DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

NEGATION IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE:
A SOCIO-COGNITIVE STUDY

Alham Fadhl Muslah

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Doctoral Dissertation

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A SOCIO-COGNITIVE STUDY

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Abstract

Political discourse studies have attracted the attention of many scholars because there is no political activity without language and politicians usually practice power through language. Thus, numerous works have started to investigate different linguistic phenomena in political speeches from descriptive and critical perspectives. Negation is part of the story. The present study aims to examine the different types of negatives and their meaning building and their role in understanding the 'under the umbrella' of the Mental Space theory by Fauconnier (1985, 1994, and 1997) in political discourse. Here, the researcher conducts a critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) to examine the role of social and cognitive variables in building the different kinds of negative spaces in political discourse (henceforth PD). Therefore, there is a need to take into account the impact of some relevant social and cognitive factors in doing a CDA, such as social experience, cultural background, ideology, context features (time, place, political role, topic of discussion), power, and conversational principles. Since the nature of the study is multifaceted, i.e., cognitive and social, gender is chosen as a social variable to investigate its impact in the use of negation setting meaning construction and understanding. The study follows a qualitative research method in the sense of adopting natural procedures, within the analytical application and interpretation of the texts. A quantitative method is also adopted as a supplementary method to support the findings, and draw the generalization of the conclusions

The research sample includes (12) British and American political speeches delivered by (4) famous political characters from both genders (male and female), namely, Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton, Theresa May, and David Cameron. Since the study investigates the functional dimension of language in PD, according to Chilton's principles (2002), five pragmatic strategies, namely, presupposition, speech act, on-record, off-record, and violation of the cooperative principle are targeted to examine their role in achieving political goals within the scope of negation. Besides, five linguistic strategies namely 'pronoun, repetition, passive voice, and nominalization' are selected for the examination as well. The obtained findings first show that the selected American politicians, Trump and Clinton, are more biased to use negation than the British politicians, Cameron and May, do; second, political ideology, political role, and context have played a vital role in increasing the frequency and the type of negatives in political discourse. Finally, the political language of the male politicians is proved more negative than the language of the female counterparts.

List of abbreviations

CA	Conversational Analysis
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CG	Cognitive Grammar
CS	Cognitive Semantics
DA	Discourse Analysis
FTAs	Face Threatening Acts
GG	Generative Grammar
IP	Identification Principle
MST	Mental Space Theory
MS	Mental Space
M	Mental
NP	Noun Phrase
NPls	Negative Polarity Items
PDA	Political Discourse Analysis
PP	Prepositional Phrase
OBj	Object
V intrans	Intransitive Verb
V trans	Transitive Verb
R	Real space

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1. Background of the study

Natural language has a rich landscape for the study of negation phenomenon from old ages since it produces more rhetorical and meaning effects than positive form does in the same situation. People can use different types of negatives to express their denials or rejection of specific attitudes or issues in everyday communication. Thus, linguists like Jespersen (1917), Zimmer (1964), Klima (1964), and Horn (1989) have done diachronic and synchronic studies to get a better understanding of negation within the scope of small units of language such as words and sentences from linguistic and semantic aspects.

Even though negation analysis took the centre stage in the works of many logicians, philosophers, and linguists, the study of English negation in texts such as political discourse still needs to examine from the other aspects than grammatical levels. Since the last quarter of the 20th century, cognitive linguists have found out that grammatical analysis fails to give satisfying answers to questions raised from using different negatives. Thus, they have studied negation from the perspective of cognitive semantics. Cognitive linguists, such as Fauconnier and Turner (2002), have made it clear how language has built little meaning construction within it. They state "Language, along with other aspects of expression and contextual framing, serves as a powerful means of prompting dynamic constructions of meaning that go far beyond anything explicitly provided by the lexical and grammatical forms. This is not a matter of vagueness or ambiguity; it is in the very nature of our systems of thought" (Ibid, p. 340).

Fauconnier (1985, 1997), Fauconnier and Sweetser (1996), and Fauconnier and Turner (2002) developed a cognitive theory, namely "Mental Space Theory" as a mainstream reaction to the failure of formal grammar and logic to give proper answers to the full range of meaning construction. They suggest that our minds build a construction of meaning produced by different contexts when we talk. Therefore, the meaning depends on context. Since any political activity cannot perform without language, politicians employ language as an active tool to persuade the audience with their political aims. Negation and conditionals are better linguistic devices for suggesting more meaning construction than any other positive linguistic forms to understand meaning resulted from the social practice of power through language use. Thus, negation is a part of this phenomenon. Therefore,

this dissertation aims to examine the negative expressions in political speeches in the framework of the Mental Space Theory (Henceforth MST).

1.1 Statement of the problem

Since the last quarter of the 20th century, cognitive linguists proposed that the lexical and grammatical forms are not adequate to build a full range of meanings that go far beyond them. The relationship between language and cognitive mapping is a powerful means to build meaning construction. Fauconnier (1985, 1997), Fauconnier and Sweetser (1996), Fauconnier and Turner have suggested that negatives presuppose a longer and more effective meaning building than the positive ones do in the same situation. This hypothesis takes great interest by linguists to examine negative spaces and their corresponding positive spaces and their role in building meaning construction in the text. Sweetser (2006) has examined the levels of negative mental spaces and their impact in some literary texts (novels and dramas). Thus, the present study aims to investigate negation in political discourse from both socio and cognitive aspects.

1.2 Research questions

The present study aims to find answers to the following questions:

1- What types of negatives and their corresponding positive spaces constructed in American and British political speeches?

2- How can the negatives achieve meaning construction or political aims in political discourse?

3- What is the impact of contextual features such as topic discussion, political role, and ideology in the use of negatives in American and British political speeches?

4- What is the impact of gender in the use of different types of negatives in building meaning in American and British political speeches?

5- What is the role of linguistic and pragmatic strategies in achieving meaning building and understanding within the scope of negation in political speeches of politicians from different cultural backgrounds and genders?

1.3 Objectives of the study

This study aims to achieve the following objectives:

1- Investigating the types of negatives and their positive spaces built in the selected American and British political speeches

2- Investigating the role of negation in discourse construction process in the minds of the audience

3- Examining the impact of contextual features such as topic discussion, political role, and ideology in using different types of negatives in American and British political speeches

4- Investigating the functions of some linguistic and pragmatic strategies in achieving different political aims beyond the use of negatives in political speeches by politicians from different cultures and genders

5- Examining the impact of gender differences in the use of different types of negatives and their corresponding positive spaces in political speeches

1.4 Significance of the study

The Mental space theory is a modern theory that aims to investigate a full range of meanings that go far beyond grammatical and formal semantic theory. Cognitive linguists have started to examine meaning construction beyond some linguistic phenomena in different types of discourse. Thus, the present study would continue what other researchers have started with examining different linguistic phenomena in building meaning and understanding under the umbrella of mental space theory. Negation is part of this story. In this regard, the present investigation will be original in two respects: first, the researcher will examine different types of negatives and their meaning building and understanding in political speeches introduced by different political characters from two different cultures. In this respect, the study would serve as a guide to scholars who want to understand meaning construction and political aims beyond the use of negation in other types of political discourse. Besides, the investigation of the political aims of some selected linguistic and pragmatic strategies would critically pave the way for those who want to examine further the function of linguistic and pragmatic strategies within the scope of negation in the political language. Finally, the researcher will investigate the impact of gender in achieving meaning construction in the political discourse. Therefore, the study is intended to be considered a good example of data analysis for those researchers who are interested in investigating the aspect of gender in the upper reaching of American and British governments or political institutions.

1.5 Scope of the study

The study aims to investigate the negation phenomenon from cognitive and social perspectives since negation can create more alternative situations than positive forms. Based on the study objectives, the study will focus on (1) examining the kinds of meaning construction, resulting in applying different types of negatives and their corresponding

spaces in selected political speeches and (2) studying the role of gender in using negation in political language. Besides, the research data will include (12) British and American political speeches delivered by (4) famous political characters from both genders (male and female), namely, Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton, Theresa May and David Cameron.

1.6 Methodology

To find answers to the research questions and to achieve the objectives of the study, the research will adopt MST by Fauconnier (1985, 1997), Fauconnier, and Sweetser (1996), and Fauconnier and Turner (2002). They emphasize the relationship between linguistic forms and cognitive mapping to get a rich understanding of meaning beyond expressions; the grammatical and lexical forms are not enough to give the reader or listener a full understanding of the meaning. Thus, MST hypothesizes that "negatives evoke a more complex mental space structure than the corresponding positive forms: the positive forms regularly evoke one mental space fewer than the negatives" (Sweetser, 2006, p. 315).

However, before applying this theory to the selected political speeches to examine them within the framework of MST, the researcher has set the following steps:

1- Selecting the data based on two criteria: first that the politicians should be from the English-speaking countries to avoid the translation process. Second, they should be famous leaders on the level of national and international politics. Therefore, British and American political cultures are the best choice for the study. After the process of filtration, it has been found that Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton (American politicians), and Theresa May and David Cameron (British politicians) are the best research samples for the present study since they meet the above two criteria.

2- Including both genders, male and female, political characters in order to investigate the influence of gender in using negation in political discourse building and understanding

3- Adopting a qualitative analysis as a major research method and quantitative analysis as a sub - research method

4- Identifying (12) political speeches as a research sample to investigate the aspect of negation and to draw conclusions; (3) speeches for each political character to conduct the critical discourse analysis.

5- Selecting five linguistic strategies; namely pronoun, repetition, passive voice, and nominalization to examine their role within the scope of negation.

6 - Selecting five pragmatic strategies, namely, presupposition, speech act, on-record, off-record, and violation of the cooperative principle to examine the role of pragmatic aspect in achieving meaning construction within the scope of negation in political discourse.

1.7 Layout of the study

The present study consists of five chapters. **Chapter One** presents a background of the study, the research objectives, and research questions, research methodology, and the scope of the study. **Chapter Two** provides a detailed theoretical literature of cognitive linguistics, Criticism of cognitive linguistics, mental space theory, negation, socio-cultural variables, and political discourse. **Chapter Three** sets up the research methodology, the research design, research procedure, and data collection. **Chapter Four** is divided into two parts; the first part presents data analysis of the extracts from the selected political speeches according to CDA, whereas the second part discusses the results obtained from the analysis carried out in the chapter. And finally, **Chapter Five** which presents some general conclusions, recommendations, and suggestions for future research in the relevant field.

1.8 Major selected political leaders

Donald John Trump was born in 1946. He is the 45th and current President of the US, in office since January 20, 2017. He was a businessman and TV personality. He was Republic Party's nominee for the US presidential election in 2016.[1]

Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton was born on October 26, 1947, is an American lawyer and politician. She became the first wife of a president and the first

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[1] www.biography.com/people/donald-trump-9511238

woman to be elected to the U.S. Senate from New York, 67th United States Secretary of State from 2009 to 2013, and the Democratic Party's nominee for President of the United States in the 2016 election.[2]

May was born in October 1956. She was a British politician serving as a Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. She has been the first female leader to hold the office of the Prime Minster since Margaret Thatcher. She started negotiation about the UK's leaving the European Union after the historic Brexit referendum, which was held in June 2016.[3]
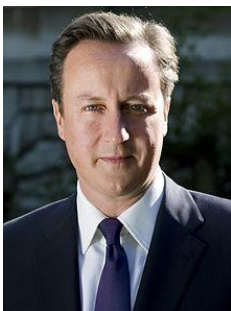
David William Donald Cameron was born on October 9, 1966, in London. He was Prime Minister of the UK from (2010 - 2016) and won the leadership of the Conservative Party from 2005 to 2016. He announced his resignation in 2016 after the United Kingdom voted to leave Europe.[4]

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[2] www.biography.com/people/hillary-clinton-9251306
[3] www.biography.com/people/theresa-may-071116
[4.]www.biography.com/people/david-cameron-39203

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Overview

2.0 Introductory remarks

This chapter provides a comprehensive theoretical background to one of the modern linguistic schools known as 'cognitive linguistics' in general and to the use of mental spaces theory as one of the cognitive linguistic theories in particular. As humans, we cannot imagine our lives without language. It is the best medium to communicate and express our feelings and thoughts to others. Thus, various linguistic schools and scholars have extensively studied the language phenomenon since the period of Latin texts. Cognitive linguistics is one of the modern linguistic schools that emerged in the 1970s as a reactionary linguistic approach to the formal approaches towards language study, such as, generative grammar by Noam Chomsky (1965) and formal semantics (1960), which treated language as an independent object of study and was not concerned with the link between meaning construction and linguistic structures. Its root appeared in Chomsky's (1959) **critical review of Skinner's Verbal behaviour,** in which, he did not consider the experimental analysis of behavioural approach as a standard model to understand the world. Evans and Melanie (2006, p. 5) describe cognitive linguistics as the case when "Language offers a window into cognitive function, providing insights into the nature, structure and organization of thoughts and ideas".

The basic factor that makes the cognitive school different from other formal schools is that language essentially reflects and conveys the merits of our mind. Thus, it mainly focuses on the relationship between the language and the human mind. It would be convenient to divide the present chapter into three sections: The first section introduces the main assumptions behind cognitive linguistics (henceforth: CL), the main approaches to it, its objectives, and the main criticism of it. The second section focuses on the mental space theory as a cognitive model for the present study and the main hypotheses that underlie it. Lastly, the third section presents the negation phenomenon, socio-cultural variables related to the study of the negation phenomenon in political discourse, and the main studies previously conducted concerning the mental space theory.

2.1 Overview of cognitive linguistics

Cognitive linguistics is one of the modern linguistic schools that primarily aim to study language from a new perspective. Geeraerts (2007, p. 7) states, "the key figures of Cognitive Linguistics are George Lakoff, Ronald W. Langacker, and Leonard Talmy".

Evans (2007, p. vi) adds that "it is also firmly rooted in the emergence of modern cognitive science in the 1960s and 1970s, particularly in work relating to human categorisation, and in earlier traditions such as Gestalt psychology". In 1990, the International Cognitive Linguistics Society and Journal of CL were established. CL primarily aims to study language through the mind and sociocultural experiences. As such, cognitive linguists believe that language has a limited capacity to convey our thoughts, but can work as a gateway to get our ideas across.

Among the linguists who contributed to developing the CL is Lakoff and Johnson (1980) who introduced the theory of Conceptual Metaphor in which they suggest that metaphor is primarily a cognitive process that determines the way of our thinking. In his Theory of Frame Semantics, Fillmore (1982) proposes how human cognition can contribute to understanding and interpreting the meaning in a specific structure. Then, Fauconnier (1985, 1994, and 1997) developed the Mental Space Theory. Then, Fauconnier and Turner's Theory of Blending (2002) was developed to give proper answers to a range of questions raised with regard to meaning construction because the formal semantic approaches couldn't answer them.

Cognitive linguistics is often attributed to cognitive linguistics enterprise because it is a collection of cognitive theories rather than one single theory regarding human language. Evans (2007, p. 4) defines CL as "an enterprise or an approach to the study of language and mind rather than a single articulated theoretical framework". Lakoff (1990, as cited in Evans, 2006, pp. 27–28) argues that "CL enterprise is characterized by two key commitments. These are (1) the 'Generalization Commitment' which is a commitment to the characterisation of general principles that are responsible for all aspects of human language, and (2) the 'cognitive Commitment' which is a commitment to providing a characterisation of general principles for language that accords with what is known about the mind and brain from other disciplines".

2.1.1 Generalization commitment

When it comes to Generalization Commitment, CL is not purely interested in the knowledge of the languages as generative grammar. Instead, it mainly focuses on the study of knowledge through language (Geeraerts, 2007, p. 6). In other words, CL acknowledges that natural language has mental structures while generative grammar considers mental structures as something genetic in the human mind. Second, CL suggests that all language areas share certain general principles. It rejects the idea of studying

language disciplines (syntax, semantics, and pragmatics) in separate fields as generative grammar (introduced by Noam Chomsky, 1968), and other formal approaches do. These approaches believe that language areas such as syntax, semantics, and phonology have different hypotheses that must be studied under different principles. Thus, cognitive linguists believe that there are no sharp boundaries between semantics, pragmatics, and syntax when studying a language. They justify this view by illustrating that these three distinct language components share certain essential features, such as categorisation, metaphor, and polysemy because CL views language as embedded in the overall cognitive capacity of man. Evans (2006, p. 27) adds that "the basic topics of special interest for CL include the structural characteristics of natural language categorization (such as prototypicality, systematic polysemy, cognitive models, mental imagery, and metaphor) and the functional principles of linguistic organization". These features will be briefly discussed in the following subsections.

2.1.1.1 Categorisation

The general definition of categorisation is "a process that aims to put people or things into groups with the same features" see, Cambridge dictionary, https://dictionary.Cambridge.org/dictionary/english/categorization). Linguistically, it refers to classifying words, sounds, or sentences into specific classes, namely, family members, because they exhibit similar features in terms of behaviour, structure, or function. For instance, verbs can be classified as transitive verbs (that need to be followed by an object), and intransitive verbs (that do not need to be followed by an object).

(1) **Mary helps (Vtran.) her mother (Obj.).[5]**

(2) **John sent (Vtran.) the letter (Obj.).**

(3) **Sarah met (Vtran.) her cousin (Obj.).**

Transitive verbs exhibit similar grammatical behaviour as the verbs affect the object. The verb features of the above words classify them as transitive verbs in spite of the fact that their family or category membership can belong to more than one category. For instance, the verbs *stop, leave*, etc. can be associated with more than one verb class as in the following examples,

(4) **a. The rain stopped (V intran.).[6]**

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[5] Examples (1, 2, and 3) are mine
[6] Examples (4.a, 4. b) are mine

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b. He tried to stop the car (Vtran.).

(5) **a. Sarah left (V intran.) at 3 o'clock.** [7]

b. Sarah left (V tran.) her house with her friend.

Similarly, in phonology, some sounds share similar features that help distinguish the production of them, namely, **distinctive features.** For example, /b/ and /p/ are similar in place and manner, but different with regard to voicing: /p/ is voiceless, while /b/ is voiced. Cognitive linguists generally believe that there is, at least, one binary feature across syntax, semantics, and phonology that makes human language creative. This does not imply that the other formal linguistic approaches do not believe in duality patterning across structural areas of language, but they differ in their degree of investigating this unique feature of human language.

2.1.1.2 Polysemy

Polysemy is fundamentally a Greek word, whose origin means 'many signs'. It refers to a word that has two or more closely related meanings (Richard et al., 2002, p. 406). Hence, it is a lexical semantic phenomenon when one word shows multiple or more than one meaning. Cognitive linguists explain the English preposition 'over'.

(6) **The picture is over the sofa. (Above)**[8]

Cognitive linguists believe that polysemy transcends the level of word meanings to be also an essential common feature across distinct areas of human language. General language phenomena also show this feature (Evans, 2007). It is a common and distinct feature of language, such as the (- *er* suffix) in morphology and the polysemy of ditransitive construction in syntax.

2.1.1.3 Metaphor

Metaphor is one of the central phenomena of natural language. It is the case when a word can refer to another in terms of its meaning. Thornborrow (1998, p. 94) defines a metaphor as "another linguistic process used to make a comparison between the attributes of one thing /person and else". Cognitive linguists emphasize that metaphors are conceptual and can be expressed using many linguistic structures. They can be simple in some cases or complex in others. For example,

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[7] Examples (5.a and 5.b) are mine
[8] Example is cited in Evans (2006, p. 36)

(7)   My mother is a hard book to read [9]

(8)   Love is a journey.[10]

In (7), the writer tries to draw a parallel between his/her mother's thoughts and the difficulty to understand a hard book; while the word 'love' in (8) can also be compared with "journey" which here refers to "good or difficult progress that lovers face in their love relationship".

Cognitive linguists such as Lakoff & Johnson (1980, p. 153) suggested that "the human ability to create new metaphors in speech can reflect the fact that this new meaning can fundamentally be constructed in the human mind and, hence, is something beyond language". Further, this feature of meaning can be recognized within a range of linguistic areas. Goldberg (1995; as cited in Evans, 2006, p. 39) discusses the capacity of extending the ditransitive construction using a metaphorical license in syntax, as shown in the following examples:

(9)   [The rain] gave us some time. [11]

(10)   [The missed ball] handed him the victory.

She explains that the words "the rain" and "the missed ball" in examples (9) and (10) metaphorically (as causal events) motivate the extension of the ditransitive construction. Thus, metaphors are considered as further evidence of Generalisation Commitments across a range of linguistic areas. We can conclude that CL aims to investigate different structural areas of language phenomena, such as syntax, semantics, and morphology that share certain fundamental organizing principles.

2.1.2 Cognitive commitment

The second main commitment in CL is cognitive commitment. This follows the view that linguistic structures and principles should not only reflect cognitive principles related to language in cognitive sciences, but also "reflect general human cognition from other disciplines, particularly, the other cognitive sciences (philosophy, psychology, artificial intelligence, and neuroscience " (Evans, 2006, p. 41). CL rejects the claim, as proposed by the modular theory of mind and adopted by formal approaches, that linguistic structures reflect specific cognitive principles related to language.

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[9] Example (7) is mine
[10] Example (8) is mine
[11] Examples (9) and (10) are cited in Evans (2006, p. 39)

2.2 Approaches within cognitive linguistics

Evans (2006, p. 27) confirms, "Cognitive linguistics can be fundamentally divided into two main fields – cognitive semantics and cognitive approaches to grammar".

2.2.1 Cognitive semantics

Cognitive semantics is one of the central cognitive models adopted before cognitive grammar by cognitive linguists because they emphasized meaning rather than grammar, as the formal approaches did. Evans (2007, p. 26) argues that "cognitive semantics is concerned with investigating the relationship between experience, the conceptual system, and the semantic structure encoded by language". Hence, cognitive semanticists assume that 'meaning' is mainly a conceptual process, which includes conceptual structure (knowledge representation) and conceptualization (meaning construction). Thus, language acts as a guide for meaning building. Scholars propose that cognitive semantics is a model of the linguistic meaning and the mind. Thus, cognitive semanticists consider language as a window to investigate different language areas.

2.2.2 Cognitive approaches to grammar

It is important to emphasize that there are terminological differences between the cognitive approaches to grammar and Cognitive Grammar theory. Cognitive approaches to grammar refer to a group of cognitive models that address the language system (structure and knowledge of meaning). While, Cognitive Grammar theory is a name for a specific theory introduced by Langacker (1987, 1991). He (2008, p. 161) claims in relation to cognitive grammar (CG) that "grammar is symbolic in nature. More specifically, it holds that grammar and lexicon form a continuum residing exclusively in assemblies of symbolic structures". Thus, the symbolic structures are mainly symbolic assemblies. Consequently, they include forms and meanings in pairs that are defined as **symbolic assemblies:** form-meaning pairing by Langacker. The concept of symbolic structures is not new. It was originated by Ferdinand de Saussure (1916), who claims that "language is a symbolic system in which the linguistic expression (sign) consists of a mapping between a concept (signified) and an acoustic signal (signifier), where both signified and signifier are psychological entities" (Evans, 2006, p. 476). Subsequently, cognitive grammarians hold two views. The first view has been adopted by scholars like Ronald Langacker (2008, pp. 27–53), who have tried to determine some cognitive principles that support the grammatical structure, and relate these principles to aspects of cognition. The second perspective, adopted by some cognitive scholars such as Fillmore (1988), Lakoff (1987),

Bergen and Chang (2005), Goldberg (1995), investigated detailed units of language and developed some theories in the field of cognitive grammar. The important thing to mention here is that cognitive approaches to grammar, do not aim to study linguistic units separate from meaning, as some formal approaches do.
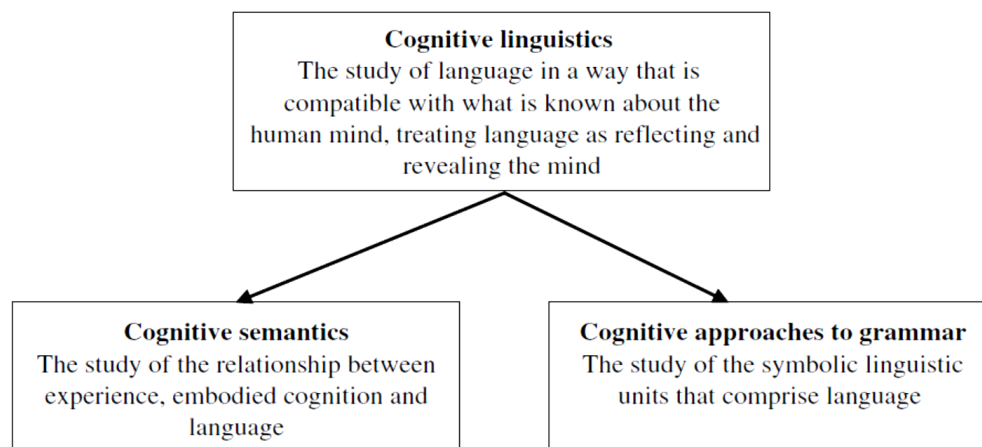
Figure (2.1): Study of meaning and grammar in cognitive linguistics
(Evans, 2006, p. 50)

It is concluded that Generalization and Cognition are two general commitments of CL-towards the study of human language. Under these assumptions, cognitive linguists have followed two ways to study language phenomena - Cognitive Semantics (CS) and Cognitive approaches to grammar (CG).

2.3 Criticism of cognitive linguistics

The cognitive linguistic approach has accomplished some incredible achievements and rapid developments in the field of human language study to adopt an integrated approach to study linguistics and meaning construction in less than thirty years. Despite this, it has already faced some criticism by linguists and scholars inside and outside cognitive linguistics, who consider it a controversial linguistic enterprise. One of the main criticisms cognitive linguists have to face is that it lacks empirical methods, especially during the early stage of its movement. This criticism has particularly appeared in the field of Cognitive Semantics. Evans (2006, p. 780) views, "the analysis of conceptual metaphors by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and polysemy by Brugman and Lakoff (1988) in earlier papers lack empirical principles in their investigation".[12] However, more recent papers have started to back their studies with empirical analysis to enable drawing the best

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[12] See Evans and Melanie (2006, pp. 779- 782) for more details.

conclusions in the fields of Cognitive Semantics and Cognitive Grammar. In recent years, cognitive linguists have overcome this challenge, and many scholars have begun to strengthen the empirical methodology in their work, such as Gibbs (1994), Tyler and Evans (2003).

The second observation about cognitive linguistics is that cognitive linguistics is a collection of distinct theories instead of one theoretical framework, as mentioned in section (2.1). This leads to a lack of unifying opinions regarding its concepts, terminologies that address the same cognitive issues. Some cognitive linguists use different theoretical terms for the same concepts. As a result, "there is confusion in understanding whether these cognitive theories complete each other or compete with each other" (Evans, 2006, p. 779). For example, in an early paper on Blending Theory, Turner and Fauconnier (1995) suggested that ***Blending Theory*** competed with the ***Conceptual Metaphor Theory*** in terms of the nature of the phenomenon it was seeking to account for.

However, more recently, Grady (1999), Oakley, and Coulson (2000) explicitly argue in favour of the view that these two theories complement one another. Gibbs (2000, p. 349; as cited in Evans, 2006) observes, "Many psychologists complain that cognitive linguistic theories are not predictive but assume without adequate evidence that the conceptual system has certain properties for accounting for language". In addition, the extremely abstract nature of the conceptual metaphor theory and not considering the socio-cultural contexts has led to more criticism from scholars. Besides, the conceptual metaphors are intuitive and random. Finally, cognitive linguistics was originally developed as a reactionary linguistic movement to formal approaches towards the study of language, particularly the highly influential generative grammar and transformational approach developed by Chomsky (1965). Some scholars view no major difference between CG and CL in some respects of language study.

Newmeyer (1999) argues that the differences between the two approaches might not be as significant as they sometimes appear. For example, he observed that the generative approach is consonant with Cognitive Commitment in the sense that it seeks to develop a model of language that is consistent with a "neuropsychologically real overall theory of mind-brain". However, after a few years, cognitive linguistics could achieve interesting theoretical developments in distinct areas of language and have a significant influence on neighbouring disciplines. Now, it paves a new path for the scholars to study human language within CL because of the theoretical bridge it builds between linguistics and other cognitive sciences.

2.4 Mental Space Theory

Mental Space Theory (Henceforth: MST) is one of the prominent cognitive semantic theories. Cognitive semanticists assume that meaning is mainly a conceptual process, which includes conceptual structure (knowledge representation) and conceptualization (meaning construction). Thus, they claim that formal semantics could not give us an adequate answer to the questions raised from meaning construction and language acts as a guide for meaning building. MST deals with contextual meaning construction as a reaction to the truth-conditional model in formal semantics and logic towards the study of meaning. Fauconnier, a French professor and one of the founders of cognitive semantics, developed MST. He (1985, 1994, and 1997) introduced MST in his two landmark books – **Mental Spaces** (1985, 1994) and **Mappings in Thought and Language** (1997). Later, both Fauconnier and Turner (2002) expanded this theory and developed it into a new framework called "**Conceptual Blending Theory**". The main assumption of MST is that meaning construction, as a fundamental concept in nature, depends on encyclopaedic knowledge and mental spaces that are constructed as we talk for local understanding and action purposes. In this respect, meaning constructions in ongoing discourse is a process, and language plays the role as a prompt to build meaning construction in the context.

Evans (2007, p. 136) explained "that language provides conventional prompts for the formation of a given mental space, but mental space construction and the formation of a mental space lattice is subject to non-linguistic cognitive principle". According to Fauconnier's proposal (1985, 1994, 1997), meaning building has two stages. The first stage is the construction of mental spaces; in this stage, a language is a tool that helps to build these conceptual regions known as mental spaces. According to this view, Fauconnier (1997, p. 11) defines mental spaces as "partial structures that proliferate when we think and talk, allowing a fine-grained partitioning of our discourse and knowledge structures". The second stage is the setting of mappings between these mental spaces. These mappings are characterized by partitioning information for cognitive purposes to set up a base mental space or focus (this will be discussed in detail later). The discourse is partitioned into mental spaces linked to each other by connectors to hold their counterparts in these mental spaces. Fauconnier (1997, p. 38) explains that "they include the setting up of internally structured domains linked to each other by connectors. This has an effect on the basis of linguistic, contextual, and situational clues. Grammatical clues, although crucial to the building process, are in themselves insufficient to determine it".

To summarize, the central view of MST is that mental spaces are small temporary conceptual domains constructed as we talk. These spaces contain specific kinds of information formed for purposes specific to the ongoing discourse. Evans (2006, p. 369) while discussing the mental spaces adds, "They are constructed on the basis of generalized linguistic, pragmatic, and cultural strategies for recruiting information. The principles of mental space formation and the relations or mappings established between mental spaces have the potential to yield unlimited meanings". Thus, it is necessary to investigate the role of linguistic, pragmatic, and cultural strategies in building meaning under the umbrella of MST.

2.5 Mental Space Theory vs. Formal Semantics

As discussed earlier, MST was developed as a reaction to the traditional ways followed by formal semantics and logic to study meaning in natural language. Fauconnier (1997, p. 66) says that "the initial and important reason for studying space configurations was that they provide general answers to puzzles of language and meaning that are usually associated with sentence logic". According to Geeraerts (2007, p. 354),"it provided simple, elegant, and general solutions to problems such as referential opacity or presupposition projection that had baffled logicians and formal linguists…. It turned out that opacity, instead of being a logical feature of certain kind of sentences, was really the manifestation of a much more general and fundamental property of discourse – the application of the Access Principle across mental spaces as discourse unfolds".

Formal semantics adopted a truth-conditional model that is not concerned with the empirical truth but rather with establishing a model of meaning based on 'what the world would have to be like for a given sentence to be true'. In other words, the sentence should have a direct connection to the real world and be hypothetical so as to be acceptable. The sentence in example (11) is true only when the sentence in (12) is false (according to the truth-conditional model):

    (11)   I found my pen. [13]

    (12)   I did not find my pen.

However, this does not mean that truth and reference are not taken into consideration in mental space configuration. On the contrary, cognitive semantics assumes that meaning construction is truly related to the external world. Instead, it is fundamentally a conceptual

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[13] Examples (11 and 12) are mine.

system based on mental representation of the world and language data encoded in these conceptual processes and can produce additional structures and inference irrespective of potential conditions. Moreover, formal semantics suggests that sentence meaning is context-independent in the beginning, while MST proposed that meaning construction begins with context. Thus, the meaning construction is context-dependent. Therefore, there is no separation between semantics and pragmatics in the process of building meaning. Cognitive semantics adopts the experiential approach for meaning construction based on generalized linguistic, pragmatic, and cultural strategies. Fauconnier (1997, p. 152) states that " in prototype cases such as describing a real-world situation, there seems to be a pretty good fit between the mental space constructed and the domain of reference, but this is no longer obviously so in complex cases: beliefs, counterfactuals, optatives". In other words, the approach of formal semantics and logic fails to provide an adequate explanation for the full range of natural language phenomena. For instance, the following examples support Fauconnier's statements (1997, p. ix).

(13) a. **If I were you, I would hate me.**[14]

   b. **If I were you, I would hate myself.**

Both "me" and "myself" are first-person and should refer to the speaker, but they do not. They refer to different persons. The self in these two sentences is different – one that refers to "me" and another that refers to "you". Formal logic fails to explain how this can make sense with two different meanings.

2.6 The basic structures of mental space construction

Fauconnier (1985, 1994, and 1997) offers the precise mental space model for constructing meaning from combining linguistic units (partial guidelines) and conceptual constructions. Thus, the mental space building requires three main structures (space builder, access principle, elements, and connectors) to complete the meaning construction process successfully. They have been explained in the following subsections.

2.6.1 Space builders

Space builders simply suggest mental spaces in the mind of the readers as they talk. These are linguistic units that motivate or stimulate building up a new mental space or paying attention to previously constructed mental spaces (Geeraerts, 2007). Fauconnier

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[14] Examples (13.a and 13. b) are cited in (Fauconnier, 1997, p. ix).

(1994, 1997), Evans (2006), and Geeraerts (2007) stated that space builders could typically be:

- **Adverbs**, such as, really, probably, possibly, theoretically, so on. For example in:

  (14) Mary really loves Jack.[15]

    The adverb 'really' space builder establishes the real relationship between Mary and Jack through a mental space.

- **Prepositional phrases, such as,** in 1966, on the table, at Fred's home, from their point of view. For example:

  (15) In the movie, Clint Eastwood is a villain.[16]

  Here, the prepositional phrase 'in the movie' guides us regarding the type of Clint Eastwood character in the movie world.

- **Connectives, such as, i**f… then…, either... or…, and the subject-verb combinations that are followed by an embedded clause (Fred believes, John says, Mary thought . . ., Susan states. . .):

  (16) Max believes that Susan hates Harry.[17]

   Here, the clause (Max believes) sets up a new mental space (Susan hates Harry). This reflects upon the belief situation that establishes a relation between Susan and Harry. Thus, the function of space builders is to allow building a mental space in the mind of the reader to 'set up' local scenarios. These scenarios may be hypothetical situations, ideas and beliefs, past or future reality, and so on.

2.6.2 Access principle

   This principle is one of the crucial conceptual links in cognitive construction. It is also called the 'Identification Principle'. Fauconnier (1997, p. 41) defines this principle as follows:

 "If two elements **a** and **b** are linked by a connector F (b = F (a)), then element b can be identified by naming, describing, or pointing to its counterpart a".

   Fauconnier(1997, p. 41) suggests that "this principle states that an expression that names or describes an element in one mental space can be used to access a counterpart of that element in another mental space using a connector that links them". Access

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[15] Example ((14) is mine.
[16] Example (15) is cited in (Fauconnier, 1994, p. 17).
[17] Example (16) is cited in (Fauconnier, 1994, p. 18).

principles can manage access to elements in mental spaces in both sides (upwards and downwards)
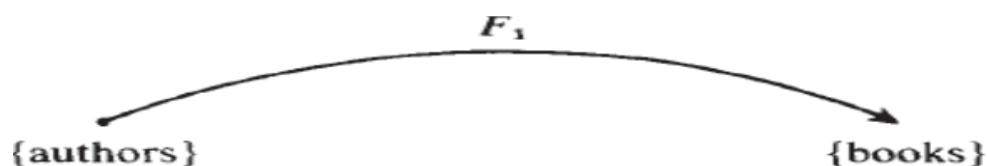
Figure (2.2) Link between the author and his books

Sometimes, the trigger can be used to identify the target when there is an indirect pragmatic function between the linked situation (Fauconnier, 1994), as explained in the following example:

(17)   Plato is on the top shelf [18]

In (17), there is an indirect pragmatic function between the trigger (a. Author = Plato) and the target (b. Plato's books) that is explained by the ID principle in the mind of the reader, as shown in example (18):

(18)   The books by Plato are on the top shelf. [19]

According to van Hoek (1996, as cited in Geeraerts, 2007, p. 364), "the access strategies are very interesting. They depend on (1) the distinctions pertaining to focus and viewpoint, and (2) the ultimate goals of the conversational exchange".

2.6.3 Elements

Once mental spaces are set up in ongoing discourse, they contain elements and properties within these spaces. Usually, they are represented by grammatical structure: (Noun phrases; NP), such as names (Mary, Cameron); pronouns (she, he); descriptions (the hero, the queen, the presidents, and the actor); etc.

Evans (2006, p. 372) suggest that "these noun phrases can provide two interpretations: definite interpretation and indefinite interpretation". NPs have definite interpretations when they are preceded by definite articles, for example, descriptions (the queen, the girl with blue eye) or names (David Cameron, Trump, Angelina Jolie). In this case, they do not introduce new information, but if new information is introduced, an NP occurs with indefinite articles or plural forms (a girl, leaders). Since the pronoun has an important role to play in meaning construction, the present study aims to investigate the role of the linguistic device **pronoun** in CDA. Fauconnier draws circles to represent elements in

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[18] Example (17) is cited in (Fauconnier, 1994, p. 4).
[19] Example (18) is cited in (Fauconnier, 1994, p. 4).

mental spaces and connectors between them in the meaning building process as he explains in example (19) below (1994, p. 18):

(19) In that play, Othello is jealous. [20]
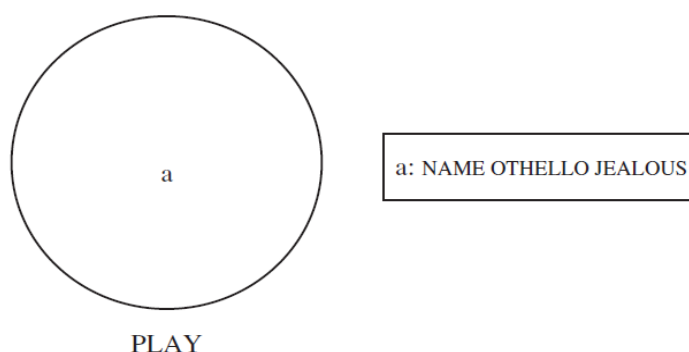
Figure (2.3) In that play, Othello is jealous.

In the above example, the prepositional phrase (in that play) is a space builder that creates a mental space to introduce information about Othello "character in the world of play" (Othello is jealous). To make the mental space construction more practical and comprehensive, Fauconnier uses circles to represent the mental space process and connects these spaces using connectors.

2.6.4 Connectors

Mental space constructions directly begin to be structured by space builders during an ongoing discourse. Connectors link the elements together in these mental spaces. When these elements are linked, depending on their pragmatic functions, they are **counterparts**. In other words, counterparts are found when the elements in two different mental spaces refer to the same person or thing. Consider the following example.

(20) Plato is on the top shelf [21]

In example (20), the base space contains a name of author (a= Plato), as the trigger that connects to the target (b= his works) by pragmatic function (f= information about the author's work at the top of the shelf)

Figure (2.4) Connector that links the trigger with the target (Fauconnier, 1994, p. 5)

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[20] Example (19) is cited in Fauconnier (1994, p. 4).
[21] Example (20) is cited in (Fauconnier, 1994, p. 379).

2.6.5 Properties and relations

The pragmatic function of the connector does not only provide information within the mental space, but also information about the relationship between elements contained within mental spaces. The space builder determines the properties, the elements, and the relations that hold between elements within a single space.

2.6.6 Role and value in MST

As mentioned in section (2.6.3), NPs represent the elements in mental space and can provide two interpretations (definite and indefinite). Fauconnier (1994) argued that there is some ambiguity, even in NPs with definite interpretations, as they do not have static references. However, MST can treat the ambiguity resulting from noun phrases with a definite interpretation. This problem is illustrated in the following example:

(21) **The president changes every seven years.[22]**

The noun phrase (The president) in the above sentence can provide a rigid reference despite being introduced with the definite article 'the'. Therefore, the above sentence is ambiguous, as it may have more than one reading: (1) That the person who serves the country changes every 7 years and (2) every president of the country changes in some way (becomes more arrogant, goes bald, so on). Fauconnier (1994, p. 40) explained that "The domain of the role may include times, places, situations, contexts, and much more; its range will consist of elements having the particular property "N" indicated by the N, in the corresponding setting… a role taking different values in different countries at different times, in different organizations". Thus, we can conclude that definite NPs can express a **role** or **value** interpretation.

2.7 Time and epistemic dimensions in mental space construction

As mentioned previously in section (2.5), language works as a guide for building temporal conceptual domains. Therefore, language helps to keep a track of mental spaces building during discourse using two grammatical devices, time reference, and epistemic distance. Fauconnier (1997, p. 72) states, "In moving (mentally) from one mental space to another, we try to keep track of the time shifts and epistemic shifts between the spaces in focus. Relative time is simply a relation between times of events in the two spaces. Epistemic distance is the 'reality' status of one space with respect to another".

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[22] Example (21) is cited in Fauconnier (1994, p. 39).

2.7.1 Time reference

In any natural language, time reference is a grammatical marker that is mainly reflected by the tense-aspect system to indicate event-time in language. Primarily, there are three main tenses in English – past, present, and future. Past and present tenses are marked by verbs and suffixes while the future tense can be marked by different ways, as explained in the following examples:

(22)   a. Sarah lived in Paris. (Past tense)[23]

b. Sarah lives in Paris. (Present tense)

c. Sarah will live in Paris. (Future tense)

In the example (22 a), the past tense is marked by the verb 'live' with the suffix 'ed', while the verb 'lives' in example (22 b) refers to the present tense by the combination of the verb and suffix(-s) as the subject 'Sarah' is the third person singular. In the case of future in example (22 c), there is no suffix indicating future tense. The future tense can be marked by some other ways, such as, the use of the modal verb 'will' as in example (22 c). While aspect describes the completed or continuous event rather than reflecting the time of the speaker's event. Moreover, the perfect or continuous aspect can mark it. For example,

(23)   She has finished her job.[24] (Present perfect)

(24)   She is studying English. [25] (Continuous aspect)

Tense aspects are dynamic grammatical devices in mental space constructions that stress on keeping track of shifting from one mental space to another during the ongoing discourse. Fauconnier in his works (1994, 1997) introduced the construction of mental spaces in relation to each other.[26] It is notable that one space can be the base and viewpoint or the base, viewpoint, and focus space. To illustrate the works of tenses in mental space construction, the following text is taken into account.

(25)   Jane is twenty. She has lived in France. In 2000, she lived in Paris. She currently lives in Marseilles. Next year, she will move to Lyons.[27]

In the above text, the mental space construction starts with the base space (B). It also represents the viewpoint (v) and focus space (f), because it introduces new information to the space (Jane is twenty) represented by the present 'now', then a new sentence keeps the focus on the base space, as it adds new information 'She has lived in France' by using the

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[23] Examples (22. a, 22. b, and 22.c) are mine.
[24] Example (23) is mine.
[25] Example (24) is mine.
[26] See Fauconnier (1994, pp. 33–35), Fauconnier (1997, chapter 3).
[27] Example (25) is cited in Evans (2006, p. 390).

present tense 'She has'. However, the present perfect encodes that the event has been completed 'has lived'. The second sentence will set up the event space E in space 2. Space builder 'in 2000' in the third sentence 'In 2000, she lived in Paris' suggests another space encoded in the past tense 'lived', namely the event space (space 3). Since the sentence 'She currently lives in Marseilles' is encoded in the present tense. This retains the focus on the base space (space 1). While the space builder 'next year' in the fifth sentence 'next year, she will move to Lyons' will set up a new space. The future tense 'will move' shifts the focus to (space 4) and the event contained in this space will remain with the base space. This is illustrated in Figure (8):
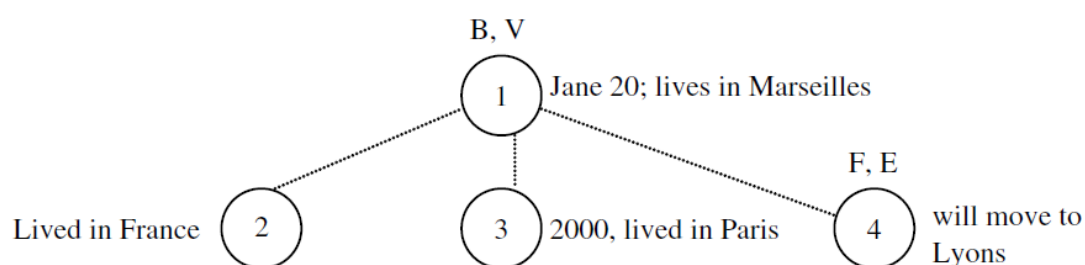
Figure (2.5) Next year, she will move to Lyons (cited in Evans (2006, p. 392).

2.7.2 Epistemic distance

Lyons (1977, p. 793) defines epistemic modality as "a category describing a speaker's opinion towards his propositional content". Palmer (1986, p. 51) adds, "it should apply not simply to modal but to any modal system that indicates the degree of commitment by the speaker to what he says". Thus, **epistemic modality** is a grammatical marker that can express the speaker's information or knowledge (the possibility, obligation, necessity, and so on) expressed in the sentence. Therefore, it focuses on the real condition of one space to another. Evans (2006, p. 395) adds, "that epistemic modality and 'epistemic distance' both rely on the speaker's metaphorical 'distance' from a particular state of affairs: the speaker's 'position' or judgment regarding the likelihood of a particular situation coming about". Therefore, it is necessary to highlight how modality contributes to meaning construction from (1) the cognitive perspective, and (2) political discourse analysis. Fauconnier (1997) discusses that the epistemic dimension can be assisted in conditional spaces to construct meaning in discourse when there is no difference in the time of the events described, as explained in the following examples.

(26) **If you go fishing tomorrow, you will have food for me.** [28]

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[28] Example (26) is cited in Fauconnier (1997, p. 93).

(27)   If you went fishing tomorrow, you would have food for me.[29]

The first example is neutral: We do not know whether you will go fishing or not. The second has a negative stance about the situation and may be used even if we know that the person is not going fishing. It can then be interpreted as counterfactual. In both cases, a hypothetical mental space is constructed, but the tense is used to specify not its time relation to its parent, but rather to its epistemic distance (1997, p. 94).

As mention in section (2.3) that one of the criticism to cognitive linguistics is that it does not have empirical evidence, later some cognitive linguists such as, Langacker 1988; Fauconnier 1999, supported the "empirical approaches" in language studies. In this regard, Oakley and Hougaard (2008, p. 13) argued that "such approaches take, as their starting point, descriptions of real situations of language use as and thus avoid isolating 'language' as rules for generating sentences. In principle, the areas of cognitive linguistics which go beyond the boundaries of the sentence can be seen as inherently carrying a discourse analysis agenda". Thus, first, there is a need to examine MTS as one of the cognitive semantics theories in different genres of discourse as a new trend to understand cognitive meaning. Second, in doing critical discourse analysis, social experience and language use are important factors. Thus, the present study is considered a new challenge in the cognitive insight since it aims to investigate meaning construction under the hypothesis of MST in political discourse on one hand and to understand the role of social variable (gender) in cognitive meaning building and understanding in political discourse on the other hand. Consequently, "significant differences and major challenges appear when trying to integrate cognitive linguistics with these other frameworks" (Ibid.).

2.8 Negation phenomenon in English

Negation is grammatically used to bring falsity to the truth-value of the statement in natural languages. In English, there are many classifications of negation such as **sentential** negation that all ideas of a sentence will be negated and **constituent** negation that negation only has an impact on the meaning of specific idea in the sentence. While **explicit** negation includes negative words and morphological negative words, **implicit** negation covers words, which all can express negativity,[30] as in:

(28)   a. Sarah is a polite girl. (A positive sentence)[31]

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[29] Example (27) is cited in Fauconnier (1997, p. 94).
[30] See Dahl (1979), Typology of Sentence Negation.
[31] Example (28) is mine.

b.   Sarah is not a polite girl.

c.   Sarah is an impolite girl.

d.   Sarah is miserable.

e. Sarah is beautiful and clever, but a troublemaker.

Arimitsu (2000, p. 44) stated, "The concept against positive is not fixed". Most of the people may generally think that sentence (28 b) is the negation of (28 a). Yet, sentences such as (28 c) and (28 d) can have a sense of negation of (28 a) by conveying the opposite position as (28 a). Moreover, sentences like (28 e) have negative conjunction, 'but', which expresses something contrary and reverses the former. Even sentence (28 e) seems to have some negativity.

2.8.1 The types of negation in English

Negation is a complex phenomenon in natural language, part of its complexity belongs to the variety in the forms and functions. The investigation of negation can be limited in the scope of linguistic. Therefore, we need to study it from new perspectives such as pragmatics and cognitive. Some linguists like Jespersen (1917), Zimmer (1964), Klima (1964), and Horn (1989) have investigated the negation phenomenon diachronically and synchronically from different aspects, and they suggested that there are many types of negation in English language. Jespersen (1917) classified negation into two main types: Direct negation and indirect negation. Even though his classification is considered an old one, it mainly covers most types of negatives across different linguistic fields. Dodo (2015 p. 34) added, "Jespersen study of negation ranges over diverse aspects of negation from morphology, logic, typology, to what would now fall under the rubrics of pragmatics". Thus, the researcher will adopt this model in studying negation in political discourse from a socio-cognitive aspect.

2.8.1.1 Direct negation

This type of negation can be achieved by some negative words such as *not*, *no*, *never*, none, negative connective 'but' and negative affixes, such as, *un-*, *im-*, -less… etc. The negative element 'not' usually attracts the verb, for instance, *is not*, *does not*…etc. In daily communication, people usually use 'not' in a contracted form with an auxiliary verb. For example, '*does not- doesn't*, could not – couldn't. Besides, the adverb 'never' has generally a strong negative value in modern English.

Tottie (1977, as cited in Miestamo, 2003, p. 210) stated that " different speakers show different degrees of negativity for different negative elements; it is argued that there can

be no strict division between strong and weak sentence negation, and these negative elements should be placed on a continuum from strong to weak negativity: not>never>hardly>little>few>seldom."

Zimmer (1964), Funk (1971) and Bybee (1985) argued that there are some English prefixes that like *un-, im-, and in-* that can reflect contrary and contradictory interpretations to their linguistic words (adjective or verb). Therefore, they are called ***Affixal negation***. Examples of this include, *unhappy, impossible, disable, dislike, disagree, meaningless, careless, etc*. This type of negation can also be called ***morphological negation***. Jespersen (1917:144) suggested that "a prefix produces a 'contrary' term: *unjust* (and *injustice*) generally imply the opposite of *just* (and *justice*); *unwise* means more than *not wise* and approaches *foolish*, *unhappy* is not far from *miserable*". In other words, negative affixes do not necessarily interpret the complete opposite of positive terms.

(29) She is unhappy with her husband.[32]

In the above example, the negative word *unhappy* does not necessarily have a strong interpretation of negative meaning as *miserable*. Some connectives can play more than their function as a connection between two phrases or clauses in English. They, thus, can express a negative sense to show a contrast between the two ideas in the connected sentences or phrases. Therefore, they are so-called ***negative connectives***. Jespersen (1917, p. 127) claimed that *but* is a kind of negative relative pronoun, meaning 'that (who or which)... not', but only used after a negative expression", as in the following example:

(30) She is not clever, but she can pass her exam.[33]

Here, the speaker introduces two contrastive situations; the first one wherein 'he intends to criticize of her study level ', and the second one contains 'he astonishes that she still succeeds'

2.8.1.2 Indirect negation

Different linguistic strategies can convey the idea or the meaning of negation in the Indirect way as in the following example.

(31) She is a spinster.[34]

In example (31), Arimitsu (2000, p. 54) argues "*spinster* is [+female, -married]. There is no explicit negative word here. However, there is negativeness in this word. There is

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[32] Example (29) is mine.
[33] Example (30) is mine.
[34] Example (31) is cited in Arimitsu (2000, p. 54).

negativity in the word 'spinster', as it implicitly expresses a feature of negation in its meaning (not married)". While the word 'bachelor' is [+ male, - married] which also conveys a negative meaning 'a man who is not married from a marital status'. However, the word 'bachelor' has no more negative semantic value for some reasons. Nieuwets (2015) argues that the word 'bachelor' as a polysemy can also denote a person who has a low degree of university or a young knight. Therefore, it loses its negative meaning and acquires a neutral one. The word 'spinster', on the other hand, prejudicially refers to a woman beyond the natural age of marriage. Second, the changes in social values make people positively start looking at a man who is not married as he does not have responsibility and he is free; yet, for a woman, the situation is different. In other words, they still negatively look at a woman who is not married. There are other examples of words that implicitly carry negativity, such as, *warn, reject, fear, prevent, hinder, ignore*, etc. (see example 32)

(32) The teacher rejected the idea that the students had left early. (Negation of the main clause)[35]

2.8.1.2.1 Indirect negative: adverbs and quantifiers

Leech (1983, p. 100) shows that "there are adverbs and determiners which are negative in meaning, but not in form (e. g*., barely, few, little, rarely scarcely, seldom*), as they are followed by non-assertive forms, in addition, the sentences in which they appear generally require positive tag questions". Jespersen (1917, p. 38) calls them, **'incomplete negatives'** because they could not convey a complete negation such as *hardly, seldom*, and *rarely* (as adverbs) and *little and few* (as determiners).

(33) My family rarely visits their village.[36]

In the above example, the adverb rarely does not mean always. Quirk et al. (1985, p. 780) stated that "the word *only* which can be used as an adjective and an adverb is, to some extent, capable of negating a sentence implicitly, where it can be followed by a non-assertive item such as *any*" [37]

2.8.1.2.2 Conditional clauses expressing indirect negation

Conditional clauses are other linguistic devices that have normally the indirect negation

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[35] Example (32) is mine.
[36] Example (33) is mine.
[37] For more detail, see Jespersen (1917, p. 75), Rissanen (1999, p. 273). See also Dixon (2005).

in its meaning.   This is because the achievement of a condition in a conditional is related to a specific situation.

(34) If John gets a scholarship in France, I will travel with   him.[38]

The above example does not signify whether John gets the scholarship or not, and so it leaves the speaker's travel with John uncertain. Graver (1986, p. 90) adds, "it is important to note that the probability of the condition being fulfilled often exists in the speaker's mind".   Conditional clause can reflect the speaker's trust about the fulfilment of the condition in the future, present, past (For more information, see Quirk et al., 1985; Graver, 1986 for negative conditions) .

2.8.1.2.3 Comparative context and indirect negation

According to Jespersen (1917), Ota (1980), comparison in English is one of the linguistic strategies that can achieve the meaning of negation by showing some degree of the difference between people or things, as in the following example:

(35) Mary is more beautiful than Sarah. [39]

In the above example, the second part of the comparative context implicitly conveys the meaning of negation by suggesting that 'Sarah does not have characteristics of beauty as the former 'Mary'.

2.8.1.2.4 Question and indirect negation

People normally ask questions when they have no information about something. Jespersen (1917, p. 22) observed that "questions may be used implying a negative statement" because the question has the capacity to reflect the speaker's unknown about something. In the following example, the speaker implicitly shows that 'he has no information about the location of the bus station'.

(36) Where can I find the bus station? [40]

Rhetorical question is a type of question that can convey the meaning of negation even though the speaker uses it to create more effect on the hearer than to require for answer. It is mostly used for different goals. Politicians exploit this kind of questions for negative value, as in example (37).

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[38] Example (34) is mine.
[39] Example (35) is mine.
[40] Example (36) is mine.

(37) Who cares? (Which means nobody cares)[41]

2.8.1.2.5 Too with expressions

The word 'too' has the meaning of 'more than enough'. Therefore, it can imply the meaning of negation with the expressions that followed. In example (38), the sentence means that 'she cannot give anything because she is very poor'.

(38)   She is too poor to give us anything.[42]

Guowen (2011, p. 234) adds that "too can be used to conceptualize those entities whose property value is positively deviant from the subjective standard. Since this deviation is a pleasant thing for the speaker". Thus, this positive value here is related to personal emotions regarding favourite thing.

2.8.1.3 Negation in pragmatics

The study of negation can be considered complete with the orbit of morphological and syntactic levels. It needs to be investigated from the functional aspects of linguistics (i.e., pragmatic and cognitive) because the manner of using certain utterances in the context can convey some implicit negation in the deep meaning through irony. In the example below, the teacher's judgment (being an intelligent girl) is ironic. The sentence is explicitly positive in structure, but it shows some implicit negation in the deep meaning being expressed (she is a stupid girl) in an ironic sense.[43] Politicians usually use irony for different political goals. Gornostaeva (2016, p.179) states that "irony makes political discourse more vivid and convincing, an ironic speaker masters the art of persuading and manipulating the public opinion far better than the one devoid of irony as an essential rhetorical means for self-presentation". The following example makes the above point clearer:

(39)   She fails to do simple experiments in the lab. The teacher says she is an intelligent girl![44]

2.8.1.4 Metalinguistic negation

Miestamo (2003, p.221) states that "the term metalinguistic negation originates from Ducrot (1972). It is used for negations where what is negated is not the content of the

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[41] Example (37) is cited in Jespersen (1917, p. 24).
[42] Example (38) is cited in Otto (1917, p.37).
[43] For more details, see Laura Hidalgo (2000) (Negation, Text Worlds, and Discourse).
[44] Example (39) is mine.

proposition, but rather the way it is expressed". For example,

(40) Mary was not killed. It was an accident.[45]

In the above example, the speaker denies the killing of Mary through performing the assertive speech act "It was an accident". Horn (1989) explains that speakers normally use metalinguistic negation to object to the pervious utterance or the way of saying it.

2.9 Negation and Mental Space Theory

Fauconnier (1994, p.96) argues, "Negatives set up corresponding counterfactual spaces in which the positive version of the sentence is satisfied". In other words, that negative sentence can involve a corresponding positive reading in contrast with it in a manner that a positive sentence cannot necessarily achieve. He illustrates this in the following example.

(41) I did not buy a car. There was no room for it in the garage. [46]

In example (41), the negative sentence "I did not buy a car" can allow an access to positive space wherein 'the car would have been bought'. In this respect, Fauconnier concludes that negative space can maintain presupposition under some strategies that real or base spaces are incapable of doing. Consider the following example,

(42) The king of France did not visit the exhibition, because there is no king of France.[47]

The phrase "The king of France" is the presupposition in the negative space that cannot float to a parent space or base without the occurrence of a contradiction. Fauconnier (1994, p. 109) suggests that "counterfactuality is a case of forced incompatibility between spaces; a space M_1 is incompatible with another space M_2 if some relation explicitly specified in M_1 is not satisfied for the corresponding elements in M_2.". For example,

(43) If the weather were good, they would be here.[48]

The counterfactual interpretation is that 'but they're not' (Inductive reasoning: the weather is good, and indeed, they are). This is because it is observed that the second clause expressed some relation that was satisfied in the counterfactual space. Moreover, Fauconnier discussed the role played by tenses in the attribution of the strength and weakness of the counterfactual situations[49]. He notes that conditionals and various spaces can be incompatible with their parents' spaces; in particular, beliefs, pictures, desires,

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[45] Example (40) is mine.
[46] Example (41) is cited in Fauconnier (1994, p.96).
[47] Example (42) is cited in Fauconnier (1994, p. 109).
[48] Example (43) is mine.
[49] For a more comprehensive understanding, see Fauconnier (1997, pp. 111–120).

times, etc. As discussed earlier in (2.8.1.2.2), conditional clauses are another linguistic structure that can convey the meaning of the implicit negation with ease owing to the fact that the achievement of a condition in a conditional space is related to a specific situation. Fauconnier (1994), and Sweetser (2006) point out that conjuncts, conditionals, and indirect negatives are among the linguistic expressions that can involve more negative alternative spaces, with an implicit semantic negation, than explicit negative forms. Consider the following example,

(44) **If it rains there, they will cancel the tennis match.**[50]

In the above example, to get a perfect reading, there are spaces set up by alternative and incompatible spaces, including (1) no rain and match and (2) rain and no match. As above described, negation can be directly covered by different negative operators or indirectly achieved by some linguistic strategies at the level of a sentence in English. Sweetser (2006) study the level and types of negatives in certain literary texts. In the present study, the researcher intends to conduct a study at the level of negative spaces, the corresponding positive spaces, and their roles in achieving meaning building in the political discourse.

2.10 Political discourse

Scholars have been interested in the rhetoric of speeches since the time of Aristotle. Then, linguists, from 1980s onwards, begun to focus on the relationship between politics and the phenomenon of language simply because language has an important function in any political activity. This is done by showing imbalanced power, ideology or suggesting manipulation. Hence, one important question is raised – what is political discourse (henceforth PD)? Numerous research studies have generally introduced various definitions of political discourse analysis. In a broad sense, it is a text or talk performed by a political entity such as the president, parliament, government, or a political party. Some scholars, such as Verba et al. (1993) discuss that political activity is not only related to politicians, but it can also involve voters and individuals. Thus, the definition of PD is to be modified to be a text or talk by all the participants in a political activity. If the second definition is to be considered, then "the conflicts between people and policemen, between workers and managers are characterized as 'political' " (Chilton, 2002, p. 6). Besides, the politicians' speeches count as a strategic discourse with persuasive and manipulative intention to maintain or gain power, while individuals rather blame certain people or criticize their

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[50] Example (44) is cited in Sweetser (2006, p. 314).

actions. Thus, it is crucial to keep a gap between the political discourse conducted by politicians and individuals in day-to-day conflict. It is important to bear in mind that there is no political activity without language, there is a need to focus on the practical relationship between language and culture on one side, and culture and politics, in a particular society, on the other side while analysing the political discourse (Chilton, 2002). That is the reason why the concept of PDA could not be deeply understood without its critical analysis. Since 1980, linguists like Fairclough, Teun A. van Dijk, and Chilton have started to focus on the critical analysis of political discourses and founded the critical approach within discourse analysis, which is called *Critical Discourse Analysis* (henceforth: CDA). Van Dijk (1997b, p. 11) argues, "CDA deals especially with the reproduction of political power, power abuse, or domination through political discourse, including the various forms of resistance or counter-power against such forms of discursive dominance". Thus, the distinguished feature of CDA is that it is an interdisciplinary study of discourse analysis. It links linguistics to political science and the social sciences. Therefore, "PDA should be able to answer genuine and relevant political questions and deal with issues that are discussed in political science" (Van Dijk, 1997b, p. 12).

Chilton (2002) mentions some important principles for political discourse analysis. The first of them is *language* because language is the instrument used to conduct the political or social activity. Thus, we should respect the official or national language while taking care not to neglect the text that has been written in the actual language. According to Chilton (2002, p. 9), "what is important as a principle for analysts of political discourse is that the language is closely bound up in practice with culture and that culture is in turn closely bound up with the practice of politics in a particular society". Thus, the study of the linguistic dimension is important in conducting a political discourse analysis because first there is no political activity without language. Second, politicians take advantage of different linguistic strategies to practice power and ideology. The second principle in the political discourse is that of *communication*. Any practice of communication has a sender, message, and receiver, and (with the help of linguistic clues and social knowledge) one can decode the message and interpret it. This is one feature of political activity. Furthermore, political speeches constitute more than a process of conveying information to the audience; they can give some information about the social background of the speaker, his political role, the in-group's political ideology, and the use of power, and gender inequalities.

The next principle is *speaking and doing*. Most people believe that a political speech is no more than words without any actions. While this may be true to a certain degree, many

actions can be performed within words like declaring peace, war, a case of emergency, commands. In this regard, Austin (1962) introduces two concepts: **performative** and **constative acts**. **A performative** act is related to changing the world affairs, while a constative act only states them.

Later, Searle (1969, 1976) further developed the theory of Speech acts. He classifies speech act into three stages - (1) *locutionary act* (this stage activates when we say something), (2) *illocutionary act* is intimately to the very form the utterance may have: stating, wishing, promising, etc. (Mey, 2001, p. 96), and (3) *perlocutionary act* is related to the effect the speaker's utterance achieves in the listener. Furthermore, he classified **illocutionary acts** into five categories, namely, assertive, commissive, directive, declarative, and expressive. To enable any speech act to succeed, Searle introduces the concept of "felicity conditions" to provide conditions to make a speech act function. In the context of political discourse, felicity conditions are of significance because they offer a rubric under which the constituents of phenomena such as credibility, persuasion, and the like can be investigated. Thus, these speeches acts contribute much to conducting a CDA in asserting attitudes /ideology, declaring some political steps, and presenting or using power.

The fourth principle is the *co-operative principle* (CP) which constitutes one of the most important contributions in pragmatics and discourse analysis developed by Paul Grice (1975) and Levinson (1983). Grice suggested that human communication, to be successfully cooperative, should follow four maxims, namely, the maxim of Quality, maxim of Quantity, maxim of Relevance, and maxim of Manner (also see 2.10.1.B). He added that the listener could still infer the implied meaning even when the speaker flouts the CP. In this regard, Chilton (2002, p. 12) explains that "in the case of political discourse, speakers may be suspected of all these behaviours: they are being communicatively uncooperative and receive opprobrium. Politics may be a specific context in which the CP is recognized to be in jeopardy". Thus, the CP is one of the language principles that contribute to conveying indirect and implicit meaning in social communication, and this is the feature of political discourse. Fifth, the *polite and the politic* are based on the positive face and the negative face suggested by Goffmann (1967), and then Brown and Levinson studied them in the light of the F*ace Threatening Acts* (FTAs) and the framework of the speech act theory. The study of this concept primarily institutes in social interaction. Brown and Levinson (1987) studied different linguistic forms that help the speaker to lessen his/her (FTAs) through performing speech acts. They

introduced **Positive and Negative politeness** strategies that work to minimize the face-threat of the speaker or hearer. Moreover, Chilton (2002, p. 13) stated that, "The effect of various mitigation strategies is a function of the relations of power and intimacy between the speakers in discourse". Thus, mitigation of (FTAs) functionally depends on the social distance between speakers, power relations, and level of (FTAs).

2.10.1 Linguistic and pragmatic strategies in political discourse

As mentioned in the above section, language plays a vital role in any political activity. Chilton (2002, p. 24) argues, "Language is functionally structured, either wholly or partly, to fulfil socio-political goals. There would be strategies at the levels of discourse, but the selection of linguistic forms would not be arbitrary, but functionally related in some way". Therefore, we cannot avoid the linguistic strategies in doing any political discourse analysis as the speaker or author can deliberately employ some linguistic and pragmatic strategies that can help to persuade the audience with the political claims of the speaker. The following are selected linguistic and pragmatic strategies with their functions to be examined within the scope of negation in the present study.

2.10.1. A- Linguistic strategies

1. **Personal Pronoun** is a linguistic device used to substitute personal names or things such as personal subject pronouns (We/I, he/she), object pronoun (You/me), possessive pronouns (Our/ Their). Politicians mainly exploit personal pronouns to specialize good presentation of (self/ in-group) or generalize bad actions of (opponents / out-group). Thus, the social distance between the speakers plays a vital role in selecting the type of personal pronouns.

2. **Modality** can be realized by **modal verbs** such as, shall*, would, and must,* **modal adjectives, such as** possible, necessary, probable, **modal adverb,** such as *certainly, probability, possibility*. It is employed to achieve many political aims because of its semantic category. Fairclough (2001, p. 150, as cited in Zhonygyi Xu, 2015, p. 17) classifies "modality into relational modality and expressive modality, depending on 'what direction authority is oriented to'. Relational modality here refers to the authority of one participant in relation to others, and expressive modality refers to the speaker or writer's authority with respect to the truth or probability of a representation of reality."

3. **Passive voice**: In English, voicing is one of the grammatical devices that has types: ***active voice*** that normally indicates the agent of action in the sentence, and ***passive***

voice that focuses on the affected by the action in the sentence. Passive voice is employed by writers in general and politicians in particular to hide or mitigate the effect of the bad action, in specific issues, inside in-group or the same party in political speeches.

4. **Nominalization** is a syntactic process in which a verb form turns into a noun form with the aim of reducing or giving less information about the agent. For example, the word 'change- change', 'speak-speaking', and 'read-reader', and so on. In political discourse, the author makes use of this strategy to make a topic discussion that maintains the imbalanced power relation or provide less information about people.

5. **Repetition** is a semantic process of repeating words, phrases, or sentences for the purpose of emphasis, persuasion, or rhetoric. Politicians exploit this strategy to make the sections of discourse more understandable and united in structure and meaning.

1.2.10.1 (B) Pragmatic strategies

1. **Presupposition** is "any kind of background assumption against which an action, theory, expression or utterance makes sense or is rational" (Levinson, 1983, p. 168). Presupposition has some kinds, such as existential (concluded by nouns, and possessive structure), factive (shown by some factive verbs such as know, recognize), non-factive (defined by verbs such as hope, dream, and so on), lexical presupposition (concluded from word meaning), and structural presuppositions (understood from sentence structure). A negative process of a sentence does not have an effect on the presupposition of the sentence. For example,

   (45)   a. Mary's son is sick. (Presupposition: Mary has a son).[51]

          b. Mary's son is not sick. (Presupposition also; Mary has a son).

   Presupposition has several political functions such as building hopes, drawing the huge number of future challenges, showing dissatisfaction about actions and so on.

2. **Speech Act** is an utterance that is employed to perform an action such as order, apology, promise, prediction, and so on. This philosophical term was first introduced by Austin (1962), and later his student Searle (1969) developed it into the theory namely, *Speech act theory*. It investigates how language can be used to perform actions in terms of the speaker's intention and its effect on the listener. Thus, it is concerned with the function of language. Searle (1976, pp. 10-17) reclassifies Austin's

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[51] Examples (45. a and 45.b) are mine

classification of illocutionary act into five categories: *Representatives, Expressives, Commissives, Directives, and Declaratives.* *Representatives* commit the speaker (in varying degrees) to something being the case, to the truth of the expressed proposition. *Expressives* express the psychological state specified in the sincerity condition about a state of affairs specified in the propositional content. *Commissives* are where the speaker commits himself to do something. *Directives* include the attempts by the speaker to get the hearer to do something. *Declaratives* mean the successful performance of one of its members brings about the correspondence between the propositional content and reality (see 2.10 for more details). Politicians employ this strategy for many claims in the political process such as making decisions, showing their actions, attitudes, and ideologies, bringing light to certain information, and deemphasizing others.

3. **Cooperative principle (CP):** is a conversational principle that is developed by Paul Grice (1975) and later by Levinson (1983). They proposed that people should be cooperative to achieve successful human communication. Grice (1975) suggested four maxims called 'Gricean maxims'; (1) *Maxim of quality* (make your contribution one that is true), *Maxim of quantity* (Make your contribution as informative as is required and do not make your contribution more informative than is required), *Maxim of relevance* (Be brief, orderly avoid obscurity of expression, avoid ambiguity, and *Maxim of Manner* (Be relevant). The CP is sometimes deliberately flouted by the speakers, for different purposes such as to be ironic, be opposite or irrelevant, to make the listener understand the intentional meaning. Thus, they are uncooperative at the level of literal meaning, but they are still cooperative at the level of intended meaning, this is pragmatically known as 'implicature'.

4. **On-record:** the study of politeness behaviour becomes one of the important works in pragmatics. Brown and Levinson (1987) state that the politeness behaviour starts to work in the interaction between the speaker and listener. They related the application of positive and negative politeness strategies to the face saving or damage through speech acts. On-record is one of the politeness strategies, the speaker applies it when he directly addresses the listener to express his needs or to give advice. He tries to be independent. According to the politeness theory, the use of this strategy (as a negative or positive politeness strategy) is related to social experience, since the application of on-record in one society is polite, it might not be so in another. Thus, the face-threatening act here socially depends on the relationship between participants in the

conversation and the use of power and degree of face-threatening acts, i.e., degree of imposition.

5. **Off-record**: means the speaker indirectly addresses the listener to minimize face-threatening act to the speaker or the hearer or to spread the feeling of affiliation to the party or family or group. Politicians usually exploit this strategy in election campaign speeches to show their affiliation to the people to gain their support.

2.10.2 Political discourse and cognitive approach

Since 1970, many social scholars have started to adopt some functional models such as Halliday's functional approach (1978) to linguistic models fulfil a political discourse analysis, such as Chomsky's formal approach (1956). As discussed earlier, the cognitive model is an interdisciplinary approach that investigates the relationship between the linguistic structures and cognitive organization in the mind. Since 1970s, some cognitive linguists (Fillmore, 1982; Lakoff, 1987; Langacker, 1987; Fauconnier, 1994) have investigated the relationship between linguistic expressions and discourse to represent the mind. Geeraerts (2007, p. 919) claims that "mental representation" and "overt linguistic signals" are the two main concepts in discourse. In this regard, it is noteworthy that Van Dijk's framework (cited in Chilton, 2002, p. 26) seeks to show how knowledge of politics, political discourse and political ideologies is stored in the short-term memory and long term memory, the latter being subdivided into personal (or 'episodic') memory and social (or 'semantic') memory. Chilton (2002, pp. 25–30) also examines some conceptual concepts in discourse analysis. For instance, the frames of conceptual terms with their properties (cultural knowledge) can involve entities (time, place, human, concrete, abstract) based on inferences from discourse processing. While conceptual domains are relatively complex knowledge structures which relate to coherent aspects of experience (Evans, 2007, p. 61). The role and value is another important conceptual term in all types of discourse, especially in political discourse because the role of the participants is one feature of political discourse. Chilton (2002) emphasizes the pragmatic dimension of discourse analysis. He said that discourse typically has utterances uttered by the speaker and interpreted by the hearer. Therefore, some linguistic devices such as **pronoun** may help an interpreter conceptually to determiner social and political relations between the speaker and the hearer. Modality as an epistemic aspect can reveal the level of the speaker's knowledge or his commitments to the claims.

2.11 Social and cultural variables in relation to political discourse

Levine and Campbell (1972) define culture "as the way of thinking, feeling and reaching that are characteristic of the ways a particular society meets its problems at a particular point in time". Thus, sharing thinking, in some ways, helps build a definite meaning system. However, the development of the *cultural variable* over centuries leads to changes in the language patterns. This changeability feature of language contributes to creating innovative words and metaphors, giving additional meanings to existing words, and some words passing away. Fauconnier and Turner (2002, p. 383) state, "Human culture and human thought are fundamentally conservative. They work from the mental constructs and material objects that are already available. Emergent structure, both conceptual and formal, can arise through the conceptual integration within conservative integration networks". In other words, new meaning constructions can determine the workings of mental systems using existing networks of words. Cognitive linguists suggest that the novelty and creativity in language results from culture pressure on our life and the possibility of creating new meaning cannot be done from unfamiliar sources, such as *same-sex marriage*, *computer virus*, etc. Instead, it stems from the work of conceptual integration in familiar word networks. Writers, poets, and politicians are highly skilful in terms of their work and they create novelty by using metaphors, polysemy, and categorisation in the language based on cultural experiences and individual knowledge. In this respect, Geeraerts (2007, p. 1217) believes that "Culture, language, and thought are not abstract entities, but basic patterns of behaviour, discourse, and reasoning in a given community. They co-occur in each concrete instance of interaction between members of that community".

The Social variable is an interesting factor that focuses on the relationship between cognitive linguistics and social psychology (Derks, 1995, p. 1). The way an individual positions themselves regarding others in a mental space governs the best part of social behaviour and forms the foundation of the social aspect of personality. Among the features of the political discourse is the communicative activity, like a president's speech to the audience or a debate between two political parties, which depends on the relationships between the two partners. Langltoz (2015, p. 5) adds that "being sensitive to the cultural norms of particular social-communicative environments – and corresponding discourses – humans can place their interlocutors into meaningful contexts that contribute

to their cognitive growth and survival". Linguistic scholars are divided into two groups regarding the study of the cognitive approach in relation to social meaning.

The first group includes sociolinguists and conversational analysts, who regard language as a situated social practice and reject the cognitivist conception as an autonomous cognitive system of knowledge responsible for encoding and decoding thoughts (Blommaert, 2004; Gee, 1999; as cited in Langltoz, 2015, p. 83). Scholars in this group focus on interactional behaviour rather than cognitive. While the second group of scholars believes that social orientation is fundamentally shaped by this cognitive ability, since human beings must be able to conceptualize and categorize social events to make sense of them (Langltoz, 2015, p. 85). In brief, individuals need mental constructions and conceptual representations to make judgments about social events or habits. Hence, Langltoz's view (2015, p. 113) is adopted which states that "meaning construction is always socially and culturally-motivated because the coupling of linguistic cues does not occur in a functional vacuum. Rather, it is adapted to managing meaning coordination in a given task-domain of human interaction" to see the influence of society and culture in meaning building in political discourse from the mental space theory perspective. The role of gender, as a social variable, in achieving different political aims beyond building negative spaces and their corresponding positive spaces from distinct cultural backgrounds will be one of the present study's objectives

2.12 Previous Studies

References and presuppositions are the main phenomena that have been examined under the assumptions of MST since 1985. In recent years, MST has become a sophisticated model that has paved the way for other cognitive linguists to investigate various linguistic phenomena based on mapping and connected mental spaces in CL and cognitive sciences. In this respect, it is noteworthy to mention that there are some works done by different scholars. Dancygier and Sweetser (1996) have examined a broad range of conditional forms in the frame of mental space theory to investigate the relationship between structure and meaning in conditional constructions. They concluded that conditionals give us examples of a multiplicity of space-building strategies. Some conditionals are easy to interpret and some are affected by the function of form in context or human cognition in general.

In his article '**The definite article, accessibility, and the construction of discourse referents',** Epstein (2001) suggested how speakers use the definite article as a 'discourse

reference' to access mental spaces and connect them. The results of his study showed the interpretation provided by the definite article 'the' cannot be conveyed by the article itself, but it occurs in the context from a combination of lexical, grammatical, and pragmatic factors. Besides, there have been some studies with the aim of studying negation forms in discourse. Horn (1989) introduced a new type of negation called 'metalinguistic negation' in his book entitled '**A natural history of negation**'. He explained the difference between the negation of content and the way of expressing it. Sweetser (2006) examined the application of negation in   in some literary works to reveal the complexity of negative levels that are created from mental spaces and how the linguistic expression and literary goals exhibit rhetorical uses of negation in literary texts.

Sangeet Khemlani et al. (2012) in their original work '**Negation: A theory of its meaning, representation, and use'**, have examined the model-based theory of what negation means, and how negation could mentally be represented and understood. In their article, they found that individuals could easily understand negation when they keep in minds the possibilities of negation. Concerning the present study, it aims to study the kinds of negation phenomenon in political discourse from the perspective of Mental Space Theory and investigates the functions of linguistic and pragmatic strategies within the scope of negation in political discourse for different political aims. Thus, the originality of the present study stems from the idea that it is done to achieve the following aims: (1) Investigating the role of negation in building meaning in political discourse based on the hypotheses of MST, (2) Examining the role of gender as social factor in negative space building, and (3) Studying the functions of some linguistic and pragmatic strategies in building meaning within negation in achieving political aims.

CHAPTER THREE
Research Methodology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter displays the research methodology and it shows the way how to do the analysis of negatives in political discourse within the framework of MST from a cognitive-social perspective in order to answer the research questions that are raised in chapter one. Practically, the researcher first specifies the research design, scientific procedures that guide the selection of the political speeches for examination, and then the detailed description of research methodology and paradigm that are appropriate for the nature of the study to ensure the accuracy of the data analysis and the interpretation and discussion of the findings in chapter four.

3.1 Research Design

The main aim of the current study is to investigate the negation phenomenon in political discourse according to the theoretical framework of MST. The qualitative method here is adopted for some reasons. First, the study mainly aims to investigate the role of negation as a linguistic phenomenon in meaning construction and interpretation in political discourse from cognitive and social perspectives. Thus, the objectives and the nature of the data in the present study can be classified under the traditional principles of qualitative research designs in the social sciences (Newman et al. 1998). Second, the data analysis has three stages: descriptions, explanation and interpretation of the aspect of negation in speeches and this is one of the principles of qualitative analysis. Flick (2007, p. x) suggests that "A major part of qualitative research is based on text and writing – from field notes and transcripts to descriptions and interpretations and finally to the presentation of the findings and of the research as a whole". Third, it is important to understand some factors that motivate the selected characters to use different types of negatives in the texts under study. Thus, there is a need to investigate the impact of political ideologies or attitudes of the characters, topic of discussion, use of power, and social background to understand meaning that results from the social practice of power through the language use of negation. This can only be done by personal observation and experience, and this is the purpose of adopting a qualitative method. To fulfil the DA, it is of utmost importance to find evidence from the selected texts to support the examination depending first on the personal experience and second on the effort that is considered one of the qualitative principles. According to Flick, researchers themselves are a significant part of the research

process, either in terms of their own personal presence as researchers or in terms of their experience in the field and with the reflexivity they bring to the role – as a member of the field under study (2007, p. x).

However, the role of the researcher's experience in the process of analyzing and interpreting data in the research investigation first should be systematic and objective. Second, negation is a complex linguistic phenomenon in natural languages. As a result, it needs a deeper investigation and comprehensive understanding from different linguistic perspectives; this cannot be fulfilled in a quantitative method. Therefore, the qualitative method is more applicable to the current study. Bazeley & Jackson (2013, p. 2) states that "Qualitative methods will be chosen in situations where a detailed understanding of a process or experience is wanted, where more information is needed to determine the boundaries or characteristics of the issue being investigated, or where the only information available is in non-numeric (e.g., text or visual) form".

The paradigm of the case under study is a multifaceted one; both cognitive and social aspects are targeted. Here, the researcher conducts a CDA to examine the role of social and cognitive variables in building the different kinds of negative spaces in PD. Therefore, some relevant social and cognitive factors are taken into consideration, such as, social experience, cultural background, ideology, context features (time, place, political role, topic discussion), power, and conversational principles and so on. This by itself is one of the purposes of the qualitative methods to study any phenomenon in natural contexts (including different areas). Denzin and Lincoln (1994, p. 2), when discussing qualitative methods, define the 'qualitative research' as "a multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them".

Twelve political speeches have been selected, (3) speeches for each one of the four selected politicians, namely Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton with American cultural background and David Cameron and Theresa May with British cultural background in different political positions (for more details about the characters' selection, see section 3.3 below). Regarding the process of selecting speeches, it should address the objectives and the pre-set research questions in order to be able to answer them while doing the analysis. That is why the selection of the data is purposeful and intentional.

Although the study follows a qualitative research method in the sense of natural procedures, within the analytical application and interpretation of the texts, the quantitative method is also adopted as a supplementary method. This will help the researcher to summarize and tabulate the findings, and draw the conclusions generalized in chapter five. This will help the reader to get a more and better understanding than doing a qualitative research alone. Thus, the analysis in the chapter four will be divided into three main stages:

1. **Data identification**: this stage includes the occasion of speech, political role and topic discussion, and the frequency of direct and indirect negatives in the text under study. The process has been carried out manually since negation can be achieved by different linguistic strategies.

2. **Data analysis**: this stage is concerned with analyzing and interpreting the negatives in the framework of MST, investigating contextual features and the types of linguistic and pragmatic strategies that help to build meaning within the scope of negation in political discourse.

3. **The functions of pragmatic and linguistic strategies:** this last stage highlights the various functions of the five-selected linguistic and pragmatic strategies and their frequencies in the texts under study as well.

3.2 Research procedure

Negation phenomenon in the selected political speeches is subjected to an intensive examination according to the hypotheses of MST developed by Fauconnier (1985, 1997). Conducting a discourse analysis of the selected speeches aims to describe the different types of negative spaces built in the political speeches. The sample research includes four famous politicians with different knowledge, ideology, and from different cultural backgrounds. To do the analysis and interpretation of the negative spaces in the selected political texts, the researcher needs to follow a number of procedures. This is illustrated in the table 3.1

Table (3.1)

Research procedures

Stage	Process
1.	Determining the criteria for data selection.
2.	Identifying (12) political speeches for (4) selected politicians from American

	and British official government websites and political journals
3.	Stating the occasion, place, topic, goal of each speech and the type of audience.
4.	Selecting the extracts suitable for the negative phenomena from the selected speeches.
5.	Analyzing and examining the building of the negative space in these extracts in the theoretical framework of MST.
6.	Identifying the meaning construction that is suggested by negative spaces built in the selected politician actors and their political goals.
7.	Examining the role of cognitive and social variables in building negative paces and their positive spaces in political discourse.

3.3 Criteria for data selection

Empirically, there is no political activity without language. The remarks, comments, and speeches are typically an important part of the political process. Traditionally, most of the presidents and prime ministers give their regular weekly speeches to the public in the western communities. Trump and Clinton are famous American politicians in the present time. They are respectively Republican and Democratic candidates for the presidential election campaign for the US presidency in (2016). They also did many significant speeches, even after Trump won the US presidential election. Cameron and May are also famous in the recent British politics; both of them are from the conservative party, one of the most famous British political parties, and they did many significant political speeches in many events; especially about the referendum to leave the European Union in June 2016. The selection process is done after thoroughly surveying and surfing the net. Based on the study objectives, the above characters have been chosen for deliberate reasons. First, all of them are famous politicians in the world. Second, they are native speakers of English to avoid the process of translation of texts delivered by non-English speaking politicians. Third, they have different political roles (such as, president, PM, Home secretary, and so on) in their personal political lives.[52] Fourth, they are from different cultural, social and

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[52] It is noteworthy that Donald Trump does not have any political position before his assuming the US presidency in January 20, 2017

educational background (for more details, see the biographical summary in section 1.8). Fifth, they delivered different and important speeches on home and international issues in modern political area such as immigration, women's rights, Brexit, Iran deal, and so on. Thus, the process of selecting politicians and their political speeches to study is not an easy task in this respect. Sixth, both the American and the British are powerful political contexts. They are considered very good samples for researchers to conduct a CDA to investigate the role of the political leader's behaviour, ideology, political institutions, political process and system in the power distribution. The researcher highly follows specific criteria in the data selection in order to examine the negation phenomenon in the political discourse within the framework of MST (see table 3.2).

In the process of selection, six criteria have been taken into consideration to carefully choose the (12) political speeches for the current investigation. These criteria are set to guide in selecting the most appropriate speeches for analysis and neglecting the others. Table (3.2) below illustrates the criteria for data selection.

 Table (3.2)
Criteria for selecting speeches

No.	Criterion
1.	**The speech resource stage:** the researcher surfs the archives in the official websites of American and British governments to find and then read different speeches delivered by the four selected characters.
2.	**The speech length stage**: since the research sample includes (12) political speeches, speeches should be of a medium length. Therefore, short remarks and statements are neglected. In this stage the researcher initially chooses (8) speeches for each selected character.
3.	**The speech features stage:** the process of selection also highlights the contextual features such as topic of discussion, timing, location, and goal. For example, Brexit referendum and negotiation with the EU in British context and immigration and 2016 American presidential election in American context.
4.	**The political role:** this step is related to the use of power by the character while assuming different political positions. Therefore, the three speeches of each character should show different political roles for him/her such as Prime Minister, Candidate of the Presidency, and Ministry, and Home Secretary.

5.	**Scanning stage**: the content of all the (12) selected written texts is checked with their videos on YouTube to ensure that they are identical in content.
6.	**Data identification stage:** the texts under study are thoroughly read by the researcher to extract the excerpts that reflect different types of negatives, and macro strategies: First, five pragmatic strategies, namely, presupposition, speech act, on - record, off -record, and violation of cooperative principle are identified. Second, five linguistic strategies, namely, pronoun, modality, passive voice, repetition, and nominalization are identified. This process is carried out manually because the negative phenomenon can sometimes be implicitly achieved by different linguistic strategies.

Below, is a summary of the selected speeches introduced in the form of tables that show the topic of each speech, political role, online source of the speech event, and the date of the speech delivered.

Table (3.3)

Theresa's selected speeches

No.	Speaker	Topic of speech	Political role	Source	Date
S.1	Theresa May[53]	Immigration issue	Home Secretary	www.gov.uk/government/speeches/immigration-home-secretarys-speech-of-5-november-2010	5/10/2010
S.2	Theresa May	Cranfield Report Launch	Ministry For Women and Equalities	https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/home-secretarys-speech-on-the-cranfieldreport-launch	13/3/2012
S.3	Theresa May	Leaving the EU	Prime Minister	https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-statement-on-leaving-the-eu-9-oct-2017	9/10/2017

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[53] The dates of the three speeches are far from each other because May held the office of Home Secretary (2010-2017) before becoming a Prime minster of Britain in 2017.

Table (3.4)

Cameron's selected speeches

No.	Speaker	Topic of speech	Political role	Source	Date
S.1	David Cameron	Cameron's Victory Speech	The leader of the Conservative Party	http://www.british politicalspeech.or g/speech-archive.htm?spee ch=315	6/12/2005
S.2	David Cameron	Government irresponsibility	Prime Minister Candidacy	http://www.british politicalspeech.or g/speecharchive.h tm?speech=154	17/10/2009
S.3	David Cameron	The EU referendum	Prime Minister	https://www.gov. uk/government/sp eeches/pm-speech-at-o2-on-the-ereferendum-23-february-2016	23/2/2016

Table (3.5)

Clinton's selected speeches

No.	Speaker	Topic of speech	Political role	Source	Date
S.1	Hillary Clinton	Trump and National Security	US presidency Candidate	http://time.com/4 355797/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-foreign-policy-speech-transcript/	2/05/2016
S.2	Hillary Clinton	Professional Business Women	Former Secretary of the state and 2016 presidential candidate	http://time.com/4 716858/hillaryclin tonbusinesswome n-california-transcript/	29/3/2017
S.3	Hillary Clinton	Internet Freedom	US Secretary of State	https://20092017. state.gov/secretar y/20092013clinto n/rm/2010/01/135 519.htm	21/01/2010

Table (3.6)
Trump's selected speeches

No.	Speaker	Topic of speech	Political role	Source	Date
S.1	Donald Trump	Trump's Iran nuclear deal	USA president	www.whitehouse.gov/briefingsstatements/remarks-president-trump-joint-comprehensive-plan-action	8/05/2018
S.2	Donald Trump	nomination for the presidency of the United States by the Republican party	USA Presidency Candidate	http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=117935	6/21/2016
S.3	Donald Trump	Congress speech	USA president	www.whitehouse.gov/briefingsstatements/remarks-president-trump-joint-address-congress/	1/03/2017

3.4 Procedure of data analysis

The selected political speeches under investigation are analyzed within the framework of MST in chapter four to find the answer to each research question already raised in chapter one. For research question number one, which states, 'what types of negatives and their corresponding positive spaces constructed in American and British political speeches', it is first done by identifying the negation forms according to Jespersen's classification (1917): **direct negation** that includes negative words (no, not, never) and **indirect negation** that is achieved by some linguistic devices (conditional clause, question, negative meaning, comparative context, and too- expressions). Thus, the extracts with negatives will be identified and examined according to the hypotheses of MST (Fauconnier, 1985, 1997) to identify the type of negative space structures. Despite the fact that the present study mainly adopts a qualitative analysis of the data, there is also a need for a quantitative analysis, as a sub-research method, to find out the frequency of the negative types used by the politicians. Duff (2010, p. 54, cited in al-Hindawi, 2016, p. 74) argues "quantitative and qualitative approaches are currently viewed as complementary rather than fundamentally incompatible".

To answer research question number two that states, 'how can the negatives achieve meaning construction or political aims in political discourse?', according to Fauconnier (1985, 1994, 1997), negatives can suggest a more complex mental space structure than the corresponding positive forms. After analyzing the types of negative mental spaces in the selected political speeches and explaining the reasons behind the complexity of the mental spaces, there is a need to draw what kinds of positive spaces that the speaker intends to suggest from negative forms in the mind of listener to build a cognitive meaning.

In relation to the third question, which reads 'what is the impact of contextual features such as topic discussion, political role, and ideology in the use of negatives in American and British political speeches?', the researcher mainly focuses on the role of the contextual features as relative factors in doing CDA such as time, topic discussion, political role that helps or affects in building these negative spaces construction by the politicians. Chilton (2002, p. 16) argued, "The relationship between text and context is complex. The features of context are sometimes thought of as determining or influencing certain elements in the linguistic structure of texts and contextual features, particularly those such as socially defined role, location, timing, are pivotal in the definition of political discourse". As a result, contextual features such as location, time, goal, and socially shared knowledge are usually inevitable elements in studying the cognitive and social variables of any linguistic phenomenon, more specifically negation, in the political discourse. In this regard, there are some steps. First, the four selected characters (Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton, David Cameron and Theresa May) held different political positions in American and British political areas such as (Prime Minister, Candidate of the presidency, President, Party leader and so on. By doing this, something about the political ideology of the selected political characters can be spotted. Second, this will help to show the impact of different political authorities and the use of power in manipulation, criticism of opponents and persuasion of the audience with the speaker's political claims by applying negation from a critical analysis point of view. Third, the research sample includes (12) political speeches delivered on different home and international issues with different political claims. Thus, the study of different topics of discussion will reveal negative attitudes, personal and in-group's ideology and the negative representation of others from different cultures and genders.

Regarding question number four that states, 'what is the impact of gender in the use of different types of negatives in building meaning in American and British political speeches?', this study also aims to identify how both genders exploit negation to express

their negative ideologies and attitudes towards some issues such as immigration, Brexit, opponents. This will make the study more coherent, comprehensive and deeper specially in enhancing the findings to do the generalizations. By doing so, an adequate answer can be obtained to the fifth question which investigates 'the impact of gender differences in the use of different types of negatives and their corresponding positive spaces in political speeches'.

To investigate the fifth question that reads 'what is the role of linguistic and pragmatic strategies in achieving meaning-building and understanding within the scope of negation in political speeches of politicians from different cultural backgrounds and genders?', first, five linguistic strategies namely, personal pronoun, nominalization, passive voice, modality and repetition are chosen so as to examine the role of politicians from different cultures and genders in meaning construction within the scope of negation. Thus, Trump and Cameron are chosen as male politicians, May and Clinton as female politicians to investigate the role of gender between female and male politicians regarding one culture and different cultures as well. Thus, the speeches are selected with similar topics and political roles delivered by politicians from British and American cultures. For example, the list includes Cameron and Trump's election campaign speeches and May and Clinton's speeches about women's rights. Also, there are two speeches given by the Prime Ministers David Cameron and Theresa May before and after the historic Brexit referendum (see 3.3, for more details).

Second, to accomplish the investigation of the role of gender from the functional perspective of negation in political discourse, five pragmatic strategies are adopted, namely, Speech Act (Seale, 1969, 1979), (Im) Politeness strategies: including off- record and on- record, and presupposition (Brown and Levinson, 1987), and violation of Grice's maxims (1975, maxim of quality, quantity, relation, and manner). They play an important role in the process of the interaction between the politicians on the one hand, and politicians and the audience on the other hand.

3.5 Theoretical framework

To conduct a comprehensive analysis of the negation phenomenon in the selected political speeches, the present study follows two analytical models. The first model of analysis is under the theoretical framework of MST. It is one of the main cognitive semantic theories that focus on meaning constructions (being developed by Fauconnier (1994), Fauconnier and Sweetser (1996), Fauconnier and Turner (2002)). They have

suggested that negative constructions need longer and complex cognitive building processes than positive ones. In other words, a negative sentence can involve a corresponding positive reading in contrast with it in a manner that a positive sentence cannot necessarily achieve. Thus, the research primarily aims to examine negative mental spaces, their corresponding spaces, and the kinds of meaning construction resulting from building different levels of negative mental spaces in the selected political speeches in twelve British and American political speeches conducted by four political characters namely: Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton, Theresa May and David Cameron from both genders. In order to understand the negative impact of a contextual model such as location, time and political role and topic discussion and subjective model (personal ideology and knowledge) in building meaning construction in the selected political speeches, the researcher finds it is necessary to take into consideration the important strategies of critical discourse analysis by Chilton (2002) to identify the relationship between the speaker and his audience / in-group on one hand and the speaker and his opponent /out-group through personal ideology and objective ideology on the other hand. Moreover, pragmatic strategies are used to draw a good presentation of self/ in-group and bad presentation of other /out-group.

Therefore, it is important to investigate the role of pragmatic dimension to reveal some aspects of the political aims of PD. First, the study includes five pragmatic strategies, more specific, micro-strategies in CDA, namely, *speech acts* (Searle, 1969,1979), *presupposition*, **violation of** *cooperative principle* (Grice, 1975), *on-record*, and **off-record** to identify the type of the political claim such as criticism, persuasion, promise, and the likes, which can be investigated within scope of negation in the four selected characters' speeches. Second, the present study is socio-cognitive in nature, therefore, the social variable '*gender*' is also a significant factor to be examined to achieve different political aims with the selected pragmatic, and linguistic strategies (see Table 3.2 for more detail).

3.6 Validity and reliability of study

The validity of the study is one of the research procedures to measure the applicability of the research tools and the data selection to the study questions and study objectives. According to Leung (2015, p. 325), "in qualitative research, validity refers to the appropriateness of the tools, processes, and data". In this respect, the present study first adopts the **content validity** to ensure that the data selection meets the six pre-set criteria

(see Table 3.2), and the **construct validity** to assess the extent to which political speeches under investigation meet the requirements of the present study (research questions and objectives). Concerning the issue of reliability, researchers could nearly reach to the same results if the approach adopted in the process of analyzing and interpreting the data is systematic and carried out under the same conditions. However, the personal and social experience of the speaker and the hearer cannot be neglected or avoided. Therefore, some space should be left to the speaker's intention, social experience and the hearer's interpretation, i.e., the researcher, because this is the core of pragmatics. On the whole, these practical stages are considered a roadmap to guide and help the researcher in her work to apply and achieve the process of data analysis and discussion in the next chapter and to enhance the value of the findings in chapter five.

CHAPTER FOUR

Data Analysis and Discussion

4. 0 Introduction

This chapter fundamentally focuses on data analysis and discussion. Based on the research method presented in chapter three, this chapter is intended to achieve the objectives of the study within two stages. Stage 1 is the **Data analysis** and it includes three steps: (a) the negative forms are identified, (b) interpreted within MST; (c) the linguistic and pragmatic strategies are collected and presented along with the statistical analysis of them in the political speeches under study. Stage 2 is the **Discussion** that has two subsections, the first section is the observation of the potential cultural differences in the use of negation; the second is the gender differences to find out comprehensive answers to the study questions raised in chapter one.

4.1 Analysis of data

This section focuses on the detailed analysis of the data based first on the qualitative method as the main tool of analysis. Second, the quantitative method is used to find out the types of negatives, pragmatic and linguistic strategies within the scope of negation in the selected data. It is divided into twelve subsections according to the number of selected speeches. Each subsection has three operations: (1) presenting a short introduction about the context of speech data identification, (2) giving a detailed analysis and interpretation of the data within the framework of MST, (3) giving an elaboration about the linguistic and pragmatic strategies identified in the speeches under study.

4.1.1 First speech: Cameron's Victory Speech

After winning the election, David Cameron, the leader of the conservative party, gave a victory speech in London in 2005. In this speech, Cameron spoke of the huge challenges that the conservative government would face in different public sectors because of the Labour government's irresponsible deeds and proposed essential solutions for them. The researcher conducts the process of data identification manually because the negative phenomenon can be implicitly achieved by different linguistic strategies. The total number of words in this speech is 1,670.

4.1.1.1 Types of negatives

The text under study has different direct and indirect negative forms in different parts of speech, with 28 instances. A careful examination of Cameron's speech shows that he

largely exploits direct negatives rather than indirect ones; they constitute 23 instances out of the 28. He does so to achieve his political aims in declaring his strong political opposition to the bad policy of the Labour government in the economic, education and health sectors. Table 1 below summarizes the types of negatives, frequencies, and percentages in speech 1.

Table (4.1)

Types of negatives in Cameron's speech 1

Type of negation	Negative operator	Frequency	Percentage
Direct Negation	1- Not	16	57,1%
	2- No	3	10.7%
	3- Never	1	3.5 %
	4- Negative Affixes	2	7.1%
	5- But Conjunction	1	3.5%
Indirect Negation	1-If - Clause	1	3.5%
	2- Too -Expressions	2	7.1%
	3- Negative Meaning	1	3.5%
	4- Comparative Context	1	3.5%
	5- Question	0	0
Total number of negatives		28	100%

4.1.1.2 Data analysis

Regarding data analysis, the excerpts are selected as they highlight different negatives, representing different linguistic and pragmatic strategies that perform different political functions. They are all interpreted within the framework of MST.

In the first excerpt, Cameron says:

"Michael, you have given this party a sense of discipline, a sense of professionalism, a sense of purpose and we thank you for that and *we mustn't* ever lose you".

Cameron opens the speech by praising Michael Howard. Here, the proper name 'Michael Howard' provides a value presentation for 'conservative leaders' for his role as a former leader of the Conservative Party in making it play an influential role in the British politics. Bringing attention to the positive view or reference to the role of the conservative leaders, Cameron draws negative space for two purposes. First, he enhances or shares the audience knowledge about the good leadership of Michael inside the party, i.e., Conservative Party, to enhance positive face of the hearer by performing the expressive speech act at the negative level 'we mustn't ever lose you'. Second, he tends to suggest an idea that the Conservative Party is still in need of a professional character like Michael. The felicitous condition of the above utterance (as a new leader of the conservative party)

helps Cameron to presuppose the necessity of having professional men, like Michael, to make some changes in the policy of the party. The linguistic use of the modal verb 'mustn't' and the pronoun 'we' here typically refers to the shared desire of Cameron and other members of the conservative party as well in expressing gratitude for this.

In the second excerpt, Cameron says:

"It has certainly been a long contest. There was a cartoon about halfway through which said *if it goes on any longer, David Cameron will be too old not too young"*.

According Fauconnier (1985, 1997) and Sweetser (2006), the conditional clause provides two incompatible interpretations. In the above example, if- clause suggests two readings: (1) it contains 'going any longer' and 'being too old', and (2) it contains 'not going longer' and 'still being young'. Cameron employs the context of these negative spaces to express his sarcasm in order to prove the wrong attitude of the competitors that he would fail to lead Conservative party because he is too young to do so. However, the existing of alternative spaces suggested by if- clause and other two negatives (namely; *too, and not*) in one sentence make the meaning construction complex since it demands long cognitive processes in the mind of the listener.

In the third example, Cameron states:

"I love this country as it is *not* as it was and I believe our best days lie ahead".

Cameron performs the expressive speech act in the attitude space to show the difference between the past and present with reference to his feeling. In the first clause, he reveals his personal feelings to Britain by using the time reference of the present. The use of social deixis 'this' helps to indicate the closeness/distance of the country to the speaker. In comparison with his bad feeling towards Britain in second clause, Cameron implicitly tends to express his dissatisfaction about the failure of the traditional policy of the Conservative Party that led Britain in the past. By expressing this feeling in a careful way, he tries to capture the audience's emotions to support his claim (to bring great changes to the party after his winning of the leadership of the Conservative Party in the belief space 'I believe our best day…'. The repetition of the first personal pronoun 'I' emphasises this personal feeling towards the party.

Cameron then goes on to show his plans by saying,

"We *won't* play politics with the long-term future of this country; we will work to get it right".

The use of the metaphor is one of the fundamental conceptual structures in the field of cognitive linguistics because it can fundamentally be constructed in the human mind (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Most politicians describe the political activity as playing a game. In the domain of the game, the player can win, lose, equivocate, attack among other things, and the same thing happens in the political life. Thus, the context of the verb 'play' typically contributes to set out this type of implicit metaphor. The audience would mentally draw parallel between politicians and players – both equivocate and attack to win. Hence, Cameron intends to defend his political values to the audience by denying this idea through the future space building 'We won't play politics'. The epistemic modal verb 'won't' and pronoun 'we' work as grammatical devices to show the shared commitment of the speaker and his supporters not to deceive the British people with the plans related the future of Britain.

Cameron continues by saying,

"They are *not* challenges you can put in individual boxes, they're complex, they're interconnected, to deal with them takes hard work, complex research, deep thinking and I want us to get it right".

The others' way of thinking of the challenges is criticized by Cameron because they would consider these new values to reflect Cameron's personal ideology rather than the party. The personal pronoun 'they' emphasizes this meaning. He asserts this in preforming the negative speech 'they are not challenges' to make it clear that the challenges are new, and they reflect the need for the society to deal with them in a significant way. Then, he explains the reasons behind considering these challenges to be big and complex since they demand more time and investigation. Thus, this negative utterance presupposes Cameron's point of view about the huge challenges he will face. However, this exaggeration in the description of the challenges makes him violate the maxim of quantity as he gives more details than is required 'do not make your contribution more informative than is required' (Grice, 1975).

In the sixth excerpt, Cameron goes on to say,

"I *don't* want us to invent policies for newspaper headlines, I want us to get it right for the long term".

After assuming the leadership of the conservative party, the context of speech provides felicitous conditions to Cameron to perform the assertive speech act in the above utterance to emphasise his desire to do some changes in the policies of journalism over a long way.

The existence of the grammatical pronoun 'us' helps the speaker to cancel what the listeners would mentally assume as he alludes to invent some new policies in the domain of the newspaper's rights in the negative space. Then, he justifies the aim of his desire in the next positive space in saying 'I want us to get it right for the long term'. The repetition of the objective pronoun 'us' helps in indicating the role of the listeners in the application of the recent changes in the right way in the future by the Conservative government.

In the seventh excerpt, Cameron explains,

"And that means a full-bodied economic policy, *not* just a tax policy. It means well-funded universities and saying how we'll pay for them".

The above utterances show that Cameron intends to identify his attitude from the social interpretation of the two opposite aspects of the economic policy: (1) Cameron first sets up the negative space to distance himself from those who think about the tax policy, and (2) he intends to focus more on the positive aspect, which is the well-paid jobs in the domain of economic policy than the tax policy. Then, in saying 'how we'll pay for them', he assumes the responsibility of all to give clear explanation about the plans of increasing the fund of universities.

In the eighth excerpt, Cameron continues,

"And we need to look at the problems of international terrorism, I can promise that I will *never* play politics with that issue; I will do what is right for the country".

The attributes such as violent, dangerous ideology and unacceptable actions are the basic elements of the conceptual knowledge of 'terrorism' in the long- term memory of the British conservative party. Cameron here shares this knowledge with the conservative supporters to maintain his positive face by committing himself to take this issue seriously in drawing a negative space building 'never playing...'. The strong negative force of the adverb '*never*' to explicitly arrive at a high degree of the political determination to take serious steps to stop terrorism by the speaker can be achieved because the context of the above utterance does not provide felicitous conditions for Cameron to do this promise. Hence, the repetition of the personal pronoun 'I' in both utterances contribute to an emphasis on the presupposition of his future dealings regarding this issue.

In the next excerpt, Cameron says,

"There is such a thing as society; it's just *not* the same thing as the state. I *don't* believe that Labour can meet these challenges; they are yesterday's men, with yesterday's measures".

   By comparing the new ideology 'big society' with the old ideology of big state 'Labour government', Cameron tries to show the good values of this new ideology to save the national economic deficit and the British society with the inability of the Labours to meet the challenges. From the belief space, 'I don't believe …' Cameron directly attacks the Labour Party and criticizes their bad policy. Similarly, he metaphorically describes them, as 'yesterday's men' to imply that there is no more places for them or for their old ideologies in the future of Britain. He exploits this strategy to reprise the political ability of the Labour Party to do the changes.

   In the final excerpt, Cameron continues,

"Our journalism is free from commercial bias and *not* influenced by billionaire owners, politicians, or shareholders. *No* one edits our Editor. *No* one steers our opinion".

   The repetition of the strong direct negative operators in the three distinct parts of the utterance has shown a kind of litotes that is used to emphasize the specific idea that 'journalism is independent'. In the above expressive negative speech acts, he strongly tries to reject and keep him away from what the alternative mental spaces would bring that 'journalism is influenced by the rich people and the political characters who support him. Then, the linguistic choice of the passive voice in the negative utterance 'is not influenced' is intentionally employed as a mitigation strategy to reduce the influence of 'billionaire owners and politicians' on the policy of journalism from the political language aspect. Similarly, the possessive pronoun 'our' is used to show the good policy of this journalism that belongs to the Conservative Party. This overstatement makes Cameron not to follow the maxim of quantity (Grice, 1975) which requires the speaker to be informative.

4.1.1.3 Linguistic and pragmatic strategies in Cameron's speech 1

   Cameron uses several types of linguistic and pragmatic strategies to achieve different political aims in his speech. The total number of linguistic strategies is 68, with the 'pronoun' strategy having the highest frequency of 32.36% to show his new ideology in a good situation in comparison to other inside the party and Labour party. The use of 'repetition' and 'nominalization' also has similarly high rates of use at 23.52%

and 22.05%. This shows that Cameron wants to make his ideas clear with less information given to the audience. Modality records 17.64% to show new changes. However, he seems to use 'passive voice' least (4.41% of his speech) because he means to directly attack his opponents.

Table (4.2)
Types of linguistic strategies in Cameron's speech 1

Types of linguistic strategies	Frequency	Percentage
Repetition	16	23.52%
Passive Voice	3	4.41%
Modality	12	17.64%
Pronoun	22	32.36%
Nominalization	15	22.05%
Total number of linguistic strategies	68	100%

The total number of pragmatic strategies, on the other hand, is 28. It is notable that the 'speech act' scores the highest rate of 35.71% of all strategies used in the speech. Cameron uses this strategy to announce the future policy of his party and that he would meet huge future challenges. In contrast, 'on-record' strategy scores the lowest with only 10.71% because it is a victory speech, and Cameron wishes to show his gratitude to the people who already supported him in the election; he would not be discreet in taking an important decision in the future. The use of 'off-record' to show contradiction and contrast between the past and future has a noteworthy value of 21.42%. However, the use of the pragmatic strategies – 'presupposition' and 'violation of the cooperative principle' – have nearly the same values at 17.85% and 14.28%, respectively, in the text because Cameron wants to lessen social distance between himself and the audience. However, he is careful to draw more positive scenarios that would mentally be taken for granted by the audience. The low value of 'violation of cooperative principle' with (14.28) in the text suggests that Cameron is a cooperative in addressing his audience, as seen in Table 4.3.

Table (4.3)
Types of pragmatic strategies in Cameron's speech 1

Type of pragmatic strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Presupposition	5	17.85%
Speech Act	10	35.71%
Off-record	6	21.42%
On-record	3	10.71%
Violation of cooperative principle	4	14.28%
Total number of pragmatic strategies	28	100%

4.1.2 Second speech: Cameron's Speech on the EU Referendum

Cameron, as the British Prime Minister in 2016, faced one of the greatest challenges in the modern history of Britain – the referendum about leaving the EU. He personally does not support the idea of leaving the EU and explains this view on many occasions. In his meeting with employers at the O2 headquarters in Slough on 24 February 2016. It is one of the largest telecommunication companies in the UK and the EU. He delivered this speech about the disadvantages of being outside the EU. The speech contains 7101 words.

4.1.2.1 Types of negatives

Cameron exploits more direct negatives than indirect ones; they are totally 11 out of the 17. The use of the negative operator 'not' usually gets the highest average in the speech to attack the Brexit supporters, while the lowest values are recorded with the negative operators 'no', 'never', 'but' and 'question'. On the other hand, the comparative context shows almost 17.6% among negative types; they are employed by Cameron to explain the economic benefits of staying in the single market. Table 4.4 illustrates all types of negatives in the text.

Table (4.4)
Types of negatives in Cameron's speech 2

Type of negation	Negative operator	Frequency	Percentage
Direct Negation	1- Not	7	41.%
	2- No	1	5.8 %
	3- Never	1	5.8 %
	4- Negative Affixes	1	5.8%
	5- But Conjunction	1	5.8%
Indirect Negation	1- If- Clause	2	7.4%
	2- Too-Expressions	0	0%
	3- Negative Meaning	0	0%
	4- Comparative Context	3	17.6%
	5- Question	1	5.8 %
Total number of negatives		17	100%

4.1.2.2 Data analysis

"This is a much *bigger* decision because, at election times, you can vote in a team of people, and *if you're fed up with them after 5 years*, you can vote them out. Obviously, I *don't* like that bit, *but* you can do that''.

Cameron here opens the speech by making a comparison between voting in this referendum and the general election in order to show the danger of making this big

historical decision about the future of Britain with the EU. Then, he explains in detail the difference between the procedures of the referendum and the general election by the conditional clause to explain the cognitive meaning of election to the audience to show its difference from the elements in the frame of referendum; that referendum is not like the general election that happens every five years, therefore, they should be careful while making their decision, as there will be no second referendum about this issue in the future. Even though Cameron expresses his disfavour in this situation, he declares that people can do it. The linguistic use of different negative types such as *the comparative context*, *if-clause*, *not*, and *but- conjunction* in one utterance leads to the building of many negative mental spaces and alternative scenarios at the same time; cognitively, the process of meaning construction will be longer and more complex. It may seem that Cameron violates the maxim of quality since he hides the real goal (to stay in the EU) behind making this difference between election and referendum to show the dangerous side of the referendum. Besides, the linguistic use of the pronoun 'you' shows the big responsibility the audience has in making this historical decision. Similarly, the availability of different negative types contributes to strengthening Cameron's view.

In the second excerpt, Cameron states,

"We want to make sure we're treated fairly inside the European Union, so we have fixed that to make sure we can *never* be *discriminated* against".

The strong negative value of the adverb 'never', in the above utterance, shows Cameron's ability to stop the process of the discrimination that can occur against Britain inside the EU. He recognizes himself as the British Prime Minister and people in the space builder 'we can' to set up above negative possible space. Due to the responsibility of the EU in the process of discrimination that is prospered in the minds of the British people, who already supported the idea of leaving the EU, Cameron intentionally tries to mitigate this responsibility or the role of the EU in this process by employing the linguistic strategy of 'passive voice' twice in the above example – 'we're treated' and 'be discriminated'. In this case, he deliberately flouts the maxim of quantity (Grice, 1975) because he aims to reduce the resource of the discrimination problems inside the EU. He repeats the pronoun 'we' four times indicating the inclusiveness of the British government and Brexit supporters to settle this process.

In the third excerpt, Cameron continues to state**,**

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"I'm *not* saying I've solved all the problems that Britain's got with Europe or all Europe's problems, *but* I think this is a good basis to now ask people, '*Do you want to stay in this reformed Europe or do you want to leave?*"

In performing the representative speech act, 'I'm not saying I've solved all the problems …', Cameron implies that some of Britain's problems with Europe could be solved. Thus, he disclaims from what the audience think that he would resolve most of the problems with Europe in the frame of reformed Europe in their minds by using the first pronoun 'I' to distance his role from the intended meaning in the minds of the audience. The existence of the negative connective 'but' makes the contrast between leaving the EU and staying with some reformation and it also encourages adopting the second choice in the frame of referendum as a positive answer to the above question. The form of a question by the speaker reveals his intention to persuade the audience to decide to stay in the EU after he resolves most of the problems with Europe.

Cameron goes on to say,

"But can we really put our hands on our hearts and say all those jobs would be safe, that we *wouldn't* be *disadvantaged if* we were on the outside? I *don't* believe we can so we're better off"

Of course, Cameron tries to focus on the negative answer of the above rhetorical question. He negatively intends to assert that not all the jobs can be kept if Britain decides to leave the EU. However, the context of rhetorical question does not provide felicitous conditions to the speaker to commit the participants to vote for staying in the EU because they are the ones who make the final decision. Then, the use of the double negation 'we wouldn't be disadvantaged' within the same utterance necessarily suggests another two alternative spaces – one for the negative operator 'wouldn't' and the other for the negative prefix space 'disadvantaged'. This cognitively needs to shift from one space to other spaces; as a result, it requires more mental energy from hearers or readers in building the meaning. From the psychological point of view, the use of double negation shows the speaker's uncertainty. Thus, Cameron's doubts about saving many jobs if Britain withdraws from the EU are evident. Then, the use of the representative negative speech act 'I don't believe…' confirms the impossibility of doing that. The repetition of the modal auxiliary verb 'can' simply makes this idea clear to the listener.

Cameron in the fifth excerpt, says,

"Here I think we need some answers from the people making the other case because right now, they're *not* telling us what it's going to be like outside the EU".

The people who want to leave the EU, presumably, know the consequences of doing that. The context of the above utterance helps Cameron directly to attack the people who want to leave the EU because he, as a Prime Minster, realizes of disadvantageous features of doing that. He tends to show the power difference in appreciating the situation. The speaker here maximizes the social distance between himself and the supporters of Brexit. This is done by suggesting that they did not have any idea or answer about the consequences of being outside the EU until then, and by motivating the audience to presuppose that there should be some answer about the consequences of being outside the EU from the people who support it. The use of pronoun 'they' enhances this idea.

"I have *no* other agenda. I'm *not* standing as your Prime Minister at the next election".

Cameron clearly opines regarding the consequence of the referendum. In asserting there is no other options in the above negative speech act, he increases the confusion of the British regarding the dangerous consequences. The linguistic use of 'no' negates the possibility of finding another agenda because he simply does not have the desire to be nominated for the post of the PM in the next election not because there is no agenda. Thus, Cameron's explanation of the reason for not having other strategies to his audience is considered as one purpose of using negation at the metalinguistic level. Moreover, the pronoun 'I' here emphasizes his not having other plans about the future of the UK if the British people vote to leave the EU.

4.1.2.3 Linguistic and pragmatic strategies in the speech 2

A variety of linguistic and pragmatic strategies are exploited to achieve several political aims. Out of the 38 linguistic strategies, both 'repetition' and 'pronoun' strategies have the highest equivalent rates of 28.97% in the speech; this indicates that the speaker tries to persuade the audience not to vote to leave the EU. Modality is used almost 21.05% of the time to explain the future advantages and disadvantages of Brexit. Meanwhile, the use of 'nominalization' and the 'passive voice' only register 15.78% and 5.26%, respectively, because Cameron, as a Prime Minister, has to be very clear when speaking to the British people about this historical decision.

Table (4.5)

Types of linguistic strategies in Cameron's speech 2

Type of linguistic strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Repetition	11	28.97%
Passive Voice	2	5.26%
Modality	8	21.05%
Pronoun	11	28.94%
Nominalization	6	15.78%
Total number of linguistic strategies	38	100%

Twenty-two pragmatic strategies are used in speech 2. They are distributed in the following way: 'speech act' has the highest average of 36.36% among all pragmatic strategies because the author means to persuade the audience that it is better to stay inside the EU. Presupposition records 27.27%. As noted, violation of the 'cooperative principle' and 'on-record' register the lowest value of only 9.09%, which indicates that Cameron is careful about what types and quantity of information he gives to the audience about the consequences of the referendum. Meanwhile, he directly demands that the people who support leaving the EU explain the consequences of that on the economy and jobs in Britain via on-record strategy. 'off-record' presents 18.18% in the speech because the Prime Minister Cameron does not want to directly cause the British people vote for staying inside the EU in public; thus, he tries to offer suggestions about the advantages of staying inside the reformed EU.

Table (4.6)

Types of pragmatic strategies in Cameron's speech 2

Type of pragmatic strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Presupposition	6	27.27%
Speech Act	8	36.36%
Off-record	4	18.18%
On-Record	2	9.09%
Violation of cooperative principle	2	9.09%
Total number of pragmatic strategies	22	100%

4.1.3 Third speech: Cameron's Election Campaign

Cameron was nominated by the Conservative party to run for a Prime Minister in 2010; he delivered the present speech in his election campaign in Manchester on October 8, 2009. The main themes of the speech are the failure of the Labour government to solve the problems in the economic, educational, and social sectors in Britain and the ability of the conservative government to meet these challenges in the future.

4.1.3.1 Types of negatives

The text is rich with different types of direct and indirect negatives. Cameron usually exploits more direct negatives than the others; the use of the negative operator 'not' gets the highest average of 59.88% among direct negatives and 42% among all the instances of negatives in the text as well since the speaker is more biased to sentimental negation. While the second highest average goes to the indirect negative element 'if-clause' with 13%, as they are linguistically convenient for the political purpose of Cameron's speech about the election. On the other hand, both indirect negative elements 'Comparative Context' and 'expressions with too' similarly record the low values with 2.4% and 2.8%, respectively. Besides, the use of direct negative elements 'No' 'and 'Negative affixes' increases to 24 (9.7 %) in the current speech. Finally, Question strategy rates the lowest with 0.40% only in the text.

Table (4.7)
Types of negatives in Cameron's speech 3

Type of negation	Negative operator	Frequency	Percentage
Direct Negation	1 – Not	103	42.07%
	2 – No	24	9.7%
	3 – Never	12	4.8 %
	4- Negative Affixes	24	9.7%
	5- But Conjunction	9	3.6%
Indirect Negation	1- If - Clause	32	13%
	2- Too - Expressions	6	2.4%
	3- Negative Meaning	27	11%
	4- Comparative Context	7	2.8%
	5 - Question	1	0.40%
Total number of the negatives		245	%100

4.1.3.2 Data analysis

"We are not in Afghanistan to deliver the perfect society. We are there to stop the re-establishment of terrorist training camps".

The British army has deployed in Afghanistan as part of the international security force since 2003. Cameron actually has supported the idea of being part of the international force to fight the terrorism. However, he denies the idea of having the British army to stay in Afghanistan for other purposes than the real purpose of destroying the terrorist camps. This context of presupposition allows the British families to doubt the decision of keeping the British troops in Afghanistan by the Labour government; it may involve other purposes in belief space. Cameron exploits the issue to acquire the emotion of the people in

attacking the Labour government. Here, he consciously uses the first plural pronoun 'we' in space builder to share the feelings and worry of the British families when waiting for their sons to come back home in frame of criticism.

Cameron does some future promises regarding this issue in the following example, **"I'm proud to announce today that someone who has fought for our country and served for forty years in our armed forces** *will not only advise our defence team but will join our benches in the House of Lords and if we win the election could serve in a future Conservative Government"*

Of course, a soldier who serves for 40 years in the army has adequate experience to give advice. In the frame of soldier's merits, Cameron does not see this to have enough worth. From this point, Cameron intentionally performs another commissive act that is of 'joining our benches in the House of Lord'.[54] However, Cameron is a clever politician; he uses a conditional clause to licence the application of decisions to his wining the general election. In doing this, he saves his face from the assertion of preforming this promise. Hence, he is absolutely trying to persuade the soldiers, veterans, and their families to vote for him in the general election. The choice of different types of negative operators – 'not', 'only', 'but' 'if- clause' – in one utterance context typically requires different spaces that makes the level of meaning construction more complex.

In the third excerpt, Cameron states,

"We could have come to Manchester this week and played it safe. But that's *not* what this party is about and it's certainly *not* what I'm about".

The denial of the reason of visiting Manchester this week does not, by Cameron, prevent the audience from portraying the purpose of his coming to Manchester for the election campaign and the conservative party in the intended meaning. Even though he repeats negative types to emphasize this fact about him and his party, he violates the maxim of quality (that requires telling the truth, Grice, 1975) because all the political characters always have the same goal behind their visiting different cities in the time of the election.

Cameron goes on to say,

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[54] "Referred to the Lords, is the upper house of the Parliament of the United Kingdom. Membership is granted by appointment or by heredity or official function" (cited from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/House_of_Lords)

"Children, who will *never* start a business, *never* raise a family, *never* see the world. Children who will live the life they're given, *not* the life they want''.

The powerful desire to change the lives of the children who work and help their families by supporting them with more family care seems to be one of the conservative government's objectives in the future. In the domain of new conservative political ideology, Cameron starts to focus more on social issues such 'family', 'children', and 'big society' than other topics to have the intimacy of the British families since he also has a family and children and share their suffering. He intends to criticize 'the miserable conditions of the children who were forced to work to help their families under the Labour government. Similarly, the use of passive voice in 'is given' refers to the absent role of the current government in saving those children. In the above utterance, Cameron draws the necessity of taking steps to protect those children in his future government.

"Why is our economy broken? *Not* just because Labour wrongly thought they'd abolished boom and bust. But because the government got *too big*, spent *too much* and doubled the national debt".

In the above quote, the negative answers of Cameron's rhetorical question would mentally bring two alternative meaning into the situation – (1) the unreal reason that the Labour party thought that they have finished the deficit; however, the second real reason contrasts their wrong thinking, in that, they spent a lot of money and doubly increased the national debt. The use of word 'too' in 'too big' and 'too much' enhances the negative ideology of the big government that adopted by Labour Party to increase the role of government' in different public sectors. Hence, Cameron violates Grice's (1976) maxim of quality ' tell the truth' using the linguistic strategy 'question', since he asks the question and answers it. He does not aim to get an answer from the listeners, which is considered the function of question; he intentionally employs it to accuse the Labour government of the failure in the economic sector and increase the national debts to double.

In the following excerpt, Cameron says,

"*Don't* talk about the deficit. *Don't* even plan for what needs to be done. Just wait. *Don't* they understand – it's the waiting that's the problem".

In the above quote, what is typically expected from using a directive speech act is that the speaker directs the hearer to change or do something in the world. Hence, Cameron exploits the three directive speech acts of the Labour Party to set up three negative values

of their grumbling in economic policy. He portrays three alternative positive spaces – 'exiting of economic deficit', ' suggesting what we need' and 'taking an action'. He tends to say that he would talk aloud about the responsible for the economic crisis. Cameron employs the context of the above utterance to damage the face of the Labour party via on-record strategy. Besides, he violates the maxim of manner (Grice, 1975) 'not to be ambiguous' since he is unclear about the resource of the above directives.

Cameron, in the following excerpt, says,

"*No, not* the wicked Tories… you, Labour: you're the ones that did this to our society. So, *don't* you dare lecture us about poverty".

Cameron employs the metaphorical attribution of the Conservative Party as being 'wicked' politically to accuse the Labour government of creating the poverty and unemployment problems in the frame of wickedness when saying that 'you, Labour...'. The linguistic existence of two direct negative operators 'no' and 'not' is exploited by Cameron to emphasize his attitude. Moreover, the use of the pronoun 'you' for three times help to bring the circle of accusation to the Labour government in increasing the rate of poverty and employment. Here, he aims to destroy the image of the Labour party via, on-record strategy. While the use of the possessive pronoun 'our' shows afflation or close social distance between the speaker and the listeners. Then, he continues his attack in building the third negative space – 'don't you dare' – to make the audience mentally presuppose the scenario in which 'the Labour government needs to debate and face the opponents to explain their point of view about the problem of poverty and employment.

Cameron continues,

"I'm *not* going to stand here and promise you a country where *nothing* bad ever happens. I do *not* underestimate how difficult it will be to deal with this problem of crime and disorder".

The speaker always focuses on the failure and false promises of the Labour party to suggest two things: (1) the bad actions of others and (2) the size of challenges that face him in the future. So, he deliberately performs a commissive speech act in the above utterance 'I'm not going…..' to presuppose that he cannot completely finish the bad social phenomena in the future because the average of crime and disorder problems have largely increased in Britain in the time of the Labour government in the present. Thus, he tries to cancel what the British people mentally set up as an alternative future space to show his government's ability to stop all terrible things from happening. Similarly, the word

'nothing' also sets up the second alternative space to emphasise that something bad may happen in the future. By doing this, he cares to minimize the responsibility for the potential interpretation of his utterance, by the audience, to save his face in the future. Although, he is young, he shows some good political practice in this respect. The third alternative space 'underestimates the difficulty of dealing with the problem of crime and disorder' shows the big challenges that Cameron's government will face with this issue. Here, the modal auxiliary verb 'will' expresses a future reference to these challenges.

In the ninth excerpt, Cameron says,

"So I *won't* promise things I cannot deliver. But I can look you in the eye and tell you that in a Conservative Britain".

It obviously does not show well on somebody who promises to do many things but does not achieve them. Cameron indirectly employs this speech act in order to attack the Labour party that they could not implement what they promised their audience. However, he means to deny what people may think in an alternative situation "the same thing that will happen with the conservative government in the future. This is seen in the linguistic choice of the negative conjunction 'but', to set indirect speech act in the belief space 'but I can look and tell you that in a conservative Britain' to show the contrastive interpretation 'his ability to perform the promises when the people support him in the election to be in office' to cancel the former speech act 'won't promise things…'. Furthermore, the model auxiliary verbs 'won't' and 'can't' help to show the inability of the Labour government in achieving their promises.

4.1.3.3 Linguistic and pragmatic strategies in Cameron's speech 3

There are 79 types of linguistic strategies used to achieve different political aims. 'Pronoun' strategy has the highest frequency with 31.64% and is used to show the bad actions of the Labour government. Next is the use of the 'repetition' strategy, which constitutes only 24.05%, to persuade the audience not to vote for the Labour government. However, the use of 'modality' and 'nominalization' obtain the same frequency of 20.25%, and this is the third highest value in the speech. On the other hand, the 'passive voice' has the lowest value at 3.79% among the voices used. Table 4.8 summarizes all types of linguistic strategies that are used by Cameron in speech 3.

Table (4.8)
Types of linguistic strategies in Cameron's speech 3

Type of linguistic Strategy	Frequencies	Percentage
Repetition	19	24.05%
Passive Voice	3	3.79%
Modality	16	20.25 %
Pronoun	25	31.64 %
Nominalization	16	20.25 %
Total number of linguistic strategies	79	100%

Notably, Cameron exploits different types of pragmatic strategies in the speech to achieve his political aims; he performs many 'speech acts', which amount to 33.33% of the strategies, to reveal his future governmental programme and the bad actions of the Labour government. The use of 'off-record' is the second highest rate with 26.66%. He uses this strategy to maintain a close relationship with the audience in his election campaign. In contrast, 'presupposition' has a low value of 16.66% because Cameron is a political candidate, and he tries to lessen social inequality between himself and the audience to gain their support. 'on-record' is used only 13.33% of the time to retain negative politeness when showing dissatisfaction regarding different issues. However, the use of 'violation of the cooperative principle' presents the lowest value in the speech – 10% – because Cameron is a wise political character and knows how to follow conversational principles in communicating with his audience (see table 4.9).

Table (4.9)
Types of pragmatic strategies in Cameron's speech 3

Type of pragmatic strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Presupposition	5	16.66%
Speech Act	10	33.33%
Off-Record	8	26.66%
On-Record	4	13.33%
Violation of cooperative principle	3	10 %
Total number of pragmatic strategies	30	100%

4.1.4 Fourth speech: May's Speech about the Cranfield Report Launch

Theresa May was officiated the Home Secretary and the Minister for Women and Equalities in 2010, a position she served until 2016. She delivered this speech during the celebration held for 30% of the club turning 50 on July 3, 2012. Her speech typically focused on the details of the Cranfield Report Launch and increased the number of women in the boardrooms. This speech has a total of 2,139 words.

4.1.4.1 Types of negatives

The number of direct negatives is normally higher as compared to the indirect ones; they represent nearly 59% of the total number. May primarily uses 20 types of direct negatives out of the 34 in different parts of the speech. She obviously exploits them to declare government support to the Cranfield Report to increase the role of women in the business sector. About 32% constitutes the direct negative 'not'. The use of the direct negative 'no' shows the high second value in use, while the use of 'never', 'Negative Affixes', and 'if-clause' has the lowest rate with only 5.8% for each one of them in the text.

Table (4.10)

Types of negatives in May's speech 1

Type of negation	Negative operator	Frequency	Percentage
Direct Negation	1-Not	11	32.3%
	2-No	5	14.7%
	3-Never	2	5.8%
	4-Negative Affixes	2	5.8%
	5-But Conjunction	0	0
Indirect Negation	1-If Clause	2	5.8%
	2- Too-Expressions	3	8.8%
	3-Negative Meaning	3	8.8%
	4- Comparative Context	6	17.6%
	5- Questions	0	0
Total number of negatives		34	%100

4.1.4.2 Data analysis

In the first excerpt, May states,

"**I have rarely been more proud of British business than I am today**".

Sharing the social knowledge of 'gender inequalities' between May and businesswomen in the past motivates her to show imperfect satisfaction about the British business till the near past. The use of the negative adverb 'rarely' with the present perfect in the first part of comparison states this negative feeling. Thus, the use of the adjective 'more proud' reveals May's happiness and imparts an image of hopefulness about today's business as Cranfield Report displays an increase in the frequency of women in boardrooms. In the context of the above expressive speech act utterance, May shows the positive value of 'the self' as a workingwoman and Minister of Women by showing her solidarity to businesswomen.

While reading out the second excerpt, she says,

"It is *no* wonder that more and more of our top companies are recognising the fresh perspectives, innovative ideas, and outstanding experience that women business leaders can bring".

May tries to destroy the stereotype of women in business that has resulted from the presence of the alternative real space when she suggests 'it is a wonder that most of the top companies are recognising these facts' in the frame of women's rights. As a woman holding the position of the Minister of Women and Equalities, she actually does not want to be the source of the claim 'it is no', but the details of Cranfield Report claim so. Therefore, she tries to wrong the interpretation of others about role of woman in business. The application of the pronoun 'it' refers to the modern view about the changes that businesswomen can bring to the British economy. Linguistically, the modal auxiliary verb 'can' shows the British women's ability to do this substantial change in the world of business in belief space.

In the third example, May states,

"So they see that this is *not* just an issue of fairness or equality, this is an issue of economic strength".

Even though the presence of a woman in the boardroom may come across as one of her rights and equalities in the minds of the hearers, this view differs from May's attitude now. The existence of the adverb 'just' in the negative belief space enhances this negative view. In real situations, a woman strongly proves that 'her attendance should be seen as recognition of her prominent plans and ideas to develop the business sector. May denies the suggestion to attack the others' way of looking to this issue 'this is just an issue of fairness or equality'. The personal pronoun 'they' indicates to distance her authority from who have concluded this finding in the Cranfield Report.

May then goes on to show her attitude as a workingwoman by saying,

"But as a woman, I *never* wanted to get anywhere because I was part of a quota".

May reveals her point of view, as a woman, that a woman should not accept any role in the work in order to be part of the directorship. By performing this expressive speech act, she certainly intends to show herself a far from those who think that women would accept any role because they support teamwork and have no role in making decisions. She intentionally tries to present her personal achievements as an ambitious woman to be in the upper reaching of the government such as Home Secretary and the Minister for Women. These are good examples to prove this fact.

May goes on to say in the final excerpt,

"And we're going to be looking at why we are still *not seeing more women at the* ***senior executive, rather than non-executive level***".

While making a comparison between women at an executive level and non-executive level, she states that there are a limited number of women in the high upper reaching. Acting the role of a Minister for Women and Equalities provides felicitous conditions to the speaker performing the commissive speech act 'we're going to be looking …' at the negative level to find out the reasons behind this phenomenon and manipulate it. This enhances the speaker's face and motivates the audience's expectation to increase the number of women at a senior executive level in the future in the intended meaning. The plural personal pronoun 'we' here confuse as if the investigation will be done by the government alone or with the companies in performing this action.

4.1.4.3 Linguistic and pragmatic strategies in May's speech 1

Out of the 27 linguistic strategies, 'nominalization' strategy has the highest rate of 37.03% in May's speech. This indicates that May, as a woman, certainly tries to highlight the importance of gender equality in the business field, but she does not blame the government because she is the Minister of Women and she is part of the government. The use of the 'repetition' and 'pronoun' strategies constitutes 25.92% and 22.22%, respectively, first, to demonstrate the importance of females in bringing changes to the business field by increasing the number of females at an executive level as well. Second, the high value of the 'pronoun' indicates the role of the speaker, government, and companies. The choice of the 'passive voice' has the lowest value – only 3.70%. This indicates that May primarily focuses on the one responsible for gender discrimination in business.

Table (4.11)
Types of linguistic strategies in May's Speech 1

Type of linguistic strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Repetition	7	25.92%
Passive voice	1	3.70%
Modality	3	11.11%
Pronoun	6	22.22%
Nominalization	10	37.03%
Total number of linguistic strategies	27	100%

We have seen that the number of pragmatic strategies is only 13 in the speech. They are distributed as follows: 'presupposition' has the highest rate of 46.15% among pragmatic strategies because May, as the Minister for Women, tries to highlight the government's efforts to overcome the problem of gender inequality in the British society. Next, 'speech act' has garnered 23.07 %, and it is used to suggest more necessary future steps by May to increase the number of women in the boardrooms and the executive level in the British business. Both 'on-record' and 'off-record' have the lowest rate of only 15.38%, which indicates that May displays a kind of sobriety in her speech because she is part of the Conservative government as well as she is a woman. Another pragmatic strategy, namely, 'violation of the cooperative principle', does not have any value in the speech, suggesting that female politicians always tend to pay more attention to language in their speech.

Table (4.12)

Types of pragmatic strategies in May's speech 1

Type of pragmatic strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Presupposition	6	46.15%
Speech Act	3	23.07 %
Off-record	2	15.38 %
On-record	2	15.38%
Violation of cooperative principle	0	0
Total number of pragmatic strategies	13	100%

4.1.5 Fifth speech: May's Speech about Immigration

Theresa May became popular as the only woman who served as a Home Secretary in the modern history of Britain until now. On August 5, 2010, she gave a speech, at the Policy Exchange Department, about the disadvantage of old net migration and proposed a new immigration system to bring down the number of immigrants to the UK. The speech constitutes 2,347 words.

4.1.5.1 Types of negatives

The number of direct negatives is 46 instances normally. Though they are higher when compared to the indirect ones, they constitute nearly 58% of the total, while the indirect negatives only constitute 33. It is notable that the use of the direct negative element 'not' generally has the highest average with a total of 39% among the other negative types in the text under study. The use of 'negative meaning' gets 13.92% as the second highest negative element in use. On the other hand, the negative elements 'no', 'if-clause', and

'question' do not show any significant value with only 1.26% for each one of them in the text. Furthermore, both 'but conjunction' and 'too- expressions' decrease uniformly to the lowest rate to 1.26%.

Table (4.13)
Types of negatives in May's speech 2

Type of negation	Negative operator	Frequency	Percentage
Direct Negation	1-Not	31	39.2%
	2-No	2	1.26%
	3-Never	0	0
	4-Negative Affixes	12	5.18%
	5-But Conjunction	1	1.26%
Indirect Negation	1-If clause	2	2.53%
	2- Too-Expressions	1	1.26%
	3-Negative Meaning	24	13.92%
	4-Comparative Context	4	5.06%
	5-Question	2	2.53%
Total number of negatives		79	%100

4.1.5.2 Data analysis

    May starts the debate by saying,

"So, the debate we need to have today is about *how we can manage migration in a better way, not about whether migration is good or bad*".

    The necessity of suggesting a new system to manage immigration in a proper way would be the aim of the debate. In uttering this assertive speech act, May tries to dissociate her role as a Home Secretary from others who would try to accuse her that she means to change the system of 'immigration' because she is a conservative. In the domain of 'political ideology', the conservatives are well-known for their favour to restrict the number of immigrations in the UK. Therefore, what the speaker primarily means to say is that they are all there to discuss the procedures for a new migration system. Thus, the negative utterance shows a need to manipulate this urgent problem. In saying this, she maximizes the face threat of the participants in the debate as she shocks them in the way of opening a discussion. Furthermore, she violates the maxim of quality, 'say what you believe to be true since nobody cognitively can separate his/her ideology from what he/she aims to say or' (Grice,1975). Linguistically, the strategic use of the pronoun 'we' and the modal auxiliary verb 'can' is that they are relatively employed to show the shared responsibility of all British Parliament and government members so as to take serious steps against the bad management of the issue of immigration.

In the second excerpt, May says,

"We need an approach which will *not only* get immigration down to sustainable levels *but* at the same time, protects those businesses and institutions which are vital to our economy".

The first alternative space of the direct negative 'not' interprets the first minor objective to decrease the number of immigrants. The existence of the word 'only' emphasizes the second major objective suggested by the negative connective 'but' that 'refugees can be a resource of violence in the business and institutions'. Hence, the speaker applies the possessive pronoun 'our' to show the responsibility of everybody in protecting and saving the economy of the country. The modal verb 'will' adds more emphasis to the negative form "not only …" in showing May's determination to suggest a new system. Here, she violates the maxim of quality 'not saying the truth' (Grice, 1975) as she has hidden the second important aim, which is to change the immigration system to decrease the number of immigrants by implicitly trying to describe immigrants as being dangerous to the British business.

She then goes on to say,

"The research came across examples of so-called 'highly skilled' migrants working doing jobs that most of us would *not* classify as highly skilled".

The classification of immigrants in terms of their skills by the application of 'point-based system' is invalid as the results of this research show. She draws immigrants that are classified as highly skilled workers in the unreal space to suggest that they have low skills in real space. Therefore, the negative space 'would not classify as highly skilled' shows the speaker's expectation. This is on one hand. On other hand, May introduces this evidence to assert the dangerous situation to the audience in order to support her plan.

In reading the seventh excerpt, she says,

"*No one* is suggesting that those who come here to marry legitimately should *not* be able to make the UK their permanent home".

She starts to defend her opinion by rejecting the claim of the opponents who say that the conservative government also aims to curb the right of all those who got married there to get their permanent residence by performing a commissive speech act that people who come here and legally marry in the UK are able to get his or her permanent permit. Her

authority as Home Secretary provides felicitous conditions for her to perform the speech act

Then, May asserts,

"We will *not* implement the last government's policy of earned citizenship, which was *too* complicated, bureaucratic and, in the end, *ineffective".*

In the negative directive speech act in the above example 'not to apply the orders of the last government', first May declares her decision in non-manipulative way to the participants by showing her authority as the Home Secretary to cancel the policy of the former government regarding the 'immigration issue'. She justifies her decision by saying that they are complex procedures and too long. Second, she tends to present the negative ideology of the Labour Party towards immigrants in meaning construction by showing their unacceptable procedures in order to invent a new approach that would be more effective. The first plural pronoun 'we' and the modal auxiliary verb 'will' establish a general attitude of the speaker and the conservative government about not applying the old approach in the future space.

"If people enter this country saying that they will only stay here temporarily, then it is obvious that they should only stay here temporarily".

In the frame of home residence, May explains her attitude about who can get residence in the UK; only those staying in the UK for a long time can apply for permanent residence'. She employs If- clause to give a directive speech act in the subordinate clause that 'those who stay temporarily will not be allowed to stay for a long time in the future'. The application of the focus space 'should' interprets the obligation of her directive, while the space of 'will' asserts her determination to take this action in the future. Again, she tries to impose her opinion in the debate through showing power difference.

4.1.5.3 Linguistic and pragmatic strategies in May's speech 2

May uses several linguistic and pragmatic strategies in order to persuade the members of Parliament to accept her plan to invent a new system of immigration. Statistically, there are 57 linguistic strategies in speech 2. As we have observed, the nominalization strategy is highly employed in the speech, making up 43.85%, to avoid being questioned due to giving less information about her plan how to decrease the number of immigrants. This is followed by the 'modality' with a total of 28.07%, to outline general procedures of a new system of immigration, while the use of 'pronoun' and 'repetition' strategies decrease to 14.03% and 12.28%, respectively, because this speech is about immigration –an

important subject for most British politicians. Moreover, the passive voice obtains the lowest value at only 1.75% as she directly attacks immigrants and her opponents in the UK

Table (4.14)

Types of linguistic strategies in May's speech 2

Type of linguistic strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Repetition	7	12.28%
Passive Voice	1	1.75%
Modality	16	28.07%
Pronoun	8	14.03%
Nominalization	25	43.85%
Total number of linguistic strategies	57	100%

At the pragmatic level, the speaker employs 21 strategies. May mainly uses 'speech act', amounting to 42.85 %, as she is seriously determined to reduce the number of immigrants to the UK when she assumes the position of Home Secretary. Hence, she proposes a new policy regarding the immigration issue. She uses the 'on-record' strategy in 23.80% of her speech to attack the bad policies of the opponents regarding this issue. 'Presupposition' scores the third highest value –19.04% – and reflects confidence in a new system in bringing down the number of immigrants in the future. Then, 'violation of the cooperative principle' appears in 9.52% for each in the speech because May is an inflexible character, and she does not care about others' views. While off- record records lowest value 4.76 % (see Table 4.15).

Table (4.15)

Types of pragmatic strategies in May's speech 2

Type of pragmatic strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Presupposition	4	19.04%
Speech Act	9	42.85 %
Off-Record	1	4.76 %
On-Record	5	23.80%
Violation of cooperative principle	2	9.52%
Total number of pragmatic strategies	21	100%

4.1.6 Sixth speech: May's Statement on Leaving the EU

After the British people voted to leave the EU in the historic referendum in 2016, May, as the Prime Minister, began the process of negotiation with the EU partner to withdraw from it. She delivered a speech to the Parliament on October 9, 2017 asking to discuss the results of the Brexit negotiation, and the kind of new relationship they will have with the EU in different fields after leaving it. The total number of words is 2,084. It is clear that

direct negatives are highly exploited by the speaker to increase its total to 81.48 % while the number of indirect negatives only constitutes eight examples to become 18.51%.

4.1.6.1 Types of negatives

It is obvious that the negative types are distributed in the speech as follows: the use of the direct negative element 'not' constitutes 37% to become the highest average among the other negative types in the text under study. The use of the negative affixes comes second with 22%, while the negative elements 'no', 'but conjunction' and 'negative meaning' show the same low value at just 11%. Similarly, both the indirect negative operators 'if-clause 'and 'comparative context' obtain the lowest rate with 3%. However, the negative 'adverb' strategy and 'too' expression do not record any value in the text under study. Table 4.16 includes all the negatives types in May's speech 3.

Table (4.16)
Types of negatives in May's speech 3

Type of negation	Negative operator	Frequency	Percentage
Direct Negation	1- Not	10	37.03%
	2- No	3	11.11%
	3- Never	0	0
	4- Negative Affixes	6	22.22%
	5- But Conjunction	3	11.11%
Indirect Negation	1- If Clause	1	3.70%
	2- Too- Expressions	0	0
	3- Negative meaning	3	11.11%
	4- Comparative Context	1	3.70%
	5- Questions	0	0
Total number of negatives		27	100%

4.1.6.2 Data analysis

In the first excerpt, when May says,

**"I have been clear that when we leave the European Union, we *will no longer*
be members of its single market or its customs union".**

She opens her speech by reminding the audience about one of the negative economic consequences of leaving the EU, i.e., Britain will be out of the single market. She applies two negatives operators 'no' and 'comparative context' to emphasize this fact. She tries to reject any another interpretation of the unreal space that British people will be able to benefit from the advantages of the single market even after leaving the EU. The choice of the personal pronoun 'I' emphasizes her authority to declare this economic fact as she

plays the role of a British delegate in the negotiation while the second personal pronoun 'we' shows the responsibility of all British people to accept this fact as a result of their choice in the referendum.

In the second excerpt, she declares,

"We *do not* want to settle for adopting a model enjoyed by other countries".

The rejection of the plight is to adopt the modal of other countries such as the Norway model (to be a member of EEA-EFTA)[55] as the audience think that Britain could adopt the modal of the other countries when it leaves the EU in the alternative positive space since the basic principle of the referendum is to leave or stay in the EU. Thus, here she enhances the declaration by exploiting the first plural pronoun 'we' in the above negative speech act to implicate this is not her personal attitude but the desire of all British people to assert this kind of departure.

In the following example,

"In Florence, I gave further commitments that the rights of EU citizens in the UK and UK citizens in the EU – *will not* diverge over time, committing to incorporate 'our agreement on citizens' rights fully into the UK law and making sure the UK courts can refer directly to it".

In Florence negotiation, the EU partner asks May for more promise about the rights of the EU citizens who live the UK and she does this promise.   The utterance shows May's commitment to keeping the rights of the EU citizens in Britain and the UK citizens in the EU. Therefore, in building the above negative space, she aims to send positive messages to the EU and UK citizens who presuppose having different rights after the UK leaves the EU. Then, May performs the directive speech act by ordering the British courts to fix this right. The manipulative strategy of keeping social relations between the UK people and the EU people, the speaker aims to get the support of both partners. However, the use of first singular pronoun 'I' here sets two aims: (1) the positive presentation of her personal role and (2) her role as the Prime Minister in giving a promise.

Moreover, she continues,

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[55] "EEA-EFTA countries are bound by whatever legislation the EU adopts in these areas, but do not get to vote on the rules or take part in the decision-making process, beyond trying to influence its initial stages". Cited from https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/dec/01/can-the-uk-adopt-the-norway-model-as-its-brexit-solution.

"Achieving that partnership will require leadership and flexibility, *not just* from us, but from our friends, the 27 nations of the EU".

From this quote, the negative mental space 'not just …' can be understood as May believes that the British government shows a wise leadership and openness in the negotiation between the UK and the EU to make a UK's withdrawal easy. The existence of the adverb 'just' asserts her attitude in the negative speech act. She hopes that the nations of the EU would show similar features in the negotiation to succeed and to arrive at a good deal between the two partners. Here, the speaker first intends to blame the EU partner if the negotiation fails in the second part 'but from…'. Second, she can save her face in front of the British people who would attack her role for results of the negotiation with the EU partner.

She continues,

"Because what we are seeking *is not* just the best possible deal for us – *but* I believe that will also be the best possible deal for our European friends too".

May certainly knows that it is not easy to achieve this in the negotiation with the EU because of the complex economic laws of the single market. She suggests that this deal is good since having a perfect deal is difficult. The use of emotional words such as 'our European friends' shows May's aim to persuade the parliament members and European partner to introduce some flexibility and accept her proposal to get a good deal. Here, she intentionally violates the maxim of quality 'do not say what you believe is false' (Grice, 1975) because everyone wants to get the best deal for himself or herself during the negotiation.

4.1.6.3 Linguistic and pragmatic strategies in May's speech 3

Fifty-eight linguistic strategies are used to realize different political goals in the speech under study. The nominalization strategy has the highest frequency of 39.06% in the speech. This case shows that the speaker in this speech certainly attempts to focus on the results rather than on the roles of the British and European partners in the negotiation. Following this, the use of the 'pronoun' strategy has the second highest value with 27.94%, and it is used to explain the UK and the EU's obligations in the future relationship. While the choice of 'modality' and 'repetition' strategies dramatically decrease to 18.75% and 10.93%, respectively. The passive voice has the lowest value at 1.56% because the type of topic discussion demands to focus on the actors in the negotiation.

Table (4.17)

Types of linguistic strategies in May's speech 3

Type of linguistic strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Repetition	7	10.93%
Passive Voice	1	1.56%
Modality	12	18.75%
Pronoun	19	27.94%
Nominalization	25	39.06%
Total number of linguistic strategies	64	100%

From a pragmatic point of view, the speaker employs 22 different types of pragmatic strategies. As we can see, among all pragmatic strategies, the 'speech act' constitutes 50% as it is used to exhibit important steps that the British government is proposed to get a good deal in negotiations with the EU. This is followed by 'presupposition' strategy, which constitutes 27.27%, to draw positive scenarios about future relationships with the EU partners. On the other hand, the use of 'on-record' and 'violation of the cooperative principle' score the lowest values with only 4.54% because May addresses this speech to the British Parliament, and she definitely tries to get their support for her plan. The 'off-record' strategy slightly increases, rising to 13.63% in this speech because she has to depend on the approval of the Parliament to achieve progress in the process of the UK's withdrawal from the EU. Thus, May is more an over–confident character and thinks that she does the good work here. For more details, see Table 4.18.

Table (4.18)

Types of pragmatic strategies in May's speech 3

Type of pragmatic strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Presupposition	6	27.27%
Speech Act	11	50%
Off-Record	3	13.63%
On-Record	1	4.54%
Violation of cooperative principle	1	4.54%
Total number of pragmatic strategies	22	100%

4.1.7 Speech seventh: Clinton's Speech about Businesswomen in America

Hillary Clinton, the former Secretary of the United States, and an American presidential candidate in 2016, spoke about the position of businesswomen in the United States and how to continue fighting in order to achieve gender equality in the workplace in the country. This speech was delivered at the Conference for the Professional Women

Business in California in 2016. The speech is of 1860 words in length. The total number of negative forms is 115 in this speech; direct negatives are in a greater quantity as compared to the indirect ones.

4.1.7.1 Types of negatives

As indicated above, in the speech, Clinton exploited more direct than indirect negatives; there were 85 of 115 across all sections of the speech. They were distributed as follows: the direct negative element 'not' constitutes 36.52%, with the use of the negative meaning constitutes 13.91%. The use of 'negative affixes' and 'but -conjunction' show the same high third value at 10.43%; the use of 'comparative context', 'never' and 'if-clause' comprise 8.69%, 6.96% and 0.86%, respectively. Table 4.19 illustrates the use of all types of negative forms.

Table (4.19)
Types of negative in Clinton's speech 1

Type of negation	Negative operator	Frequency	Percentage
Direct Negation	1- Not	42	36.52%
	2- No	11	9.56%
	3- Adverb	8	6.96 %
	4- Negative Affixes	12	10.43%
	5- But-Conjunction	12	10.43%
Indirect Negation	1- If-Clause	1	0.86%
	2- Too-Expressions	3	2.60%
	3- Negative Meaning	16	13.91%
	4- Comparative Context	10	8.69%
	5- Question	0	0
Total number of negatives		115	100%

4.1.7.2 Data analysis

In the first excerpt of her speech, Clinton states,

"There is *no* place *I'd rather be than here* with you – *other than the White House*".

As conveyed in the utterance, Clinton's denial of finding a favourite place for her than the White House and California makes readers suggest the causal spaces behind the two places preferred by Clinton to stay in. First is the White House where she was the Secretary of United States during Obama administration. Second is California, the place where there is an annual conference for high potential female leaders. Thus, the comparative context of these two places with other places reveals these two as the best places that distinguish her competence as a struggler woman in the meaning understanding. Clinton aims to be in the front line of the struggle of women in the White House, as well as

California, because these places are the symbol of struggle and power for her and for the American women, they constitute a place in which they can fight for their rights.

In the second excerpt, Clinton says,

"*But* even that's *not* enough. We *can't* stop there. We need to reset the table, so women are *no longer* required to accept or adapt to discrimination or sexism at work".

In this quote, Clinton criticizes those who assert that there has already been a meaningful serious move towards gender equality in American business in negative speech act. As a struggler, she suggests that American women should continue to fight to improve their lives and eliminate gender discrimination in industry sectors in focus space. Here she tries to distance herself from those who think that women satisfy or understand the social fact of male dominance in the work in the domain of 'gender difference'. The modal auxiliary verbs 'can' and 'need', as well as the repetition of the first plural pronoun 'we', all contribute to showing the shared resolve of American businesswomen – including the speaker – to continue in their necessary struggle to obtain their full rights.

In the third excerpt, Clinton observes that,

"They love their jobs, but they *can't* escape the nagging feeling that it's a lot *harder than* it should be to get ahead".

The women who suffer from the nagging feelings in the context of their jobs are unable to get rid of these feelings. These huge and bad feelings in second assumption 'but can't cancels the first assumption that they retard the businesswoman's progress in her job. Then, the comparative context (harder *than* …) suggests that it is difficult to continue the work with this situation. She aims to increase the positive face of the self by sharing a common feeling with the audience. The modal auxiliary verb 'can't' conveys the inability of women to pass this negative impact in their work.

Clinton strongly criticizes the negative role of the government in the fourth excerpt,

"There was a recent study showing *none* of my plans were really publicized or talked about, so that gives me something for speeches, for at least a decade".

It is supposed that the political speeches or the plans of a well-known political character such as Clinton, in America, must be publicized or talked about in the media; this is what the audience perceive in their minds. However, the negative utterance aims to damage the face of her opponents by showing that even the political female character suffers from bias

or sex discrimination in the media of America, one of the most developed countries in the world. The spatial deixis 'there' is employed to make the speaker far from the resource of the claim. Besides, the passive voice forms 'were publicized' and 'were talked about' also conceal the responsibility of doing so. This made the speaker uncooperative by violating the maxim of quality 'Be informative' (Grice, 1975) since the speaker does not give adequate information about the resource in saying 'there was a recent study'. Hence, Clinton deliberately mocks this work by suggesting that this will help her save some speeches to give in the next ten years in the attitude space.

"Obviously, the outcome of the election *wasn't* the one I hoped for, worked for, but I will *never* stop speaking out for common sense benefits that allow moms and dads to stay on the job".

In hope space, Clinton conveys her failed experience in the American presidential election in 2016 to assert that losing one battle in a given field does not mean that she will stop fighting for public issues. She uses tactic language to maintain the positive value of the self in space and attack those people who assume that Clinton will stop battling or withdraw from the political arena. So, both expressive and assertive speech acts help her first to show dissatisfaction with the results of the election in the past. Second, as a political woman, she then insists on continuing the fight for her political aims and public issues such as family care in America in the future through the presupposition strategy. In this respect, Clinton violates the maxim of quality 'make your contribution one that is true' because most politicians talk about public issues for political purposes. She explains this by asserting that she will not withdraw from the political field.

Clinton continues with,

"We will need to fight back twice as hard, *not* for the sake of politics *but* because these are bad policies that will hurt people and take our country in the wrong direction".

In this passage, Clinton shares her knowledge of, and familiarity with, the struggle businesswomen have faced in their fight against inequitable policies and practices (and the negative impact these have had on the American people). In applying the word 'but', she shows two contrastive scenarios (1) fighting for political goals, and (2) fighting for bad policies. With this segment, she countermands the alternate perception in the minds of the listeners that she is fighting not for them, but for the sake of politics. The linguistic use of the pronoun 'we' states close social relationship between the speaker and the audience in sharing the aspirations of the common ground in confronting these challenging issues.

In the final speech segment, Clinton says,

"**The *unfinished* business of the 21st century *can't* wait any longer**".

In describing the business of the 21st century as being 'unfinished', she motivates the participants in the conference to anticipate that this business is substantially complete when businesswomen actively participate in the boardrooms and executive positions when they make decisions alongside men. She encourages businesswomen at the Conference to continue in their efforts to face the negative actions of the government. The modal verb 'can't' and 'comparative context' support her message to others that no business can be achieved without the active participation of women in administrative leadership positions.

4.1.7.3 Linguistic and pragmatic strategies in Clinton's speech 1

Clinton employs different linguistic and pragmatic strategies to accomplish her political goals in the speech under study. The frequency rate of the 'pronoun' strategy is 28.07% as she speaks on behalf of the American working women and opposes the government's steps towards women's issues. Next, 'nominalization' is used at a frequency of 26.31% in the speech because she mainly focuses on the effect of bad actions of the government. Both 'repetition' and 'modality' strategies have the same high rate (19.29%), this indicates that the speaker, Clinton, tries to emphasize 'continuing' to fight to obtain gender equality in society. The use of the 'passive voice' makes up 7.01%, and it is the linguistic strategy that least often applied this suggests that speaker focuses on working woman as a victim .

Table (4.20)
Linguistic strategies in Clinton's speech 1

Type of linguistic strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Repetition	11	19.29%
Passive Voice	4	7.01%
Modality	11	19.29%
Pronoun	16	28.07%
Nominalization	15	26.31%
Total number of linguistic strategies	57	100%

There are 26 instantiations of pragmatic strategies exploited by Clinton. As usual, the use of the 'presupposition' strategy has the highest frequency (30.70%) in the speech. It is used to explain the undesirable current directions of the government regarding women's issues and to encourage the American women to continue the struggle for their rights. Clinton, as the former Secretary of State and American presidential candidate, employs many 'speech acts', which make up 26.92% of her speech, to express her personal

experience as a working woman and a female politician in America and what American women need to do to obtain their rights. The total values of 'on-record' and 'off-record' are 15.38% and 19.23%, respectively in the text. This suggests that Clinton successfully balances between the indirect style of women and the direct style of an independent, brave female politician. Therefore, we can describe her as a highly social and bold character. Clinton as a woman is occasionally emboldened by negative politeness strategies to take actions or steps against authority in her political struggles. On the other hand, she directly attacks the bad actions of the government. The frequency of the 'violation of the cooperative principle' constitutes only 7.69% (see Table 4.21).

Table (4.21)
Pragmatic strategies in Clinton's speech 1

Type of pragmatic strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Presupposition	8	30.70%
Speech Act	7	26.92%
Off-Record	5	19.23%
On-Record	4	15.38%
Violation of cooperative principle	2	7.69%
Total number of pragmatic strategies	26	100%

4.1.8 Eighth speech: Clinton's Speech on Internet Freedom

Hillary Clinton was the Secretary of the United State during the Obama administration. During the international visitor leadership program in Washington, on January 21, 2010, she talked about the importance of Internet freedom in the world and how to enable people in distinct parts of the world to access the network and exchange information freely. Clinton employed negative elements 84 times in the speech under study. The total number of words in the speech is 5092.

4.1.8.1 Types of negatives

The number of direct negatives is 62 of 84 instantiations within the speech. The use of 'not' and 'negative affixes' are at 32% and 31%, respectively. This shows Clinton's evident political disapproval of limiting full access to the Internet services in such countries as China, Iran, and so on. The frequency of negative meanings is 13.09%. Both negative elements 'no' and 'comparative context' have the same low frequency (8.33% for each). The lowest value goes to the use of the direct negative element 'adverb'; it only accounts for 2.38% of the total number of negatives.

Table (4.22)
Types of negatives in Clinton's speech 2

Type of negation	Negative operator	Frequency	Percentage
Direct Negation	1- Not	27	32.14%
	2- No	7	8.33%
	3- Adverb	2	2.38 %
	4- Negative Affixes	26	30.95%
	5- But-Conjunction	0	0
Indirect Negation	1- If-Clause	4	4.76%
	2- Too –Expression	-	-
	3- Negative Meaning	11	13.09%
	4- Comparative Context	7	8.33%
	5- Question	0	0
Total number of negatives		84	100%

4.1.8.2 Data analysis

In the first excerpt, Clinton says,

"But amid this *unprecedented* surge in connectivity, we must also recognize that these technologies are *not* an *unmitigated* blessing".

First, Clinton uses negative prefix 'unprecedented' to suggest the novel development in the frame of connections. Second, she builds two negative spaces by the use of the double negation 'not' and negative prefix in 'unmitigated' to imply show that these technologies are mostly a blessing, but they can be harmful when wrongly applied. This mid interpretation suggests that Clinton uses tactic language to represent that this device is not wholly a blessing to the participants to avoid being criticized, as there are some negative aspects in its use. However, the speech act 'we must …' directs the listeners to the necessity of taking advantages of today's technological advances instead of focusing on the negative aspects of them, as a plea, to ban it. Here, the plural pronoun 'we' keeps the social distance between the speaker and the audience by generalizing this necessity of taking this correct direction to all governments in the world.

Clinton then starts to show how some governments ban these good technologies,

"And technologies with the potential to open up access to government and promote transparency can also be hijacked by governments to crush dissent and *deny* human rights".

In belief space, she tries to explain that these technologies provide a high-speed communication with the government and support reliable reports about the government's performances in different sectors. However, they are blocked by some governments to

prevent their people from talking about their bad actions on social media or in international forums. Therefore, she intends to damage the face of some countries in the conference by suggesting that the use of the Internet would be free in the domain of human rights. Here, both linguistic marks 'can' and the passive voice 'be hijacked' are used to focus on the negative political action of some governments.

Clinton goes on to say,

"This freedom is *no* longer defined solely by whether citizens can go into the town square and criticize their government *without* fear of retribution".

The direct negative word 'no' and the comparative context 'longer' emphasise Clinton's belief that it is impossible to limit the definition of freedom in terms of demonstrating in the town square (at the time of the network). Now, the people can freely use the Internet services to exchange news and criticize their governments in the text messages and email and on social media. Hence, she deliberately criticizes those authoritarian governments that prevent their citizens from expressing their political attitudes on the Internet sites (and cause them to face punishment). Therefore, she tacitly warns them to redefine and understand the meaning of freedom within today's technological advances. Here, she aims to present the positive aspect of the democratic system in the US.

In the third example, Clinton states,

"Those who use the internet to recruit terrorists or distribute stolen intellectual property *cannot* divorce their online actions from their real-world identities. But these challenges must *not* become an excuse for governments to systematically violate the rights and privacy of those who use the internet for peaceful political purposes".

The ideology of terrorism is one of important topics in political discourse. In the frame of cybercrime, it is wrong to spread hatred, perform terrorist works, or steal from banks. So, the speaker draws the negative aspects of internet in negative modalized space 'cannot …' to attack those governments that take disadvantage of the Internet as an excuse in order to violate the rights of the innocent people who wish to use the Internet for good actions. Thus, negative directive speech act 'must not…' suggests the need for those governments to review their decisions and strike a balance between granting the human right of their people to have a full access to the Internet and preventing online violent attacks and cybercrime. Usually, the directive speech can interpret the powerful role or value of people in authority or in family. Hence, Clinton, as the Secretary of the US, tends to show the political power of the US to take actions against those countries in her message.

According to communicative principle (cooperative principle by Grice, 1975), she seems to violate the maxim of quality to hide this goal as well.

In the fourth example, Clinton says,

"If corporate decision makers don't have access to global sources of news and information, investors will have less confidence in their decisions".

The interpretation of the two alternative spaces states that the attraction of investors relatively depends on the ability of the decision makers in companies to have a full access to global sources of information. This cannot be done in countries whose governments ban the use of the internet for political purposes. The modal auxiliary verb 'will' helps to build a hypothetical space to show the speaker's support of this reading to convince the audience with her viewpoint here.

Clinton continues with**,**

"*No* nation, group, or individual should stay buried in the rubble of oppression".

Clinton uses the metaphor of a little girl buried in a rubble to attack dictator governments by describing people and individuals in the negative spaces 'no nation, no group, or individuals' under the control of those governments and without a full access to the global network; they are also buried but in the rubble of oppression. Therefore, she asserts that the time of keeping those people in isolation from the outside world should be finished. The use of the negative marker 'no' at the beginning of the sentence emphasises the necessity of finishing this situation. Hence, Clinton increases positive role of the self as the secretary of the US. She is a tact in giving advice in a manipulative way in the modalized space to disadvantage the action of these governments in this issue.

Clinton summarizes the political aim of her speech in the final example,

"We *cannot* stand by while people are separated from our human family by walls of censorship. And we *cannot* be silent about these issues simply because we *cannot* hear their cries".

Clinton intentionally attacks those countries by describing the unacceptable situation of being silent in the face of censorship of Internet service and preventing people from communicating their families abroad. She declares that her country will be the voice of those people who are separated by the walls of the censorship. Thus, she performs a commissive speech act by taking some serious steps against dictatorships who apply electronic barriers. She justifies this stance to the audience by denouncing staying silent

about the violation of human rights simply because one cannot hear their cries. Hence, the repetition of the agent pronoun 'we' and modal verb 'cannot' is confusing as if the speaker refers to the American government or to the international support to work on this issue.

4.1.8.3 Linguistic and pragmatic strategies in Clinton's speech 2

There are distinct types of linguistic and pragmatic strategies used in Clinton's speech First, the distribution of the linguistic strategies is as follows: the 'nominalization' strategy has the highest frequency value of 46.15% because she focuses more on the impact of the Internet barriers than the role of the irresponsible governments; second, she aims to give less information about American government's actions on banning of the Internet services in these states. Third, the frequency of 'modality' and 'pronoun' strategies is 20.63% each as she tries to shed light on the evil actions of some irresponsible governments in the world. Fourth, the use of repetition is at 9.23% because she is the Secretary of State and does not need to use more repetition in her speech; and finally, the passive voice is used about 4.61% of the time as Clinton primarily aims to attack dictator governments in most of the sections of this speech (see Table 4. 23 below).

Table (4.23)
Types of linguistic strategies in Clinton's speech 2

Type of linguistic strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Repetition	6	9.23 %
Passive Voice	3	4.61 %
Modality	13	20.63 %
Pronoun	13	20.63%
Nominalization	30	46.15%
Total number of linguistic strategies	65	100%

As noted, the number of instantiations of pragmatic strategies is 22 in speech 2. Both 'speech act' and 'presupposition' have the same rate of frequency at 31.81% as Clinton presupposes a scenario that involves the need for irresponsible governments to review their decisions and strike a balance between granting the human rights of their people to have a full access to the Internet while also preventing violent attacks online and cybercrime. On the other hand, the US government would take some serious decisions against dictatorships who apply an electronic barrier. The frequency of 'off-record' is higher at 22.72% as compared to 'on-record' which is only at 9.09% because Clinton, as the Secretary of the US, needs to show that America as a powerful country can independently take serious steps and sanctions against dictatorships without international

support. On the other hand, the strategy of 'violating the cooperative principle' has only 4.54% (see Table 4.24).

Table (4.24)

Types of pragmatic strategies in Clinton's speech 2

Type of pragmatic strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Presupposition	7	31.81%
Speech Act	7	31.81%
Off-Record	5	22.72%
On-Record	2	9.09%
Violation of cooperative principle	1	%4.54
Total number of pragmatic strategies	22	100%

4.1.9 Ninth speech: Clinton's Speech on Donald Trump and National Security

Hillary Clinton was the Democratic nominee for the American presidential election in 2016. On June 2, 2016, she gave a long speech in San Diego, California, about the unfitness of the Republican Party's nominee, Donald Trump, to be a president. She accused him of having no clear plans and promoting odd ideas about national security and international issues such as defeating ISIS, nuclear weapon of Iraq and other issues. There are 140 instances of negatives in this speech. The total number of words is 4219.

4.1.9.1 Types of Negatives

We have seen that the direct negatives were most often employed by Clinton than the other negative forms; they appeared 88 times of the total 140 instantiations. The direct negative 'not' frequency was 38.54%. The use of 'negative meaning' had the second highest value, with a total of 17.14% of instantiations. The frequency of the direct negative 'no' and the 'if-clause' were both at 9.28%. The frequency of both 'negative affixes' and 'comparative contexts' constituted 8.57% and 7.14%, respectively. The lowest frequency value was the use of the 'but-conjunction', with only 2.14%. All negative types are shown in Table 4.25 below.

Table (4.25)

Types of negatives in Clinton's speech 3

Type of negation	Negative operator	Frequency	Percentage
Direct negation	1- Not	54	38.54%
	2- No	13	9.28%
	3- Adverb	6	4.28 %
	4- Negative Affixes	12	8.57%
	5- But-Conjunction	3	2.14%
	1- If-Clause	13	9.28%

Indirect negation	2- Too-Expressions	0	0
	3- Negative Meaning	24	17.14%
	4- Comparative Context	10	7.14%
	5- Question	5	3.57%
Total number of negatives		140	%100

4.1.9.2 Data analysis

In the first example, Clinton describes the aim of the election

"Americans *aren't* just electing a President in November. We're choosing our next commander-in-chief – the person we count on to decide questions of war and peace, life and death".

The application of the metalinguistic negative brings up a scenario that it describes the important and dangerous role played by the person who will serve as the American president. He or she will make decisions about, and thereby determine the destiny of the United States. Clinton has meant to say here that Americans must be careful in choosing the person who will lead this nation in times of both peace and war. She uses these contrastive and crucial pairs of words to discredit the image of her competitor, Donald Trump, for this job in the minds of the voters.

Clinton starts to show her opinion about Trump in the second segment,

"We *cannot* put the security of our children and grandchildren in Donald Trump's hands. We *cannot* let him roll the dice with America".

Uttering the directive speech act here draws attention of the audience to assume that 'we need a trustful person, who is stable and responsible, to keep the security of our children and people in the future'. She portrays that Trump is not a good person to be the president of America in alternative space. Clinton usually uses emotional words 'children and grandchildren' to show that she also has family and worry about their future like other American families. Then, she metaphorically describes Trump's odd strategies about America's future as a person who simply plays a dice; he is reckless as he runs casinos. Trump does not have any political experience before; this helps Clinton applies on-record to damage the image of her competitor. By repeating the same subject and verb 'we cannot' in the two sentences, she emphasizes her disappointment (in the name of the American families) about having Trump as the possible future president of the US.

In the third example, Clinton goes on to say,

"That's why – even if I *weren't* in this race – I'd be doing everything I could to make sure Donald Trump *never* becomes President – because I believe he will take our country down a truly dangerous path".

The speaker draws two meaning constructions. In the first unreal space, she asserts her wish, as an American person, to do anything to stop Trump from being a president. While the second real space expresses her willingness, as the Democratic nominee for the American presidential election to do anything to prevent him from reaching the White House not because he is her competitor in the election, but because he is also an irresponsible man. In both readings, she states her desire to stop him as a loyal patriot. Hence, she tends to increase the positive value of the self on one hand and claims Americans do not vote for him in the frame of sincerity or loyalty to America on the other hand. By saying this, she violates the maxim of quality (Grice, 1975), because only the American people have the right to choose in the election.

Then she states,

"We need to reduce income *inequality* because our country *can't* lead effectively when so many are struggling to provide the basics for their families".

Most American presidential candidates propose policies that include increased services in various sectors and income equality. Here, she turns from an attack stage to a manipulative stage. The negative space 'income inequality' brings the situation wherein 'there would be equality in frame of income'. Clinton intentionally exploits this situation to declare that she will support the fundamental needs of the poor and, further, provide family care for the American people. In the frame of income inequality in America, with many poor families still working hard only to get their basic needs met, the ability of leading the country would be difficult. She presupposes she will decrease these bad situations if she wins the election.

In the fifth excerpt, Clinton states,

"If *Donald gets his way, they'll be celebrating in the Kremlin*. We *cannot* let that happen".

In the hypothetical space, Clinton portrays the dangerous situation of Trump being installed in the White House because he has a relation with the Kremlin. She tries to say he is not a loyal patriot because he has a relationship with Russia. Then, in the performance of the negative speech act, 'we cannot', she generalizes that she and the American people must work together to stop Trump in his efforts to attain the White House

in the alternative space. Since she does introduce any evidence about Trump's relationship Kremlin, she does not follow the maxim of quality (Grice, 1975) since she does not introduce adequate evidence about trump's relationship with Russia.

In the sixth excerpt, Clinton states about Trump's strategy for ISIS,

"*What's Trump's*? Well, he *won't* say. He is literally keeping it a secret. The secret, of course, is he has *no* idea what he'd do to *stop* ISIS".

The question form is one of the linguistic strategies used to achieve an implicit negative in English. Clinton's question suggests first that she, as an American person, knows nothing about Trump's plans. Second, Clinton negatively answers the rhetoric question through performing the representative speech act 'he won't say'. Later, she linguistically conveys that Trump does not have well-thought-out strategies when it comes to stopping ISIS. This negative utterance encourages and motivates the audience to consider the need for Trump, as a presidential candidate, to declare his future policies because keeping them as a secret is unacceptable. Clinton employs this foreign policy issue to mock Trump, observing that he is keeping his strategy a secret. Pragmatically (albeit implicitly), she is suggesting that Trump is a liar. In saying so, she is cancelling out any meaning construction in alternative space regarding Trump's plan for the threat (as might be conveyed by the idea that Trump has a plan for stopping ISIS; he is just keeping it a secret from the public).

In the next passage, Clinton turns to Trump's personal behaviour,

"*What happens to the moral example we set* – for the world and for our own children – if our President engages in bigotry?"

It is unimaginable that America's good ethics might change. The above rhetorical question reveals the bad messages that would be sent to the world, i.e., that America still suffers from racism – simply because the American president himself is a racist. The ideology of 'racism' is considered one of the important topics in the political discourse. In the application of on- record, Clinton socially employs this bad ideology to attack Trump's behaviour, as the possible future president of the United States to get the support of people of different races in the country. Thus, the above indirect negative context shows the speaker's disappointment (and possibly, the audience's shock, at contemplating this possible scenario in the future).

In the final example, Clinton states,

"There is _no_ challenge we _can't_ meet, _no_ goal we _can't_ achieve when we each do our part and come together as one nation".

After Clinton finishes describing the inadequate characteristics of the Republican nominee, Donald Trump, she shifts to display a good representation of her future democratic government. This motivates to build four alternative spaces; (1) the existence of challenges (2) her ability to meet these challenges (3) having goals, and (4) the ability to achieve goals when teamwork is used (as one group, regardless of the colour or religion of the people involved). It is certain that the above negative spaces are actually exploited in order to persuade the audience to vote for her in the election. The word 'nation' adds some emotional effect to her suggestion.

4.1.9.3 Linguistic and pragmatic strategies in Clinton's speech 3

There are 61 instantiations of linguistic strategies exploited to achieve various political objectives in the speech under study. The frequency of the use of 'pronouns' is 34.42% as Clinton sought to show the difference between herself and her Republican opponent, Donald Trump, in the race for the American presidency. This is followed by the 'modality' strategy at 27.86%, which is employed to highlight the dangers in the future if Trump to become a president. Nominalization and repetition strategies dramatically decrease to 21.31% and 16.39%, respectively, because it is an election battle and Clinton needs to portray Trump in a bad image. In the end, the 'passive voice' does not have any value in the speech because Clinton, as a Democrat presidential candidate, intends to attack the behaviour of Trump and deface his personality as a Republican presidential candidate on the public.

Table (4.26)
Types of linguistic strategies in Clinton's speech 3

Type of linguistic strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Repetition	10	16.39%
Passive Voice	0	0%
Modality	17	27.86%
Pronoun	21	34.42%
Nominalization	13	21.31%
Total number of linguistic strategies	61	100%

There are 31 pragmatic strategies in Speech 3. 'Presupposition' is highly used – with a frequency of 35.48% in the speech – to argue that the nomination of Trump for the American presidency by the Republicans is a big mistake. The second highest frequency is

the use of the 'speech act' strategy, which accounts for 32.25%, as she declares that the American people have to put the future of men and women in safe hands, and she would do anything to stop Trump in his efforts to attain the White House. The use of 'off-record' constitutes 16.12% of the total number of strategies because most of the presidential candidates employ this strategy to get the support of the audience by showing that they socially share the Americans' problems and they will be their voices in the future. The 'on-record' strategy registers just 9.67% because she needs the support of American people, and she has a personal tact and diplomacy that Trump does not have in his personality. Moreover, 'violation of the cooperative principle' has the lowest frequency with only 6.45%, because she, as a lawyer and good politician, introduces her speech systemically.

Table (4.27)
Types of pragmatic strategies in Clinton's speech 3

Type of pragmatic strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Presupposition	11	35.48%
Speech Act	10	32.25%
Off-Record	5	16.12%
On-Record	3	9.67%
Violation of cooperative principle	2	6.45%
Total number of pragmatic strategies	31	100%

4.1.10 Tenth speech: Trump's Speech to the Republican National Convention

Donald Trump is a famous American businessman. He became a strong Republican candidate against the Democrat candidate Hillary Clinton in the 2016 American presidential race and won it. He gave a remarkable speech at the Republican Convention, held in Cleveland on July 21, 2016. The main topics of his speech tackled the increase in the crime rate in the United States during the Obama administration, the economic deficit, how to stop illegal immigration on the border, and how to defeat ISIS. The speech, in total, consists of 7101 words. There are 184 instantiations of direct and indirect negatives in the text under study.

4.1.10.1 Types of negatives

The number of direct negatives was 107 of the total 139. The direct negative operator 'not' was the most frequently used (approximately 32.37%), so it gets the highest average in the speech. While the direct and indirect negatives of the lowest frequencies were the negative operators 'if-clause' and the 'but-conjunction' (at 3.59%). This may be reflective

of Trump's self-confidence. Other direct strong negative elements, such as 'no', 'never' and 'negative prefixes' had the frequencies 16.54%, 7.19%, and 17.26%, respectively, in the speech. This high use of the direct negatives shows the author's boldness and his complete refusal to show flexibility in some political and economic issues.

Table (4.28)
Types of negatives in Trump's speech 1

Type of negation	Negative operator	Frequency	Percentage
Direct Negation	1 Not	45	32.37%
	2 No	23	16.54%
	3 Never	10	7.19%
	4 Negative Affixes	24	17.26%
	5 But-Conjunction	5	3.59%
Indirect Negation	1 If-Clause	5	3.59%
	2- Too-Expressions	0	0%
	3- Negative Meaning	0	0%
	4- Comparative Context	21	15.10%
	5- Question	6	4.31%
Total number of negatives		139	100%

4.1.10.2 Data analysis

In the first excerpt,

"the Republican Party would get 60 percent more votes than it received eight years ago, who would've believed this, who would've believed this?"

Trump shared some statistical data (real or otherwise) with the audience, suggesting that, with his candidacy, the number of votes for the Republican Party would increase by 60% (over what they had received eight years earlier). The use of 'comparative context', as one of the indirect negatives, was definitely exploited by Trump to express pride in this predicted success. This comparative context has been done with the time references (past and present) to show the difference between his own abilities and those of other former Republican candidates. Here, the self-confidence of Trump and the negative expression of the others in the same party suggest a far degree of social distance or dissociation between him and other colleagues inside the Republican Party. Similarly, the linguistic device 'rhetorical question' was used to garner and encourage astonishment regarding these anticipated results, Trump is emphasizing this unprecedented result by repeating the rhetorical question 'who would've believed this?' a twice.

In the second excerpt, Trump overstated his position, saying**,**

"But here, at our convention, there will be *no* lies. We will honor the American people with the truth, and *nothing* else".

In this quote, the context of the assertive negative speech act 'will be no lies', the speaker tries to confirm what most audience certainly consider in the hypothetical space: 'there will be lies' in his political competitor's conferences. However, the use of spatial deixis 'there' and 'here' draws far distance of such knowledge in Trump's convention from other's convention. Then, he emphasizes the above utterance by applying the negative word 'nothing else'. Trump here shows some exaggeration. This utterance makes Trump flout the maxim of quantity 'do not say more than required' (Grice, 1975), as he typically overstates in the description of his convention.

Trump starts to attack the Obama administration in the third excerpt,

"As long as we are led by politicians who will *not* put America first, then we can be assured that other nations will *not* treat America with respect the respect we deserve".

In the frame of the American political ideology, American leaders should put America first in their plans or decisions, then other nations will respect America; Trump wants to say that since America's interests were not included in the priorities of the Obama administration, America has lost respect among the other nations. The damage face of the Democrat party via criticizing the bad strategies of that administration is the intentional target of Trump. He tries to persuade the audience to vote for him because he loves America and puts America first in his agendas. So, the two negative operators 'not' in the above utterance ensure the perception of unacceptable actions of the former Democrat administration in general and their present candidate; Clinton in particular, because she was the Secretary of State of the United States in the Obama's administration. In addition, the use of the passive voice twice 'are led' and 'be assured' emphasises the inability of the Obama administration to make America great in order to be respected by other countries.

Moving to the fourth excerpt, which reads,

"And when a Secretary of State *illegally* stores her emails on a private server, deletes 33,000 of them so the authorities *can't* see her crime, puts our country at risk, lies about it in every different form, and faces *no* consequence – I know that corruption has reached a level like *never* ever before in our country".

The utterance is rich with different types of negatives. The negative prefix in the adverb 'illegally' achieves negation and leads the audience to think that the Secretary state,

Clinton has broken the law by conducting her official business using a private server. In addition, the direct negative element 'can't' in possible space applies her thinking that the authority would not observe these emails is certainly a 'big scandal for her and her country'. So, the two negative utterances are clearly employed by Trump mentally to cast doubt on Clinton's loyalty to America. Then, he directly continues to attack the target's character in saying 'it is too bad that the political character as Clinton would not have been punished for her crime in order to show the injustice and the bad act of authority in this case'. Here, he implies to take a serious action against her. Finally, the negative adverb 'never' in 'I know...' pragmatically helps the speaker suggest there was an increase in corruption to the highest level during the last administration.

Then, he says something unbelievable in the next excerpt,

"*Nobody* knows the system *better than me*, which is why I alone can fix it".

It is an undesirable social norm in any culture that somebody praises himself in claiming that he knows everything. It is quite clear to the audience that Trump is a businessman; he can definitely know a lot of things about business. However, his claim that he knows the political system of the United States better than the others and that he alone can fix it has actually a high degree of overconfidence and unacceptable. As a result, the negative speech act shows the speaker's positive presentation via the negative impoliteness strategy 'on-recorder'. Besides, Trump definitely violates the maxim of quality 'say what you believe to be true' (Grice, 1975) since his biography does not show any evidence that he has political experience, but he still believe in what he says.

Returning to the sixth excerpt,

"*No* longer will we enter into these massive transactions with many countries that are thousands of pages long and which *no* one from our country even reads or understands".

The existence of two different negative operators 'no' and comparative context 'longer' portrays his dissatisfaction regarding the signing of the Obama administration of many deals with other countries with time reference. Within the frame of the criticism, he continues to insult the former administration in a negative utterance that they sign many bad deals that include many pages without reading or putting the interests of America first. Here, the audience would presuppose that Trump would stop these deals in the future space. Trump presents the actions of 'other' in a non-persuasive way because no one believes that the pervious American governments in the history of America sign any deal

without reading. However, this clear exaggeration of the speaker again leads him to flout one of the conversational maxims; that is the maxim of quality 'say what you believe to be true' (Grice, 1975).

In the final excerpt, Trump goes on to say,

"Remember, all of the people telling you, you *can't* have the country you want are the same people that *wouldn't* stand – I mean, they said Trump *doesn't* have a chance of being here tonight, *not* a chance".

The above utterance has four direct negative spaces, leading to the creation of various alternative scenarios to build meaning. First, the linguistic use of the negative operator 'can't' implies 'the possibility of having the country you want'. Here, he suggests the lies of the Democrats in this issue. The second negative element 'wouldn't' in hypothetical space also reveals the lies of the same people who wrongly said that Trump did not have a chance of winning the Republican nomination. Therefore, Trump's standing here is clear evidence of their lies. Then, Trump explicitly explains this wrong attitude in the third and fourth negative unreal spaces that 'Trump doesn't have a chance of being here tonight' and 'not chance' 'to emphasize the idea that the Democrats are the only ones lying. All these negatives show that the face- damaging or negative presentation of the 'other' is one of distinguished characteristics of Trump's personality

4.1.10.3 Linguistic and pragmatic strategies in Trump's speech 1

There are 76 types of linguistic strategies in the speech under study; these are typically used by Trump to achieve a range of political aims. As we have seen, the linguistic element 'nominalization' constitutes the greatest frequency of 31.57%. The use of 'pronoun' has the second highest frequency of 25% because he deliberately wants to attack the Obama administration and expose its bad policies imposed on Americans at the same time. 'Modality' and 'repetition' strategies are used 22.36% and 18.42%, respectively, to show that he has able to be an agent of change in the United States. However, the 'passive voice' strategy has the lowest frequency value, with only 2.6% among the speech strategies, because Trump is very direct and clear in the negative presentation of others such as Clinton and the former government in the speech. Table 4.29 summarizes all the types of linguistic strategies used by Trump in Speech 1.

Table (4.29)

Types of linguistic strategies in Trump's speech 1

Type of linguistic strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Repetition	14	18.42%
Passive Voice	2	2.63%
Modality	17	22.36%
Pronoun	19	25%
Nominalization	24	31.57%
Total number of linguistic strategies	76	100%

Thirty-five pragmatic strategies are employed in the present speech. They are distributed in the following way: 'presupposition' obtains the highest frequency of 31.42% among pragmatic strategies because Trump is highly self-confident and definitely tries to presuppose that he would be a man of change in the minds of the audience. This is followed by 'speech act' at 25.71% because Trump has made many promises that he would keep if he became the president. On-record clearly increases to 22.85% because Trump is a bold and aggressive character. Off-record presents at just 11.42% because Trump does not care much about saving the faces of others. The value of the violation of the cooperative principle generally has the lowest value – only 8.57% – because Trump is clear and direct in his speech.

Table (4.30)

Types of pragmatic Strategies in Trump's Speech 1

Type of pragmatic strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Presupposition	11	31.42%
Speech Act	9	25.71%
Off-Record	4	11.42%
On-Record	8	22.85%
Violation of cooperative principle	3	8.57%
Total number of pragmatic strategies	35	100%

4.1.11 Eleventh speech: Trump's Iran Nuclear Deal Speech

At level of international issues, Donald Trump has previously characterized all deals made by the Obama administration as 'bad deals' and promises to renegotiate them. As a result, he gave a speech on May 8, 2018 about Iran's nuclear deal, suggesting that the agreement was 'blackmail' and that it would not prevent Iran from having a nuclear weapon or stop it from funding terror in the Middle East. Therefore, he declared that the United States would withdraw from this deal and prepare to renegotiate it with Iran to ensure stability in the region. The total number of words is 1549. The speech under study

contains 43 instantiations of direct and indirect negatives. It is notable here that there is no significant difference in the use of direct and indirect negatives (see section below)

4.1.11.1 Types of negatives

As indicated, the number of direct negatives was less than the indirect negatives in the text. The direct negative operator 'not' had a frequency of 18.60%. For the first time, the frequency of 'negative meaning' was the highest 34.88% in the selected texts. The frequency of the two negative operators 'if-clause' and 'no' constituted a total of 13.95% and 11.62%, respectively. This reflects, perhaps, Trump's complete refusal to show any flexibility regarding Iran's having nuclear weapons while, at the same time, being ready to renegotiate the nuclear deal. Table (4.31) illustrates all types of negatives in the text.

Table (4.31)
Types of negatives in Trump's speech 2

Type of negation	Negative operator	Frequency	Percentage
Direct Negation	1- Not	8	18.60%
	2- No	5	11.62%
	3- Adverb	4	9.30%
	4- Negative Affixes	2	4.65%
	5- But Conjunction	1	2.32%
Indirect Negation	1- If-Clause	6	13.95%
	2- Too-Expressions	0	0%
	3- Negative Meaning	15	34.88%
	4- Comparative Context	2	4.65%
	5 Question	0	0%
Total number of negatives		43	100%

4.1.11.2 Data analysis

In the first excerpt, Trump asserts,

"*No* action taken by the regime has been more dangerous than its pursuit of nuclear weapons and the means of delivering them".

Trump begins his utterance with the strong negative element 'no', as a means of comparing all dangerous activities undertaken by the Iranian regime with having the nuclear program. This accomplishes two things; first, he states that the Iranian regime has committed many dangerous acts in the past. Second, he asserts that their having a nuclear weapon is more dangerous, compared to those previous bad actions. Hence, the linguistic device 'passive voice' in 'no action …has been' enables Trump to draw attention to the effect of the dangerous actions in focus space, as opposed to the role played by the Iranian

regime. The above negative expressive speech act shows Trump's dissatisfaction regarding this deal and it implies limiting or stopping Iran's nuclear ambitions in the future.

Trump continues with,

"The fact is this was a horrible, one-sided deal that should have *never*, ever been made. It *didn't* bring calm, it *didn't* bring peace, and it *never* will".

Trump explains that the deal was very advantageous for one partner and disadvantageous for the second partner. In the real space, Trump applies negative speech act to assert that the nuclear treaty is dangerous because it leaves Iran free to find a new approach to fund its nuclear weapon program. Then, the use of the passive voice 'been made' with modal verb 'should' here can interpret that the deal is a big mistake and the United States, per Trump, and is not necessary to sign it: the former administration wrongly thought that the nuclear deal with Iran would bring calm and peace in the Middle East. In hypothetical space, he tries to explain that these benefits will not be realized. Trump emphasises the negative results of the deal by repeating the three negative utterances 'it didn't bring calm, it didn't bring peace, and it never will'.

Trump continues to criticize the nuclear deal in the third excerpt,

"*If I allowed this deal to stand, there would soon be a nuclear arms race in the Middle East*".

The use of the 'if–clause' portrays the dangerous situation in case Trump lets this deal continue because it leads to increase the nuclear arms race in the Middle East. Thus, Trump decides to withdraw from the deal to protect the interests of their allies in the Middle East from the proliferation of nuclear weapons. This is one of the priorities of the American government under his administration. Here, Trump shows his attitude in a manipulative way in using conditional clause to justify his decision.

However, Trump states his desire in the following excerpt,

"I made clear that *if the deal could not be fixed, the United States would no longer be a party to the agreement*".

Trump linguistically employs the alternative readings of the 'if-clause' to accomplish his speech intentions in order to fix or withdraw from the deal. Trump clearly declares that the United States should withdraw in case Iran refuses his offer to renegotiate the nuclear agreement. In hypothetical spaces, the existing of the modal verbs 'could' and 'would' help to convey the possibility of fixing the deal in the future. Meanwhile, using the passive voice 'be fixed' emphasises the importance of doing renegotiation by Iran, rather than the responsibility of proceeding in this manner.

Trump continues to attack the Iranian regime in the fifth excerpt,

"America will *not* be held hostage to nuclear blackmail. We will *not* allow American cities to be threatened with destruction".

According to Trump's view, it is wrong that America, one of the most powerful countries in the world, should be at the mercy of an inadequate and defective deal of a nuclear program with Iran as the latter certainly has exploited the deal to re-fund its nuclear weapons and support terror in the Middle East. Then, he performs the second declarative speech act 'we will not…' to portray that the agreement will also endanger and threaten the national security of the United States in the future as well. Here, Trump applies the pronoun 'we' instead of 'I' to give the impression that this decision is made by the American government not by him. Hence, the assertive speech act performances applied by Trump do not introduce adequate evidence to persuade the listeners. Trump clearly flouts the maxim of quantity because there is some exaggeration in his utterance in saying 'We will not allow American cities to be threatened with destruction. This exaggeration is intended to empower his speech to make his people be more affected and influenced, i.e., to be more convincing.

In the final excerpt, Trump suggests,

"Iran's leaders will naturally say that they *refuse* to negotiate a new deal; they *refuse*. And that's fine".

It is obvious that the speaker presumes that the Iranian government will refuse to renegotiate the nuclear deal with the United States because the old deal is considered by them to be quite good. He implies that they will suffer from new economic sanctions that are likely to force them to sit for a new negotiation. Thus, the above negative utterance shows the speaker's expectation regarding Iran's reply; the use of repetition emphasises this expectation in the belief space 'Iran's leaders will naturally …'.

4.1.11.3 Linguistic and pragmatic strategies in Trump's speech 2

There is a total of 39 instantiations of linguistic strategies in the present speech; of these, 'nominalization' is the most often applied (38.46%) to show that the Iranian deal is a big mistake. 'Modality' and 'pronoun' are used 23.07% and 17.94%, respectively, to indicate the possibility of renegotiating the deal with the American government. Even though 'passive voice' and 'repetition' each constitutes 10.25%; they represent the lowest usage among all strategies in the speech. This indicates that Trump mainly focuses on the

negative effect of the nuclear deal, as opposed to the responsibilities of the partners in the transaction.

Table (4.32)

Types of linguistic strategies in Trump's speech 2

Type of linguistic strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Repetition	4	10.25%
Passive Voice	4	10.25%
Modality	9	23.07%
Pronoun	7	17.94%
Nominalization	15	38.46%
Total number of linguistic strategies	39	100%

There are 16 pragmatic strategies in the current speech. They are distributed in the following way: 'speech act' has the highest value of 37.5% because Trump means to do what he has promised the American people in his election campaign. Next, 'presupposition' and 'on-record' strategies have the same frequency of 25% and are used to indicate: (1) the disadvantages of increasing the nuclear arms race in the Middle East, and (2) continuation of the attack on the Iranian regime to force them to agree on a new negotiation. 'violation of the cooperative principle' and 'off-record' strategies are similar in use at only 6.25%. This suggests that Trump is an independent person and discreet in making decisions or taking actions without discussing issues with the European partners or listening to them.

Table (4.33)

Types of pragmatic strategies in Trump' speech 2

Type of pragmatic strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Presupposition	4	25%
Speech Act	6	37.5%
Off-Record	1	6.25%
On-Record	4	25%
Violation of cooperative principle	1	6.25%
Total number of pragmatic strategies	16	100%

4.1.12 Twelfth speech: Trump's Speech before the Congress

After Donald Trump won the American presidential election in November 2016, he delivered his first speech to the Congress[56], the State of the Union, on March 1, 2017. In this address, he discussed the future policies of his administration, both domestic and

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[56] 'joint session' of Congress is an annual meeting for both houses (the Senate and the House of Representatives), as well as other major governmental figures, all attend the speech.

abroad. The main themes of the speech concerned how to stop illegal immigration, the delivery of new health insurance, the American economic deficit, and the bad actions of the former administration in negotiating the Iranian nuclear deal and other economic agreements. The speech constitutes 4885 words. There are 128 instantiations of direct and indirect negatives in the speech.

4.1.12.1 Types of negatives

As noted, the number of direct negatives was less than indirect negatives in the text, even though the frequency of the direct negative operator 'not', at 24.21%, was the highest. This ratio (between direct and indirect negatives) is different from that seen in other speeches given by Trump. One explanation for this may have to do with the setting: the address to the full session of Congress, as occurs annually, is an opportunity for the President to set forth policy, both domestic and foreign. This may have made him speak, indirect and direct way, negatively about various national and international issues (and, in so doing, criticizing the previous administration). For the first time, the frequency of negative affixes, at 23.43%, was the second highest value. However, the use of negative meaning, compared to Trump's speech 1, increased to 22.65%. The negative operators 'if-clause', 'expression with too' and 'adverb' had the same low average with a total of 3.90% for each one. Finally, the use of the direct negative 'but conjunction' shows the lowest rate in the text with only 1.56%. Table 4.34 summarizes all types of negatives in the speech under the study.

Table (4.34)

Types of negatives in Trump's speech 3

Type of Negation	Negative operator	Frequencies	Percentages
Direct Negation	1- Not	31	24.21%
	2- No	7	5.46%
	3- Adverb	5	3.90%
	4- Negative Affixes	30	23.43%
	5- But Conjunction	2	1.56%
Indirect Negation	1- If -Clause	5	3.90%
	2- Too-Expressions	5	3.90%
	3- Negative Meaning	29	22.65%
	4- Comparative Context	8	6.25%
	5- Question	6	4.68%
Total number of negatives		128	100%

4.1.12.2 Data analysis

In the first excerpt, Trump states,

"**I will *not* allow the mistakes of recent decades past to define the course of our future**".

 Trump starts the speech by showing the unacceptable actions in the past space via referring to 'the mistakes of the past' to declare his desire to prevent them from happening in the future space 'I will not allow' via the use time reference in the above utterance. In performing a declarative negative speech, Trump's dissatisfaction with the performance of former administrations first is obvious. Second, he also implies that he plans to make some changes in the American's policies, both at home and abroad. The use of the first singular pronoun 'I' reflects Trump's self -confidence in his role as the president of the US in making decisive actions, within his own administration; and his plan will succeed over time.

Trump's question in the second excerpt justifies this projection,

"What would you say to the American family that loses their jobs, their income, or a loved one, because America *refused* to uphold its laws and defend its borders?"*

The above rhetorical question implicitly contains an indirect negation since the speaker does not aim to get an adequate reply to the question of why American families are losing their jobs, money, and children rather than to state the negative aspect of the reply. Trump then proposes that the inability of America to protect its borders or implement its laws is a bad answer that its citizens can themselves reach. The context of the above utterance suggests that speaker knows the adequate answer for the above question 'it is certainly the failure of former administrations to take serious steps to save the jobs and protect the American's border from illegal immigration'. He intends to increase the harmful role of Obama's administration in doing so.

Returning to the text for the third excerpt,

"If we are guided by the well-being of American citizens, then I believe Republicans and Democrats can work together to achieve an outcome that has eluded our country for decades".

Trump, in front of the Congressional members, outlines two pathways to achieving his goals. In the first alternative interpretation, he suggests that since we have no good loyal patriots 'signifies to Democrat leaders, they will obstruct or cancel [my] goals to do big changes'. Here, he attempt to distance himself from those leaders. While the second interpretation shows that Trump aims to increase his positive face by showing the ability of

Republics and Democrats to work together during his administration. He implicitly asks the Democrats to help him achieve his plans or, conversely, accuses them of not being good American citizens when they refuse his decisions. The linguistic choice of the passive voice 'are guided' shows that Trump tries to highlight more on the good works of American politicians than their political affiliations.

Trump goes on to say,

"We must build bridges of cooperation and trust – *not* drive the wedge of *disunity* and division".

Here, He uses tactic language to acquire the trust of the Congressional members by saying it is necessary to build mutual trust and cooperation between his administration and the Congress in order to decisively pass legislations. The linguistic application of double negation 'not' and negative prefix 'dis-' in the word 'disunity' contribute to building different interpretations. These spaces presuppose Trump's uncertainty about the future cooperation of the Congress with his administration. Still, the use of the subjective pronoun 'we' and 'must' connotes the necessity of sharing responsibility between the Trump administration and the Congress in a successful leadership of the country.

The fifth excerpt is,

"My job is *not* to represent the world. My job is to represent the United States of America''.

With the above representative speech act at the negative level, Trump criticizes the role of Obama (the former president of the United States) in dealing with international issues, as he supports many foreign countries in building their infrastructures and cities in the alternative space. While, in the meantime, the American infrastructure is crumbling. Therefore, he proposes to put the American's interests first, focusing on domestic needs as opposed to the interests of the foreign countries (within and outside the United States). The repetition of the sentences with the same subject 'my job' increases the positive presentation of the self, as the speaker is a loyal patriot in his duty as the president of the US in the role space.

In the final example, Trump says,

"From now on, America will be empowered by our aspirations, *not* burdened by our fears"

There is no doubt that the country is not powerful when fear controls its leaders. Therefore, the context of the above negative utterance certainly provides felicitous conditions to Trump to display his authority as a new president of the United States in uttering that America now is much stronger and more powerful in the course of his future visions than before. In using time reference, he implicitly means to portray that the former American leaders were not brave, and their limited minds did not allow them to make America more powerful in the world. At a pragmatic level, Trump flouts the maxim of quality 'do not say what you believe is false' (Grice, 1975) because he says something unreal about the previous American presidents and the history of the US.

4.1.12.3 Linguistic and pragmatic strategies in Trump's speech 3

Trump employs 35 linguistic strategies in the speech under study. Notably, the use of 'pronouns' obtains the highest frequency with a total of 34.28% because Trump, the new president, needs to sell his government programme to the Congress. This is followed using 'nominalization' and 'modality' strategies, with 31.42% and 20%, respectively, to reveal the mistakes of the former administration and the future steps towards change. 'Repetition' as a strategy represents 8.57% of the total number of strategies. Trump uses this strategy when he wants to emphasize what he has promised the people before the election. The use of the 'passive voice' has the lowest frequency of 5.71%. This indicates that Trump simply has tried to focus more on actions than agents in relation to some issues.

Table (4.35)
Types of linguistic strategies in Trump's speech 3

Type of linguistic strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Repetition	3	8.57%
Passive Voice	2	5.71%
Modality	7	20%
Pronoun	12	34.28%
Nominalization	11	31.42%
Total number of linguistic strategies	35	100%

Shifting to the pragmatic strategies, there are 21 instantiations in the present speech. The strategy of 'presupposition' has the highest frequency of 38.09% because Trump always offers alternative positive actions that he really would take in the future for the public. By doing this, Trump makes people think that America comes first in everything he does. Although the 'speech act' decreases in use, it still obtains the second highest

value at 28.57% because Trump, as the new president, has to set forth policy, both domestic and foreign, in his address to the full session of the Congress. However, both 'on-record' and 'off-record' have the frequency rate of only 14.28% because it is the first speech for Trump as the president of the United States in a joint session. He intentionally wants to acquire the trust of the Congressional members to foster a cooperation between his administration and Congress in order to decisively pass his legislations and proposals in the future. The 'violation of the cooperative principle' strategy has the lowest frequency at 4.76%.

Table (4.36)
Types of pragmatic strategies in Trump's speech 3

Types of pragmatic strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Presupposition	8	38.09%
Speech Act	6	28.57%
Off-Record	3	14.28%
On-Record	3	14.28%
Violation of cooperative principle	1	4.76%
Total number of pragmatic strategies	21	100%

4.2 Discussion

This second stage primarily discusses the findings of the data analysis. It is divided into two sections; Section (1) presents the findings of the twelfth selected speeches in terms of the potential cultural comparison between the selected American and British politicians in the use of negation in political discourse. This section also studies the impact of ideology, political role, and contextual features in the use of the selected linguistic and pragmatic strategies. Section (2) observes the role of gender in the use of negation as well as the selected linguistic and pragmatic strategies to come up with comprehensive answers to the study questions raised in chapter 1.

4.2.1 The British Speeches vs. American Speeches

The analysis of the negative frequencies in the selected British and American speeches presented in Table 37 shows significant differences in the use of negatives by Trump and Clinton, which constitutes 649 (60.20%) out of a total of (1078) negatives. Comparatively, this average is greater than that noted for the two British politicians (Cameron and May), which represents 429 (39.79%) in total.

Table (4.37)
Frequencies of negatives in all selected characters

Speaker	Frequency of direct negatives	Frequency of indirect negatives	Total	Total of negatives
Clinton	235	104	339	**649**
Trump	202	108	310	
May	88	52	140	**429**
Cameron	206	83	289	
Total	731	347	1078	**1078**

The increased frequency of negation in the American speeches suggests that the selected American politicians are more predisposed to the negation phenomenon in their speeches than the selected British politicians do, regardless of the political roles they play and the genre of political speeches they deliver. This is because the values, beliefs, and nature of the American political and cultural aspects are somewhat salient and different from those in Europe and Britain in some respects. First, the separation of authorities and rigorous constitutions of democracy allows the American politicians to declare their disapproval or stop decisions to a greater degree in any political discourse, such as debates, inaugurations, and conventions, compared to the British political leaders. The government's decisions in the UK are somehow affected by the authority of the British parliament. Thus, May and Cameron are characterized as conservative and patient. Second, the two American politicians are more likely to use negation to criticize or present negative ideology of the opponents or out-groups to display their roles as good leaders who would bring a change to the situation regardless of the party they belong. Clinton is a Democrat, while Trump belongs to the Republican Party. The two American parties have significantly different political ideologies and strategies in dealing with home and international political issues. In contrast, both Cameron and May are conservative members; they believe in similar political ideologies of the conservative party and the convergent attitudes towards different issues; therefore, they are more focused on the defence of the conservative government's actions and future strategies than denials or rejections of attitudes or proposals of the others. This subsequently results in decreasing negation in their speeches. For instance, when both British and American politicians have delivered speeches on similar topics, the British leaders positively aim to presuppose the

good actions of the self or the party. In contrast, the Americans try to shed light on the bad acts of the others in addition to their abilities to meet these challenges. This notion is illustrated through the increased average of negatives in the American speeches compared to the British speeches on similar topics.

Table 4.38
Frequencies of negatives on similar topics

Speaker	Topics	Frequency of words	Frequency of negatives	Pronoun	Presupposition
May	Women's rights	2139	38	10	6
Clinton	Women's rights	1860	115	16	8
Cameron	Victory speech	1670	28	20	5
Trump	Victory speech	7101	139	22	11

As observed in Table 4.38, both May and Clinton give remarkable speeches on the same topic of women's rights in British and American business fields, respectively,[57] at women business conferences. Both speeches contain 2139 and 1860 words, respectively. Although May's speech is longer than Clinton's, the obtained results reveal the increased use of negatives in Clinton's speech (115 negatives) compared to May's speech (34 negatives) on the same topic; thus, they mainly introduce the same topic with different political aims beyond the use of the selected linguistic and pragmatic strategies. Clinton has exploited negative markers to declare her rejection of the poor policy of the government towards gender equalities using 16 'pronoun' and 8 'presupposition' strategies to criticize the individuals' mistakes and attack of others' actions in the past and present. In contrast, May mainly focuses on the future government strategies to increase the number of women in businesses and boardrooms with less 'pronoun' and 'presupposition' strategies (10 and 6, respectively).

Similarly, there is a significantly high frequency of negation in Trump's victory speech. These negative spaces are intentionally used to criticize the weak performances of the Democrats in the past and to show his high power in the office to cancel the orders of the former administration. Thus, he maximizes the social distance between him and the audience. On the other hand, Cameron speaks about the wrong orders of the Labour government, but he mentally focuses more on drawing more positive scenarios that would

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[57] see speech 4 and .7 for more detail

be mentally taken for granted by the audience about the best strategies of the conservative government in the future. However, he is very careful in showing social inequality between himself and the audience. This finding is clearly noted by the high frequencies of negatives in Trump's speech (139) negatives, whereas only (28) negatives are used in Cameron's victory speech. Similar trends for 'pronoun' and 'presupposition' strategies are noted in these speeches (see Table 4.38). The four speakers mostly utilize more direct negatives than indirect negatives, as noted by the increased frequency of direct negatives in the speeches (see Table 4.37).

Table (4.39)

Types of direct and indirect negatives in all selected speeches

Speaker	Not	Comparative context	Negative affixes	No	Negative meaning	Never	But	If clause	Too	Question
Cameron	126	11	27	28	28	14	11	35	7	9
May	52	30	20	10	11	2	4	5	4	2
Clinton	123	51	50	31	27	16	15	18	3	5
Trump	84	44	56	35	31	19	8	16	5	12
Total	385	136	153	104	97	51	38	74	19	28

Comparably, Trump and Clinton have used more direct negative types than Cameron and May have with 437 and 294, respectively. This statistical evidence initially suggests that political discourse linguistically shares similar characteristics of other discourse genres based on the occurrence of increased frequencies of direct negatives in both American and British societies as feature of English language speakers in general. Second, the nature of the political goal has a great impact on the use of direct or indirect negation. The greater average of direct negatives in Trump and Clinton's speeches shows they seem to be more task oriented towards different topics. They are more interested in demonstrating their imbalanced power to attack trigger to achieve targeted political goals than maintaining the social relationship with the others. From a pragmatic respective, the politeness factor has also an effect on directness. Trump and Clinton seem socially do not care much about face-saving of the 'others' in their attack, persuasive or manipulative strategies. For instance, Trump roughly attacks Clinton in his campaign and describes her 'crooked Hillary'. Alemi and Latifi's study (2019) conclude that the use of impolite strategies such as 'face threatening, dissociation, mock from other' by the Republican and Democrat

parties can be attributed as one feature of political debate in the US. On the other hand, the two British politicians are more conservative. Hence, they seem to minimize the direct face- threat of the others by the application of the mitigation strategy of the indirect negatives for some issues despite the increased frequency of direct negatives in their most speeches as well.

The different political roles of the selected speakers have a significant impact on the increased or decreased frequency of negatives in the selected speeches. A significant increase in the frequency of negatives in their election campaign or low-executive positions is observed, and the frequency of negatives and types of negatives dramatically decreases after their winning of the elections and assuming their position of authority, i.e., Minister, President, or Prime Minister. Notably, Trump and Clinton have used more negatives in their election campaigns compared to those after their campaigns. Similarly, the frequency of negatives used by Cameron and May before assuming the office of PM in Britain is higher than that after assuming the office

Table (4.40)
Frequencies of negatives in the selected characters pre- and post-election

Speaker	Low-executive position or during election	Frequency of negatives	Political role in high authority	Frequency of negatives
Cameron	PM candidate	**224**	Prime Minster	**28**
May	Home Secretary	**34**	Prime Minster	**27**
Clinton	Presidential candidate	**140**	National Secretary	**84**
Trump	Presidential candidate	**139**	President	**43**

This data indicates that the political language is more negative in lower positions of authority or election campaigns; the selected characters have deliberately exploited negation to highlight the miserable conditions or big mistakes of the former American or British governments in their election campaigns. However, after holding higher executive positions, they positively try to polish their achievements or show self-administrative steps to obtain the support of the people, parliament, or congress and to avoid criticism from opponents. Thus, they pragmatically apply more positive self-presentation strategies than negative presentation of 'others'. Moreover, the use of the strong direct negative type 'not' (as a sentential and constituent negation) obtains the highest average among other direct negatives in speeches by the British and American speakers at (178) out of a total of 236 direct types and (207) out of a total of 445, respectively. The result is in line with the

finding of Durán (2018, p.21) that shows " '*not*-negation' is twice as frequent as *no*-negation, which suggests that negation at the clause level doubles negation at the level of the noun group inaugural speeches delivered by US president". This can suggest that the negative operator 'not' can first be considered the most negative element adopted by politicians in general. Second, it explains the fact that crucial and superior roles played by both selected American and British speakers, such as President, Prime Minster, Home Ministry, and National Secretary, significantly have an impact on the use of strong negative operators. Usually, the people who hold these sensitive offices have a high authority to decide the future policy of the government regarding home and international issues. In contrast, the direct negative operator 'but-conjunction' exhibits the lowest rates in most speeches. This finding indicates that the use of the '*not X but Y*' is not given more priority in the monologue format of political speech in both cultures. Furthermore, the four speakers psychologically do not have desire to adopt new actions or attitudes by denying previous possible expectation or attitude via applying the linguistic strategy ' not X but Y' in the same contrastive situation in which readers can cognitively expect that the speaker would cancel or correct 'X' attitude or assumption by Y attitude.

However, 'negative affixes' are used with higher frequencies in Clinton and Trump's speeches than in Cameron and May's speeches at 116 and 43, respectively. Linguistically, negative affixes are generally used with adjectives and adverbs and rarely with verbs. According to Evans (2006, p. 516), "meaning construction entails the meaning of the whole before the contributions of the parts can be determined". Therefore, the process of adding a suffix or prefix to the word to change its meaning would functionally contribute more to achieve at the level of the interpretation of the whole utterance in communication than the meaning at the level of word meaning itself. This finding indicates the following: first, the use of this type of negation in the political discourse explains that political discourse is not different from other genres of discourse. Negative affixes are generally more familiar in the scientific and medical discourse because they are structurally economic in showing negation (Joshi, 2012).

Second, negative affixes do not have a strong negative meaning in contrast to the use of the negative operators 'not' or 'no' because they can show the opposite between two entities at any degree on a scale of the contrary. In other words, they do not necessarily show the complete opposite between two entities at the degree of contradiction. For example, it is not necessary to interpret 'unhappy' as 'not happy' or 'sad' as it may be something in between. Thus, the negative spaces built by negative affixes are somewhat

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ambiguous compared to those built by other direct negatives. Therefore, the selected American politicians employ this linguistic pattern to make the understanding of cognitive meaning by readers or listeners more difficult in some political issues than the two British politicians for showing dissatisfaction, discrediting of other attitudes about specific situations. This finding is attributed to the fact that the interpretation of negative affixes would cognitively be more difficult and local, and these phrases can only be understood or interpreted by the participants of the political discourse. It is mainly depended on the context to understand the meaning. Thus, the contextual features as the role of speaker, the social distance between the speaker and the listener, and the type of participants can contribute to understanding the negative force of negative affixes. For example, after Trump assumes the presidency, he uses 56 types of negative affixes out of 218 direct negatives in the first speech to the Congress in order not to show clarity or to prompt a more vague interpretation by the participants in the session regarding his future strategies. Clinton applies the same technique when she gives a speech about the 'internet freedom' while being in the position of National Secretary. Unlike this, May applies only 2 types of negative affixes out of a total 78 in delivering her remarks on the 'immigration system' when she is the Home Minister because she is well-known for her extreme attitude towards immigration and immigrants. Besides, she is seriously determined to bring down the number of immigrants to the UK in her previous statements. Cameron largely applies negative affixes in talking about his future strategies in his election campaign speech.

The frequency of the indirect negative type 'negative meaning' is remarkably high in most selected speeches. It implicitly conveys a negation meaning in the communication. The four politicians are careful when they choose the linguistic strategies to achieve their denials or attack the opponents in different political issues. The finding shows that there is a significant difference in using this type of indirect 'negative meaning' between the selected American and British politicians. This type accounts for 72.95% of the total indirect types in the selected American speeches, but only 42.96% in the selected British speeches. This significant difference suggests that Trump and Clinton are more weasel-like when using some negative meaning to imply their denials or dissatisfactions towards actions than the British politician. This type of negation is used as a mitigation strategy to maintain the social-political relations with the others, minimize the face threat of listeners, or negotiate with opponents. For example, in Trump's speech on the Iran deal, the frequency of 'negative meaning' has the highest average with (34.88). He implies that he is ready to renegotiate the nuclear deal with Iran. Negatives meaning in Clinton's second

speech on 'businesswomen in America' and third speech on 'Donald Trump and National Security' presents the second higher average after the direct negative operator 'not'. Hence, Clinton successfully minimizes the social distance between her and the participants in presupposing her denials in a tactic style or criticism in a manipulative way. The use of the 'if-clause' only records (16.41%) and (29.62%) in the American and British speeches, respectively, indicating that British leaders attempt to build more negative mental spaces than the Americans because they are more interested in the reaction of their listeners by drawing more alternative situations or options than their counterparts on the American side. They know that the authority of the parliament affects decision-making as well as the EU in some other issues because the UK was member in the EU.

As noted earlier, the second highest average of negatives goes to 'if-clause' with 13% in Cameron's campaign speech, because they are linguistically convenient for the political situation. He exploits if- clause to direct the audience to a dangerous political situation in the present to implicate the good ideologies and attitudes of the conservative to change or manipulate the situation towards the best in the future. Trump employs if- clause to show the dangerous activities undertaken by the Iranian regime with having the nuclear programme. However, both selected American and British political politicians show less interest in the use of the linguistic strategy of 'question' that it is purposely used to get a positive or negative answer. The selected speeches show that the speakers' bias to only 'negative answers' is only to assert prior attitudes or beliefs towards some political process. Thus, they intentionally use rhetorical questions for persuasive purposes. Similarly, 'too-expression' refers to something more than desired or required. It can show an excessive positive valuation or feeling. This is generally unacceptable by politicians in positions of authority. Moreover, the frequency of the 'too-expression' has the lowest value at 4.10% in American speeches, which was two-fold less than that noted (8.14%) in British speeches. The use of 'questions' is reported at 8.71% in American speeches and 2.96% in British speeches. Thus, this type of negation seems an uncommon strategy in the monologues of political discourse and does not have a strong negative meaning compared to other indirect negatives given their rhetorical function.

4.2.1.1 Use of five Linguistic strategies in American and British speeches

To achieve the fourth objective of the study, there is a need to make a comparison between the American and British political cultures in term of the use of selected linguistic and pragmatic strategies within the scope of negation phenomenon. The investigation of

linguistic strategies is indispensable in any political discourse analysis. Five linguistic strategies are carefully selected for examination within the negation phenomenon in the political discourse, namely, repetition, modality, pronoun, passive voice, and nominalization. These strategies first are highly exploited by politicians to achieve various political aims beyond their applications in political speeches, debates, and inaugural speeches regardless of the political role of the character, topic of discussion and the context of the speech. Second, these strategies are typically employed with any linguistic phenomenon, such as negation. Comparatively, the British and American characters under study linguistically employ the same frequencies of the above strategies (a total 333 each). These strategies are discussed below.

4.2.1.1.1 Pronoun strategy

A personal pronoun is a strong linguistic weapon to defend good actions and self/ in-group achievements, such as (We/I) or to attack the opponents or out-group by using (You/Your-They/Their). The statistical analysis of the pronoun strategy reveals that it yields the second-highest average among the five selected linguistic strategies after the 'nominalization' strategy in both American and British speeches by 88 (26.42%) and 91 (27.32%), respectively, on both sides. Politically, there are some reasons beyond the use of pronouns; first, two big political parties (Labour and Conservative Parties) are the main parties in the political field in Britain. They are extremely interested in throwing accusations of risk acts at each other to win the people's emotion and take political advantages. However, both Cameron and May are conservatives. They mainly use more the first personal pronouns (I-We) than other personal pronouns to emphasise their roles in achieving a change in using representative or declarative speech acts or share knowledge or responsibility with addressees. They aim to show their abilities together to perform the future plans of the government across different sections of speech rather than to attack the wicked behaviour or negative presentation of others in the domain of criticism as Trump and Clinton do. Second, Trump and Clinton linguistically distinguish gender pronouns more than May and Cameron as indicated by exploiting the third personal pronouns (She/He) more than the plural pronouns (You-They) to exhibit the individuals' mistakes to the audience rather than the group or the government mistakes, which the selected British characters prefer to bring to light. Thus, it is worthy to say that naturally there is some relationship between the type of the pronoun and the speech acts. For instance, speakers

typically use (You/They) to distance the self or direct someone or some group, while they use (I /We) in preforming representative or declaratives speeches.

4.2.1.1.2 Repetition strategy

Repetition is one of the cohesive tools definitely exploited by the authors of other discourses in general, and politicians in particular, to make the parts of discourse more understandable and united in structure and meaning. The political speeches under study reveal that the two Americans employed 48 (14.41%) elements of repetition. This value is slightly reduced compared to that noted in the two British, which constitute 67 (20.12 %). Politically, the speaker deliberately exploited this strategy for some rhetorical and stylistic purposes, such as the emphasizing the speaker's specific idea or attitude, demonstrating the significant effect of behaviour, and influencing the feelings of listeners to vote for him/her. As observed earlier, the type of repetition is highly affected by some factors such as educational background, type of audience, topic discussion, and political role. The obtained data first demonstrate that Trump and Clinton are more likely to use words and clausal repetitions than phrasal repetitions. Second, Trump is a businessman and TV personality, and his job plays a vital role in the choice of repetition technique of media words or phrases normally stored in his mind and found their way to the audience through his speeches. For instance, words, such as *deal, amazing, fake news, illegal immigrant, economics, America great, border, and jobs*, have a significant value in word repetition in his speeches in general, and these words almost attract the American society because they express fundamental needs of their lives and xenophobia. This technique successfully allows him to win the 2016 election because the repetition strategy of the above makes the American people attracted to him and they think that Trump puts America first in his plans. Then, the American society mentally begins to trust him to perform what he keeps repeating before the election, and this truly what happens after becoming the President of America.

The words *income, woman rights, needs, national security, plans, jobs, terror, and health care* are frequently repeated in Clinton's selected speeches. She is a lawyer and focuses on social issues such as jobs and family care in her election programme. On the other hand, May always repeats the words *woman rights, deal, European, Union, smooth, possible approach, immigrations, jobs, and border, deliver, and security* as she graduated with a geography degree, worked at the Bank of England before becoming a conservative member and leading the negotiation of the Brexit with the EU. Finally, political and

philosophical words, such as *big government, future, get it right, challenges, stronger, children, reformed European, and problems,* found their way into most of Cameron's speeches as he was graduated with degrees in political sciences and philosophy from Oxford University.

4.2.1.1.3 Modality strategy

According to Fairclough (2001, p.105 cited in Zhonygyi Xu, 2015, p. 17), "there are two types of modality; relational modality and expressive modality, depending on 'what direction authority is oriented to' ". Relational modality here refers to the authority of one participant in relation to others, and expressive modality refers to the speaker or writer's authority with respect to the truth or probability of a representation of reality. Thus, the speakers employ relational modality to achieve some political aims given its miscellaneous semantic usages, such as showing political power, declaring orders, or attacking opponents. Expressive modality is used to show the size of challenges, share knowledge with the audience, necessity, and discovering plans or strategies. Pragmatically, the choice of modal verbs in speech acts by the speaker contributes to saving or damaging face of the speaker or listener. Consider both speech acts of May:

"We will not implement the last government's policy of earned citizenship"

"In Florence, I gave further commitments that the rights of EU citizens in the UK and UK citizens in the EU – will not diverge over time''

In the first example, she maximizes the face threat of the Labour government in her commissive speech act. While in the second commissive speech act by May, she tries to minimize the consequence of Brexit on the British and the EU residences. It is used in both selected British and American speeches at similar frequencies of 70 (21.02 %) and 74 (22.22%). Trump mainly focuses on using the modal auxiliary verbs 'will' and 'would' with (23) occurrences in all his selected speeches to give future promises, and this strategy successfully helps him to garner the audience's support by allowing the audience to presuppose more strong positive expectations to achieve his promises to America and the American society as a man of change. Meanwhile, he significantly tends to avoid using the modal verbs 'must' and 'should' with only (3) instances in his three speeches to relieve the audience and him from more constraints or restrictions in the future. By contrast, Clinton remarkably exploits more modal verbs such as 'can' and 'could' than other types of modal verbs in her three speeches to show her ability as a Democratic nominee and as an American woman to hold the office of President and provide a better governmental

program for the American families and children. Besides, this language presupposes that Trump cannot meet these challenges. On the other hand, the use of the modal verbs 'will' and 'would' exhibit the highest values for both British politicians. May and Cameron try to make people more familiar with conservative governmental plans or British conditions, especially before and after the Brexit referendum.

4.2.1.1.4 Nominalization strategy

Nominalization is a lexical process in which a noun forms from another word class in English. For instance, the verb work (v) can be transformed into work (n) and depart (v) can be transformed to departure (n). In political discourse, the author usually takes advantage of this strategy to maintain the imbalanced power relation or provide less information about people. The obtained results show that this linguistic strategy exhibits the highest averages by American and British speakers at 108 (35.43%) and 97 (29.12%), respectively, among other linguistic strategies. Demonstrating equivocation is one of the most distinguished features of the American political discourse compared to the British discourse. Based on the type of issue, the strategic use of nominalization in Cameron and Trump's speeches is higher in their election campaigns (Home- issues) compared to other speeches such as division, respect, correction, agreements, challenge, and former administration. They aim to deface the acts of their competitors to suggest they are men of changes.

In contrast, May and Clinton primarily exploit higher patterns of nominalization strategy such as immigration, discrimination, wrong direction, etc., in discussing controversial home and international issues, such as immigration, internet censorship by some dictatorial governments, and future relationships with the EU, to make these issues a greater priority or more important to the British and American governments. They aim to be economic in language to avoid audience questions about things they do not have answers. Subsequently, they aim to be objective by focusing on the actions to obtain the support of their government or parliament and people based on their decisive plans on the above issues.

4.2.1.1.5 Passive voice strategy

Passive voice is a linguistic strategy employed by writers in general and politicians in particular to hide or mitigate the effect of a negative action in specific issues inside in-group or the same party. Although the value of the passive voice does not reflect any significant value compared to the other four linguistic strategies in both American and

British speeches. There are 11 (3.30%) occasions of 'passive use' in Trump and Clinton, while May and Cameron use passive voice in 15 (4.50%) occasions. Yet, the use of the passive voice is affected by the topic of discussion and the role of the speaker. For example, Trump mostly applies it when discussing the Iranian deal to deface the role of the European partners and the Obama administration in this deal, on one hand. On the other hand, it is meant to emphasise the dangerous outcome of this deal in the Middle East and Israel.

Clinton employs a passive voice primarily to draw a focus on the wrong directions of government in women's issue and the need to struggle to obtain women's rights in the American society. However, the use of the passive voice politically plays a reduced role among the four linguistic techniques in British speeches because May mainly uses an active voice to declare what she has determined to do and keep repeating it in her speeches. Her inflexible character makes her lose the confidence and support of the parliament and people in important and crucial issues, such as Brexit.

4.2.1.2 Pragmatic strategies in American and British speeches

Five pragmatic strategies are carefully selected to study the negation phenomenon in the selected speeches, which are presupposition, speech acts, and violation of the cooperative principle, off-record and on-record. The five pragmatic strategies are used 136 times in the selected British speeches, whereas the Americans exploit 151 pragmatic strategies in their speeches.

4.2.1.2.1 Presupposition strategy

According to Fauconnier (1975), negative spaces presuppose corresponding positive spaces. Thus, the study of presupposition plays a vital role in drawing mental spaces in the minds of the audience or listeners in discourse studies. Comparatively, Trump and Clinton often use presupposition on 49 (32.45%) occasions, whereas May and Camron only use this technique 32 times (23.52%). Trump primarily presupposes the unfavourable conditions of the country during the Obama administration, such as high crime rate, poverty, jobless, and lack of safety, to suggest America's need for a good and wise leader to enact changes and save the country in his election campaign speech.

The juxtapositions of two contrastive images between the past and the future has made Trump more attractive or closer to the audience by sharing knowledge of what people actually think about their lives. While Clinton mostly employs presuppositions to explain dangerous situations and economic crises that the country would face in case Trump

becomes a president in her campaign speech and her ability to raise the income of poor families in the American society in her future programs. Based on the data analysis, the Conservative leaders, Cameron, and May, mainly deal with presuppositions to share the future consequences of Britain, Brexit, and negotiation with the EU with the parliament or British people and the huge challenges for the conservative government.

4.2.1.2.2 Speech Act strategy

Most of the politicians primarily utilize this strategy to declare, express, direct, and commit themselves to do something. The power and the executive position of authority and social distance are important factors that have an impact on the felicitous conditions of speech acts. The obtained data of the selected British speeches reveal 51 (37.5%) speech acts, whereas 45 (29.85 %) of the speech acts are noted in the selected American speeches. Cameron and May often tend to be more assertive, commissive, and directive in their speeches than Trump and Clinton. Notably, the commissive speech acts are highly exploited in the election campaign speech, the case of Trump, Cameron, and Clinton, as compared to the other genres of political discourse to commit themselves to changes and to improve the conditions of their people. Directive speech acts, on the other hand, increase in the high position of authority in four characters' speeches since they have power to take actions. However, both sides look more cautious in performing declarative speech acts. Table 4.40 summarizes the types of speech acts used by the selected British and American leaders.

Table (4.41)

Types of speech acts in the selected British and American Speeches

Speech act type	British speeches	American speeches
Representative speech act	18	16
Commissive speech act	13	10
Expressive speech act	6	9
Directive speech act	10	5
Declarative speech act	4	5
Total of speech acts	51	45

4.2.1.2.3 Off- record strategy

The British politicians employ 24(17.64%) off- records in their speeches, whereas the Americans only use 23 (15.23%); so, there is no significant difference between them in the use of off-record strategy. This is happened because it is highly depended on the context

of the selected British and American politicians and the character's reaction towards any action. In the other words, it mainly depends on the social distance between the speaker and the participants in the political activity and it shows power inequality.

The four selected politicians are strong characters and they are only biased to employ this strategy in election campaigns when they want to build a social and close relationship with the audience to get their support in elections or maintain socio- political relations with the political allies for negotiating the purposes. For stance, Trump only employs this strategy to call for cooperation between his administration and the Congress in order to decisively pass his legislation and proposals in the future. Cameron uses this strategy to offer suggestions about the advantages of staying inside the reformed EU. While May only employs 'off-record' in her statement to the Parliament seeking approval to achieve progress in the process of the UK's withdrawal from the EU.

4.2.1.2.4 On-record strategy

The frequency of the 'on-record' strategy is similarly low in the selected British and the American speeches with only 17(12.5%) and 24 (15.89%), respectively. They both are likely to maximize the social distance between themselves and the competitors in their election campaigns to get the support of the people before elections. On the other hand, they are generally aggressive and bold with the others or with the opponents who show a negative value on their characters or actions via criticism on the public or threat to take serious steps after they have the power that enables them to independently make a decision without the need of the people's support. For instance, May uses the 'on-record' strategy in 24% of her speech to attack the bad policies of the Labour government with regard to the immigration issue. On record strategy obviously increases to 25% in Trump's speeches on Iran deal and campaign because Trump is bold and aggressive in attacking others.

4.2.1.2.5 Violation of cooperative principle

Although the frequency of the cooperative principle violation is very low in the monologue format of the political discourse, the four political characters deliberately violate the cooperative principle (Grice, 1975) on some occasions. There are only 11 (8.08%) and 10 (6.62%) types of cooperative principle violations in the British and American speeches, respectively. This finding suggests that both sides are pragmatically more cooperative by being truthful and relevant and by providing a sufficient amount of information that is related to their topics to the audience in a monologue format of political speeches compared to political debates.

4.2.2 Gender and the use of negation in political discourse

The investigation of the gender variable within the scope of negation in political discourse is one of the main objectives of the current study. Theresa May is the second most famous British conservative female politician after Margret Thatcher in Britain.[58] In the United States, Clinton was a strong female Democratic nominee for the American presidential election against Trump in 2016.[59] The analysis of negatives in the 12 selected speeches demonstrates that the frequency of negation used by both Trump and Cameron is 599 (55.56%), and this value is higher when compared to those negatives used by May and Clinton together in 479 (44.43). This result indicates that female politicians are less likely to use negatives in evaluating or attacking the trigger than male politicians are. In addition, female politicians are more careful to send negative messages to the other as political leaders. In contrast, male's dominance or power in society and institutions is always evident by his use of strong linguistic devices. Negation is of course one of them; they use negatives to express their powerful attitudes and ideologies towards decisions or acts in the political field. Similarly, there are 408 (55.81%) different types of direct negatives in males' speeches compared to 323 (44.18%) in females 'speeches. This finding suggests that the indirect manner and attitude are socially one of female's characteristics from social aspect and this still affects on her behaviour as politician. Second, society stereotypically still looks at female politicians as females so they would be afraid of being attacked by the society if they use too strong and direct linguistic marks such as direct negatives. Hence, male politicians are more direct and explicit compared to female politicians.

Table (4.42)

Frequencies of negatives in the selected female and male speakers

Speaker	Frequency of direct negatives	Frequency of indirect negatives	Total	Total of negatives
Clinton	235	104	339	479
May	88	52	140	
Trump	202	108	310	599
Cameron	206	83	289	
Total	731	347	1078	1078

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[58] See page 10 for the biography of Theresa May.
[59] See page 10 for the biography of Hillary Clinton.

However, both genders, employ most often the direct negative 'not' 210 (51%) in males and 175 (54.17%) in females among direct negatives in their selected speeches regardless of the topic of discussion, political roles, and context of speech. This indicates that the use of type of 'not' is the main feature of English language speakers regarding the negation phenomenon. In contrast, the direct negative (X but Y) exhibits the lowest values at 19 (5.88%) in males' and females' speeches, indicating that the selected female and male politicians do not have an inclination to show hesitation in their denial of the actions or decisions in the office by applying contrastive ideas. However, the type of topic and political role has some effect on the increased frequency of this type of negation. The findings observe that they increase election campaigns and lower authority for both genders to mentally draw miserable conditions or acceptable actions in the minds of audience in the frame of negative presentation of opponents and to portray the good expectation that would happen in the case they win the elections in the future.

Although the types of indirect negatives are least used in the most selected speeches, the negative meanings are observed with higher values in female speeches as compared to males at 81 (51.92%) and 72 (37.69%), respectively. In contrast, the linguistic strategy 'Question' represents the least often used as an indirect negative in both genders with only 7 (4.48%) in females and 17 (8.90%) in males. Usually, politicians do not apply the 'question' strategy to get the answer; rather they use it to show their bias towards the negative answer for the question raised in the speech. This finding suggests that males are more likely to use this strategy for persuasive purposes in political discourse than females.

4.2.2.1 Differences in the linguistic strategies between two genders

Females and males respectively use five linguistic strategies in 331 and 335 occasions in speeches; thus, there is no statistically significant difference in the frequency of linguistic strategies used between the two genders. This finding suggests that female politicians, similar to male politicians in employing different types of linguistic devices to achieve various types of political goals in their addresses.

4.2.2.1.1 Nominalization strategy

The nominalization strategy is the most often employed linguistic strategy in the political speeches of all selected characters. It is used in 117 (35.34%) occasions in female speeches, which is greater than the frequency observed in the males' speeches at only 87 (25.97%). This finding shows that May and Clinton mostly give more priority to introduce the wrong directions or steps to the participants as they mainly focus on the actions or

events rather than to introduce who is responsible for these bad steps. Therefore, they give more attention to face saving and maintaining balanced social-political relations with others as females and politicians than male politicians do. Given this, males are characteristically bold and rough, male politicians are not interested in giving more attention to the face saving of others. Trump violently continues to attack Obama and Clinton even after he becomes the president of the United States. Cameron deliberately attacks the Labour government whom he thinks responsible for the big mistakes, and the economic crisis in Britain.

4.2.2.1.2 Pronoun strategy

Personal pronouns represent the second highest value in most selected speeches. Cameron and Trump record the slightly higher values of using personal pronouns at 96 (28.66%) compared to May and Clinton at 88 (26.58%). However, Trump and Cameron are more likely to use singular personal pronouns such as (he/ she/ and I) to present their personal achievements, ideologies or in-group political power and emphasize the weakness of others via the criticism or accusations of individual mistakes that cause a crisis. For stance, Cameron uses '*I love, I don't believe, I have solved.* The personal pronouns '*I will not allow, I made clear, I alone can fix it, her email*' find their way in Trump's selected speeches. In contrast, females mostly focus on the team or collective actions such as in (*no challenge we can't meet, our country, our children, no nation , no group, our European friends, British people citizens, not implement the last government's policy).*

4.2.2.1.3 Modality strategy

There is no statistically significant difference between the two genders in the employment of the modality strategy in their speeches. The obtained result shows that both Cameron and Trump use 67 (20, 24%) types of modal verbs in their speeches, whereas both May and Clinton apply 73 (21.79) elements. However, the use of modality has been affected by ideology and knowledge of speaker, and the political goals behind their applications with the scope of negation. For stance, Cameron shows a strong tendency to use the expressive modality 'will' in victory speeches to show the size of future challenges and present them as men of change. Furthermore, they are more likely to use relational modality for suggesting manipulation or showing power as Cameron does in speech on 'Brexit referendum' and Trump's speech about 'Iran deal'. May exploits more expressive modality such as 'will' to present the consequences of the negotiation with the EU in the British parliament. Clinton does the same to express her desire to continue

fighting in order to achieve gender equality in the workplace in the country. While May employs more relational modal verbs such as the 'should and need' in discussing the topic of 'immigration' to state her determination to decrease the huge number of immigrations in the UK.

4.2.2.1.4 Repetition strategy

Male politicians have a higher average of repetitions of words, phrases, and clauses compared to female politicians. In total, 73 (21.79%) occasions of repetition are noted for both Cameron and Trump, whereas, only 48 (14.50%) types of repetition are noted for May and Clinton. This finding is attributed to the fact that males are more likely to emphasize their attitudes, opinions, and effect on the people's feelings for persuasive purposes than the females in the political field. However, the type of repetitions has shown that it is not related to gender variable. For stance, Trump and Clinton are more likely to use words and clausal repetitions than phrasal repetitions than British politicians are (see 4.2.1.1.2).

4.2.1.1.5 Passive voice strategy

The passive voice strategy mostly shows the lowest values with only 16 (4.77%) and 10 (3.02%) instances in male and female speeches, respectively. However, this finding may indicate that the selected female and male politicians aim to share their knowledge with their audiences or make governments, opponents, or parliament take part in the responsibility. Therefore, they are mainly biased to use an active voice to exhibit personal political power when they speak on behalf of their supporters and the nation as leaders of actions. Besides, they take advantage of other individuals' mistakes to attack and deface the opponents.

4.2.2.2 Differences in the pragmatic strategies between the two genders

Pragmatic strategies are noted in 135 and 151 occasions in the selected female and male speeches, respectively. According to the frequency of each selected strategy out of the five strategies used by the same gender, both male and female politicians show a similar degree of pragmatic performance in their speeches. This finding is in line with Freed and Greenwood (1996) who found that there is no significant difference between the male and female in applying pragmatic devices in similar types of political discourse. They both mostly show similar frequencies of the five pragmatic strategies (presupposition, speech act, on-record, off-record and violation of CP). Yet, they are different in the type and use of pragmatic strategies to achieve different political goals such

as negative presentation of their opponents or their actions, and persuasion of the audience with their ideologies/ attitudes or showing their imbalanced political power. Table (4.43) illustrates the frequencies of the five selected pragmatic strategies in the 12 speeches.

Table (4.43)

Frequencies of the pragmatic strategies in the two genders' speeches

No	Strategy	May	Clinton	Total	Cameron	Trump	Total
1	Presupposition	16	26	**42**	16	23	**39**
2	Speech Act	23	24	**47**	28	21	**49**
3	Off-Record	6	15	**21**	18	8	**26**
4	On-Record	8	9	**17**	9	15	**24**
5	Violation of CP	3	5	**8**	8	5	**13**
	Total	56	79	**135**	80	72	**151**

As noted in the table above, Trump and Cameron employ the **presupposition** strategy in 39 (25.82%) occasions. However, this value is slightly higher – 41 (30.37%) – in May and Clinton's speeches. It can be argued that both genders use presupposition to make their delivered political messages more acceptable on the side of the listener since presupposition is used for granted things. In this way, they make their language rhetoric, their characters more attractive, and show affiliation with the people to gain their support. Politically, this enables Cameron to stay as the Prime Minster for six years and Trump to win the 2016 election. Simultaneous strategies of showing miserable scenarios by using negation in order to presuppose the promised future by Trump make him more attractive and closer to the young people; this increases the number of his supporters to help him win the 2016 election. Although, Cameron was young, he could wisely persuade his party and the British about his new ideologies to overcome the economic deficit in Britain during his administration from 2010 to 2016. May and Clinton employ presupposition to make their language more effective and persuasive. We could conclude that the gender variable does not seem to have an impact on the use of presupposition within the scope of negation.

Despite holding different important positions of authority, such as Prime Minster, President, and Minster, a similar average of speech acts is noted in all speeches, about 47 (34.81%) for females and 49 (32.45%) for males in their total speeches. Trump and Cameron perform more assertive, expressive, and commissive speeches with negation than May and Clinton. Directive speeches, on the other hand, are higher in number in female speeches to cover 32% of their speech acts while only 8.3% of the total speech acts are present in male speeches. This is due to the important political positions that May and

Clinton had such as Home Secretary and Secretary of the US, respectively, on one hand and the felicitous conditions that allow them to perform action on the other hand.

Thus, the gender variable does not affect the frequency of speech acts with the scope of negation in the selected political speeches. However, there is a significant difference in the application of the directive speech act.

Similarly, the result obtained of '**off-record**' presents 21(15.55%) in the female speeches and 26 (17.21%) in the male speeches. Thus, this result does not reveal any statistically significant differences in its use by both genders (see Table 4.43). This is because both male and female politicians' actions are occasionally emboldened by social distance between the speaker and the listener and the political relationship between the two parties on one side or between the government and opponents on the other side in taking actions or steps against authority in their political struggles. Notably, this strategy is increased in Cameron, Clinton, and Trump's election campaign speeches to emphasize their affiliation by showing that they socially share the people' problems and they will be their voices in the future.

Regarding the application of **on-record,** the analysis of the data shows no statistically significant difference between both genders. They are (17 or 12.5%) and (24 or 15.78%) in female and male speeches respectively in identifying far social distance from the listeners especially when they have political power. For instance, May clearly shows her refusal to implement the last government's policy of earning citizenship when she is the Home Secretary.[60] Clinton refuses to ban access to the internet in some states and decides to take steps against the irresponsible governments of these states when she is the Secretary of the United States during the Obama administration.[61] However, Trump is more biased to use on-record than off-record in pre and post the election.

Although both genders pragmatically follow conversational principles in their speeches and reduce violations of the cooperative principle, female politicians have the lowest frequency of the cooperative principle violation in their speeches (8 or 5.92%), as compared to male politicians (13 or 8.60 %). It is worthy to mention that four characters mostly violate the maxims of quality and quantity rather than maxims of manner and relation in their communication. They do not follow the maxim of quality either by hiding the real political goal or attacking the other without evidence. For example, denying the

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[60] See the tenth excerpt in May's Speech about Immigration
[61] See the final excerpt in Clinton's Speech on Internet Freedom

reason of visiting Manchester for the election campaign and the conservative party by Cameron makes him violate the maxim of quality (Grice, 1975) because all the political characters always have the same aim behind their visiting different cities in the time of the election. May suggests that they need a new system to focus on the quality of immigrants, but she wants to change the immigration system to decrease the number of immigrants. Thus, she does not abide to the conversational principle by violating the maxim of quality (Grice, 1975) as she has another important aim. As a political woman, Clinton insists on continuing the fight for her political goals and public issues, such as family care in America, but she does not introduce adequate evidence of what to do in this regard. In this respect, Clinton certainly flouts the maxim of quality (Grice, 1975). Trump overstates in performing some utterances in the speech of his campaign election, he actually flouts the maxim of quantity (Grice, 1975), as he typically, like other politicians, uses exaggerations in the political conference. Therefore, this finding first indicates that the four selected characters seem to portray a good/ positive image of the self by being clear, relevant, and informative. Second, this strategy appears to be an uncommon strategy in the monologue format of political discourse as a political debate since there is face to face argumentative meeting with the opponent to motivate the speakers to exchange accusation. The exaggeration in the description of the challenges makes Cameron violate the maxim of quantity as he gives more details than is required 'do not make your contribution more informative than is required' (Grice, 1975). In sum, the observations state that both genders are conscious in exploiting the five pragmatic strategies within the scope of negation in terms of the context of the event to achieve their targeted political messages.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusions, Recommendations, and Suggestions
for Further Research

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the important conclusions about the investigation of the negation phenomenon in political discourse from cognitive and social perspectives. The conclusions are based on the obtained findings after the process of critical data analysis conducted in chapter four. These results aim to answer the study questions and to achieve the study objectives raised in chapter one. Then, some recommendations are given about the challenges faced and devices needed in performing the investigation. Due to the limitation of this study, some suggestions are offered to do further research for better understanding of the meaning construction in political discourse from a CDA point of view.

5.1 Conclusions

This section introduces the important results obtained after doing data analysis for twelve political speeches delivered by four political characters of both genders (male and female), namely, Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton (from the United States), and Theresa May and David Cameron (from the UK).

Based on the first research question that states, 'What types of negatives and their corresponding positive spaces constructed in American and British political speeches?' the findings show the following:

- Political discourse has generally proved to be a fertile ground for studying negation from a functional aspect, as it is rich in different types of direct and indirect negatives, reaching to 649 and 429 in the American and British speeches under study, respectively, despite the fact that the selected speeches are not very long. The application of different types of negatives in the selected political speeches has shown diversity in meaning construction, since negation can motivate the listener to create more than one meaning construction in his mind to interpret the intended meaning of the speaker's message.

- The employment of different types of negatives is purposeful, since it can contribute to achieving different political practices such as negative value of others, self-good

presentation, persuasion, and power inequities. Both the selected American speeches and the selected British political speeches have shown a diverse potential in meaning construction (political goals). This can be attributed to the high percentage of negatives used by the characters in most of the selected speeches.

- However, the higher frequency of direct and indirect negatives in Trump and Clinton, which reached to 649 in their speeches, shows that meaning construction in positive spaces in their speeches is more varied than in those of the British politicians (Cameron and May). This finding is in line with the results of Duran (2018, p. 36), who studied the use of negation in 45 speeches delivered by U.S. presidents and found that "US inaugural presidential speeches are noticeably and increasingly biased towards negation. This linguistic strategy is systematically chosen by US presidents who, feeling the need to portray themselves as men of action".

- The linguistic meaning of negatives has an impact on meaning construction in political discourse. The data analysis explains that some direct negatives are shown more complexity in meaning construction than other direct negatives. Meaning construction built by *negative affixes* or *double negation* is not as easy as other direct negatives because these have more than one interpretation on the linguistic scales of negation. As a result, meaning interpretation is more local between the speaker and listener than in the use of other negatives, as it is targeted on a politician's aim and the context of the speech.

In relation to the second question, 'How can the negatives achieve meaning construction or political aims in political discourse?' the findings show that:

- The choice of negatives by the selected political characters is not random. There is a relationship between the type of negatives and meaning construction.

- The biased use of strong direct negatives such as '**not and no**' in most of the selected speeches suggests that the four characters exploit these negatives in building focus spaces to draw positive images about their ability to meet challenges, perform actions in the high position of authority.

- Trump and Clinton exhibit more double frequency of **negative affixes** than Cameron and May in order to elicit a more vague interpretation from the audience regarding their future policies, and to disclaim any promise. Trump does this in his speech before the Congress. Clinton does not declare what type of action the U.S. towards irresponsible governments would take when she gives a speech on Internet Freedom.

- Similarly, the negative constructions built by the negative elements *if – clause*, *not X but Y*, and *comparative context* are long and complex, since the alternative spaces built by these negatives require more time and mental energy from the listener to understand the meaning as compared to other types of negation. This would require of the listener a long and complex cognitive process to construct meaning. Cameron and Trump employ *not X but Y*, *if – clause, and 'comparative context'* in their election campaign speeches (i.e., when they are in the low positions of authority, they exploit these negative strategies to suggest contrastive scenarios to draw a promised future for them.

- The extremely infrequent use of 'too-expressions' shows that none of the speakers are interested in showing any positive emotion in the negative presentation of others, because, according to Guowen (2011), this word also has a positive deviation in presenting valuation since it can indicate the speaker's exaggerated emotion or a compliment regarding someone or something.

Considering the third question that states, 'what is the impact of contextual features such as topic discussion, political role, and ideology in the use of negatives in American and British political speeches?', the following findings state

- The contextual feature has great impact in decreasing or increasing the use of negatives in both the American and the British political speeches under study.

- The significant increase in the use of negatives in Trump's and Clinton's speeches, as compared to Cameron's and May's speeches on **similar topics of discussion,** shows that Trump and Clinton are more biased towards using negation to build meaning than May and Cameron when discussing similar social and economic issues, as the analysis of the data shows in Table (4.38). For example, although May's speech is longer than Clinton's speech on the topic of 'women's rights', the obtained results reveal a greater use of negatives in Clinton's speech (115 negatives) than in May's speech (34 negatives) on the same topic. Clinton discussed related topics from a negative perspective to distance from the other. Thus, Cameron and May are more neutral in their use of negatives. They balance between presenting the negative value of the other and presenting the good actions of the self or the party.

- The **political role** of the selected American and British characters has a significant impact on meaning construction in political discourse. The selected American and British politicians both proved to be more conservative in using negation when

assuming higher positions of authority than they were before assuming these positions, or during election campaigns. This is attributed to the fact that they mostly focus on the face-damage of political competitors. While in positions of authority, positive presentation of their actions or of their power centralises their thinking and behaviour in order to maintain their political positions or political allies/relations. For example, Trump's speech about the "Iran Nuclear deal" (after assuming the authority of the U.S. presidency) contains 43 instantiations of direct and indirect negatives. However, there are 184 instantiations of direct and indirect negatives in his speech against the Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton during the 2016 American presidential election. Cameron, as a PM candidate, uses 224 instantiations of negatives, but in the position of PM, the frequency of negatives has decreased to only 28 instantiations.

- **Political ideology**. There is correlation between political ideology and the use of negation in political discourse. Notably, Trump and Clinton have different political ideologies, since Trump is a Republican and Clinton is a Democrat. The findings show an increase in the frequency and the types of negatives in their speeches because of exchanges of accusations about each other's negative performance in social and economic issues during their election conferences. The increased use of negatives leads to more variety in meaning construction (political goals) than in the speeches of Cameron and May, who both belong to the Conservative Party and have similar political ideologies. There is a significant decrease in the frequency of negatives in their remarks on 'Brexit'. This result is line with Arcimaviciene's study (2014, p.78), which claims, "By examining how speakers use their language, we learn about their experiences, perceptions and ideology". Generalisation seems to be a feature used by both Cameron and May, because they are more likely to use collective nouns and plural personal pronouns such as *big government, they, you, labour government, big society, last government*, and so on as techniques to generalise the negative responsibility of the government or the Labour Party in regards to the economic deficit. In contrast, specification seems to be one of the features of Trump and Clinton try to expose individuals' mistakes as characteristic of the 'opposing party' in general That is why the findings reveal an increased use of personal singular pronouns or names ('he-she', Obama, Clinton, and so on) within the scope of negation in the selected American speeches.

According to the fourth question, which reads 'what is the impact of gender in the use of different types of negatives in building meaning in American and British political speeches', the researcher has concluded that

- The **types and levels** of meaning construction in male politicians' speeches are generally more than those suggested by female politicians, since the frequency of negatives in male speeches is 10% greater than that in female speeches. As result, this leads to the more alternative meaning constructions. However, the complex or simple level of meaning construction is related more to the linguistic meaning scale of negatives and to the context of speech than it is related to the gender variable.

- Similarly, the two genders have a similar tendency to use more direct than indirect negatives in most of their speeches regardless of the topic of discussion, political roles, and the contextual features.

As for the fifth question, which states 'What is the role of linguistic and pragmatic strategies in achieving meaning building and understanding within the scope of negation in political speeches of politicians from different cultural backgrounds and genders?', the following findings can be divided into two parts. The first part relates to the role of selected linguistic and pragmatic strategies in achieving meaning building and understanding within the scope of negation in political speeches of politicians from different cultural backgrounds. While the second part shows the role of genders in applying these selected strategies to achieve meaning building and understanding.

- Political discourse is generally not different from other types of discourse. All types of discourse share the most common characteristics identified by discourse analysis, such as conversational context, cohesive devices, conversational principles, and speech acts. In the selected political speeches, both the American and the British politicians take advantage of **nominalization** strategy, reaching to 30% among the five linguistic strategies used within the scope of negation. It is applied to achieve some political aims, adopting actions as gents as May and Clinton primarily do in discussing social issues (women's rights) and international issues, such as immigration, internet censorship by dictatorial governments, and future relationships with the EU. It is noteworthy that the strategic use of nominalization in Cameron's and Trump's speeches is higher in their election campaigns than in speeches delivered after winning the elections, because they deliberately aim to discredit the actions of the out-group and to make the speech more influential in the minds of the audience.

- **Pronoun strategy** yields the second-highest average among the five linguistic strategies in the selected data of the American and British by 88 (26.42%) and 91 (27.32%), respectively. It is important to set up a definite or indefinite interpretation at the level of meaning construction and understanding. At the level of meaning construction, the use of the pronoun is normally related to a politician's ideology. It is employed to achieve political aims, such as damaging the image of other, disclaiming, or claiming responsibility to carry out plans or decisions, showing imbalance of power. At the level of meaning interpretation, the use of the pronoun is related to creating social distance between the speaker and listeners owing to the speaker's authority.

- It is also shown that the **repetition strategy** within the scope of negation scores a higher value in the speeches of Cameron and May than in those of Trump and Clinton. It is used for emphatic or rhetorical purposes, to persuade the audience to support the speaker's attitudes and decisions, to show the dangerous situation of (for instance) the Brexit referendum, immigration, and so on. However, the results show that the topic of discussion, social background, and the job of the speaker have an impact on the choice of the type of repetition. Furthermore, Trump is more biased towards using simple and hard repetitions, such as word and phrasal repetition, than clausal repetition, to show authority within the scope of negation. Clinton, Cameron, and May use complex and feasible repetitions.

- The findings show that the four politicians highly exploit **modality** strategy within the scope of negation in political discourse. This shows, first, that there is a significant relation between modality and negation in political discourse, since the selected speakers show a trend of using clausal negation. Second, meaning construction and understanding of modalized spaces is dependent on the context, such as the political role of the speaker; politicians in positions of higher authority use more relational modal verbs than expressive modals in the process of performing speech acts to show power inequities or to criticize others.

- The investigation of **passive voice** within negation does not reveal any significance in the monologue format of the American and British political discourses, because the findings of data analysis refer to its reduced role among the four linguistic strategies within the scope of negation in the speeches under study. The high frequency of pronouns in the data practically contributes to a decrease in passive voice. The four

politicians are serious and tend to use an active voice to show self-confidence in attacking others or in doing what they have determined to do. They hold political positions in the American and British governments that enable them to make important decisions. However, they turn to the passive voice when they intend to ignore the contributions of the others or to conceal their responsibility for the bad behaviour. In doing so, they would be uncooperative according to Grice (1975), since they give no information about the responsible or agent.

There is no statistically significant difference between American and British speeches in the frequency of the selected **pragmatic strategies**. However, there is a significant difference in choosing the type of strategy within negation in political speeches, depending on contextual features such as political role, political aims, and topic of discussion.

- **Presupposition strategy** plays a vital role in meaning interpretation in alternative spaces in the selected speeches. Trump is more likely to use different types of presupposition within the scope of negation to create juxtapositions of the two contrasting images of the bad past in negative space and the promised future in the alternative space. The high crime rate, poverty, and lack of safety in the past are presupposed by Trump to draw America's need for a good and wise leader who will save the country. Clinton, however, mostly employs presupposition to focus on her ability to lead the country, continue the fight for women's rights, support poor families in American society, and stop Trump's strategies. Cameron and May generally presuppose a balance of some positive and some negative future consequences in Britain, such as positive and negative impacts of the Brexit and negative impact of immigration, the Conservative government, and so on.

- The selected British leaders also seem to perform more **speech acts** within the scope of negation than the selected Americans do. Besides, the types of speech acts performed by both sides vary. Cameron and May are more careful to give directives or orders in the process of negative speech acts in front of their audiences than to assert or express negative attitudes about the other or other's actions, as the parliament has a role in making political decisions. When the UK was a member of the EU, the British government's decisions also needed to participate the EU in some issues, especially those related to single market freedom of transportation and immigration. Thus, the selected American leaders often have no limited authorities

that enable them to make more promises or more commissive and directive speech acts in their speeches than the British side.

- The frequencies of **on-record and off-record** strategies in both selected American and British speeches indicating the meaning construction in the application of these two strategies are affected by some factors. The first factor is the social distance between the speaker and the listener according to which the four characters show affiliation or closeness with the audience in their election campaign speeches for persuasive purposes. This is on one hand. On the other hand, they are more aggressive to damage the face of their opponents or competitors. The second factor is the speaker's authority in that they practically show more independence from others and even from their supporters in the high position of authority.

- The low frequency of violation of **cooperative principle** in most of the data analysis shows two points: first, this strategy is less frequent within the scope of negation in the monologue format of the political discourse; second, the type of violation is dependent on the context, such as speaker's intention, social background, and experience. The four characters mostly violate the maxim of quantity since they amplify in maximising good presentation of self and reducing the good role of other. They also violate in accusing other of playing a bad role without adequate evidence in different political issues.

To answer the second part of the fifth question, which is related to the role of selected linguistic and pragmatic strategies in achieving meaning construction within the scope of negation in political speeches of the politicians from different genders, the researcher has concluded the following:

- There is no statistically significant difference between the two genders in employing linguistic strategies. Thus, female politicians proved their ability to employ as effectively as male politicians different types of linguistic strategies within negation for persuasive and rhetorical purposes.

- However, the slightly higher value of **pronoun strategy** in Trump's and Cameron's than in Clinton's and May's speeches shows that female politicians are unbiased in favour of using pronouns to threaten face of others or to keep a positive face of the self in building meaning. They are more careful to maintain their social image as both women and politicians. The use of the pronoun 'we' in female speeches indicates that female politicians display a more affiliated and collective spirit in

taking serious steps towards eliminating bad mistakes than male politicians, who use the first singular pronoun 'I' more in order to show self-value/ action and distance from the bad decisions of others .

- There is also a significant difference between the two genders in the use of **repetition strategy** within negative sentences, phrases, and words in political discourse. Occasions of repetition in male speeches are 73, while there are only 48 occasions in female speeches. This reveals that male politicians use more persuasive strategies than female politicians do, as the use of this strategy helps them to assert negative portraits of their opponents' ideas and behaviours in the minds of the audience.

- The findings show that both genders similarly succeed in using pragmatic strategies within the scope of negative spaces, with some differences to mention. Male politicians are more rhetorical than female politicians in persuading and winning the support of their audiences, and this feature has made them more attractive and closer to the hearts of the people. Trump's novel technique of using definite and rude descriptions within the scope of negation to send clear messages to others or to other countries to show his ability to make America great and better than before; this helped him to win in the 2016 election. In contrast, May, who is also an inflexible character, failed to persuade the British Parliament to accept her plan for leaving the EU; this led to her resignation. Cameron wisely shows his interest in families and children and in the impact of the economic crisis, by applying negatives to present both the role of PM and the role of father as similar. This helped him to get re-elected.

- The results of speech act performance state similar values between the two genders in frequency and type of speech acts. This suggests that females are as capable of making important decisions in the upper reaches of authority as males. However, Trump and Cameron perform more commissive speech acts than May and Clinton. They mainly exploit them to present a promised future. May and Clinton perform commissive speech acts for the purposes of manipulation in alternative future scenarios, such as the negative consequences of Brexit and the irresponsible actions of Trump in the presidential office. May and Clinton exploit more directive speech acts than Trump and Clinton in their selected speeches. This may result from the sensitive positions of authority that May and Clinton held, such as Home Secretary,

British PM, and U.S. Secretary of State, which frequently required them to take actions (see Tables 3.3 and 3.5).

- The findings of data analysis indicate the low value of violation of the cooperative principles in the monologue format of the political discourse of the two genders. Similarly, they mostly violate the maxim of quantity within the scope of negation, by giving more information regarding good presentation of the self or in-group and less information about the positive role of the other. They also violate the maxim of quality, especially in election campaign speeches, when exchanging accusations without giving adequate evidence for them.

5.2 Recommendations

Based on the obtained findings and conclusions of the present study, some prominent recommendations are given as follows:

1. Students should take into consideration the importance of non-linguistic factors in conducting any discourse study.
2. All official websites of governments and political parties should provide written scripts of their politician's speeches. As a result, students and researchers will be able to make use of such speeches in doing political discourse analysis.
3. Gender equality and gender studies in the political field should be given more attention by researchers and governmental organizations in Arab countries.
4. Listening to videos or recordings of written speeches, if they are available is useful in doing discourse analysis, as they reveal the intonation and stress in uttering negative forms.
5. It is best to visit official governmental websites to find the original contexts of political speeches for doing discourse analysis.
6. In doing a political discourse study, researchers need to consult with a specialist in political sciences.
7. American speeches sometimes have some words or phrases that are not understood by non-American researchers. It is necessary to ask for some help from American friends for a better understanding of the meaning.
8. Political discourse analysis is somewhat affected by some crucial factors, such as the role of the speaker, his or her social background, cultural values, and ideology. Thus, researchers should not neglect these factors in the investigation of any linguistic applications in the political discourse.

9. There are many different classifications of negation according to linguists. Thus, researchers should be very careful when choosing the model of negation classification before starting an investigation.

10. Most of the political scene in the Middle East is made up of male politicians Therefore; there is a need to study the low level of female-representation in the upper reaches of Middle Eastern governments and political organisations.

5.3 Some Suggestions for Further Future Research

Based on the limitations of the present study, there is still a need to address further issues not yet tackled in studies of the negation phenomenon in political discourse. The researcher offers the following suggestions for future research:

1. Conducting a pragmatic analysis of negation in the representation of in-groups and out-groups in American political debates

2. Studying the role of racist ideology in the use of negation in Trump's speeches

3. Conducting a critical discourse analysis of negation in discussing the issue of 'immigration' in the British Parliament

4. Studying the strategic use of metalinguistic negation in political discourse

5. Conducting a cognitive-social study of negation in feminist political speeches

6. Investigating the impact of contextual models in the use of negation in political discourse by performing a critical discourse analysis

7. Carrying out a contrastive pragmatic analysis of negation in western and Arab political speeches

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Appendix

The title, date of download and the link of the selected speeches

1. Cameron's Victory Speech 12/13/2018

    http://www.britishpoliticalspeech.org/speech-archive.htm?speech

2. Cameron's Speech on the EU Referendum 1/24/2018

    https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-speech-at-o2-on-the-ereferendum-23-february-2016

3. Cameron's Election Campaign 2/3/ 2018

    http://www.britishpoliticalspeech.org/speech-archive.htm?speech=154

4. May's Speech about the Cranfield Report Launch 3/28/2018

    https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/home-secretarys-speech-on-the-

5. May's Speech about Immigration 5/14/2018

    www.gov.uk/government/speeches/immigration-home-secretarys-speech-of-5-november-2010

6. May's Statement on Leaving the EU 6/4/2018

    https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-statement-on-leaving-the-eu-9-oct-2017

7. Clinton's Speech about Businesswomen in America 7/17/2018

    http://time.com/4716858/hillaryclintonbusinesswomen-california-transcript/

8. Clinton's Speech on Internet Freedom 8/15/201

    https://20092017.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/2010/01/135519.htm

9. Clinton's Speech on Donald Trump and National Security 10 /22/2018

    http://time.com/4355797/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-foreign-policy-speech-transcript/

10. Trump's Speech to the Republican National Convention 11/17/2018

    www.whitehouse.gov/briefingsstatements/remarks-president-trump-joint-address-congress/

11. Trump's Iran Nuclear Deal Speech 1/2/2019

    www.whitehouse.gov/briefingsstatements/remarks-president-trump-joint-comprehensive-plan-action

12. Trump's Speech before the Congress 3/7/2019

    http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=117935