ignorance. Regarding this, the maximization of dispraising others are employed here with concerning Clinton and the other cabinet of Barrack Obama.

b. Stance

The stance shows that Trump uses degrading strategy to deal with Clinton as a strategy of disempowering for her role in the next presidency. He accuses her many times. This renders Trump intolerant towards Clinton.

c. Reproduction

To eliminate the intolerance ideology here, a natural ideology can be yielded depending on the pragmatic factors utilized in this piece of discourse. The utterance *“Has Putin been outsmarted by Clinton?”*. In this regard, *disempowerment ideology is observed. The questioning mechanism is observed in this extract.*

Extract (8):

“You called it the gold standard [*crosstalk*] You called it the gold standard of trade deals. You said it’s the finest deal you’ve ever seen. And then you heard what I said about it, and all of a sudden you were against it”.

Table (12): The Contextual Factors of Extract (8)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	University in Hempstead, New York September 26, 2016
Participants	Speaker: Trump Addressee: Clinton and the audience
End	Electional campaign

Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Prejudice

In the preceding discourse, Trump mentions that Clinton's husband is one who signed the NAFTA. In line with this, Clinton states that Trump's claim was not accurate. As for the agreement, she claims that she went once for the negotiation. For Clinton, Trump postulates that negotiation plays a vital role just like the gold standard because this gold supports the NAFTA trade deal. Besides, Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump talked about the success of the negotiation done by Clinton. However, Trump thinks that Clinton's argument is not appropriate. In this respect, Trump's gold standard is opposite to Clinton one. Thus, it is determined that Trump uses the sarcasm or mocking impoliteness in line with Culpeper's theory. Sarcastically, Trump insults Clinton about the statement of the success in negotiations. Hence, he uses impoliteness strategy which coercive in function. Trump's function seems more powerful than Clinton and it is clear that Trump does not show any respect to her. In the same stream, the pragmatic presupposition is observed. Trump presupposes that the deal is the worst ever happened to US industry at the hands of Clinton and Obama.

In the first stage of analysis, Trump is prejudiced dealing with the people who signed the NAFTA. It is the worst ever deal that occurred with the USA. Trump considers himself as the positive point of reference in this kind of discourse.

In second stage of the analysis, the ideological representations are embodied which are based on the exclusion of other party. In this respect, suppression is utilized in that he did not figure out what does he mean by gold standard. In addition, disassociation is also used when he used the coordinator "and" to declare

himself as the superior and the others are inferiors. Thus, everything he mentions comes under his authority.

At the level of critical pragmatic mechanisms, this piece of discourse can be addressed as follows:

a. Critique

Regarding the critique, certain pragmatic factors are utilized to reveal the ideology of empowerment and disempowerment. Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump talked about the success of the negotiation done by Clinton. Thus, it is determined that Trump uses the sarcasm or mocking politeness according to Culpeper's theory. Sarcastically, Trump insults Clinton about the statement of the success in negotiations. Additionally, he uses impoliteness strategy which coercive in function. Trump's function seems more powerful than Clinton and it is clear that Trump does not show any respect to her. In the same stream, the pragmatic presupposition is observed when Trump presupposes that the deal is the worst ever happened to US industry at the hands of Clinton and Obama. This is represented in the expression "the gold standard" in which there is a deal and it is corrupted.

b. Stance

The ideological orientations are manifested in the exclusion, i.e. the suppression of certain beliefs by Trump. The discriminatory ideology is also manifested in the extract mentioned earlier.

c. Reproduction

After decontextualizing the utterances, they showed a negative orientation and suppression is to be avoided by replaced by enhancement.

Extract (9):

“Thank you, Lester They’re devaluing their currency, and there’s nobody in our government to fight them. And we have a very good fight. And we have a winning fight. Because they’re using our country as a piggy bank to rebuild China, and many other countries are doing the same thing. So we’re losing our good jobs, so many of them. When you look at what’s happening in Mexico, a friend of mine who builds plants said it’s the eighth wonder of the world. They’re building some of the biggest plants anywhere in the world, some of the most sophisticated, some of the best plants. With the United States, as he said, not so much”.

Table (13): The Contextual Factors of Extract (9)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	at Hofstra University in Hempstead, NY. September 26th, 2016
Participants	Speaker: Trump Addressee: Clinton and the audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Sexiest

In this piece of discourse, the moderator, Clinton and Trump were discussing the money spent to the American jobs and the life of American workers. Trump accuses the ex-government of losing the jobs. He says that jobs are fleeing to America. Trump made a comparison between the United States and Mexico concerning the jobs and industry. He claims that Mexico develops its country

rapidly based their development on our country. He used the expressive SA of thanking the moderator. A metaphorical expression is also used in this piece of discourse, breaching the maxim of quality. As this, Metaphors are created in the Gricean paradigm by breaching the quality maxim (Grice, 1989: 34). Additional information has misled the listener, rendering the speaker uncooperative. Holmgren(2006: 96) asserts that metaphors are excellent tools for holding onto positions of authority. The expressions “the eighth wonder of the world” renders it metaphorically. Moreover, positive impoliteness strategy is utilized since the speaker ignores and excludes the other party and deny his existence. A representative SA of hypothesizing. He mentioned the devaluing of the currency which is considered as a good resource for Mexico. The positive-us/negative-them dichotomy is represented by the image.

In the first stage of analysis, Trump uses his sexiest ideology to disempower the government of Clinton. He found many faults with reference to Clinton’s office.

Regarding the ideological representations, assimilation strategy is used to assimilate the elite people to undermine their power in an effort to weaken their opportunities to win the vote.

At the level of critical pragmatic mechanisms, this piece of discourse can be addressed as follows:

a. Critique

Concerning the critique, pragmatic factors are used to show the representation of empowerment and disempowerment in this piece of discourse. The expressive SA of thanking, implicature realized by the metaphorical expressions, positive impoliteness, and the positive-

us/negative-them dichotomy is represented by the image. Accordingly, Trump uses expressive speech act thanking the moderator. Then, implicature is utilized flouting the quality maxim which renders the utterance metaphorically and the speaker as uncooperative. In addition, positive impoliteness strategy is embodied in the realm of the analysis since ignoring and snubbing other party is recognized. Regarding the ideological representations, assimilation strategy is used to assimilate the elite people to undermine their power in an effort to weaken their opportunities to win the vote.

b. Stance

The standpoint of Trump is that the government of Clinton is very weak. There is incapability of running the office. Thus, it renders the speaker as discriminatory against the hearer. In this way, disempowerment appears in this extract.

b. Reproduction

This piece of discourse is rendered inappropriate to the hearer. Thus, it has negative ideological implications within the society. Hence, the appropriateness of the extract is realized the sexiest ideology adopted by the speaker to reveal disempowerment towards the hearer.

Extract (10):

“Well the D.C. versus Heller decision was very strongly... and she was extremely angry about it. I watched. I mean, she was very, very angry when upheld. And Justice Scalia was so involved and it was a well-crafted decision. But Hillary was extremely upset. Extremely angry. And people that believe in the second amendment and believe in it very strongly were very upset with what she had to say". ... Such a nasty woman.

Table (14): The Contextual Factors of Extract (10)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	Las Vegas October 20, 2016
Participants	Speaker: Trump Addressee: Clinton and the audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Sexiest

In this utterance, Trump criticizes Clinton by calling her a *nasty woman*. It is a pejorative negative word which denotes evilness. In this word, he makes his powerful status. Trump claims that she is incapable of controlling herself in tough moments and inferiorizes her as a woman and to criticize her as a rival candidate. This is a shortcoming in one's personality which Trump has exploited skillfully well. As a result, disempowerment is imposed by Trump against Clinton.

The utterance carries a clear example of direct insult. It is a bald on-record impolite act. It should be noted that Trump does not criticize Clinton to make her realize her fault to amend it, but he wants to expose her vulnerability and instability to the public. Moreover, he uses the proper noun (Hillary) as a referencing super strategy. Ironically, Trump had said to the audience that "nobody respects women more than me." "He intends to humiliate her more. She does not deserve his respect because every woman who would dare to challenge him is inherently nasty, vindictive, and conniving to him as powerful person".

As for the criteria of the process of empowerment and disempowerment, lexical signaling shows the use of expressive SA of insulting toward his rival Clinton.

Additionally, bald on-record strategy of impoliteness is also realized by the sub-strategy of impolite implicature. Trump utilized the nonconventional implicature. These are pragmatic factors shown in this extract.

In the second stage, the process of the empowerment and disempowerment is revealed, Trump represents sexist ideology against Hillary Clinton. He shows his ideology of political bias. Trump tries to reject what is communicated by Clinton.

Concerning stage two of the analysis, naturalization is utilized depending on the ideological strategies: they are as follow:-

- a. Suppression is utilized to show that Clinton is suppressed as the president of the America.
- A. Marginalization is used to exclude the other candidate in order to put her in the second position as inferior.

At the level of critical pragmatic mechanisms, this piece of discourse can be addressed as follows:

- a. Critique

At the level of critique, the pragmatic factors that are employed are the impolite act of bald-on record. It refers to the process of attacking one's face intentionally to insult him. Additionally, the referencing strategy as a proper noun that is used tries to expose the vulnerability and her weakness to the public. Trump shows his racist ideology towards the women. Thus, this speech is regarded as SA of Criticizing. In the process of naturalization, marginalization strategy is inclined in this piece of discourse to represent the exclusion dichotomy of the in-group vs. out-group.

- b. Stance

Trump’s stance against Clinton is racist. He shows his racism when dealing with his rival Clinton.

c. Reproduction

The reproduction mechanism of CPs proposes hedging this utterance to be as follows: " *Hillary was somehow upset and angry* ". This may minimize the effect of his racism.

Extract (11):

Clinton: “Well, let’s stop for a second and remember where we were eight years ago. We had the worst financial crisis, the Great Recession, the worst since the 1930s. That was in large part because of tax policies that slashed taxes on the wealthy, failed to invest in the middle class, took their eyes off of Wall Street, and created a perfect storm”. “In fact, Donald was one of the people who rooted for the housing crisis. He said, back in 2006, “Gee, I hope it does collapse, because then I can go in and buy some and make some money.” Well, it did collapse”.

Table (15): The Contextual Factors of Extract (11)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	at Hofstra University in Hempstead, NY. September 26th, 2016
Participants	Speaker: Clinton Addressee: Trump and the audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Instigation

In this piece of discourse, they spoke about jobs and economics. The main crisis is that politicians want the companies to stop their operation, but Trump disagrees with Clinton's statement. This, according to Trump endangers people's job to lose. Clinton says that, since 1930, they were in the worst crisis because of taxes policies. These policies failed to invest in the middle class society. For the criteria of empowerment and disempowerment, representative SA is used by Clinton for describing things, or reporting some about the situation in USA as a lexical signaling. In addition, Clinton used the Implicature as she breached the maxim of quantity as in the excluded Wall Street and bring about a perfect storm. Thus, we have implied meaning which is an aspect of disempowerment for Trump's Administration. Additionally, Clinton assertive SA of putting forward the situation or the crisis of the housing and its collapse also represents the disempowerment. Moreover, Clinton's utterance is regarded as positive impoliteness. It damages the addressee's positive face. Accordingly, her statement is doubtful to choose Trump as the president of the United States. Her utterance makes people think that Trump is incapable of running the presidency. Here, we can see the process of undermining Trump's personality and disempower him as the president. These are the processes of lexical signaling for the pragmatic factors affecting the utterances.

Stage one shows that Hillary Clinton used instigation as a form of invoking and provoking the public against Donald Trump. Clinton sees Trump as the one making her country worse. Her words come out urging the American people not have vote for the Donald Trump.

The second stage of the analysis shows the use of disassociation to represent the out-group and exclude him from the presidency.

The third stage of the critical pragmatic mechanisms which have been employed is as follows:

a. Critique

It is used focusing on the pragmatic devices such as the representative SA, Assertive SA and the positive impoliteness. Additionally, instigation also used as a trigger for disempowering Trumps' attempts for taking the office. Disassociation is also utilized to represent the out-group and exclude Trump from the presidency according the allegations made by Hillary Clinton.

b. Stance:

Here it is shown that Hillary Clinton used the instigation trigger of invoking and provoking the public. She also used representative SA, assertive SA, and positive impoliteness strategy as pragmatic devices.

c. Reproduction:

Clinton's statements are seen as rude, inappropriate and aggressive. The utterance "*let's stop for a second and remember where we were eight years ago*" is regarded as inappropriate because it has a direct link with Trump's Administration. Thus, this utterance can be decontextualized, re-contextualized, to be as "*let's stop for a second and remember where we were years ago*".

Extract (12):

“We’re making progress. Our military is assisting in Iraq. And we’re hoping that within the year we’ll be able to push ISIS out of Iraq and then, you know, really squeeze them in Syria. But we have to be cognizant of the fact that they’ve had foreign fighters coming to volunteer for them, foreign money,

foreign weapons, so we have to make this the top priority. And I would also do everything possible to take out their leadership. I was involved in a number of efforts to take out Al Qaida leadership when I was secretary of state, including, of course, taking out bin Laden. And I think we need to go after Baghdadi, as well, make that one of our organizing principles. Because we've got to defeat ISIS, and we've got to do everything we can to disrupt their propaganda efforts online”.

Table (16): The Contextual Factors of Extract (12)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	St. Louis, Missouri August, 7, 2015
Participants	Speaker: Clinton Addressee: Trump and the audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Prejudice

The positive lexicalization of Clinton's speech regarding America's involvement in the war against Terrorists in Iraq is clear in the extract above. Furthermore, the unnecessarily dramatic usage of the phrases squeeze suggests powerful, dynamic American scenarios over the other vulnerable side. Depending on the circumstances, it may be considered a part of empowering speech. Clinton mentions that she has the ability to force ISIS out of Iraq and then, you know, really squeeze them in Syria, which combines the modal auxiliary will with the word able (referring to America), suggests a promising future for Iraq free of ISIS. This is only achieved through America's abilities. An excellent example of commissive SA. The usage of the word "foreign" to indicate the origin of help is

another significant application of lexicalization. Clinton also notes at the end of the extract how the assassination of Osama bin Laden under Obama's government is another empowering factor due to the positive ideology it represents and the enormous support it receives among Americans. Clinton was the nation's secretary of state at the time. She has done this by predicting Baghdadi's death. The line *"we've had to combat ISIS the way she took part"* seems to have a lexicalized tone, which highlights the determinism of her discourse in taking out Al-Qaeda and its leader. In doing so, the ideology of the domination is revealed in her extract. As such, Clinton indicates the use of the assertive SA. She finds herself obligated to free her people. The SA is clear in "we are making progress" and "I would also do everything possible to take out their leadership". She feels the necessity to keep changing certain stereotypical beliefs. In terms of politeness principles, tact maxim is embodied in her utterance regarding her involvement in keeping Iraq safe.

In the first stage, prejudice discourse is revealed in the extract of Clinton because she talked about her preferences and next aspects in the new government. These are taken are empowering resources for the self-esteem.

In the second stage of the analysis, dissociation ideology is used to represent the social actor "ISIS" using the pronoun "They" to exclude them and expel them. In addition, suppression is also utilized as a matter of ignoring all things about Al-Qaeda and ISIS. As a result this is an overt relation with empowerment.

The third stage of the critical pragmatic mechanisms which have been employed is as follows:

a. Critique

In critique, the critical pragmatic mechanisms are outlined here. Thus, the pragmatic factors adopted in this extract are as follows: the use of commissive SA for committing herself to free Iraq from ISIS, Clinton indicates the use of the assertive SA. She finds herself obligated to free her people, and tact maxim in terms of politeness principles is embodied. Moreover, the ideological representations are mainly collectivization and suppression of other group. Thus, the conception of presenting the *Self* as positive and the *Others* as negative appears here. These points empower the speaker to introduce his claim.

b. Stance

In the stance, Clinton's stance appears as natural since there is an acceptance among the audience.

c. Reproduction

In the stage, the utterances are regarded as appropriate and legitimate. They are accepted as good sources by the public.

Extract(13):

Donald has said he is in favor of defunding planned parenthood. He even supported shutting the government down to defund planned parenthood. I will defend planned parenthood. I will defend Roe v. Wade and I will defend women's rights to make their own healthcare decisions. We have come too far to have that turn back now. And indeed, he said women should be punished. There should be some form of punishment for women who obtain abortions. And I could just not be more opposed to that kind of thinking.

Table (17): The Contextual Factors of Extract (13)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	Nevada in Las Vegas. October 19, 2016
Participants	Speaker: Clinton Addressee: Trump and the audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Prejudice

In this extract, both Clinton and Trump talked about the human rights, parenthood, and the women’s rights. Clinton accuses Trump of shutting the government down. On the other hand, Clinton touches the women issue and promises to defend the Roe V Wade, the constitutions decision enabling women to have abortion which is rejected by Trump. In this case, Clinton makes a Commissive SA of promising. She gives her word to defend the rights of the women to make them stronger. Depending on Leech politeness principle, Clinton words about women touch on the sympathy maxim. She minimizes antipathy and maximizes sympathy. Personal deictic expressions are also used in that the repetition of “I” to indicate the authority of the speaker towards the case.

Regarding the first stage of the analysis, Clinton is considered prejudice to her race better than Trump who is regarded offensive to women on contrary to men. Thus, a speech act of support is issued by Clinton to empower the women.

In the naturalization process of second stage, the ideological strategies adopted are as follows:

- a. Enhancement strategy is used to support the women and stand by their side.
- b. Indoctrination is also used to keep enhancement on the same politician.

The third stage of the critical pragmatic mechanisms which have been employed is as follows:

- a. Critique

In this stage of analysis pragmatic factors are revealed to represent the empowerment notion. Firstly, commissive SA of promising is issued to protect the rights of women to empower them. Depending on Leech politeness principle, Clinton words about women touch on the sympathy maxim. It minimizes antipathy and maximizes sympathy. Personal deictic expressions are also used in that the repetition of “I” to indicate the authority of the speaker towards the case. As for the ideological strategies, enhancement and indoctrination are utilized as naturalization strategies. Finally, Clinton is considered bias to her race better than Trump who is regarded offensive to women on contrary men. Thus, a speech act of support is issued by Clinton to empower the case of women.

- b. Stance

Clinton’s stance is to defend women’s rights and being supportive to women as a matter of empowerment for them.

- c. Reproduction

In this process, the utterances are regarded as appropriate to the audience since they are supportive to the women race.

Extract (14):

“Well, I hope the fact-checkers are turning up the volume and really working hard. Donald supported the invasion of Iraq. That is absolutely proved over and over again. He actually advocated for the actions we took in Libya and urged that Gadhafi be taken out, after actually doing some business with him one time. But the larger point—and he says this constantly—is George W. Bush made the agreement about when American troops would leave Iraq, not Barack Obama”.

Table (18) : The Contextual Factors of Extract (14)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	University of Hofstra September 26, 2016
Participants	Speaker: Clinton Addressee: Trump and the audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Discriminatory

In the above extract, Clinton talked about fighting and finishes ISIS Iraq. Trump accuses Obama and Clinton for making a vacuum after the withdrawal of troops from Iraq and due to that ISIS is killing people there. In the same stream, Clinton accuses Trump and says the he supports the invasion in Iraq. Thus, Trump rejects her statement but Clinton insisted again and again saying that he supported war against Iraq. Meanwhile, her statement is seen as negative impoliteness strategy. Her statement affects badly the way people respect Trump and this taken as a. As a result, Clinton wants to shake people’s beliefs in Trump. In the same respect,

there is an implication of implicature breaching the quantity maxim. She referred to fact-checkers, being not as informative as required. Thus, she is uncooperative speaker. She also issued a SA of accusation towards Trump.

In the first stage of analysis, Clinton shows her discriminatory SA by insulting, accusing and criticizing Trump. This is taken as belittle, disrespect and bad feeling inside people.

In the naturalization stage, the strategy of disassociation is explicitly used . She associates a negative aspect making the other disbelieving in Trump.

The third stage of the critical pragmatic mechanisms which have been employed is as follows:

a. Critique

In this stage, certain pragmatic factors are revealed to show the ideology of disempowerment. These pragmatic factors are as follows: negative impoliteness strategy is used by Clinton. Her statement affects badly the way people respect Trump and this taken as disrespect and agitate the public to disbelieve in his beliefs. Moreover, implicated meaning by breaching the quantity maxim as she referred to fact-checkers, being not as informative as required. In the same stream, she also issued a SA of accusation towards Trump. Concerning the ideologies adopted in the critique, Clinton shows her discriminatory SA by insulting, accusing and criticizing Trump. This is taken as belittle, disrespect and bad feeling inside people. In the naturalization stage, the strategy of disassociation is explicitly used . She associates a negative aspect making the other disbelieving in Trump.

b. Stance

The standpoint showed by Clinton is the discrimination. Thus, she used a discriminatory stance to insult and criticize Trump to disempower him and make people disbelieve in his beliefs and his office.

c. Reproduction

The utterances are legitimate since we deal, according to Clinton, with facts and true events alleged by her towards Trump. Thus, her statement is considered as appropriate to the public.

Extract (15):

“Do the thousands of people that you have stiffed over the course of your business not deserve some kind of apology from someone who has taken their labor, taken the goods that they produced, and then refused to pay them? I can only say that I’m certainly relieved that my late father never did business with you. He provided a good middle-class life for us, but the people he worked for, he expected the bargain to be kept on both sides. And when we talk about your business, you’ve taken business bankruptcy six times. There are a lot of great businesspeople that have never taken bankruptcy once. You call yourself the King of Debt. You talk about leverage. You even at one time suggested that you would try to negotiate down the national debt of the United States”.

Table (19): The Contextual Factors of Extract (15)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	University of Hofstra September 26, 2016

Participants	Speaker: Clinton Addressee: Trump and the audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Instigation

Clinton and Trump, here, talked about the people who are not paid by Trump, i.e. the laborers. These people finished the work and they didn't get their wages because Trump says that they didn't do a good job. In addition, they also talked about the bankruptcy. No one wants to practice the loss. In this discourse, Clinton attributed Trump as the king of debt. She claims that "you can call yourself the king of debt". Thus, this statement is determined as a negative impoliteness strategy adopted by Clinton. In this regard, Clinton shows her disrespect to Trump and seems angry. Hence, the impoliteness strategy from the extract mentioned above is determined through using the coercive impoliteness function. She is more powerful than Trump. Moreover, her utterance is regarded as a SA of criticizing Trump through his stiffness with people or labor. Thus, she used a SA of instigation urging the public towards Trump and making them disbelieve in his presidency. As a result, Trump is disempowered by the coercive form of power relation or "power over".

The first stage of the analysis, instigation SA of urging people and criticizing Trump is issued; as a matter of disempowering is revealed in the public atmosphere.

In the second stage, the ideological strategies are confined to suppression, marginalization and dissociation.

The third stage of the critical pragmatic mechanisms which have been employed is as follows:

a. Critique

As for the CP, the negative impoliteness strategy is utilized by Clinton towards Trump. She used the coercive function of impoliteness as a way of being more powerful than Trump. Moreover, her utterance is regarded a SA of criticizing Trump through his stiffness with people or labor. Thus, she used a SA of instigation urging the public towards Trump as ideological representation of disempowerment. Moreover, ideological strategies are confined to marginalization and dissociation. Marginalization, on the one hand, is adopted through enhancing the first speaker and put the second speaker as inferior. On the other hand, disassociation is also revealed to disassociate Trump from the public opinion. Thus, the conception of presenting the *Self* as positive and the *Others* as negative appears here.

b. Stance

The speaker's stance here is that Trump is not appropriate for the presidency and he is disempowered.

c. Reproduction

In this extract, Trump is attacked by Clinton for his bad behavior with businessmen and labourers. Thus, a question mechanism is used to minimize the negative ideology as in "can we call you the King of Debt"?

Extract (16):

"But it is important for us as a policy, you know, not to say, as Donald has said, we're going to ban people based on a religion. How do you do that? We

are a country founded on religious freedom and liberty. How do we do what he has advocated without causing great distress within our own county? Are we going to have religious tests when people fly into our country? And how do we expect to be able to implement those? So I thought that what he said was extremely unwise and even dangerous. And indeed, you can look at the propaganda on a lot of the terrorist sites, and what Donald Trump says about Muslims is used to recruit fighters, because they want to create a war between us”.

Table (20): The Contextual Factors of Extract (16)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	University of Missouri October 9, 2016
Participants	Speaker: Clinton Addressee: Trump and the audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Prejudice

In the preceding extract, Clinton and Trump discussed the issue of the refugees, women, children and they also discussed the Russian aggression. Clinton claims that there must be professionals and expert to solve this kind of problem. She also mentions that Trump bids to ban people based on the religion. Thus, she touches the audience demands and put herself as a guardian for them. They are empowered by Clinton and disempowered by Trump. She offers her disrespect towards Trump and makes him worried. Thus, Clinton regards Trump’s statement about Muslims as a positive impoliteness strategy. Clinton dissociates Trump as a

good person. Hence, this strategy appears as a dissociation from the other because Trump doesn't like Muslim People. As such, the conception of presenting the *Self* as positive and the *Others* as negative appears here. On the other hand, Clinton's empowerment speaks when she issued a representative SA of assertion. She asserts that America's coexistence is based on the freedom of religion which is not touched in Trump's office. Thus, she touches on the Muslim people empowering their chances of living in the United States.

In the first stage of analysis, Clinton is, here, being prejudiced as an ideology that reflects the empowerment. This is shown through the inclusive speech act of assertion about America's Freedom of life freely. This speech shows the bias to other people.

In the second stage, several strategies are adopted here:-

- a. Enhancement strategy is adopted since it refers to the use of "we" as belonging to one group.
- b. Individualization is manifested to include all people within the in-group dichotomy.

The third stage of the critical pragmatic mechanisms which have been employed is as follows:

a. Critique

Clinton, here, is prejudiced using the pragmatic factors as lexical signaling for the aspect of empowerment. Hence, Clinton used a positive impoliteness strategy. Clinton dissociates Trump as a good person. Hence, this strategy appears as a dissociation from the other because Trump doesn't like Muslim People. In turn, this is exploited by Clinton

as a factor of empowerment when she issued a representative SA of assertion. Thus, she touches on the Muslim people empowering their chances of living in the United States. As such, the conception of presenting the *Self* as positive and the *Others* as negative appears here. Moreover, enhancement and individualization of one group to the other represents the positive ideological orientation, which functions as prejudice from the critical point of view.

b. Stance

The speaker here shows a speech of prejudice which is bias to one group to other. She adopts the strategy of enhancing Muslim group as empowerment viewpoint.

c. Reproduction

This piece of discourse is read appropriate to the audience and represented by the use of the ideologies of enhancement and marginalization of one group over the one.

Extract (17):

“I find it ironic that he is raising nuclear weapons. This is a person who has been very cavalier, even casual about the use of nuclear weapons. He has advocated more countries getting them. Japan, Korea, even Saudi Arabia. He’s said if we have them, why don’t we use them which I think is terrifying. But here’s the deal. The bottom line on nuclear weapons is that when the president gives the order, it must be followed. There is about four minutes between the order being given and the people responsible for launching nuclear weapons to do so. And that is why ten people who have had that awesome responsibility have come out and in an unprecedented way said they

would not trust Donald Trump with the nuclear codes or to have his finger on the nuclear button”.

Table (21): The Contextual Factors of Extract (17)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	October 19, 2016 at University of Nevada in Las Vegas.
Participants	Speaker: Clinton Addressee: Trump and the audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Instigation

In the preceding discourse, Clinton and Trump were talking about Russia and their country. Clinton, in this discourse, attacks Trump’s face. She mentioned that Trump is a cavalier person but he thinks she criticizes him in her viewpoint. She uses the metaphorical expression making use of flouting the quality maxim. In this regard, she tries to belittle him. Clinton in her talk claimed that Trump raises nuclear weapons which is regarded as an impolite expression to insult him. Moreover, she issued an SA of criticizing Trump as an insult for raising nuclear weapons. She attributes to his incapability. Additionally, Clinton’s statement is considered as a positive impoliteness strategy. She doesn’t treat her rival as good person but considers him as evil. Thus, positive impolite act is applied here. The referring strategy using the demonstrative pronoun is utilized in this extract. It is used to belittle Trump calling his as “this person”.

The first stage of analysis shows that Clinton is being instigator in nature. She is instigating people against Trump by humiliating him.

Concerning the second stage, several ideological strategies are used:

- a. Suppression, on the one hand, means ignoring and neglecting all the things Trump.
- b. Marginalization, on the other hand, means undermining people as opposed to individualizing certain community. Thus, the ideologies of disempowerment are shown with respect to the preceding two ideologies.

The third stage of the critical pragmatic mechanisms which have been employed is as follows:

a. Critique

Clinton used the metaphorical expression “cavalier person” as a form of implied meaning. This refers to the breaching of the quality maxim for stating things which are not true. Moreover, she issued an SA of criticizing Trump as an insult for raising nuclear weapons. She attributes to his incapability. Additionally, Clinton’s statement is considered as a positive impoliteness strategy. She doesn’t treat her rival as good person but considers him as evil. Thus, positive impolite act is applied here. The referring strategy using the demonstrative pronoun is utilized in this extract. It is used to belittle Trump calling his as “this person”. Concerning the ideologies, the suppression and marginalization are used.

b. Stance

Clinton’s stance is that he is an arrogant person who couldn’t make anything for his country. Thus, she used many pragmatic factors to deal with the same situation.

c. Reproduction

The inappropriateness of the preceding discourse is shown depending on the pragmatic factors used to reveal the negative ideology.

Extract (18):

“because everything he just said is absolutely false, but I’m not surprised. In the first debate...[laughter: ... I told people that it would be impossible to be fact-checking Donald all the time. I’d never get to talk about anything I want to do and how we’re going to really make lives better for people. So, once again, go to HillaryClinton.com. We have literally Trump—you can fact check him in real time. Last time at the first debate, we had millions of people fact checking, so I expect we’ll have millions more fact checking, because, you know, it is—it’s just awfully good that someone with the temperament of Donald Trump is not in charge of the law in our country”.

Table (22): The Contextual Factors of Extract (18)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	University of Missouri October 9, 2016
Participants	Speaker: Clinton Addressee: Trump and the audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Sexiest

In the previous discourse, they talk about the apology. Then, Trump claims that Clinton should pay an apology for the 33000 emails deleted by her. Trump

also makes a kind of promise after winning the elections that there are so many lies to be detected and too much deception to put her in jail. Then, she replies that Trump is false and he answers her with appreciation. In this regard, Clinton's utterance about Trump is a positive impoliteness strategy. She attacks Trump's positive face because Trump, for her, is not welcomed. Thus, she suppresses and marginalizes him. So, she uses the affective impoliteness function. She doesn't respect Trump and he, in turn, doesn't admit anything said and mentioned about him. Hence, the positive impoliteness is realized depending on the dissociation of other party of community. In this respect, she disturbed Trump's face. In addition, she uses a directive SA of guiding the people to detect the fact-checking belonging to Trump.

The first stage of the analysis shows that Clinton uses her sexiest ideology towards Trump. She tries to undermine his authority trying to suppress him on he basis of the accusations of the emails.

The second stage of the analysis shows that Clinton uses the naturalization ideologies. They are as follows:

- a. Suppression ideology is utilized by ignoring all issues related to Trump.
- b. Marginalization is also used depending on the highlighting one person on other group of people. Thus, Clinton marginalized Trump.
- c. Dissociation is also manifested in this extract denoting to the positive impoliteness act of dissociating someone of the group.

The third stage of the critical pragmatic mechanisms which have been employed is as follows:

a. Critique

In this critique, pragmatic factors are manifested and used to show the ideologies of empowerment and disempowerment. Thus, here, Clinton's utterance about Trump is a positive impoliteness strategy. Thus, she suppresses and marginalizes him. So, she uses the affective impoliteness function. Hence, the positive impoliteness is realized depending on the dissociation of other party of community. In this respect, she disturbed Trump's face. In addition, she uses a directive SA of guiding the people to detect the fact-checking belonging to Trump. Moreover, three ideologies of naturalization are used to show the ideology of being sexiest and in turn, shows the disempowerment made by Clinton towards Trump. The positive-us/negative-them dichotomy is represented by the image. In this respect, disempowerment is manifested as a result of utilizing the impoliteness and SA of direction.

b. Stance

The stance here shows that Clinton tries to belittle Trump outlining the strategies of suppression, marginalization and dissociation.

d. Reproduction

The reproduction strategy that is used here is inappropriate since it attack's people face. Thus, the reproduction of an utterance '*it's just awfully good that someone with the temperament of Donald Trump is in charge of the law in our country*'. Hence, negative effect is minimized for saving the Trump's face.

Extract (19):

“I have a feeling that by, the end of this evening, I'm going to be blamed for everything that's ever happened. Why not? Yeah, why not? [laughter] You

know, just join the debate by saying more crazy things. Now, let me say this, it is absolutely the case...TRUMP: There’s nothing crazy about not letting our companies bring their money back into their country. HOLT: This is—this is Secretary Clinton’s two minutes, please. TRUMP: Yes. CLINTON: Yeah, well, let’s start the clock again, Lester. We’ve looked at your tax proposals. I don’t see changes in the corporate tax rates or the kinds of proposals you’re referring to that would cause the repatriation, bringing back of money that’s stranded overseas. I happen to support that”.

Table (23): The Contextual Factors of Extract (19)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	University of Missouri October 9, 2016
Participants	Speaker: Clinton Addressee: Trump and the audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Prejudice

Clinton attacks Trump's positive face to defend her point of view related to her tax increase plan on the wealthiest Americans; Just add to the argument by making even more absurd claims. Let me just remark that this is unquestionably the case. She marked his point of view by crazy, using the intensifier more to assert that this is not the only crazy thing Trump said. Clinton implies that most of his utterance is crazy and he is adding more. Clinton uses positive impoliteness to offend Trump and belittle his point of view. She negatively presents Trump and positively

presents herself. In the meantime, the positive-us/negative-them dichotomy is represented by the image to observe the difference between herself and the others.

The first stage of the analysis shows that Clinton is prejudice. Being prejudiced, she defends her point of view about the tax proposals.

The second stage of the naturalization shows that Clinton uses the enhancement. In the regard, she enhances her point of view about the tax plan. On the other hand, marginalization is manifested concentrating on one group and put more emphasis while neglecting all things about others.

The third stage of the critical pragmatic mechanisms which have been employed are as follows:

a. Critique

Critique is manifested using the lexical signaling of the pragmatic factors. Thus, Clinton uses positive impoliteness to offend Trump and belittle his point of view. She negatively presents Trump and positively presents herself. In the meantime, the positive-us/negative-them dichotomy is represented by the image to observe the difference between herself and the others. In the naturalization process, Clinton uses the enhancement of her point of view about the tax plan. On the other hand, marginalization is manifested concentrating on one group and put more emphasis while neglecting all things about others.

b. Stance

The stance shows that Clinton offends Trump and belittle his point of view. She negatively presents Trump and positively presents herself.

c. Reproduction

The reproduction strategy that is used here is inappropriate since it attack's people face. Utilizing the reproduction strategies, the utterance “You know, just join the debate by saying more interesting things.”. Hence, negative effect is minimized for saving the Trump's face trying to raise the issue of disempowerment replaced by the empowerment.

Extract (20):

“I have tried my entire life to do what I can to support children and families. You know, right out of law school, I went to work for the Children’s Defense Fund. And Donald talks a lot about, you know, the 30 years I’ve been in public service. I’m proud of that. You know, I started off as a young lawyer working against discrimination against African-American children in schools and in the criminal justice system. I worked to make sure that kids with disabilities could get a public education, something that I care very much about. I have worked with Latinos—So I have a deep devotion, to use your absolutely correct word, to making sure that every American feels like he or she has a place in our country”.

Table (24): The Contextual Factors of Extract (20)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	University of Missouri October 9, 2016
Participants	Speaker: Clinton Addressee: Trump and the audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance

Genre	Debate
Kind	Prejudice

Trump presents himself positively. He assumes his business is successful and that he is able to do what no other businessman could. Consequently, if he manages the country the same way he does his business, he will make America, from his perspective, unlike any other country. He implies that he is skillful and that he will use his skills to Make America Great Again. This is the campaign slogan for Trump. Trump's comments reveal his identity, self-respect, and authority. He argues that he is the finest candidate for the presidency due to his extensive experience in governance. Clinton defended herself by presenting herself in a favorable light. Clinton introduced herself using the first-person pronouns I and my to emphasize the enormous achievements she had made over the preceding three decades. She adds that I have demonstrated my ability and have achieved outcomes for people for thirty years. Clinton uses the pronoun I in conjunction with the modal verb can to emphasize her power, capability, and strength. Clinton elaborates on her thirty years of public service. She intends to remind Americans about her efforts in an effort to earn their support. In addition, Clinton reveals that she has devoted her entire life to supporting children and families. Clinton emphasizes that she has been serving people for the previous three decades, whereas Trump ran his business for personal glory. She implies that she has done her utmost to help her people, and now it is the Americans' turn to support her. She used the phrase "whole life" to stress that her work for the public is not restricted to the past 30 years, as Trump claimed, but that Clinton has committed her entire life to helping Americans, as if pleading with them not to deny her the opportunity to continue doing so. She emphasizes that serving others is a source of pride for her. Accordingly, Clinton uses the sympathy maxim as a kind of emotional tendency

towards the Latinos and Americans. Thus, she is being bias to empower the Americans and Latinos people making sure they will support her in the vote. Moreover, Clinton uses the representative SA of stating that she had done a lot to American people.

In the first stage of the analysis, Clinton shows her prejudice tendency being bias to the American-Latinos giving them the glance of empowerment. In the meantime, American-Latinos people, in turn, support her vote in the elections.

As for the second stage, the naturalization strategies that are used in this extract re as follows:

- a. Enhancement of the American-Latinos people through empowering them and giving them the right to vote.
- b. Individualization is also utilized in this extract focusing on the elite persons.

The third stage of the critical pragmatic mechanisms which have been employed are as follows:

- a. Critique

In the critique, pragmatic and deictic expressions are used to reveal the ideology of empowerment. She uses the personal deictic expression, the sympathy maxim, and representative SA of stating. The naturalization strategies that are used in this extract are the enhancement and individualization to show the empowerment trigger.

- b. Stance

The stance her is that Clinton wants to show her empowerment for the American-Latinos people to make them live and vote freely in their country and enable their families.

c. Reproduction

This extract is represented appropriately since there is no negative ideology appeared here. Thus, it is well represented.

Extract (21):

“So — so if — if the tax plan he described were a tax plan I was asked to support, I'd say absolutely not. I'm not looking for a \$5 trillion tax cut. What I've said is I won't put in place a tax cut that adds to the deficit. That's part one. So there's no economist can say Mitt Romney's tax plan adds 5 trillion (dollars) if I say I will not add to the deficit with my tax plan. Number two, I will not reduce the share paid by high-income individuals. I — I know that you and your running mate keep saying that, and I know it's a popular things to say with a lot of people, but it's just not the case. Look, I got five boys. I'm used to people saying something that's not always true, but just keep on repeating it and ultimately hoping I'll believe it — (scattered laughter) — but that — that is not the case, all right? I will not reduce the taxes paid by high-income Americans”.

Table (25): The Contextual Factors of Extract (21)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	<i>Oct. 3, 2012, in Denver</i>
Participants	Speaker: Romney Addressee: Obama and the audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Discriminatory

In the previous discourse, Romney and Obama were talking about the tax cut and the idea of implementing these cuts. The argument ends in the claim that Romney, after being questioned over a hundred times in the course of 18 months while advertising his tax cut proposal, is unable to describe how he would execute the tax deduction. As a result, Romney employs the SA of denying and rejecting the veracity of Trump's statements. What's more, he is accustomed to hearing things that are not necessarily true. In this respect, Romney uses the SA of statement claiming that he will do his best for his country as the President. Then, he goes back to the accusation counter when he issues a SA of accusation; accusing Trump and his mates of fabrications. Accordingly, the SA of challenge is remarkable in this extract. This criticism originates from the belief that Obama does not always tell the truth. Also, he denies Obama's claim that he plans to lower taxes on the wealthy in America. When Romney is accused of something, the counter allegation is often "There are six more studies that looked at the study you mention and conclude it's entirely inaccurate.

The first stage of the analysis shows that Romney discriminates Obama using the speech act of accusation. It occurs as a result of the denial of the tax proposal.

The second stage of analysis is about the naturalization process. In this stage, the following strategies are used and adopted to reveal the ideology of disempowerment:

- a. Suppression is the strategy by which Obama is ignored and neglected.
- b. Marginalization is used by enhancing Romney's own self and using utterances that put the other candidate in a secondary position. This can lead to making the dominant as superior and the less dominant as inferior.

The third stage of the critical pragmatic mechanisms which have been employed are as follows:

a. Critique

Critique is utilized by the pragmatic factors embedded in the extract. They are the SA of deny represented Romney when he issued it. Romney uses the SA of statement claiming that he will do his best to best suit his country as the president. Then, he goes back to the accusation counter when he issues a SA of accusation; accusing Trump and his mates of fabrications. Accordingly, the SA of challenge is remarkable in this extract taken as matter of disempowerment for the Trump's Office.

b. Stance

The stance-taking here is represented by the fact that Romney is denying the fabrications said by Trump.

c. Reproduction

The mechanism of reproduction is manifested by minimizing the inappropriateness of the utterance. It is realized by total avoidance. Thus, this utterance is taken as natural.

Extract (22):

“And number three, I will not, under any circumstances, raise taxes on middle-income families. I will lower taxes on middle-income families. Now, you cite a study. There are six other studies that looked at the study you describe and say it's completely wrong. I saw a study that came out today that said you're going to raise taxes by 3,000 dollars to \$4,000 on — on middle-income families. There are all these studies out there”.

Table (26): The Contextual Factors of Extract (22)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	Oct. 3, 2012, in Denver
Participants	Speaker: Romney Addressee: Obama and the audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Prejudice

Romney begins by denying almost everything his opponent just claimed about his tax proposal. Using a pragmatic approach, he publishes a series of remarks to explain his stance and refute Obama's assertion that he is pursuing a \$5 trillion tax cut. He refuses to enact any tax reduction that will add to the national debt. There is no way I'm lowering the percentage paid by the wealthy. He will not support a reduction in the rate of taxation for the wealthiest Americans. He will never, ever support an increase in taxes on middle-class households. He will reduce taxes on middle-income families. In this regard, he uses Commissive SA of planning. He promises and gives his word that he will help them for better. Moreover, he empowers the middle-income families using the sympathy maxim of politeness.

The first stage of the analysis shows that Romney is bias and supportive to those who are the middle income families giving them the power to live their life. Thus, they are empowered.

The second stage of the naturalization shows that the following strategies are used:

- a. Enhancement strategy is adopted to show the in-group inclusion. Accordingly, they are enhanced highlighting the aspect of empowerment of the middle and low income families.
- b. Indoctrination is used as a strategy to enhance the middle income families and to keep focusing on them in order to solidify their own ideologies in the individuals'' minds.

The third stage of the critical pragmatic mechanisms which have been employed are as follows:

- a. Critique

The pragmatic factors that are revealed in the critique are the following: the Commissive SA of planning, and the sympathy maxim of politeness regarding the low and middle income families. Enhancement strategy is adopted to show the in-group inclusion highlighting the aspect of empowerment of the middle and low income families. Indoctrination is also used as a strategy to enhance the middle income families and to keep focusing on them in order to solidify their own ideologies in the individuals'' minds.

- b. Stance

The stance of the speaker is clear here that Romney is helpful and cooperative.

- c. Reproduction

In this extract, the socio-pragmatic factors that are used show that these utterances are appropriate and need not to be reproduced again to minimize the size of shock.

Extract (23):

“This is obviously a very tender topic. I've had the occasion over the last couple of years of meeting people across the country. I was in Dayton, Ohio, and a woman grabbed my arm, and she said, I've been out of work since May. Can you help me? Ann yesterday was a rally in Denver, and a woman came up to her with a baby in her arms and said, Ann, my husband has had four jobs in three years, part-time jobs. He's lost his most recent job, and we've now just lost our home. Can you help us? and the answer is yes, we can help, but it's going to take a different path, not the one we've been on, not the one the president describes as a top -down, cut taxes for the rich. That's not what I'm going to do.

Table (27): The Contextual Factors of Extract (23)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	Oct. 3, 2012, in Denver
Participants	Speaker: Romney Addressee: Obama and the audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Discriminatory

In this example, Romney starts the attack to weaken the administration of Obama being discriminatory in nature. He is not supporting his rival. . He uses numbers and evidence to get people thinking and set them up for his conclusion. The moderator has already set the tone by stating that his opening statement, "This is definitely a highly sensitive topic," is predicated on the following statistical premise: "This is obviously a very sensitive matter." Obama is damaging the

country in this respect. Then, he describes a woman who grabbed his arm and exclaimed, "I've been out of work since May. Another woman, carrying a young child, came up to her and asked, "Can you assist me?" . Both our house and his most recent job have been lost. In need of your assistance, if possible. There has been a dramatic increase in the number of people losing their jobs, homes, and other assets, and the number of people who have had their taxes lowered for the wealthy has increased. Obama's course of action is shown as wrong by Romney. The accusatory speech act of stating "...but it will take a different path, not the one we've been on, and not the one the president characterizes as top-down..." advances this claim by presenting a realistic method because the conditions for happiness have been met. Obama is allegedly not carrying out his responsibilities, which has been widely reported. Mitt Romney also dealt with the good impoliteness of separating Obama from the presidency.

The first stage of analysis shows that Romney is showing discriminatory ideology being unsupportive. He discriminates Obama using SA of statement with the intention of accusation. Obama is disempowered by Mitt Romney. Unlike Obama, Romney starts the emancipation and empowerment of women by enhancing their life.

The second stage of the analysis shows that Romney uses several strategies for the naturalization. They are as follows:

- a. Enhancement by which Romney enhances the situation of women and giving them the right to live peacefully.
- b. Indoctrination is used as a strategy to enhance the poor women and to keep focusing on them in order to solidify their own right of life in the individuals' minds.

- c. Association is also used to show the inclusion of the in-group. Thus, the conception of presenting the *Self* as positive and the *Others* as negative appears here.

The third stage of the critical pragmatic mechanisms which have been employed are as follows:

- a. Critique

In the critique, pragmatic factors are used to show the ideologies of empowerment and disempowerment. They are as follows: This claim is made by issuing the SA of statement, which is a pragmatic approach. But it won't be accomplished by continuing down the road we've already traveled or by using the top-down approach the president favors. Including the accusatory discourse. It is an indictment based on the fact that the happiness requirements are satisfied. Moreover, Romney deals with positive impoliteness dissociating Obama from the path of presidency. Romney is showing discriminatory ideology being unsupportive. He discriminates Obama using SA of statement with the intention of accusation. The second stage of the analysis shows that Romney uses several strategies for the naturalization. They are as follows: Enhancement by which Romney enhances the situation of women and giving them the right to live peacefully. Indoctrination is used as a strategy to enhance the poor women and to keep focusing on them in order to solidify their own right of life in the individuals' minds. Association is also used to show the inclusion of the in-group. Thus, the conception of presenting the *Self* as positive and the *Others* as negative appears here.

b. Stance

The stance of the speaker here is to show that Romney is powerful enough to help and claim that he is on hands with the low/middle income families.

c. Reproduction

The utterances provided here are natural presented by Romney. They are taken as appropriate that minimize the burden on the low income families.

Extract (24):

“Number two, let's look at history. My plan is not like anything that's been tried before. My plan is to bring down rates but also bring down deductions and exemptions and credits at the same time so the revenue stays in, but that we bring down rates to get more people working. My priority is putting people back to work in America. They're suffering in this country. And we talk about evidence — look at the evidence of the last four years. It's absolutely extraordinary. We've got 23 million people out of work or stop looking for work in this country”.

Table (28): The Contextual Factors of Extract (24)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	Oct. 3, 2012, in Denver
Participants	Speaker: Romney Addressee: Obama and the audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Prejudice

In this extract, Romney talks to Obama and the audience about his plan in the next office. He makes a kind of comparison between the ex-office and the new

office. He wants to make deduction and reduce the rates. His aim is to enable every American get work because he accuses the ex-office leaving people workless. In this concern, Romney uses Commissive SA of planning for the next office. He empowers the America people through enabling them to work and get jobs. In addition, he uses the tact maxim of politeness minimizing the cost to other and maximizing the benefit to others. The use of deictic expression represented by the pronoun “we” to refer to American as whole. This matter is manifested in the inclusion of all American people. Thus, the conception of presenting the *Self* as positive and the *Others* as negative appears here.

The first stage of the analysis shows that Romney uses Prejudice speech. He makes use of the bias speech delivered to American people to attract their attention. Thus, the empowerment is shown here represented by the being cooperative.

The second stage of analysis is concerned with the naturalization. In this stage, the strategies that are adopted to show the ideology of empowerment are as follows:

- a. Enhancement strategy: Romney enhances the situation of the American people by reducing the taxes of low and middle income families.
- b. Individualization strategy: in which the candidate reinforce his group of people and focuses on the till preserved in in-group dichotomy.

The third stage of the critical pragmatic mechanisms which have been employed are as follows:

a. Critique

To show the empowerment, certain pragmatic factors are used within this extract they are the Commissive SA of planning, the use of the tact maxim of politeness minimizing the cost to other and maximizing the benefit to others and the use of deictic expression represented by the pronoun “we” to refer to American as whole. This matter is manifested in the inclusion of all American people. Thus, the conception of presenting the *Self* as positive and the *Others* as negative appears here. In this regard, the strategy of collectivization is manifested to refer to American as whole. Enhancement and marginalization are also used to show the empowerment of those who are in need for help to attract their attention.

b. Stance

The stance-taking is adopted by Romney to show the empowerment of American families who are in need for help to be exploited as the vote.

c. Reproduction

In this extract, the utterance is seen inappropriate. As such, Romney tries to make a kind of correction by the tactic maxim of politeness. Thus, the minimization of negative ideology is achieved in this extract.

Extract (25):

“I sure do. Well, in part, it comes, again, from my experience. I was in New Hampshire. A woman came to me, and she said, look, I can't afford insurance for myself or my son. I met a couple in Appleton, Wisconsin, and they said, we're thinking of dropping our insurance; we can't afford it. And the number of small businesses I've gone to that are saying they're dropping insurance

because they can't afford it — the cost of health care is just prohibitive. And — and we've got to deal with cost.

Table (29): The Contextual Factors of Extract (25)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	Oct. 3, 2012, in Denver
Participants	Speaker: Romney Addressee: Obama and the audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Sexiest

In this extract, Romney and the moderator talk about the insurance and the affordable act care presented by Obama. he exploited this opportunity to find it a fault in Obama’s care act. Thus, tact maxim of politeness minimizes the cost to other and maximizes the benefit to others. In the meantime, the deictic expressions represented by the personal pronouns, “I” and “we” are used to show his commitment to the woman.

The first stage of the analysis shows uses that Romney uses sexiest ideology toward women. Obama, on the contrary, is regarded as the one who prohibited women from their actions.

The second stage presents the naturalization strategies. They are presented as follows:

- a. Collectivization strategy is used here to show that Romney is lined with the American and Women around the United States. Thus, empowerment is accomplished.

- b. Association is also represented her to associate people in his line and dissociate the others.

The third stage of the critical pragmatic mechanisms which have been employed are as follows:

- a. Critique

The ideology of empowerment is here represented by tactic maxim of politeness minimizing the cost to other and maximizing the benefit to others. In the meantime, the deictic expressions represented by the personal pronouns, “I” and “we” are used to show his commitment to the woman. Moreover, Romney shows his sexiest ideology with the help he presents concerning the women and the insurance act made by Obama. The second stage presents the naturalization strategies. They are presented as follows: Collectivization strategy is used here to show that Romney is lined with the American and Women around the United States. Thus, empowerment is accomplished. In addition, Association is also represented her to associate people in his line and dissociate the others.

- b. Stance

The stance here is clear. This is taken by Romney as the one who can help the women around the United States. Thus, he attracts their attention with regard the vote for him.

- c. Reproduction is represented by the appropriateness of the utterances where they are natural and the negative face ideology is minimized in this extract.

Extract (26):

“That's the height of silliness. I have never said I would — I would liquidate the industry. I want to keep the industry growing and thriving. And — and

that's I have the kind of commitment to make sure that our industries in this country can compete and be successful. We in this country can compete successfully with anyone in the world. And we're going to. We're going to have to have a president, however, that doesn't think that somehow the government investing in — in car companies like Tesla and — and Fisker, making electric battery cars — this is not research, Mr. President. These are the government investing in companies, investing in Solyndra. This is a company. This isn't basic research. I — I want to invest in research. Research is great. Providing funding to universities and think tanks — great. But investing in companies? Absolutely not. That's the wrong way to go”.

Table (30): The Contextual Factors of Extract (26)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	October 22, 2012, Boca Raton, Fla
Participants	Speaker: Romney Addressee: Obama and the audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Discriminatory

In this extract, the two candidates talk about the general policy of the United States. They talk about the industry trying to develop it especially the companies working and investing there. By that time, Romney attacks the face of Obama by describing his suggestion as the silly one. Thus, he uses the bald on record strategy of impoliteness by Culpeper. The primary reason for using bald on record is when S desires maximal FTA more than he desires in in order to gratify the face of the hearer. The speaker employing this method makes no effort to mitigate the effects of FTAs. Thus, disempowerment is occurred in this extract to his rival Obama.

Moreover, the SA of criticizing Obama as a president that he doesn't do anything to his country.

The first stage of the analysis shows that Romney is discriminatory and he discriminates Obama as a result of his stillness.

The second stage of the naturalization shows that Romney uses the following strategies:

- a. Suppression: it occurs where Romney suppresses Obama being uncooperative with his Candidate. Thus, disempowerment occurs where Obama's attitude is weaken.
- b. Dissociation is represented by Romney to show that Obama is from his out-group.

The third stage of the critical pragmatic mechanisms which have been employed are as follows:

- a. Critique

Romney uses bald on record strategy of impoliteness by Culpeper. The primary reason for using bald on record is when S desires maximal FTA more than he desires in order to gratify the face of the hearer. The speaker employing this method makes no effort to mitigate the effects of FTAs. Moreover, Obama uses SA of criticizing that he, as a president, doesn't do anything to his country. The second stage of the naturalization shows that Romney uses the following strategies: Suppression: Firstly, it occurs where Romney suppresses Obama being uncooperative with his Candidate. Secondly, dissociation is represented by Romney to show that Obama is

from his out-group. Thus, disempowerment occurs where Obama’s attitude is weakened.

b. Stance

Stance-taking occurs here where Romney tries to disempower the attitude of the President, namely Obama.

c. Reproduction

The reproduction strategy is adopted here to minimize the negative ideology represented by the use of the suppression and dissociation strategies. Thus, these strategies are replaced by enhancement and association to support and be on hand with the president. Total avoidance is represented here.

Extract (27):

“I have said over and over that this campaign is about more than just replacing a President— it’s about saving the soul of America. We all know in our hearts that soul is corrupted by a Washington culture of reckless spending, voting to raise your own pay, and saying you support term limits but always running for re-election. It’s that Washington that we must change”.

Table (31): The Contextual Factors of Extract (27)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	Oct. 3, 2012, in Denver
Participants	Speaker: Romney Addressee: Obama and the audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Prejudice

Here, Romney presents himself as the country's savior. He feels that the president's home city of Washington has corrupted the soul of the United States. He makes reference to himself in numerous speeches as the person who will restore America to its rightful position as the world's leader, directly or indirectly. This is one of many techniques for what Van Dijk (1988) refers to as positive self-representation. Thus, he uses the positive us and negative them dichotomy. Moreover, Romney uses the maxim of quality as a metaphorical tool representing that Romney will stand by American people. Hence, it is represented by flouting the quality maxim. This is regarded as the lexical signaling of the pragmatic factors. Moreover, Romney uses the generosity maxim which is minimizing benefit to self and maximizing benefit to others.

The first stage of the analysis deals with the prejudice as a form of motivation for the self-esteem empowerment.

The second stage of the analysis shows the use of naturalization strategies which are as follows:

- a. Enhancement is referred to as an empowerment strategy that is used to show the strengthening of his in-group in terms of inclusion.
- b. Indoctrination is also adopted here to keep focusing on the in-group until being solidified in the individuals' minds.

The third stage of the critical pragmatic mechanisms which have been employed is as follows:

- a. Critique

Thus, he uses the positive us and negative them dichotomy. Moreover, Romney uses the maxim of quality as a metaphorical tool representing that

Romney will stand by American people. Hence, it is represented by flouting the quality maxim. This is regarded as the lexical signaling of the pragmatic factors. Moreover, Romney uses the generosity maxim which is minimizing benefit to self and maximizing benefit to others. Concerning the first stage, Romney uses prejudice as a form of motivation for the self-esteem empowerment. With reference to naturalization strategies, Enhancement and indoctrination are also adopted here to keep focusing on the in-group.

b. Stance

The stance is represented by the maximizing of benefit to others and minimizing the efforts to one's own self. Thus, empowerment is achieved here.

c. Reproduction

Conceding reproduction strategies, the utterances that are uttered in this extract are seen as natural in terms of Romney's Stance. Thus, empowerment is achieved of the American people.

Extract (28):

“President Obama promised to bring us together, but at every turn, he has sought to divide and demonize. He promised to cut the deficit in half, but he doubled it. And his budget? It failed to win a single vote, Republican or Democrat, in either the House or the Senate. He said he would reform Medicare and Social Security and save them from pending insolvency, but he shrunk from proposing any solution at all. (Romney, 26 October 2012) What this requires is change, change from the course of the last four years. It requires that we put aside the small and the petty, and demand the scale of change we deserve: we need real change, big change”.

Table (32): The Contextual Factors of Extract (28)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	Oct. 3, 2012, in Denver
Participants	Speaker: Romney Addressee: Obama and the audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Instigation

Romney uses this illustration to show that Obama has failed to improve the situation and has really made it worse. His continued emphasis on the word "change" serves to reinforce the point that he is trying to make. Specifically, he wants to argue that what Obama promises is not a meaningful change, and that what Romney intends to do is prevent Obama from being reelected. Thus, he uses the positive impoliteness strategy. He makes a dissociation of Obama from the presidency. Thus, he tries to convince the public opinion that Obama is not real. We need to make a real change. In this way, he uses the affective impoliteness strategy. Additionally, Romney makes use of the SA of criticism. Hence, he issued a SA of criticizing Obama for not keeping his promise towards American people.

The first stage of the analysis shows that Romney instigating SA urging people for not giving any single vote to Obama. Consequently, he disempower his opportunity to win in the elections.

As for the second the stage, certain naturalization strategies are utilized to show the disempowerment adopted by Romney. They are as follows:

- a. Dissociation: means to dissociate the candidate from the race of winning the vote. He uses one of the strategies used by Van Dijk (1988) about the positive us and negative them.
- b. Assimilation: means to belittle Obama's office and assimilate the elite people.

The third stage of the critical pragmatic mechanisms which have been employed are as follows:

- a. Critique

In this extract, the pragmatic factors that are used are positive impoliteness strategy. He makes a dissociation of Obama from the presidency. In this way, he uses the affective impoliteness strategy. Additionally, Romney makes use of the SA of criticism. Hence, he issued a SA of criticizing Obama for not keeping his promise towards American people. Concerning the first stage, instigation is used to urge people against Obama and disempower him. The naturalization strategies are dissociation and assimilation to represent the disempowerment ideologies.

- b. Stance

The stance-taking is manifested by the use of the criticism and impolite acts. These acts are used as tools to represent the disempowerment ideologies.

- c. Reproduction

In this strategy, Romney's utterances are shown as inappropriate and unnatural. The negative ideology is replaced with a positive ideology as ***“President Obama promised to bring us together, but at every turn, he has sought to unite and legitimize”***. Thus, Romney, in this extract, tries to delegitimize Obama from the race of presidency.

Extract (29):

“And then the president began what I've called an apology tour of going to — to various nations in the Middle East and — and criticizing America. I think they looked at that and saw weakness. Then when there were dissidents in the streets of Tehran, the Green Revolution, holding signs saying, is America with us, the president was silent. I think they noticed that as well. And I think that when the president said he was going to create daylight between ourselves and Israel that — that they noticed that as well”

Table (33): The Contextual Factors of Extract (29)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	Oct. 3, 2012, in Denver
Participants	Speaker: Romney Addressee: Obama and the audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Instigation

In this extract, Romney and Obama discuss the issue of the foreign affairs. In this respect, Romney accuses Obama of misleading the country. Consequently, he give the other countries the opportunity to be superior. Because Romney’s viewpoint about America, he thinks that Obama belittle America in the public opinion. In the meantime, Romney attacks Obama’s face using the negative impoliteness strategy. By this, he uses coercive power to show that Obama is inferior and Romney is superior. Moreover, Romney issues a SA of Criticizing. He criticizes his rival, Obama, in his campaign trying to belittle him in an effort to prevent him from the vote. In addition, he flouts the maxim of quality outlining the

metaphorical expression “daylight” to represent that the president is not truthful. In this regard, he disempowers the opportunity of Obama to win the vote by using instigation strategy in which he urges the public opinion against him.

The first stage of the analysis shows the use of instigation urging the public opinion against him to disempower the opportunity of Obama to win the vote of the American in general.

Regarding the second stage, it is represented by the use of naturalization strategies. These strategies are as follows:

- a. Suppression: by which the speaker, namely Romney suppress the other Nominee and ignore all the good things about his personality
- b. Marginalization: marginalization occurs where enhancing of one’s in-group by using utterances that put the other out-group in a secondary position. This can lead to making the first as superior and the second as inferior.

The third stage of the critical pragmatic mechanisms which have been employed are as follows:

- a. Critique

By this, negative impoliteness strategy is represented. In the same stream, he uses coercive power to show that Obama is inferior and Romney is superior. Moreover, Romney issues a SA of Criticizing. He tries to belittle to lose the vote. In addition, the maxim of quality is also manifested outlining the metaphorical expression “daylight” to represent that the president is not truthful. In this regard, he disempowers the opportunity of Obama to win the vote by using instigation strategy in which he urges the public opinion against him. According to the naturalization strategies, they are as follows:

Suppression: by which the speaker, namely Romney suppress the other Nominee and ignore all the good things about his personality
 Marginalization: marginalization occurs where enhancing of one’s in-group by using utterances that put the other out-group in a secondary position. This can lead to making the first as superior and the second as inferior.

b. Reproduction

In this extract modification is used as a reproduction strategy to modify the following utterance to be represented as natural and appropriate. *Then when there were dissidents in the streets of Tehran, , holding signs saying, is America with us, the president wasn’t silent.* In this way negative ideology is minimized.

Extract (30):

“This nation is the hope of the earth. We've been blessed by having a nation that's free and prosperous thanks to the contributions of the Greatest Generation. They've held a torch for the world to see, the torch of freedom and hope and opportunity. Now it's our turn to take that torch. I'm convinced we'll do it. We need strong leadership. I'd like to be that leader, with your support. I'll work with you. I'll lead you in an open and honest way. And I ask for your vote. I'd like to be the next president of the United States to support and help this great nation, and to make sure that we all together maintain America as the hope of the earth. Thank you so much”.

Table (34): The Contextual Factors of Extract (30)

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	Oct. 3, 2012, in Denver

Participants	Speaker: Romney Addressee: Obama and the audience
End	Electional campaign
Instrumentalities	Spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Debate
Kind	Instigation

In this extract, Romney and the moderator exchange their roles of speech. Romney starts talking about the promising future of America. He says that he is optimistic and hope for a better future. Thus, Romney uses expressive SA of thanking. In this respect, he wants to thank those who are responsible for developing the United States. He also thanks those who develop the great generation in America. In the same stream, he issues a directive speech act urging and requesting people to vote for him to be their leader as a president. Moreover, the Commissive SA of promising is manifested in Romney’s utterance *“we’ll do it”*. Accordingly, collectivization is revealed here. In another perspective, Romney makes use of the approbation maxim of politeness. In this maxim, he minimizes dispraise of others and maximizes praise of others. Accordingly, Romney’s ideology behind using all these pragmatic factors is the empowerment of American contributors on developing and those who make America great again.

The first stage shows racist ideology that of prejudice. Accordingly, Romney is bias to his in-group and gives his gratitude to the people who individualize others.

In the second stage, the analysis shows that Romney uses certain naturalization strategies to show the empowerment. Thus he uses the following ones:

- a. Collectivization: Romney uses the pronoun “we” to refer to his followers as a united team.

- b. Enhancement is also used by Romney to support the American people to get their vote in the elections.

The third stage of the critical pragmatic mechanisms which have been employed are as follows:

- a. Critique

Romney uses expressive SA of thanking. In the same stream, Romney issues a directive speech act urging and requesting people to vote for him to be their leader as a president. Moreover, the Commissive SA of promising is manifested in Romney's utterance "*we'll do it*". Accordingly, collectivization is revealed here. In another perspective, Romney makes use of the approbation maxim of politeness. In this maxim, he minimizes dispraise of others and maximizes praise of others. Accordingly, Romney's ideology behind using all these pragmatic factors is the empowerment of American contributors on developing and those who make America great again. Regarding the motivations of empowerment and disempowerment, the analysis shows racist ideology that of prejudice. Moreover, Romney uses certain naturalization strategies to show the empowerment. They are: Collectivization: represented by the use of "we" to refer to his followers as a united team. Then, Enhancement is also used by Romney to support the American people to get their vote in the elections.

- b. Stance

The stance-taking here is that Romney uses strategies of thanking and giving the American people the hint to get their vote as a president.

- c. Reproduction

In terms of reproduction mechanism, the utterances are seen as natural and appropriate since they do not attack the FTAs.

4.2.2 Quantitative Analysis

Following the first chapter's presentation of the study's methodology, the subsequent pages focus on the quantitative analyses that make up that methodology. After the qualitative analysis of the data used in this study has been presented, the quantitative analysis will be shown below. For the quantitative analysis, we employ SPSS. Frequencies and percentages are used to describe the statistical analysis. This helps achieve the study's goals and can also be used for statistical analysis. Because this analysis relies on a nonparametric test, the researchers used the Chi-Square of independence at the (.01) significance level to compare the variables in a way that takes their interdependence into account.

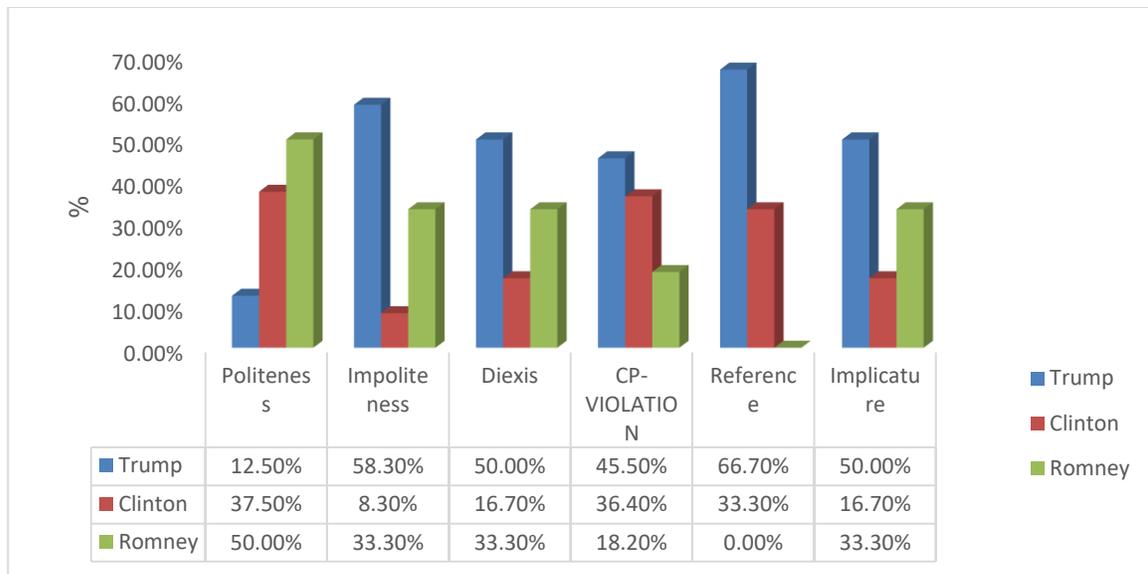
The findings and results of the statistical analysis, both qualitative and quantitative, are presented in the data. There are two primary purposes that this program fulfills. The former is exemplified by the frequency distributions of the variables in the analytic model and the examined data. In the latter, each percentage is displayed separately in accordance with the model's variables and methods. The chi-square test available in SPSS is used to tally up the differences and variations in approach and other model variables.

As for the identifying criteria of empowerment which are represented by the pragmatic factors, table (35) shows that highest percentage among candidates are the speech acts. Whereas the politeness, impoliteness, diexis, reference, CP-violation, reference and implicature are represented in 8, 12, 6, 11, 6, and 6. Concerning politeness, it is shown that the highest percentage is used by Romney whereas the lowest percentage is Trump. As for impoliteness, the highest is represented in Trump's speech with 58% , Romney 33% and the lowest 8% is by Clinton. This shows that impolite speech is highly represented in the presidential

debates. It also shows that Trump uses language of disempowerment. In terms of diexis, it is shown here that Trump’s percentage of use is 50%, Romney is 33% and Clinton 16%. This shows the highest use is represented by Trump and the lower is represented by Clinton. Regarding the cooperative principle, it more violated by Trump with a percentage of 46%, Clinton 36% and Romney with 18%. It is clear here that the highest percentage of CP-Violation is seen in Trump’s speech, whereas the lower scale is represented by Romney. As for referring strategy, the highest remarks are seen in Trump’s speech with 67%, whereas the lowest percentage is represented by Romney with 0%. In the same stream, Trump’s use of implicature is represented as the highest percentage with 50%, but Clinton is 16% and Romney is 33% which shows that Trump is the highest among others.

Table (35) :Identifying Criteria of Empowerment and Disempowerment

Candidates	Politeness	%	Impoliteness	%	Diexis	%	CP-VIOLATIO	%	Speech Acts	%	Reference	%	Implicature	%
Trump	1	12.5	7	58.3	3	50.0	5	45.5	9	30.0	4	66.7	3	50.0
Clinton	3	37.5	1	8.3	1	16.7	4	36.4	10	33.3	2	33.3	1	16.7
Romney	4	50	4	33.3	2	33.3	2	18.2	11	36.7	0	0.0	2	33.3
Total	8	100	12	100	6	100	11	100	30	100	6	100	6	100
	* Chi-Square = 16.381 P-Value = 0.048													



Figure(6): Identifying Criteria of Empowerment and Disempowerment

As for Table (36), it shows the motivations of the empowerment and disempowerment. In this table, the highest frequency is represented by the prejudice acts resembles with 10 out of 30 extracts. Concerning discriminatory acts, it is shown here that Trump and Romney share the same percentage of 43% whereas Clinton shows 14%. Instigation is seen at highest percentage in Clinton's utterances with 57% and Romney with 42%, where Trump shows no use of Instigation with 0% percentage. As for the racism, Trump shows the highest percentage with 100%. In the same stream, racism is not seen in Clinton and Romney. Sexism, in the same vein, shows Trump's ideology toward the use of sexist talk with 66% whereas Clinton shows 33%, but Romney presents 0%.

Table (36): Motivations of Empowerment and Disempowerment

Candidates	Prejudice	%	Discrimination	%	Instigation	%	Racism	%	Sexism	%
	Trump	3	30.0	3	42.9	0	0.0	2	100	2
Clinton	3	30.0	1	14.2	4	57.1	0	0.0	1	33.3
Romney	4	40.0	3	42.9	3	42.9	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	10	100	7	100	7	100	2	100	3	100
* Chi-Square = 10.902 P-Value = 0.041										

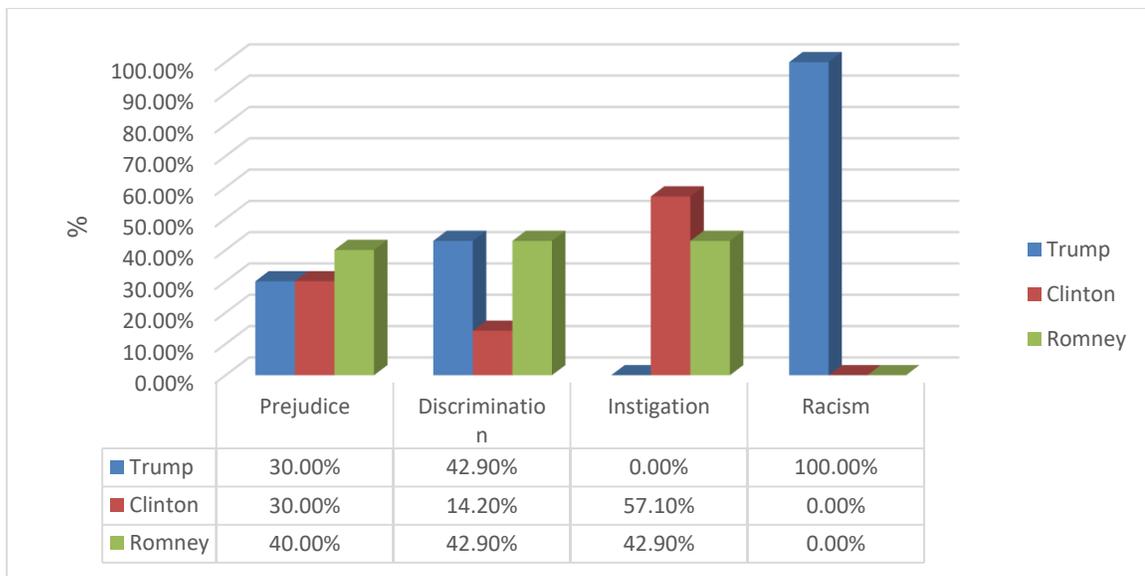


Figure (7): Motivations of Empowerment and Disempowerment

Regarding the ideological strategies of empowerment and disempowerment, they are presented according to the current order: enhancement, collectivization, association, indetermination, individualization and indoctrination. These are represented with the following frequencies such as 11, 5, 3, 0, 6, and 4. The highest frequencies are seen in the enhancement ideology. As for indetermination, there is no any use that is indicated in the extracts. As for, enhancement, Romney shows the highest frequency with 45%, Clinton 36% and Trump shows the lowest with 18%. Collectivization is represented with equal percentage 40% for Trump and Romney whereas Clinton shows the lowest with 20%. In terms of association, it is represented with its high percentage of Romney. Concerning the indetermination strategy, there is no indication of use among the three candidates. Individualization is represented by the highest frequency in terms of Trump with 50%; Clinton's frequency of individualization is 33%; and Romney with 17% of the total frequency used by candidates. Regarding the indoctrination, Romney is the highest frequency with 75%; then Clinton with 25%; but it is not revealed in Trump's speech.

Table (37): Ideological Strategies of Empowerment

Candidates	Enhancement	%	Collectivization	%	Association	%	Indetermination	%	Individualization	%	Indoctrination	%
Trump	2	18.2	2	40.0	1	33.3	0	0.0	3	50.0	0	0.0
Clinton	4	36.4	1	20.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	33.3	1	25.0
Romney	5	45.4	2	40.0	2	66.7	0	0.0	1	16.7	3	75.0
Total	11	100	5	100	3	100	0	0.0	6	100	4	100
Ns Chi-Square = 6.405 P-Value = 0.318												

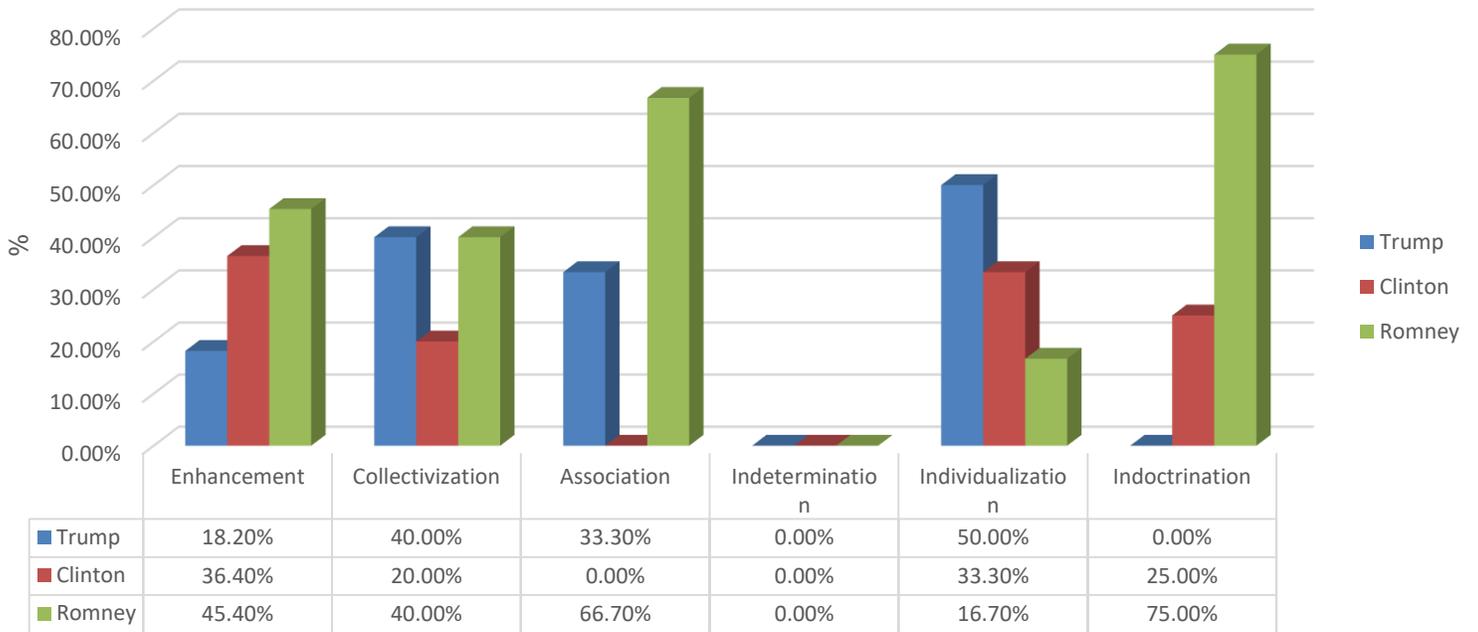


Figure (8): Ideological Strategies of Empowerment

In Table (38), the ideological strategies of disempowerment are represented statistically showing the number of frequency each candidate. According to suppression, it is shown that Trump’s frequency is represented by 38.5%; Romney’s is 38%; whereas Clinton is the lowest among them with 23%. This shows that they always tend to suppress others in their speech. In terms of differentiation, Trump is the highest with 100% whereas the others do not. Regarding the dissociation, it is shown from the chi-square statistics that Clinton is the highest frequency among candidates with 62%; Romney with 25% and 12% frequency this means that Clinton uses the strategy of dissociation more than Trump and Romney. In the same stream, assimilation’s highest frequency is represented by Trump with 66%; Romney is 33%. This use shows that Trump is more assimilated than other candidate. As for marginalization, the highest frequency occurring in this strategy goes to Clinton and Romney with 37% and

37%, whereas the lowest marginalized speech occurs in Trump’s one with 25%. Degrading, the final strategy, is shown in its highest frequency with 100%. This shows that Trump degrades other people.

Table (38): Ideological Strategies of Disempowerment

Candidates	Suppression	%	Differentiation	%	Dissociation	%	Assimilation	%	Marginalization	%	Degrading	%
Trump	5	38.5	2	100	1	12.5	2	66.7	2	25.0	1	100
Clinton	3	23.0	0	0.0	5	62.5	0	0.0	3	37.5	0	0.0
Romney	5	38.5	0	0.0	2	25.0	1	33.3	3	37.5	0	0.0
Total	13	100	2	100	8	100	3	100	8	100	1	100
* Chi-Square = 11.602 P-Value = 0.031												

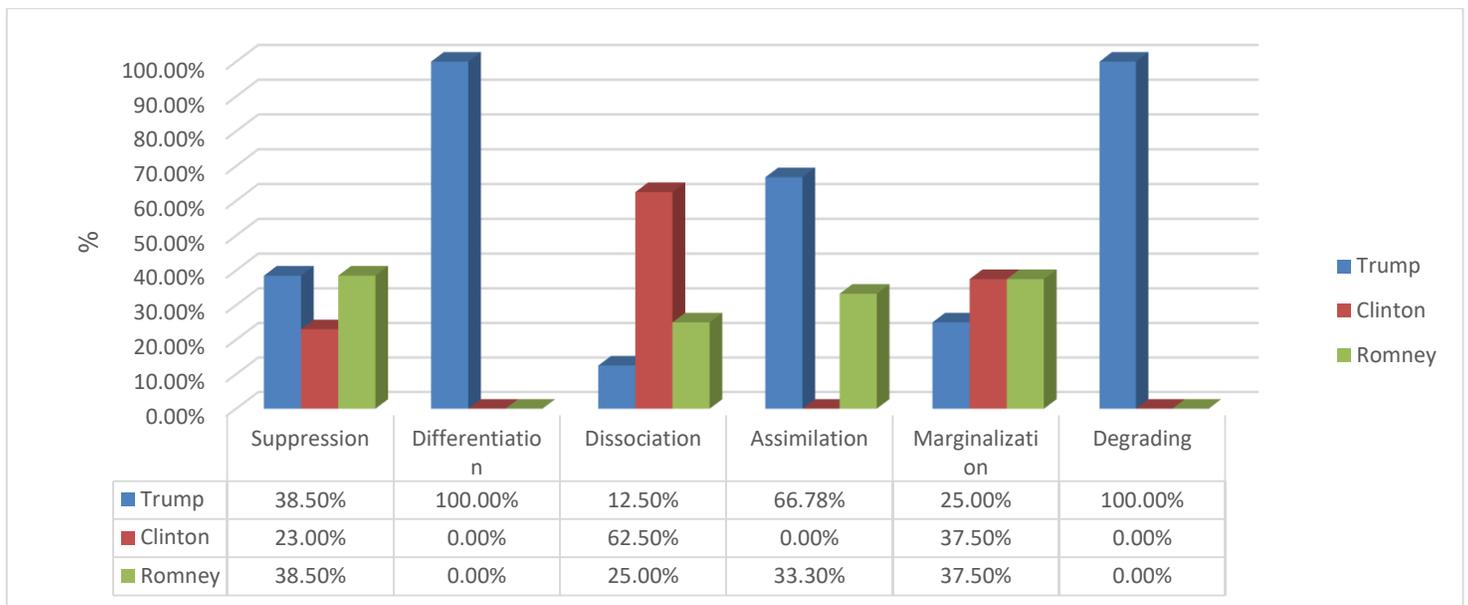


Figure (9): Ideological Strategies of Disempowerment

Chapter Five

Conclusions, Recommendation and Suggestions for Further Research

5. Introductory Notes

This chapter discusses the results reached at by the current study after analyzing Empowerment, Disempowerment and the critical pragmatic analysis of the data. In addition, it presents some recommendations for the areas related to this study and some proposals for future research in the subject area.

5.1 Conclusions

This study has arrived at the following conclusions:

1. CPs structure of analysis is represented in the realm of American Presidential Debates.
2. Empowerment is done unanimously depending on the relationship among individuals.
3. Language is not powerful; but language is powerful through the individuals's use of language to be powerful.
4. In general, pragmatic concepts are used at the levels of politeness/impoliteness as culturally oriented concepts and the CP, so CDA and pragmatics need each other. When used strategically, maxims, presuppositions, and deixis oriented, empowerment and disempowerment are revealed.
5. CPs can be regarded as a strategy that is solely focused on discourse analysis, identifying hidden, negative ideas, and providing tactics for countering those ideologies.

6. Critical pragmatics is utilized in the act of empowerment and disempowerment since it focuses on the pragmatic use of discourse markers and standards as strategies to represent the Candidates' ideas and to disclose the ideologies of power competence.
7. Empowerment and disempowerment are seen in the social, political, and linguistic fields of study. However, political sphere is seen superior and the primary source studied in the current study.
8. Depending on the data analysis, the pragmatic theories and the ideological representations are not manifested at the same time, but each extract is analyzable according to its strategies. This means the first hypothesis is partly verified.
9. The most common pragmatic strategies that represent disempowerment in the American Presidential Debates are impoliteness and reference. This means that the second hypothesis which reads “Impoliteness is a strategy that is used to disempower people in the American presidential debates” is verified in the American Presidential Debates.
10. The American presidential debates are characterized by the speech of empowering or disempowering people. This means that the third hypothesis which reads “the pragmatic theories are used to show the implication of empowerment in the context of American Presidential Debates” is verified.
11. The most common strategies that are used to reveal the aspect of empowerment are speech acts, politeness represented in face-saving act. This verifies the fifth hypothesis which reads “the most common pragmatic strategies to represent empowerment are speech act and politeness”.
12. American politicians use every available strategy to subtly show empowerment and disempowerment. It appears that politicians frequently employ the sorts of speech acts described in this study.

13. The speech acts of criticizing have the maximum frequency among the other speech acts represented in debates under scrutiny.
14. Suppression and enhancement are the highest strategies to reveal the process of empowerment and disempowerment in the American presidential debates.

5.2 Recommendations

After analyzing the data, the study came up with the following recommendations:

1. It is the responsibility of teachers to let their students understand that many different things can serve as inspiration for significant ideas like empowerment and disempowerment.
2. Educators must raise awareness about pragmatic ideas that can aid in the identification of serious problems like disempowerment.
3. Aspects of CPs should be treated as separate topics in undergraduate textbooks to enable students make connections between linguistic choices and ideological representations.
4. American Candidates need talk in a way that encourages understanding and cooperation amongst nations. Their words could spark racial, religious, or political tensions.

5.3 Suggestions for Further Research

This study presents the following suggestions for further studies in terms of critical pragmatic analysis:

1. A critical pragmatic analysis of empowerment in the context of American conferences.
2. A critical pragmatic analysis women's empowerment in Selected American Movies

3. A critical pragmatic analysis of empowerment in commercial, or legal contexts.
4. A critical pragmatic analysis of empowerment in educational contexts.
5. A critical pragmatic study of woman oppression in American and British Conferences.

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