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Anthropolinguistic Tools to Study Political Linguistics. The Case of Donald Trump's 2020 Campaign Discourse

Abstract

The paper presents an anthropolinguistic study of Donald Trump's 2020 presidential campaign discourse. The study can be situated within the scope of political linguistics. The interdisciplinary method of research applied here rests upon the understanding of human communication functioning in terms of communicational grammars of specific discourses that comprise rules of language use set against the background of immediate contexts of use. The key idea underbracing this study is that language is a rule-governed, conventions-based system of practice (*e.g.*, de Saussure [1916] 2011, Sapir 1921, Hymes 1972, Saville-Troike [1982] 2003, Lucy [1996] 1999) and a conventional type of performance which allows for building a nexus of typified relations. Another overarching goal of this paper is to show that human interaction is mostly both a structurally hardwired and functionally (pragmatically) driven linguistic practice. The analysis sets out to explore Donald Trump's texts according to the Anthropolinguistic Model of Communication (AMC) (Strukowska 2022) as a pattern recognition model that provides a contextual overview of elements of communication and functions as a solid platform for documenting discursive practices (Chruszczewski 2011: 199–263).

Keywords: political linguistics, anthropological linguistics, communicational grammars, ethnography of communication, American presidential campaign discourse, text analysis, Donald Trump

1. Introduction

The paper reflects the view that researching communication is one step in demystifying and deciphering the design of the culture which is reflected in a country's politics (Geertz 1973: 311). While the premise of Geertz's (1973) understanding of culture is that it can become public by means of schemes and

structures, it seems that anthropolinguistics is a proper direction to take since it provides various tools for conducting ethnographic research on discourse. Furthermore, the anthropolinguistic study of discourse is a productive mode of research and a promising field of scholarship due to its dynamic potential which lies at the core of texts that are human commonalities, produced and shared cross-culturally (Lucy [1996] 1999: 52). The relentless interest in looking for changing cultural patterns in their context of use (see, for example, Malinowski 1945) has led to the idea of specifying the areas of discursive activity based on the situational, social and cultural embedding of non-verbal context described in the postulates of the communicative-discursive paradigm of researching anthropolinguistic issues as presented by Chruszczewski (2011: 199–200).

2. On the communicational-discursive paradigm

The postulated communicational-discursive research paradigm (see also Chruszczewski 2011: 199) employed as a research tool derives directly from the paradigms proposed by Alessandro Duranti (2003). The emphasis in the communicational-discursive paradigm is placed on the anthropolinguistic study of the communicational grammars of individual discourses, as well as on the documentation of communication occurring in a number of various discourses (including political discourse).

<i>Tasks:</i>	documentation of communication, language, discourse as well as discursive practices used in a number of contextual embeddings by social groups; description, documentation and analysis of linguistic and socio-cultural changes in time and space
<i>Language seen as:</i>	a particular human domain organised in terms of culture and communication, but also organising culture and communication
<i>Preferred units of analysis:</i>	discursive and communicational practices, including, <i>e.g.</i> , the SPEAKING Grid; texts within discourses in which they are produced; communicational grammar of discourses, speech acts and genres
<i>Theoretical issues:</i>	the relationship between linguistic units and the non-verbal context in which they are produced; socio-cultural relationships formed on the basis of texts (here understood as intentionally encoded carriers of meaning); linguistic and cultural elements forming ethnic identities; anthropolinguistic aspects of communication behaviour. writing as a semiotic system dependent on culture and playing a significant role (especially in contemporary times) in the processes of creating and communicating meanings
<i>Preferred methods of collecting data:</i>	analysis of the communicational grammars of the investigated discourses on the basis of texts created in these discourses (linguistic texts, but also texts understood anthropologically as broader cultural events)

Texts need to be understood here as primarily verbal and individual realisations of particular discourses. The above research paradigm also emphasises, among other issues, the essence of the study and description of non-verbal contextual environmental variables, *i.e.*, the situational, social and cultural embeddings of texts. Although the paradigm was a starting point of our analysis, one could have come up with an interesting research paper sticking to this research tool alone. As we, however, intended to go

one step further, while keeping the above paradigm in mind, we studied the issue of communicational grammars of discourses, and expanded our research tool reaching out into pragmatics, the ethnography of communication and anthropological linguistics.

3. On the communicational grammars of discourses¹

This sub-section of our paper is devoted mainly to a combination of ways of researching materials from the field of discourse studies and text-linguistics. The phenomenon of communicational grammar is presented, with particular attention being paid to the situational, social and cultural delimitation of discourses. The communicational grammar presented here is a study of verbal and non-verbal patterns in their discursive embeddings. Discourse is understood as a dynamic phenomenon at the core of which are its individual textual realisations. In order to understand the meaning of each text within the specific discourse in which it appears, three extensive contextual embeddings can be distinguished. These are, as follows, the non-verbal situational, social and cultural embeddings enveloping verbal texts. It needs to be kept in mind, however, that there are many discourses (political, legal, medical, military, religious, etc.) that often coexist using each other's resources. In order to see with which particular discourse one is dealing at the moment, it would suffice to investigate the communicative aim of the discourse under scrutiny. In order to understand how individual discourses work, it would be necessary to develop communicational grammars of all the individual discourses that one would wish to study. At this point, it is worth presenting briefly **the understanding of the notion of communicational grammar** which we have in mind.

Communicational grammar is a complex concept that can be understood in many different ways. In each of them, this is based on the notion of grammar (seen as a set of rules, norms and regularities). It is therefore important to present the correct understanding of this concept and present its possible meanings. Even a cursory analysis of grammars shows that there are many types of grammars, they can, for example, be dynamic, and they can also change. There can be *A Grammar of Modern English* (Mittins 1973), as well as *Old English Grammar* (Campbell [1959] 1983); there are grammars with regard to what subject they take into consideration, such as *Word Grammar* (Hudson 1984), *The Grammar of Case* (Anderson 1971), *A Grammar of Anaphora* (Aoun 1985), *Grammar of Metaphor* (Brooke-Rose 1958), *The Grammar of Adverbials* (Bartsch 1976). There are grammars published with regard to what group of people would study them, for instance, *English Grammar for Foreign Students* (Potter 1932), *A University Grammar of English* (Quirk, Greenbaum 1980) or *Collins Cobuild Student's Grammar* (Willis 1992).

It may also be observed that grammars evolve and change, such as *Towards a Contextual Grammar of English* (Winter 1982), and *Stratificational Grammar* (Sampson 1970). There can be grammars with regard to their function, for instance: *Lexicon-Functional Grammar* (Horn 1983), *Systemic-Functional Grammar in Natural Language Generation: Linguistic Description and Computational Representations* (Teich 1999). One can study fundamentals of grammars, namely, *Essentials of English Grammar* (Jespersen [1933] 1974), *Fundamentals of English Grammar* (Azar 1985), their sense as in *The Sense of Grammar* (Shapiro 1983), but also their philosophy, such as *The Philosophy of Grammar* (Jespersen [1924] 1968).

¹ This subchapter is based upon previously published materials in *Językoznawstwo antropologiczne. Zadania i metody* (Chruszczewski 2011: 201–204), and *The Communicational Grammar of Political Discourse* (Chruszczewski 2002: 3–5).

The conclusion one may draw concerning the above presentation of grammars is that they are about a set of rules, with no regard whether they concern conversations or silence, namely: *Spanish Conversation Grammar* (Sauerl 1891), and *The Grammar of Silence* (Cottrell 1986). With the help of these rules, smaller units of language are organised: they can be morphemes, words, sentences, or longer and complicated units, e.g. texts or even entire discourses. There are even grammars for ornament, such as the *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament* (Cramp 1991). Grammars can be described as active, or theoretical, while they can also be applied in practice, e.g., *Active Grammar* (Bald 1984), *The Theory and Practice of Creole Grammar* (Thomas [1869] 1969). Grammars can be visible signs of contemporary linguistic development, for instance, *New Zealand English Grammar* (Humndt 1998). One can also research their contexts, as in *Grammar in Context* (Gethin 1983), work out their models, such as *Models of Grammar* (Nickel, Nehls 1980), while one can even play with grammars in, for example, *Grammar Games* (Rinvolucris 1985), or make an attempt to estimate their number, namely *Thirty Million Theories of Grammar* (McCowley 1982). One can also observe other concepts in terms of grammar in, for example, *Logic and Grammar* (Horstein 1982); one can also find idiogrammars, such as *Emily Dickinson: A Poet's Grammar* (Miller 1984). Finally, grammars can be viewed as creative units. Indeed, in their book entitled *Grammatica Creativa*, Corsi, Pecoraro and Virgilli (1998) examine many aspects of grammars embarked upon by various Roman and Italian writers. They note that:

Grammar in the etymological sense is the art of writing. The art (...) points at the precise competence constructed by means of being taught and self study, exercise, and personal meditation. (...) [C]reative, for the authors have attempted to research the vision of the voices of itineraries of reality, much thought about, yet unpredictable, enriched by the voices of writing masters (from Dante through Yourcenar) which develop due to the charms of literature. The magic of literature, as a surprise, can proliferate itself in ornaments, and with the cooperation of the reader's eye it can dwell in an endless net of surprise. (Corsi, Pecoraro & Virgilli 1998: 7; translated into English by P.C.)

The understanding of grammar in the above sense appears to be close to the thought of Martin Heidegger ([1939] 1999; 1971) that "[m]an acts as though he were the shaper and master of language, while in fact language remains the master of man." The point of view presented here is somewhat different, however, as is the grammar, which to some extent should be understood metaphorically as a set of rules. Nevertheless, it should be assumed that it is a concept that includes both linguistic and non-linguistic elements that together create communication, while, at the same time, actively taking part in it. Hence, it is postulated to call such a set of rules concerning the ways and methods of communication a communicational grammar.

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An excellent example of the concept of grammar which we have in mind here is in a work by Sue Crawford and Elinor Ostrom entitled "A Grammar of Institutions." The methodology of their research is, however, different from ours which is predominantly based upon linguistic issues. Although their argument is rooted more in the realities of political science than in linguistics, we can entirely agree with them when they state that:

The institutional grammar introduced here (...) is based on a view that **institutions are enduring regularities of human action in situations structured by rules** [emphasis placed by M.S./P.C.], norms, and shared strategies, as well as by the physical world. The rules, norms, and shared strategies are constituted and reconstituted by human interaction in frequently occurring or repetitive situations (Crawford and Ostrom 1995: 582).

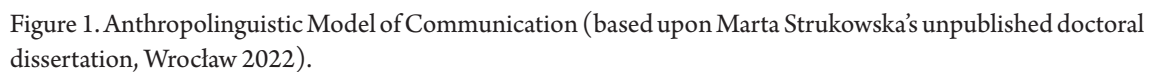
Based on the above, it can be concluded that **communicational grammars constitute sets of various types of verbal and non-verbal behaviour patterns, depending on the context and institutions to which they belong and in which they occur**. It is easy to notice that we are dealing here with the socially-determined language functions, or more precisely with texts and various ways of their functioning in the context surrounding them. One's choice of way of using a text always depends on the sender of the text and on the purpose of their communication. In order for a text to be well understood by its addressee, its sender should be well acquainted with the culture in which the text they are constructing is to function, due to the fact that a misunderstood text may cause quite a lot of serious problems.

4. The Anthropolinguistic Model of Communication (AMC)

The above-presented frames of reference constitute a starting point for setting up the elements of communicative situations as evidenced in the AMC model which build the methodological foundation of the research tool and provide an insight on the communicational grammar² (Chruszczewski 2007: 146) that dynamically fluctuates and shapes discourse. In terms of a structure of the model, four main dimensions in the form of the thematic/relational clusters that formed patterns of the study can be distinguished and they include: (1) rhetorical, (2) a textual/speech act, (3) norms-related, and (4) genre-based areas. These core features of analysis are categories of description which draw on the assumptions stated in the fourth communicative-discursive paradigm and capture the complexity of concepts that build a practical apparatus for researching discursive realities. The specification of the distinguished model clusters is nothing but an ethnographic approach to discourse analysis that provides situation-based contextual information about speaking patterns (Hymes [1968] 1977: 103).

Since an ethnographic case study analysis (Duff 2008: 34) presents communicational grammar in its narrow sense, it constitutes only a small fraction of inferencing meaning from the speech patterns of Trump's political discourse. Yet, the individual patterns of the analysed case study relevantly present some theoretical and methodological assumptions that create the environment for studying speech events in a context-oriented framework. Faced with the task of singling out speech patterns, one takes into consideration the description and explanation of speech habits in their social milieu. The stages of the analysis that follow contribute to the anthropo-pragmatic meaning that is implicitly and explicitly communicated in a message underlying the contexts of use. A graphical representation of the research tool is presented in the diagram below.

2 Various discourse types can be researched according to their communicational grammars which pertain to "[a] linguistic study concerned with rules responsible for efficient communication, and can be used as a tool for researching almost any issue that falls under the term political linguistics – a sub-field of linguistics which analyses how ideologies are put into service to legitimate power and inequality" (Chruszczewski 2007: 146).



5. On rhetorical patterns

With reference to the structural elements of the model in question, one has to take into consideration that since the subject matter of the ethnography of communication is how speakers of a particular speech community use their knowledge to communicate effectively, it was important to incorporate the tenets of a rhetorical situation into the model (particularly the appeals to *ethos*, *pathos*, *logos* and *kairos*). Such a category of analysis appears to be adequate as it emphasises the rhetorical and argumentative force that is characteristic of persuasive discourse (see also Duszak 1998: 208). It is also important to point out that the fourfold classification of a rhetorical act into, namely: *ethos* (which refers to the credibility of a speaker); *pathos* (appeals mainly to the emotions of the audience); *logos* (adheres to the effective use of proper to linguistic elements); and *kairos* (highlights the right measure, the opportune moment or the appropriateness of the use of rhetorical appeals) constitutes the cornerstone of every communicative act. Building on this premise, an attempt was made to show the argumentative/persuasive mode of speaking of Trump's political communication viewed as a form of persuasion (Moir 2013: 223).

Since no human communication is alien to rhetoric and no discourse can be separated from rhetorical practice, it is a *sine qua non* of any anthropolinguistic study to look into the patterns distinguished by means of rhetorical tools in the form of rhetorical fallacies which are a part of rhetorical communicational grammar rules. The status of fallacies used by Donald Trump, considered an essential part of investigating the degree and the type of power claim in Trump's political texts, fundamentally builds assumptions about intentions and goals of participants referring to the illocutionary force of their acts, the communicative strategies they employ, as well as the perlocutionary effects achieved through their rhetorical practice (Herzberg 1991: 69). It is believed that the cornerstone of every anthropolinguistic study is determining the non-verbal context of communicative acts. Therefore, answering the questions of *who*, *says what*, *to whom*, *in what circumstances*, and *with what effect* can account for a comprehensive framework that is dictated by the situational, social and cultural embeddings which always form the non-verbal context of specific verbal texts under investigation. With respect to these contextual variables it is possible to determine a system of rhetorical grammar rules that built Trump's narrative. Additionally, this rhetorical study helps to develop a representation of a typologisation of texts with reference to rhetorical appeals and their communicative purpose.

6. On textual/speech act patterns

In terms of building a dynamic account of text characteristics which underlie Trump's discursive practice, it is necessary to look at texts in terms of operations and strategies which are shared and signalled within their textual structures, but most importantly view texts as communicative occurrences, *i.e.*, a recognisable human activities (de Beaugrande and Dressler [1972] 1981: 11). One way of doing this is by applying the seven standards of textuality³ proposed by Robert de Beaugrande and Wolfgang Dressler

3 Textuality appears to be the type of textual feature which underlies cooperativeness (de Beaugrande and Dressler [1972] 1981: 129). Since one of the main tenets of the Co-operative Principle is informativeness (Levinson 1983: 101), the area of textuality which signals the degree of informativity has been coherence related to the content of the message (de Beaugrande and Dressler [1972] 1981: 133). Importantly, the gist of textuality is predominantly based on relations of elements, as well

([1972] 1981) as the tools for researching texts. It is one of the tasks of this analysis to show that texts can be approached as dynamic, nebular, contextual and patterned realisations of discourse (Kalaga [1997] 2001: 14). With the help of rules in the form of the seven standards in question one points to the interrelatedness of principles of textual communication that produce a nexus of diverse relations. Given such a text-based orientation it is of use to give a short overview of the seven standards of textuality that constitute one method of presenting discourse data. According to these standards, a text can be defined as a communicative occurrence if it meets the following criteria:

- a) Coherence refers to the “[w]ays in which the components of the surface text, *i.e.* the actual words we hear or see are mutually connected within a sequence. (...) All of the functions which can be used to signal relations among surface elements are included under the notion of cohesion” (de Beaugrande and Dressler [1972] 1981: 11).
- b) Cohesion stems from coherence which, in turn, rests on assumptions derived from the speaker’s knowledge. It is primarily a “text-oriented notion” since it refers to the syntactic functions and grammatical dependencies which organise the short stretches of surface structure within texts.
- c) Intertextuality represents another standard of textuality proposed by Robert de Beaugrande and Wolfgang Dressler and deals with the patterning, the organisation of texts, and their transformation (de Beaugrande and Dressler [1972] 1981: 5). Intertextuality creates a specific type of textual reality which stands in referential relation to other texts and can be defined as a “[m]utual relevance of separate texts” (de Beaugrande and Dressler [1972] 1981: 20, Hatim and Mason 1990: 120), the process of framing a text in regard to other people’s texts in the same discourse (de Beaugrande and Dressler [1972] 1981: 12), or “[t]he ways in which the production and reception of a given text depend upon the participants’ knowledge of other texts” (de Beaugrande and Dressler [1972] 1981: 14). Therefore, intertextuality plays an important role in describing, organising and linking texts as well as determining their non-verbal context.
- d) Acceptability refers to this standard of textuality which explains whether a text is a communicative occurrence or not based on the attitudes of text users. Hence, the attitudinal aspect of understanding and producing texts is heavily linked to making inferences (de Beaugrande and Dressler [1972] 1981: 6). In the most immediate understanding of this parameter, texts receivers tolerate texts as coherent and devoid of violations provided they meet their own subjective standards of acceptance.
- e) Situationality “[c]oncerns the factors which make a text relevant to a situation of occurrence” (de Beaugrande and Dressler [1972] 1981: 3). Texts are characterised by contextually relevant features and variables such as non-contingent factors, conditions and relations that crucially build a context of a situation and are necessary for establishing the communicativeness of texts.
- f) Intentionality is the standard of textuality that refers to the intentionality of every human communication in order to realise a plan or meet a goal (de Beaugrande and Dressler

as access to them. Therefore, cooperativeness and communicative effectiveness always results from the synchronised combination of a patterned continuity of text meanings (de Beaugrande and Dressler [1972] 1981: 187).

[1972] 1981: 110). This purposive act of intending to do something presents every text producer and receiver as participants committing themselves to a certain type of action so that specific shared goals are satisfied. Austin goes one step further and states that intentions constitute one of the felicity conditions which underlie acts of communication, *i.e.*, in order to make a promise one needs to intend to keep their word and make their promise possible to meet (Austin [1962] 1975: 11). According to this assumption, text producers intend to create coherent texts so that: (1) they are acceptable to the receivers, and (2) they fulfil the communicative purpose of a text producer. Hence, the sharing of information is an intentional and intersubjective process.

- g) Informativity is the type of a textual standard that every text meets to a certain degree since it regards “[t]he extent to which the occurrences of the presented text are expected *vs.* unexpected or known *vs.* unknown/certain” (de Beaugrande and Dressler [1972] 1981: 16). This standard initially applies to all texts as they are always first-order occurrences that involve information content (de Beaugrande and Dressler [1972] 1981: 146).

It ought to be borne in mind that the anthropological study can be extended by incorporating a category of speech acts which are part and parcel of every communicative situation (Levinson 1983: 226), they are *prima facie* factors in conducting an ethnographic analysis. The consideration of the speech act action enables one to distinguish its illocutionary force which comprises the true core of discursive practice in its situational, social and cultural milieu (Bloomaert 2004: 6). Viewing them as tangible features of non-verbal context allows one to determine what is actually said (*e.g.*, to apologise, to promise, to threaten, to order, etc.). From the practical viewpoint, it is crucial to bear in mind that they are convention-based units of linguistic communication as well as building blocks of genres that, obviously, can also be considered to be elements forming discourse.

7. On politeness patterns

Another criterion for establishing patterns of communication refers to the socio-pragmatic variables of power and distance specified in the Politeness Principle (Brown and Levinson [1978] 1987) which highlights relations between a speaker and a hearer, the conditions of language use, and the degree of offensiveness of a communicative act. In this way, studying strategies of politeness in relation to the communicational grammar of discourse not only provides information about the micro-level, locally distributed elements of communication which focus on minimising face-threat, but also build a bigger picture of constructing social facts that are situated at the macro-level of discourse and extend to create roles and identities. In the framework of politeness strategies, the concept of *face*⁴ allows one to make a particular point in the discussion about the patterns of communication. By widening our perspective to include the orientation toward the positive and the negative face, we also extend our understanding of texts which are not only convention-based occurrences but also are made up of robust inferences which hinge on the intentions of the speakers.

4 The concept of face adopted in this part of the study comes from Erving Goffman (1967) which “[t]ies face up with notions of being embarrassed, or humiliated, or losing face. Thus face is something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced and must be constantly attended to in interaction” (Brown and Levinson [1978] 1987: 61).

8. On genre patterns

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The final criterion specified in the model is a genre category of communication (Saville–Troike [1982] 2003: 11) which serves as a tool in order to evaluate speech events in their social milieu. At the heart of every communication is the interaction that produces further activity of dealing with various acts (speech acts). Building on the primacy of interaction (agency), this seems to be a prerequisite of communication, a carrier of certain pragmatic functions, as well as a product that facilitates the process of ongoing interaction (Duranti 2005: 411, Duranti 2015: 116). In order to account for a tangible recognition of the primacy of interaction, it is of use to consider speech acts as elements which reflect interaction and fundamentally build discourse. As such, they constitute a strategically operational norm in the dynamic process of producing texts and utterances (Labocha 2008: 61). In line with this idea, genre relates to a conventional use of recognisable patterns (in the form of speech acts) dictated by certain social goals. At the same time, genres are patterned linguistic forms and situated speech actions (Ariel 2008: 62). At this level, patterns also become expected sets of grammar that are used in a specific genre and account for the conventional regularities dictated by a communicative purpose under specific circumstances (Iwasaki 2015: 161, Matsumoto 2021: 116).

9. The design of the research study; an outline

This part of the paper presents the anthropolinguistic study of Donald Trump's campaign discourse on the basis of a case study and examines the patterns of communication set within a specific context of use. The study is focused on exploring communicational grammar by means of a model that examines areas of patterned speech behaviour according to: (1) rhetorical; (2) textual/speech act; (3) norms-related; and (4) genre-based areas. Therefore, researching discourse necessitates the exploratory method that investigates the areas of activity (in terms of agency) or categories of generalised exchange which are tendencies of occurrence in specific contexts. The work of Dell Hymes, Robert de Beaugrande and Wolfgang Dressler have provided a springboard for the construction of textual basis of the AMC model. It also focuses on the full range of rudimentary components of a communicative situation presented in the SPEAKING Grid model developed by Dell Hymes (1974) synchronised with the standards of textuality that provide an answer to the question of what makes a text a communicative occurrence (de Beaugrande and Dressler [1972] 1981). The combination of these two approaches allowed for the development of a codified and uniform algorithm that enabled the analysis. Such a constructed model, mainly based on the anthropolinguistic analysis, can be considered to be a research tool in that it enables one to distinguish the dominant features or sets of elements that substantially create various realities (discourses), which, in turn, are part of the existing culture.

10. The case study analysis

The analysed material is based on the data sample (taken from a larger linguistic corpus) comprising a case study which specifically focuses on the thematic content of Donald Trump's texts (the coronavirus pandemic) during his 2020 presidential campaign. The selected texts in the form of transcripts were retrieved from the website of the American Presidency Project at the University of California, Santa Barbara, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/> and allowed one to grasp the dominant elements of communication within the thematic spectrum of the model. The choice of criteria for the analysis of this particular speech event has been dictated by the multiplicity of elements of communication which have been distinguished in relation to the categories stated in the model. The selected rules of communication are specified in the table below, followed by a description of the gathered data.

Table 1. Excerpt 1: Donald Trump Coronavirus Task Force Press Conference, August 13th, 2020, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-news-conference-1255>

	TYPES OF SPEECH ACTS	DATA
(1)	assertion	My administration has a different approach.
(2)	order	We have urged Americans to wear masks and I emphasized this is a patriotic thing to do.
(3)	assertion	Maybe they're great and maybe they're just good.
(4)	question	Maybe they're not so good, but frankly, what do you have to lose?
(5)	assertion	You have nothing to lose. So we do.
(6)	suggestion	And we've been saying wear them when it's appropriate, especially in terms of social distancing.
(7)	question	If you can't distance enough and what do you have to lose?
(8)	assertion	But again, it's up to the governors and we want to have a certain freedom and we want to have a certain freedom.
(9)	assertion	That's what we're about.
(10)	assertion	At the same time, we also understand that each state is different and is facing unique circumstances.
(11)	description	You have very, very different states facing very unique differences and circumstances.
(12)	order	We've entrusted the governors of each state, elected by the people, to develop and enforce their own mask policies and other policies following guidance from the Federal Government and CDC.
(13)	description	We're working with each state to implement a plan based on the facts and science.

	TYPES OF SPEECH ACTS	DATA
(14)	order	We will continue to urge Americans to wear masks when they cannot socially distance, but we do not need to bring the full weight of the Federal Government down on law-abiding Americans to accomplish this goal.
(15)	assertion	Americans must have their freedom and I trust the American people and their governors very much.
(16)	assertion	I trust the American people and the governors want to do the right thing to make the smart decisions.
(17)	assertion	And Joe doesn't, Joe doesn't, Joe doesn't know too much.
(18)	assertion	Unlike the Biden approach, our approach is guided by science.
(19)	assertion	That's why we're focused on protecting the high-risk Americans.
(20)	assertion	That is why we're delivering effective medical treatments to dramatically reduce the fatality rate.
(21)	assertion	And that is why we're developing vaccine and therapeutics and record time.
(22)	promise	You'll see that I think very soon.
(23)	accusation	Sleepy Joe rejects the scientific approach in favour of locking all Americans in their basements for months on end, which I think is something that Scott would be very opposed to.
(24)	assertion	I think I can speak for you.
(25)	assertion	We've been dealing pretty strongly over the last number of weeks.
(26)	accusation	But he wants them in the basement for months on end.
(27)	accusation	And you have governors that have been very, very strict on keeping people in their houses, keeping people in their, wherever they may be, apartments.
(28)	accusation	And frankly, I don't think the results are necessarily better than other results. But he wants to shut down our economy, close our schools and grind society to a halt, and he wants it done by a Federal decree.
(29)	threat	This would lead to a crippling, long-lasting depression. This would be a crippling, long-lasting depression.

Table 2. The analysis of a speech event according to the AMC

Parameters			Example: Donald Trump's Coronavirus Task Force Press Conference, August 13 th , 2020 (https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-news-conference-1255), date of access, Dec 2, 2021
Setting/Scene	Rhetorical situation– <i>Ethos</i>	low	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>personal attacks</u> (<i>ad hominem argument</i>) fallacy: “And Joe doesn’t, Joe doesn’t, Joe doesn’t know too much”, line (17) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>name-calling fallacy</u>: <i>sleepy Joe</i>, line (23) • <u>poisoning the well fallacy</u>: “Sleepy Joe rejects the scientific approach in favour of locking all Americans in their basements for months on end”, line (23), “Keep them in their houses”, line (27) and even “[s]hut down our economy, close our schools and grind society to a halt”, line (28) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>slippery slope fallacy</u>: “Close our schools and grind society to a halt”, line (28) which finally will lead to “[a] crippling, long-lasting depression. This would be a crippling, long-lasting depression”, line (29)
	Rhetorical situation– <i>Pathos</i>	low	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>appeal to fear fallacy</u> and evoking negative emotions, e.g., “This would lead to a crippling, long-lasting depression. This would be a crippling, long-lasting depression”, line (29) • <u>stirring symbols fallacy</u>: an overuse of the word <i>freedom</i>, lines (8),(15)
	Rhetorical situation– <i>Logos</i>	low	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>straw man fallacy</u>: “Sleepy Joe rejects the scientific approach in favour of locking all Americans in their basements for months on end, which I think is something that Scott would be very opposed to”, line (23), “And you have governors that have been very, very strict on keeping people in their houses, keeping people in their, wherever they may be, apartments”, line (27) • <u>hasty generalisations fallacy</u>: e.g., “And Joe doesn’t, Joe doesn’t, Joe doesn’t know too much”, line (17) • <u>smoke screen fallacy</u>: Trump avoids discussing the real issue and introduces unrelated topics, usually connected with discrediting his opponent e.g., line (17), followed by actions he takes to combat the virus, lines (19), (20), (21).
	Rhetorical situation– <i>Kairos</i>	low	Donald Trump does not adjust the proper measure at the right time to bring a logical argument. He flouts <i>kairos</i> by shifting topics, producing various fallacies and rhetorical arguments. This speech event presents a low degree of <i>akairos</i> .
	Cohesion/Coherence	low	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>topic shifts</u>, lines (17),(23) • <u>lack of continuity between concepts</u>, lines (7),(8),(9),(17)
	Intertextuality	high	Frequent use of repetitions
	Acceptability	low	The text is understood by the hearer, although some relations are incoherent.
	Situationality	moderate	The production of <i>ad personam</i> argument is not appropriate in political discourse.

Parameters			Example: Donald Trump's Coronavirus Task Force Press Conference, August 13 th , 2020 (https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-news-conference-1255), date of access, Dec 2, 2021
Participants	Speech community	A former Vice President Joe Biden, President Donald Trump, Kristen Welker (NBC News moderator), debate audience	
Ends	Communication purpose	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to present Donald Trump's administration agenda about medical treatment and security issues during a Coronavirus pandemic. • to criticise his opponent Joe Biden and other governors by misinterpreting their arguments and creating an exaggerated form of it • to appeal to American freedom which is one of the strongest national values • to predict the upcoming crisis while appealing to fear and making unsupported claims 	
	Speech acts	commissives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • promises: line (21) • threats: line (29)
		representatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • assertions: lines (3),(4),(8),(9),(10),(15),(16),(17),(18),(19),(20),(21),(24),(25) • suggestions: line (6)
		expressives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • accusations: lines: (23),(28)
		directives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • orders: lines (2),(12),(14) • questions: lines (4),(7)
Act sequence	Cohesion/Coherence	low	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topic shifts, lines (17),(23) • lack of continuity between concepts, lines (7),(8),(9),(17)
Key	Modality of seriousness/jocularly	mock/serious/teasing/hostile	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • highlighting Joe Biden's failures; lines (17),(23) • irony, line (23)
Instrumentalities	Channel (spoken/written)	spoken	
	Code (formal/informal)	formal	

Parameters			Example: Donald Trump's Coronavirus Task Force Press Conference, August 13 th , 2020 (https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/the-presidents-news-conference-1255), date of access, Dec 2, 2021
Norms	Negative politeness	high	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>pluralisation of the 'I' pronoun as 'we' or 'our'</u>: Trump often uses pronoun 'we' instead of 'I' to indicate that his personal status of a President is fundamentally linked to the whole American nation. It is to be observed in the following lines: (2),(6),(8),(9),(10) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>rhetorical question</u>: lines (4),(7) • <u>hedges</u>: the use of <i>maybe</i>, lines (3),(4); <i>frankly</i>, lines (4),(28), <i>pretty</i>, line (25) • <u>quality hedge</u>: <i>I think</i>, lines (22),(23),(24),(28) • <u>overgeneralisation</u>: line (17),(25),(26),(27),(28),(29)
	Positive politeness	absent	
Genre	Communication purpose		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to present Donald Trump's administration agenda about medical treatment and security issues during a Coronavirus pandemic. • to criticise his opponent Joe Biden and other governors by misinterpreting their arguments and creating an exaggerated form of it <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to appeal to American freedom which is one of the strongest national values • to predict the upcoming crisis while appealing to fear and making unsupported claims
	Discourse community		A former Vice President Joe Biden, President Donald Trump, Kristen Welker (NBC News moderator), debate audience
	Style	direct/ briefing/ affectively charged/press conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>anaphora</u>: <i>maybe</i>, lines (3),(4), <i>we're doing</i>, lines (16),(17), <i>if you</i>, line (2), • <u>self-repetitions</u>: <i>freedom</i>, line (8); <i>circumstances</i>, lines (10),(11); <i>I trust the American people</i>, lines (15),(16); <i>Joe doesn't</i>, line (17); <i>that's why</i>, lines (19),(20),(21) • <u>intensifying modifier</u>: <i>very</i>, lines (11),(15),(18),(22),(23),(27)

11. The analysis of rhetorical elements

The results of the study markedly demonstrated that the **ethical** proof of persuasion in Donald Trump's argumentation predominantly based on the fallacies of **personal attack** (*ad hominem argument*), **name-calling**, **poisoning the well**, and **a slippery slope**. The rhetoricity of Trump's speeches within the appeal of *ethos* entailed fallacies that were directed primarily at his opponents rather than referred to his opponents' arguments. He flouted ethical persuasion, and undermined his credibility as a truthful speaker, since the core of his political disputes involved accusations, threats, and ridicule. He specifically emphasised the incompetence of his opponents by referring to their appearance, intellect or character.

As one can see from the gathered data, another fallacy favoured by Donald Trump was the **poisoning the well** argument which aims to discredit the opponent by undermining the validity of the opponent's

claims. It is precisely this practice that aimed to deprive Biden of a chance to defend himself. Donald Trump committed a poisoning the well fallacy by reformulating or rather distorting Biden's statements when he spoke about his political decisions regarding, *e.g.*, ordering lockdown. Trump was guilty of this fallacy specifically by presenting an unreflective and aggressive style, which was also an act of desperately maintaining his positive face and favourable public image. The results have also shown that Trump was guilty of the *slippery slope* fallacy when he made a claim that one action (*e.g.*, shutting down the economy) would inevitably lead to another disaster, *e.g.*, "[c]lose our schools and grind society to a halt", line (28) which finally would lead to "[a] crippling, long-lasting depression. This would be a crippling, long-lasting depression", line (29). Through this rhetorical strategy, he aggravated the negative emotions, particularly fear and anger, which contributed to the creation of catastrophic visions of looming apocalypse. This effect was achieved by the cumulative snowball effect of negative perceptions and evaluations. Although it is still an educated guess, one can draw the conclusion that the construction of a system of unfavourable beliefs served as a highly manipulative strategy to influence American society.

Trump's flouting the *pathetic* proof of persuasion presented in this case study predominantly hinged on the fallacy of *appeal to fear (argumentum ad mentum)*. It was observed that line (29) "[t]his would lead to a crippling, long-lasting depression. This would be a crippling, long-lasting depression" evoked negative emotions of fear, uncertainty and threat. One obvious implication of Trump's use of this specific type of fallacy laid in the dissemination of fear among Americans which did not merely serve as a potent tool for the proliferation of mistrust but also as a factor leading to the acceptance of Trump's imposed beliefs and generating unquestioned obedience.

The *logos* proof of persuasion in Trump's argumentation was recognised by the fallacies of the *straw man* and *hasty generalisations*. The former strategy is a tactic which creates exaggeration and simplifications of the opponent's arguments so that his claims are restricted to one, most often, unfavourable interpretation which could not be easily refuted. In addition to Trump's misinterpreted claims of his opponents, he also imposed commentaries and interpretations which presented an exaggerated and simplified view of other politicians' claims (see *e.g.*, lines 23 and 27). The latter fallacy of hasty generalisations emphasised false assumptions which were not supported by facts and led to far-reaching conclusions. At the core of making sweeping statements lay, on the one hand, the creation of Trump's own imagined reality based on certain standpoint, while on the other hand, vagueness in providing sufficient information in the time of the pandemic. His rhetoric also gave insight on his dubious trustworthiness and truthfulness which are prerequisites of the presidential office.

Last but not least, the *smoke screen* fallacy (also called *red herring*) was also amply used during Trump's discursive reasoning as presented in the case study. He did not take important steps in providing the solutions during the socio-economic crisis but rather developed unrelated topics which primarily acted as distractors. Furthermore, he avoided discussing the pending issues such as national security or vaccines and shifted topics in order to directly discredit his adversaries.

Finally, the appeal to *kairos*, being the last, but definitely not the least important of all the discussed rhetorical appeals next to *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos*, presented interesting results. According to the aforementioned rhetorical, convention-based appeals, *kairos* means acting according to the order dictated by the rhetorical situation of a given moment. It is worth noting that as *kairos* is always situationally constrained, determining its degree also provides ample information about the effectiveness of persuasion of a given act. As can be observed in the data sample, Donald Trump did not adjust the proper measures at

the right time to introduce a logical argument. He flouted *kairos* by shifting topics and produced various fallacies that continuously breached the logic of inductive reasoning. At the same time, he desperately forced his imaginary political persona upon the audience by means of manipulative pathetic appeals.

12. The analysis of textual/speech acts elements

The present study can be considered to be predominantly a text-based analysis conducted according to textual standards which signal relations that impart meaning to Trump's political discourse. Thus, analysing texts is not only a matter of figuring out if all of the standards are met but it rather deals with how the relations within the text are made relevant and whether they are accessible in a given context. Although this case study provides certain clues of how the analysed text was set within a particular discourse, it does not present the entire picture of the event. Yet, this study gives basic insights on how textual relations shaped a context of a given communicative event. The following analysis of textual standards does not include the standard of informativity since it directly relates to coherence and intertextuality. The intentionality parameter is also absent in the analysis due to the fact that the production of every text assumes that it is coherent and cohesive (de Beaugrande and Dressler [1972] 1981: 110).

On the basis of the gathered data it is possible to observe that cohesion and coherence standards are low. Regarding these standards, Donald Trump made numerous topic shifts which distorted the understanding of the text (*e.g.*, lines 17, 23, 28). The intertextuality standard is high due to a high frequency of repetitions in the form of a parallelism, anaphora, self-repetitions, and the intensifying modifier *very*. It is to be noted that the phenomenon of parallelism as an intra-textual cohesive device is a very common stylistic and rhetorical device used in persuasion (Chen 2018: 971). Therefore, the copious evidence for parallel patterns expounded the communicative purpose (for the observed communicative goals see the analysis in the table above) of Trump's communicational grammar. This study shows that the use of parallelism plays a significant role in reinforcing statements which serve as powerful rhetorical devices in political texts (McGuigan 2007: 106, Al-Ameedi 2017: 185). As regards the situationality standard, the results show that the factors which render a given situation communicative are moderately relevant. For example, Trump's use of fallacies was a source of communicative disruption, one that did not allow to attain communicative goals. Last but not least, the standard of acceptability deals with a tolerance for certain textual disturbances that are based on speakers' judgments. In the wider sense, this text raises questions regarding the acceptability standard due to the fact that it does not communicate the specific shared goals and as a result, assumes non-cooperation. On the political plane, it is especially important to regard the attitudes of the audience without appealing to fear. Most importantly, maintaining political credibility, instead of undermining the authority of others that leads to a collapse of cooperation is of prime importance in political discourse.

The results obtained in the study were also consistent in showing that the most frequently used speech acts were representatives (*e.g.*, an assertion, a suggestion, a description) and expressives (*e.g.*, a threat, an accusation) respectively. Looking more closely at specific speech acts and their frequency, one can make a tentative claim that Trump created a certain type of reality by relying heavily on **representatives** which demonstrate a word-to-world fit (Mey 1993: 131). Therefore, their use is related to the context of a situation of occurrence, *i.e.*, the coronavirus pandemic. At this point, it is important to recognise specific

goals attained by Trump, for instance: to appeal to American freedom, which is one of the strongest national values (line 8); to deliver an assertion to Americans that he is right and Biden is wrong (line 18); to show that he has been taking proactive steps to combat the spread of COVID-19 (lines 19, 20, 21); to report that coronavirus was under control; and, finally, that he is dealing with the pandemic situation with tremendous success (lines 20, 21). His rhetoric dominated by the use of representatives showed that there was a relationship between Trump's actions (his full commitment and effectiveness of his performance) and the state of the world (which was claimed by Trump to be true). In the rhetoric outlined here, the favourable social image he built for himself, as well as the exceptionalism of America that he proclaimed in the face of a national crisis, was presented according to the frequency of representatives which helped to create a sense of optimism that the pandemic was likely to abate soon. The view of the safe present and the hopeful future is also reflected in the use of representatives as means of expressing Trump's confidence about containing coronavirus and achieving final victory over the deadly virus.

The results obtained for the role of **expressives** consistently show patterns of communication based on the evaluative or attitudinal features of the analysed statements in the form of accusations and a threat. The highly evaluative function of expressives hinged on the Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) that lie at the core of politeness strategies (Channell 2000:55) and significantly built Trump's role of **Offender** and **Attacker** which account for power claim, saving face and territory protection (Brown and Levinson [1978] 1987: 78). At the level of using expressives, patterns of communication included particularly the use of (a) accusations (see lines 23, 26, 27, 28), and (b) a threat (line 29). These specific forms of manifesting power and dominance underlie the situationality of this communicative occurrence and largely account for the relevant factors creating the context of the situation. One should also note that Trump's distribution of asymmetrical power relations attributed to his role of a president is considered to be the contextual factor that significantly underlies Trump's political identity.

13. The analysis of politeness elements

The results of the study have also provided ample evidence for communicational grammar associated with the use of politeness principles. The most pronounced politeness strategies include, as follows: (1) pluralisation of the ,I' pronoun as ,we' or ,our'; (2) the use of rhetorical questions; (3) the use of hedges; and (4) overgeneralisation.

Following the pattern obtained for (1), the results demonstrate that the contextual grounds for the frequent distribution of this strategy lie in formulas such as assertions, being realisations of representatives. It was found that their use was mainly centred on showing Trump's solidarity with the American nation. The aspect of "power of we" deserves a special consideration since the use of personal pronouns is believed to regulate the social status of the individual using them. Therefore, in Trump's political discourse they served as a social deictic discourse function (Al-Ammedi and Mukhef 2017: 196). This outcome is especially significant since the use of this strategy has been integrative to the construction of his political identity through the establishment of power relations with Americans.

The present results also point out that the strategy (2) which relates to the use of rhetorical questions as a means of inferencing was employed as a tool for performing assertions (see lines 4 and 7) that that occurred in off-record usage, i.e., implicitly. Their interpretation is highly context-dependent

and does not entail requesting information as in the interrogative form. The use of rhetorical questions tends to result in attaining a certain degree of indirectness and negotiation of meaning which leads to one avoiding responsibility for communicating one's own intention explicitly, a strategy which is considered conversationally inadequate (Levinson 1983: 157). Consequently, the indirect use of language flouts the maxim of quantity (say as much as is required) therefore, the use of the strategy (2) may hinder communication.

The research results were also concerned with the use of hedges, also known as hedged performatives (Brown and Levinson [1978] 1987: 116, Brown and Levinson [1978] 1987: 146) whose primary role is to generate inferences that implicate less than is required. Hence, their use entails the exploitation of the quantity maxim. The case study shows the use of the two types of hedges which include: *maybe*, lines (3),(4), *frankly*, lines (4),(28), *pretty*, line (25), and *I think*, lines (22),(23),(24),(28). According to the results, the statements marked by hedges are used to indirectly convey criticism, avoid possible disagreement, and make the illocutionary force of a statement safely vague. This avoidance-based strategy fundamentally disrupts communication and presumes a minimal input with reference to informativeness, clarity, truthfulness, and relevance which constitute building blocks of cooperative interaction (Levinson 1983: 101).

The use of overgeneralisation, as another politeness strategy distinguished in the case study, has demonstrated that Donald Trump's sweeping statements run along two parallel tracks. On the one hand, they were a source of false allegations which undermined the credibility of his opponents, while, on the other hand, they served as a safe strategy to provide ambiguous claims which were not supported by facts. Research shows that the use of overgeneralisations violated the Gricean Maxim of Quantity (stating more than necessary), e.g., by using exaggerations (see the lines 17, 26, 27, 28, 29) and unsupported claims (see lines 13, 18, 20, 21, 22, 25) that also function as a strategy of intensifying interest to a hearer and "making a good story" by expressing it dramatically (Brown and Levinson [1978] 1987: 107).

14. The analysis of genre elements

It is important here to point out that genres come into being through a structured and goal-oriented action that always takes place in coordination with the contextual clues and conditions dictated by various situations. This study distinguishes some relevant features of text and context in Donald Trump's campaign discourse which allow for the identification of genre patterns as constellations of co-occurrent, conventionalised generic features in the form of speech acts. Given that the distinguished salient discursive characteristics such as elements of rhetorical situation, standards of textuality, speech acts and politeness strategies occur within the specific situational and social framework, it is possible to make some general claims about genre classifications that are a part of a bigger picture, i.e., the structure of human communicative practice. The varying modes of anthropological study allow one to observe two predominant discursive platforms, namely: (1) a micro-level of speech acts and (2) a macro-level of a socio-cultural context based on rhetorical fallacies, standards of textuality and politeness principles. It is important to underline though that the two domains mould into one functionally and relationally semiotic form of the model. The results of the study have revealed findings in relation to the typified and goal-oriented structure of the genre recognised on the basis of the analysed case study.

15. Concluding remarks

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The overarching goal of this paper has been to present a sample of an anthropolinguistic study of Donald Trump's political discourse during his 2020 presidential campaign. The study focused on establishing the communicational grammar rules which are believed to be tangible working patterns of Trump's discursive practice. The thrust of the discussion is that the analysis of structurally organised elements of discourse in the form of anthropolinguistic chunks of knowledge presented in the AMC model provides relevant factors, mechanisms, and conditions determining the characteristics of Donald Trump's 2020 campaign discourse. Taking this into account, communicational grammar rules provided an insight into the ways the institution of a President Donald Trump was established, as well as pointed to specific structures, social roles and decision-making processes that shaped Trump's election campaign in the year 2020.

The anthropolinguistic study has produced a number of outcomes that play an important role in creating a tool for an analysis of a specific instance of an idiosyncratic political discourse created by the president-elect Donald Trump. Based on the results regarding the rhetorical elements of communication, it has been observed that the use of fallacies correlated with mechanisms of persuasion and significantly impacted the situationality of Trump's discursive practice. It goes without saying that observations of rhetorical patterns speak volumes about the characteristics of the speaker and his relationship with his audience. In our case, this concerns Donald Trump and the American nation. It is also convincingly posited that rhetorical tools of analysis showed the strategic use of fallacies which revealed mechanisms of deceit and manipulation being salient features of his style of persuasion. Additionally, rhetorical mechanisms provide copious evidence for Trump's ways of claiming power and territory which have been achieved by, namely: (a) establishing a favourable public image; (b) evoking fear; and (c) using overgeneralisations.

The textual/speech act elements indicate that the predominant speech acts of representatives and expressives served as relevant conditions for creating context. Therefore, they constitute types of strategies for establishing pragmatic relations of asymmetrical power and social distance evidenced in the politeness patterns employed. The research evidence in relation to politeness principles showed that Trump's face management strategies were recognised as powerful means of social control in terms of building his positive image as a dedicated president and a leader with the potential to save America from crisis. Although Donald Trump's text did meet the standards of textuality based on the results, the degree to which it attained the status of a communicative occurrence was relatively low. This outcome points to the non-cooperativeness, hence non-effectiveness of his text which carries implications for lacking persuasive force. It is also worth remarking that the results provided insights into Trump's patterned features of text and context resulting in a genre type and its dominant communicative purpose, *i.e.*, to claim power. Taking all this into account, it is put forward here that studying the communicational grammar of Trump's language has allowed one to draw assumptions concerning his political identity and social role that substantially transformed and modified the American presidential discourse.

Summing up, there can be quite a number of interdisciplinary and anthropolinguistic tools used in order to study political linguistics. One may say that the implication submitted by this study for the disciplines drawing from anthropological linguistics is that discourse ought to be documented and analysed according to an integrative approach and allow for an interdisciplinary context of analysis by means of tools adequately tailored for the study of political texts. One truly believes that the conjunction of a rhetorical analysis, speech act theory, politeness principles and genre studies combined together

provide one with a comprehensive description and interpretation of communicational grammar patterns which mark a starting point for distinguishing patterns underpinning the cultural practices of a given discursive community.

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