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A Socio-Cognitive Phonological Analysis of Islamophobic Ideological Representation in Two Presidential Speeches

Asst. Prof. Dr. Zainab Abbodi Ali*

Physiotherapy Department, Health and Medical College, Southern Technical University in Basrah, Basrah, Iraq

zainababudiusm@gmail.com

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Abstract

The present study contrasts the different types of informational tones utilized in the speeches of Bush and Trump concerning Islamophobia, aiming to illustrate the discursive strategies linked to us/them ideology. This study primarily employs a qualitative methodology, wherein the chosen excerpts are critically assessed through the lens of the ideological square from Van Dijk's (2006) framework and the informational tones outlined in Brazil's (1997) discourse intonation model. The main findings indicate that Bush's rhetoric significantly emphasizes positive self-representation, while Trump's discourse tends to focus more on negative portrayals of 'THEM' (others) in contrast to the positive representations of 'US' (self). Furthermore, both speakers employed the proclaiming (fall) tone and a non-dominant role in their speeches to convey anti-Muslim sentiments, reflecting Islamophobia and depicting Americans as in-group victims while negatively characterizing terrorists, particularly Muslims, as out-group aggressors.

* **Corresponding Author:** Zainab Abbodi Ali, Email: zainababudiusm@gmail.com

Affiliation: Southern Technical University in Basrah – Iraq.

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Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, George Bush vs. Donald J. Trump, Ideological square of Van Dijk's framework, Brazil's model of discourse intonation, Islamophobia, us/them ideology

تحليل صوتي اجتماعي - معرفي للتمثيل الأيديولوجي المعادي للإسلام في خطابين رئاسيين

أ.م.د. زينب عبودي علي

قسم العلاج الطبيعي، كلية تقنيات الصحية والطبية، الجامعة التقنية الجنوبية في البصرة، البصرة، العراق

المستخلص

تُقارن هذه الدراسة بين أنواع نغمات المعلومات المستخدمة في خطابات بوش وترامب بشأن الإسلاموفوبيا، بهدف توضيح الاستراتيجيات الخطابية المرتبطة بأيديولوجية "نحن/هم". وتعتمد الدراسة بشكل أساسي على منهجية نوعية، حيث يتم تقييم المقطعات المختارة تقييماً نقدياً من خلال منظور المربع الأيديولوجي من نموذج فان دايك (2006) ونغمات المعلومات الموضحة في نموذج تنعيم الخطاب لبرازيل (1997). وتشير النتائج الرئيسية إلى أن خطاب بوش يُركز بشكل كبير على الصورة الإيجابية للذات، بينما يميل خطاب ترامب إلى التركيز أكثر على الصور السلبية لـ "هم" (الآخرين) في مقابل الصور الإيجابية لـ "نحن" (الذات). علاوة على ذلك، استخدم كلا المتحدثين نبذة الإعلان (هابطة) ودوراً غير مهيمين في خطابتهما لنقل مشاعر معادية للمسلمين، مما يعكس الإسلاموفوبيا ويصور الأمريكيين كضحايا من داخل المجموعة بينما يصفون الإرهابيين، وخاصة المسلمين، بشكل سلبي كمعتدين من خارج المجموعة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: تحليل الخطاب النقدي، جورج بوش مقابل دونالد جيه ترامب، المربع الأيديولوجي لنموذج فان دايك، نموذج برازل لتنعيم الخطاب، الإسلاموفوبيا، أيديولوجية نحن/هم.

1. Introduction

Wells (2006) emphasized the significance of examining intonation to understand the modulation of tone, whether it is falling or rising, and concurrently, how fluctuations in pitch can alter both linguistic and pragmatic interpretations. This, in turn, illustrates how the interplay of accented, stressed, and unstressed syllables creates a foundational structure to which intonation patterns are associated. In this regard, it is argued that intonation is vital in revealing the power dynamics and authority present in the exchanges between speakers and listeners. Different structures in discourse can be conveyed through intonation, particularly as turn-taking is affected by prosodic characteristics (Collins & Mees, 2003). Furthermore, linguists have examined the different ways in which intonation

elucidates this phenomenon in discourse (Hirschberg, 2008). This study is significant as it examines the various tones of information that influence the discursive strategies regarding self and others in the speeches of George Bush and Donald Trump. These notable presidential addresses illustrate their anti-Muslim rhetoric, linking all violence and terror in the United States to Muslims. The analysis employs an eclectic framework, incorporating Van Dijk's (2006) ideological square model and Brazil's (1997) discourse intonation model.

2. Literature Review

2.1 The Socio-Cognitive Perspective on Phonology

Jonathan Kaye is recognized as the innovator who initially utilized cognitive models for the examination of sounds in his publication "Phonology: A Cognitive Approach (1989)." He merged the fields of computer science and cognitive psychology within phonology by mentoring students on the progression of phonological theory from generative to non-linear phonology. Kaye noted that generative models fell short in addressing the ontogeny or phylogeny of phonology. His contributions are regarded as an early attempt to confront the difficulties presented to conventional phonological frameworks, despite the fact that he did not delineate what a cognitively-oriented phonology would practically involve. Likewise, in the early 1990s, Lakoff explored the cognitive-oriented perspective on phonology, claiming that cognitive phonology is an essential aspect of cognitive methodologies, wherein components of grammar can be directly analyzed through constructional assessments. Consequently, the cognitive approach will be integrated with other grammatical frameworks that focus on pragmatic, semantic, and morphosyntactic orientations, thereby establishing a network of coherent mappings.

It is worth to mention that prosody is considered one of the most significant supra-segmental features, which communicates strategies in political discourse. In this respect, Crystal (1980) states that it is vital for revealing underlying meanings, as it illustrates the variations in pitch or melodic patterns, along with the diverse vocal movements present in speech. Moreover, Van Dijk and Kintsch (1983) constraint on exploring the relationship between language processing and discourse and how the information is represented by participants in media contexts. As a result, their work later developed into a cognitive model, which explains how the meaning is constructed in a society (Wodak & Van Dijk, 2000).

In this context, cognitive models play a vital role in depicting the mental beliefs and opinions held by members of social groups, encompassing their ideologies, which evolve into a collective system of shared beliefs and concepts through their expression and reiteration in discourse. This mechanism helps to delineate both the social groups in question and those outside of them. As a result, these ideologies are significant in shaping the perspectives of social groups that possess analogous beliefs and opinions.

Furthermore, the concept of Islamophobia in the United States has emerged as one of the most contentious topics following the September 11 attacks. This term has its roots in the

7th Century, stemming from the perspectives of 'Orientalists' regarding the Arab World, and the term is derived from the word 'Islam' along with the suffix 'phobia', indicating 'fear of Islam' or 'hatred towards Muslims' (Evolvi, 2018). Similarly, Bazian (2018) claims that the increase in Islamophobia is connected to the concept known as the 'Clash of Civilizations', which can be related to Huntington's idea of 'Islamic Extremism'. Islamophobia is regarded as one of the most prominent expressions of racism and discrimination, representing an unjustified animosity directed at the Muslim community globally, as Islam has been associated with negative stereotypes (Waikar, 2018). Nevertheless, numerous scholars contend that Islamophobia arises from a rejection of the Muslim faith due to its connections with concepts such as violence and terrorism. In this context, Terman (2017) and Sides and Gross (2013) indicate that the media in the United States has emphasized that Muslims are inherently sexist and extremist, depicting Muslim communities as misogynistic, barbaric, and uncivilized, which are perceived as perpetual threats to American values.

It is noteworthy that Islamophobia is prominently evident in presidential addresses, particularly those delivered by Bush and Trump, in which the first comes in the aftermath of the events of September 11, 2001, which still echo as a 'war on terror' for the American populace., while the second speech became a hallmark of Trump's campaign during the 2016 elections, particularly when he announced his intention to ban Muslims from entering the United States (Kazi, 2017). Trump's statements regarding anti-Islam and anti-Muslim sentiments are explicitly articulated, especially during an interview on CNN with Anderson Cooper, where he remarked, 'I think Islam hates us', reflecting his Islamophobic ideology while also advocating for stringent laws against the Muslim-American community. Both depict Muslims in a negative light, portraying them as terrorists and suggesting that they pose a threat to the lives of Americans.

Numerous prior studies have utilized Van Dijk's (2006) ideological framework within discourse analysis. The majority of these investigations focused on how speakers can shape a reality for their audience, thereby framing their ideology of us versus them in discourse. Consequently, these studies underscore the importance of comprehending the underlying ideology present in the speaker's messages, which is employed to contextualize the interpretation of the discourse (McClay, 2017); (Nurfadilah, 2017); (Khan et al., 2021); (Fatima, 2021); (Kasiyarno & Murwantono, 2022); (Tennant, 2016); (Abbas, 2019); (Ahlstrand, 2020); (Qaiwer, 2020); (Kadim, 2022).

Accordingly, limited research has been conducted on the examination of speech prosody in discourse analysis, especially concerning political speech. Some of these studies have analyzed the intonational patterns in the speeches of politicians such as Nicolas Sarkozy, Segolene Royal, and Barack Obama. The results primarily indicate that the high-fall intonation is the most frequently employed by politicians to render their delivery assertive, emphatic, and distinctive (Martin, 2013; Miyauchi, 2017). Furthermore, the rising tone is also utilized as a cohesive device to reinforce ideas, while the falling tone predominantly serves as a discourse marker for concluding thoughts, and the falling tone is additionally used as a cohesive device for elaborating on ideas (Maghrabi, 2022). Several studies have confirmed the effectiveness of pragmatic forces in politicians' speeches on their audiences,

aiming to capture their attention and persuade them regarding their objectives (Farhan, 2017; Mufiah & Rahman, 2019). Furthermore, in 1997, an approach was established by the British phonetician David Brazil, recognized as discourse intonation, which focused on the various types of information tones present in discourse. It has been observed that the majority of studies have utilized this approach within pedagogical contexts. In this context, Odeyemi (2017) examined the intonation patterns of Nigerian individuals in advertisements. The results indicate that the proclaiming tone is frequently employed in advertisements as it effectively captures the attention of viewers. Similarly, Shitwi et al. (2019) and Maghrabi (2022) concluded that politicians tend to use more proclaiming tones compared to referring tones, assuming the role of controller to highlight their objectives and engage the attention of the interviewer. Conversely, Ali (2020) argues that the speaker in religious discourse does not adopt the role of controller when interacting with the audience. In alignment with this, Mahfudhoh (2021) supports the same finding in religious texts, where the speaker was non-dominant in delivering the proclaiming information.

To the best of the researcher's understanding, there have been no prior investigations addressing this topic. Consequently, the present research addresses this gap using an eclectic approach that combines two models: Van Dijk's (2006) Ideological square and Brazil's (1997) discourse intonation in order to explore the influence of intonation on the ideological strategies of self/ other representations in the speeches of George Bush and Donald Trump. It mainly compares between the various types of informational tones employed in the speeches of Bush and Trump regarding Islamophobia, with the aim of reflecting the discursive strategies associated with us/them ideology.

2.2 Van Dijk's framework of the Ideological Square

One of the most crucial methodologies in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is Van Dijk's (2006) model of ideological square, which aims to uncover the concealed ideologies present in discourse. This methodology has evolved into a cognitive framework that illustrates how meaning is organized within society, primarily functioning as a socio-cognitive approach. It is grounded in both 'society' and 'discourse', which are vital for delivering descriptive, explanatory, and particularly critical insights into social issues in any research (Reisigl et al., 2009). Van Dijk (1998) posited that each social group possesses a specific ideology that governs its discourse. This research concentrates on the ideological square within Van Dijk's (2006) model, as it effectively emphasizes the polarized ideology of 'self versus other' in Bush and Trump's anti-Muslim rhetoric, where the self or in-group is portrayed positively, while the other or out-group is depicted negatively. In accordance with Van Dijk's framework, there are two levels of analysis: macro and micro analysis. The macro analysis identifies four primary strategies for legitimizing the self and delegitimizing the other (Van Dijk, 1998, 2004, 2006). The two levels of analysis are illustrated in Table 1 below:

- 1 emphasize the positive aspects of 'us';
- 2 emphasize the negative aspects of 'them';
- 3 De-emphasize the negative aspects of 'us'; and.

4 De-emphasize the positive aspects of 'them'

Consequently, the macro-level analysis in this research concentrated on the self/other dichotomy, which is elucidated as follows:

Bush vs Trump: self, we, us (in-group)

Muslims: others, they, them (out-group)

Furthermore, the analysis at the micro level consists of 25 discursive strategies. Van Dijk (2000a, 2004) outlines the categories of ideological analysis that are beneficial in illustrating the concept of (Us versus Them), as demonstrated in Table 1:

Table 1 Functions of ideological square of us/them

NO	Strategy	Function
1.	Actor description	Describing an entity as describing the in-group as positive and the out-group as bad
2.	Authority	Citing authorities to substantiate one's assertion regarding a statement
3.	Categorization	assigning people to different groups, race, ethnicity, etc.
4.	Polarization	in-group (positive characteristics) vs. out-group (negative characteristics.)
5.	Vagueness	Creating uncertainty and ambiguity in using expressions
6.	Victimization	Clarifying the negative narratives surrounding (them) to highlight their unfavorable characteristics.
7.	Burden	Stating the loss that occurs of (us) as the impact of the actions take by (them)
8.	Comparison	Stating the differences and similarities between two different groups positively and negatively
9.	Consensus	soldering and building solidarity of certain group
10.	Counterfactual	say an expression to highlight what something like in certain conditions to ask for empathy
11.	Disclaimers	Explaining the good deeds of oneself and then followed by the bad evaluation of others using (...but, yet, however)
12.	Euphemism	A rhetorical technique employed to mitigate or enhance the severity of blunt or straightforward language by utilizing milder or more indirect expressions.
13.	Evidentiality	Submitting the proofs and facts to convey objectivity
14.	Example/illustration	present factual , short stories or examples to make it clearly about (our) and (other)
15.	Generalization	attribution of negative or positive aspects of a specific person to a large population
16.	Hyperbole:	Use of exaggeration words or meanings

17.	Implication	Avoiding providing information explicitly, i.e., deduction information, in order the recipients interpret the information themselves
18.	Irony	Providing contradiction of what is said vs. what is intended in the discourse
19.	Metaphor	Recognizing the abstract or unfamiliar concepts and translating them into more concrete and familiar terms
20.	National self-Glorification	Praising and glorifying (our) positively (entities, traditions, etc.)
21.	Norm expression	The normative expression of how certain actions ought to be performed or avoided, in accordance with the relevant standards within the community.
22.	Number game	genuine and trustworthy by employing figures and data
23.	Populism	popularity through placing his ideas & policies
24.	Presupposition	implicit assumption in which the truth are not established
25.	Lexicalization	Using expressive and exaggerated words to emphasize (us) positively & (them) negatively

2.3 David Brazil's Framework of the Information Tones

Discourse intonation represents one of the methodologies that focuses on examining intonation in relation to its pragmatic function, as proposed by David Brazil in 1997. The key elements of this methodology include the tone unit, prominence, tones, key, and termination. Regarding the tone unit, it typically consists of three primary structures: proclitic (non-prominent), enclitic (non-prominent), and the tonic segment (prominent). Furthermore, it begins with the onset, referred to as 'key' (the first prominent syllable), and concludes with the tonic syllable, known as termination (the last prominent syllable). This is illustrated in the following example, where, according to Brazil's model of discourse intonation, the prominent syllables are indicated in capital letters, while the tonic syllables are both capitalized and underlined. Additionally, arrows precede the prominent syllable of the termination to denote the type of information tone (proclaiming, referring, and level):

It was a WED nesday
 Proclitic Segment - Tonic Segment - Enclitic Segment (Brazil, 1994)

Furthermore, there exists three pitch levels concerning key and termination, namely (high, mid, and low). This study will not delve into these levels, as it is solely focused on examining the types of information tones in relation to the functions of tone units, which include proclaiming, referring, and level tone. The proclaiming tone can manifest as either (fall or rise-fall) and is employed when the speaker introduces additional or new information relevant to the common ground. In his analysis, Brazil (1997) elucidates the distinction between unshared and shared knowledge, indicating that when a speaker utilizes a (fall) tone to convey unshared information, it signifies a sense of 'separateness' between the speaker and listener. Conversely, when a (rise-fall) tone is used to communicate shared

information, it reflects a sense of 'togetherness' between the speaker and listener. Below are two examples that illustrate the difference between (fall-rise) tone and (fall) tone:

// ↘↗ DO you eat RICE // (Am I right in thinking you do?)

// ↘ DO you eat RICE // (I don't know the answer, please tell me)

Generally, the fall tone occurs when the movement of the pitch starts from a high point to a down point, for example:

//It is ↘ GREAT //

(Roach, 2009:132)

In this context, O'Connor (1973:47) clarifies that the low drop pertains to utterances such as statements that present alternatives, responses to inquiries, announcements, or remarks that conclude with a falling intonation. This intonation indicates that the utterances are finished, thereby suggesting that no further options are available, as illustrated in the subsequent examples:

//You can have tea, | or milk, | or ↘ COFFEE //

(The list is complete and there are no more possibilities)

Regarding the rising-falling tone, the pitch movement ascends and then descends. Brazil (1997) notes that the rise-fall tone is employed in expressions conveying insistence, forcefulness, and the assertion of dominance by speakers, as illustrated in the following example:

//Why don't you ↗ASK him //

Conversely, the referring tone can manifest as either a rise or a fall-rise, indicating information that is shared or part of the common ground already known to the speaker. On the other hand, the level tone is the tone which is used infrequently for routine and formulaic contexts (Brazil, *ibid.*). In regard to the rising tone, the pitch glides at a low level and then ends with a high point, as explained in the following example:

// ↗ WHO? //

(Wells, 2006:18)

With respect to the high-rise tone, it is applicable in echo-questions, where the listener repeats the words of the questions. Echo-questions serve as fillers for the listener, allowing them time to contemplate, as seen in:

(Do you know John Hancock?) _ John ↗Hancock? (Of course, I know him.)

Additionally, Wells (2006:18) notes that the falling-rising tone describes the pitch movement that begins at a high level, descends to a low level, and then ascends back to a high level, as illustrated below:

// I think it's ↘↗MINE//

Moreover, the level tone can be employed in both unemotional and standard speech, where it serves a minimal communicative function. This tone is applicable when the

speaker's emphasis is on the act of speaking rather than the message being communicated. It is represented by (→), and can be used in routine activities such as parade-ground commands or public recitation prayers, for instance:

// Almighty →GOD // we humbly →beSEECH thee //

Furthermore, Brazil, in his discourse intonation approach (1997), identified another significant aspect concerning whether the speaker holds a dominant or non-dominant position in the discourse. On one side, the individual who assumes the controlling role in the conversation is referred to as the dominant speaker, who may utilize either a (rise-fall) with a proclaiming plus tone or a (rise) with a referring plus tone. In this context, Coulthard (1985:110) clarifies that if dominant speakers opt for the rising tone, it suggests a form of intervention, such as:

// p WELL //r+ I've 'come to SEE you //

Nevertheless, when speakers opt for the rise-fall tone, it conveys emotions such as horror and surprise, while simultaneously introducing new information, for instance:

// r he says gamey // p+ is the grape that makes Beaujolais//.

Conversely, a speaker who does not assume the controller role in the conversation is referred to as a non-dominant speaker, who may employ either a (fall) with a declarative tone or a (fall-rise) with a referential tone (Vilches, 2015). Brazil (1997) provides two examples to differentiate between the dominant tone, namely (rise), and the non-dominant tone (fall-rise). The first example illustrates the speaker's controller role for a direct request for information, while the second example demonstrates the non-controller role of the speaker for an indirect request for information, which is characterized by more courteous inquiries:

// ↗ got a LIGHT // (direct demand of the information)

// ↘↗ got a LIGHT // (indirect demand of the information)

Gradually, Table 2 below presents the various types of information tones along with their pragmatic functions and the speaker's role concerning dominance and non-dominance:

Table 2 Types of information tones, along with their pragmatic functions, and the speaker's role in relation to dominance and non-dominance factor

Type of tone	Pragmatic function vs. speaker's role
Referring (r): fall-rise ↘↗	Shared information (convergence between participants)/ and non-dominance
Referring (r+): rise↗	Shared information (convergence between participants)/ and Dominance

Proclaiming (p): fall ↘	unshared information (divergence between participants)/ and non-dominance
Proclaiming (p+) :rise-fall ↗↘	unshared information (divergence between participants)/ and dominance
Level tone (o): →	Formulaic (routine)

2.4 Methodology

2.4.1 Data Collection

This research primarily adopts a qualitative approach, concentrating on authentic and spoken political discourse to illustrate the Islamophobia present in the speeches of George Bush and Donald Trump. The excerpts chosen are derived from the speeches of Bush and Trump, with the former being delivered on September 11, 2001, when four commercial airplanes were hijacked and subsequently crashed into the World Trade Center Towers in New York, resulting in the deaths of thousands of individuals. The latter speech was given when Trump announced his 'Muslim Ban' statement on December 7, 2015, during a rally in Mount Pleasant, South Carolina. These two presidential speeches can be accessed from two official websites: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WA8-KEnfWbQ> and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-sz0KY-3PbQ&t=62s>, respectively. It is worth to mention that the reason behind choosing these two speeches is that they show a clear Islamophobia, in which Bush's speech delivered after the events of the September 11, 2001 attacks, while Trump's speech comes in his political platform during the 2016 election campaign when he announced that all Muslims are forbidden from entering the United States. It is crucial to conduct an acoustic analysis of the chosen data using the PRAAT program. This software aids in recognizing the various tones employed in constructing the discursive strategies of self /other in the speech of Bush and Trump.

2.4.2 Data Analysis

2.4.2.1 Ideology of us/them in Bush's speech

Excerpt 1:

“Our fellow citizens, our way of life, our very freedom came under attack in a series of deliberate and deadly terrorist acts. The victims were in airplanes, or in their offices; secretaries, businessmen and women, military and federal workers; moms and dads, friends and neighbors. Thousands of lives were suddenly ended by evil, despicable acts of terror. The pictures of airplanes flying into buildings, fires burning huge structures collapsing, have filled us with disbelief, terrible sadness, and a quiet, unyielding anger”

Figure 1 shows the extraction of some pitch contours from excerpt (1) in six TUs //our fellow citizens//, //our way of life// //The victims were in airplanes//, //or in their offices//, //Thousands of lives were suddenly ended by evil//, //despicable acts of terror// respectively:

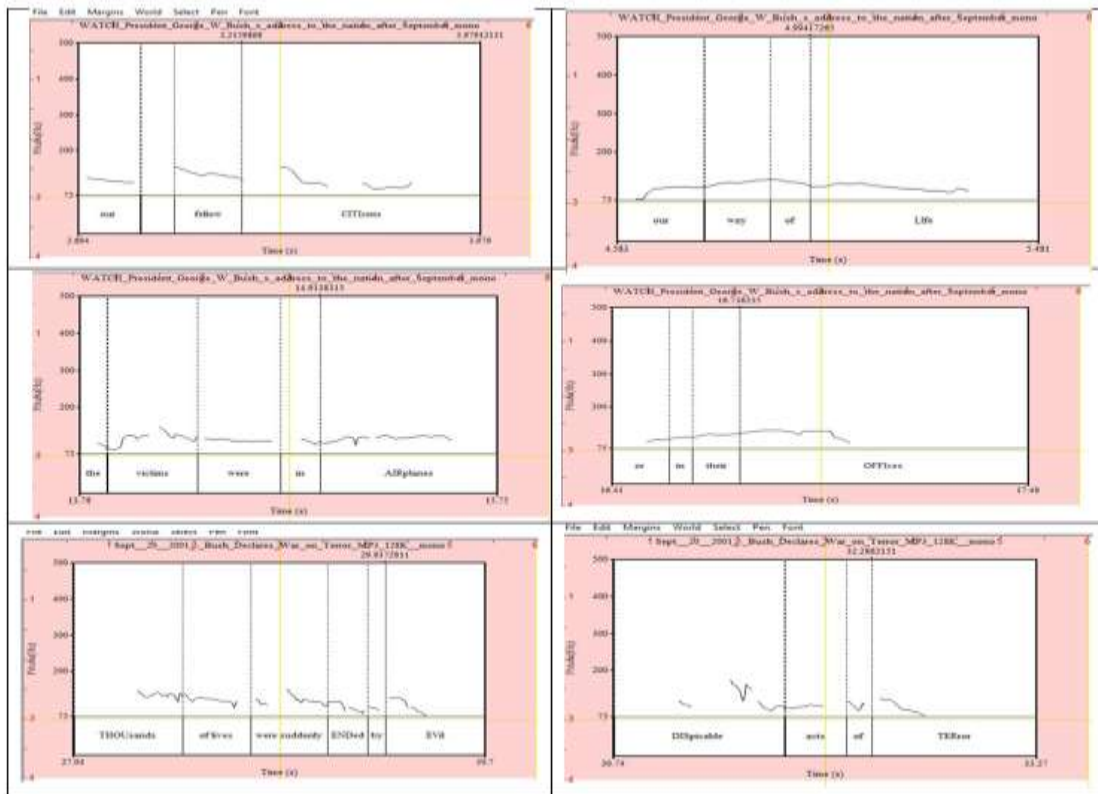


Figure 1 an extraction of pitch contours in some TUs //our fellow citizens //, //our way of life // //The victims were in airplanes//, //or in their offices//, //Thousands of lives were suddenly ended by evil//, //despicable acts of terror//

This excerpt reflects the existence of (19) distinct tone units. In his address, Bush initiates his speech with a falling intonation on the pronoun 'our' and it reflects the use of the consensus strategy, which signifies unity and cohesion among individuals who share common objectives and responsibilities for their nation. The repeated use of "our" throughout Bush's speech positions him as one of the ordinary citizens living in the same country.

It is worth to mention that this pronoun represents various concepts like "way of life" and "freedom," which embody how the threat of terrorists to these essential values. Therefore, it is clear that the falling tone is predominant in Bush's speech to attract the attention of American people and simultaneously highlighting the goodness of Americans and the cruel, destructive nature of terrorists. This strategy helps in reflecting the positive attributes of Americans. On the other hand, Bush used the rising tone when he tends to emphasize and remind the audience about the deliberate series of the terrorists' attacks aiming at disturbing the lives of innocent American people. In this way, the strategy of categorization is employed to portray the American people positively and simultaneously it reflects a comparison to Arab people, especially Muslims, whom he describes them as criminals. Here, the main goal of Bush is to capture the attention of the public in order to convince them about the threat of terrorists, particularly Muslims to Americans. Further, more strategies are used with a proclaiming tone such as number game, hyperbole, euphemism, lexicalization, presupposition, victimization, and polarization to capture the attention of Americans to the victims, who lost their life because of the terrorism. This is important because it leads to establish fear among the Americans. It is noted that Bush sometimes moves to a fall-rise tone to highlight the plight of innocent individuals, involving secretaries, businessmen, and specifically women aiming at drawing the attention of public to the treat of Arab Muslims towards the safety of Americans.

However, it seems that Bush ends his speech with a falling tone and he limits his sharing the information with his audience during his speech, emphasizing on depicting how Americans are victims of terrorisms. The only information he conveys pertains to the innocent lives lost due to these attacks. His emphasis on individuals like secretaries, businessmen, and women serves as a stark warning to the audience regarding the dangers posed by Arabs, specifically Muslims. It is important to mention that the falling tone is commonly used to illustrate the number game and hyperbole, thereby exaggerating and emphasizing the negative actions of others to heighten pressure on the American public. Subsequently, he employs a referring (fall-rise) tone, which is somewhat hypocritical, to underscore the negative portrayal of terrorists and their aircraft hovering over buildings, depicting the destruction caused by their actions. He then shifts to a falling tone to assertively declare unshared information, conveying a sense of 'separateness' between the speaker and the audience. Moreover, he depicts the terrorists (Muslims) as individuals

belonging to an out-group, while framing Americans as in-group members and victims of the actions committed by the former. In summary, Bush employs a fall-rise tone to convey empathy towards his audience. He skillfully applies the polarization strategy by positively categorizing Americans as in-group victims and negatively characterizing terrorists, particularly Muslims, as out-group aggressors.

It is worth to note that Bush frequently takes the subordinate role in addressing the audience, which shows that he does not put himself as the main authority in his communicating with the public. In this way, Bush can engage his audience effectively because he highlights a comparison between Americans, who portrayed as virtuous and terrorists, who depicted as malevolent. However, it appears that Bush takes a dominant role to strengthen the listeners' feelings as he tend to remind the public about the planned sequence of the attacks happened by terrorists. Nevertheless, the president Bush avoid a demeanor role in his addressing the public, which reflects his humility as an ordinary person very close to his audience. This approach can help in reducing public anger following terrorists attacks while simultaneously can foster a sense of understanding and support for his agenda.

Therefore, it is obvious that Bush takes non-dominant role in a discourse when he used commonly the information, which is already known by his audience and community, particularly the damage happened by terrorists to reflect the negative image of terrorists (Muslims) and achieve his political goals. His intention is to highlight the distinction between Americans and other things as in when he said “ the terror of aircraft flying over urban landscapes”.

Excerpt 2:

“These acts of mass murder were intended to frighten our nation into chaos and retreat. But they have failed; our country is strong. A great people has been moved to defend a great nation. Terrorist attacks can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch the foundation of America. These acts shattered steel, but they cannot dent the steel of American resolve”.

Figure 2 indicates an extraction shows the extraction of pitch contours in some TUs //these acts of mass murder were intended to frighten_our nation into chaos and retreat//, //but they have failed// and //our country is strong // respectively

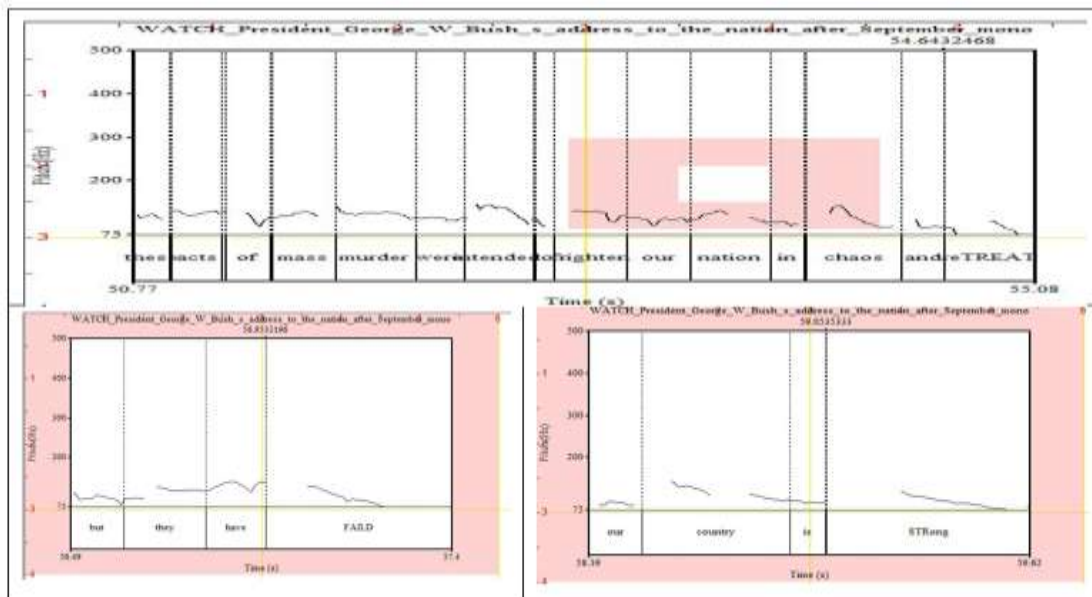


Figure 2 an extraction of pitch contours in some TUs //these acts of mass murder were intended to frighten_our nation into chaos and retreat//, //but they have failed// and //our country is strong //

There are eight distinct tone units illustrated in the accompanying figures. It is observed that Bush frequently employs the proclaiming (fall) tone to convey strategies related to disclaimers, lexicalization, burden, national glorification, euphemism, presupposition, metaphor, and hyperbole. In the initial three tone units, the falling tone highlights the contrast between the terrorists' intentions, as expressed in their preliminary statements, and their subsequent failures. This technique is crucial for capturing the American audience's attention on the negative traits of the terrorists (Muslims) while simultaneously projecting confidence in himself and his nation. Subsequently, a proclaiming (rise-fall) tone is utilized when the speaker underscores the term "nation" which not only denotes a sense of ongoing action but also amplifies the emphatic and assertive quality of his speech. This technique underscores the speaker's authoritative position, effectively engaging the audience with the importance of the forthcoming message. When he states, "A great people has been moved to defend a great nation," He seeks to shape their views in order to achieve particular political goals. Subsequently, he utilizes the fall tone to praise and honor the members of his community and the nation they belong to, implying that it is fitting for other communities to react in protection of their homeland. Ultimately, the fall tone serves to express the continuous aspect of his dialogue.

It is clear that Bush does not share his information with audience, but he tends to show a clear contradiction between the goals of terrorists and their failure to achieve them. In this

way, his aim is to compare between ‘us’ and the terrorists, emphasizing on the good image of the American people versus the failures of terrorists. His goals is to highlight the resilience of Americans and the inability of terrorists to undermine it. It is noted that Bush does not take a controlling role in his addressing the public, but he emphasizes the importance of information when he shows his confidence in American populace as a powerful nation, not only a collection of individuals. Finally, ends his speech in non-dominant role, reflecting that he has no additional points to add.

Excerpt 3:

“America was targeted for attack because we’re the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world. And no one will keep that light from shining. Today, our nation saw evil, the very worst of human nature. And we responded with the best of America with the daring of our rescue workers, with the caring for strangers and neighbors who came to give blood and help in any way they could”.

Figures 3 indicates an extraction of pitch contours in some TUs //America was targeted for attack because we’re the brightest beacon for freedom////and opportunity in the world////and no one will keep that light from shining// respectively:

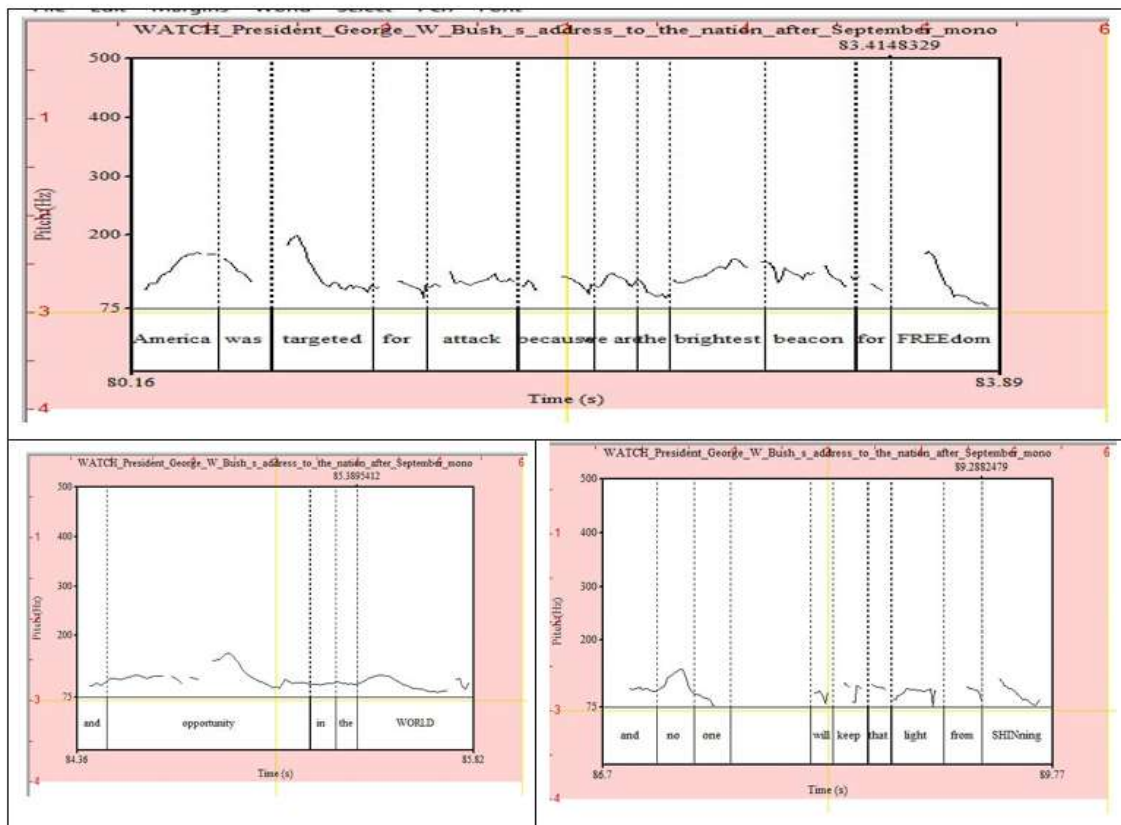


Figure 3 an extraction of pitch contours in some TUs //America was targeted for attack because we're the brightest beacon for freedom////and opportunity in the world////and no one will keep that light from shining//

In this excerpt, there are nine TUs, where Bush uses different tones to convey many strategies involving victimization, metaphor, evidential support, vagueness, actor description, lexicalization, and national self-aggrandizement. At the beginning, Bush adopts the falling tone to attract the attention of the audience to the victims of terrorism, who symbolize freedom. Then, he uses the pronoun “us” by highlighting the good qualities of Americans and simultaneously he used the word “evil” to depict Muslims negatively, particularly calling them as terrorist and adversaries of freedom.

Bush tends to use a fall tone to express that he does not have a favor towards those group and then he shifts to a rise-fall tone when he mentioned the phrase "nature and workers" to obtain agreement from the audience about the negative traits of others, i.e., terrorists. On the other hand, this tone support his positive portrayal of American people. Bush ends with a fall tone to make Americans feel about their unity and asserts to support each other against the terrorists.

Moreover, Bush does not take the role of controller in order to gain support from the public about certain points. For example, he uses the metaphor a beacon to represent America as a symbol of freedom, particularly it reflects the power of American people and their role as defenders of freedom. He emphasizes that the nation persists in spite of terrors it faces. As a result, he emphasizes the unity among citizens and this is why they remain strong against terrorists. It is clear that Bush influences the dynamics of discourse when he highlights the negative aspects of terrorists and simultaneously depicting Americans positively.

Excerpt 4:

“Our financial institutions remain strong and the American economy will be open for business, as well. The search is underway for those who are behind these evil acts. I’ve directed the full resources of our intelligence and law enforcement communities to find those responsible and to bring them to justice. We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them. I appreciate so very much the members of Congress who have joined me in strongly condemning these attacks and on behalf of the American people. I thank the many world leaders who have called to offer their condolences and assistance.”

Figure 4 indicates an extraction of pitch contours in some TUs //our financial institutions remain strong//, //and the American economy will be open for business, as well//, //the search is underway for those who are behind these evil acts// respectively:

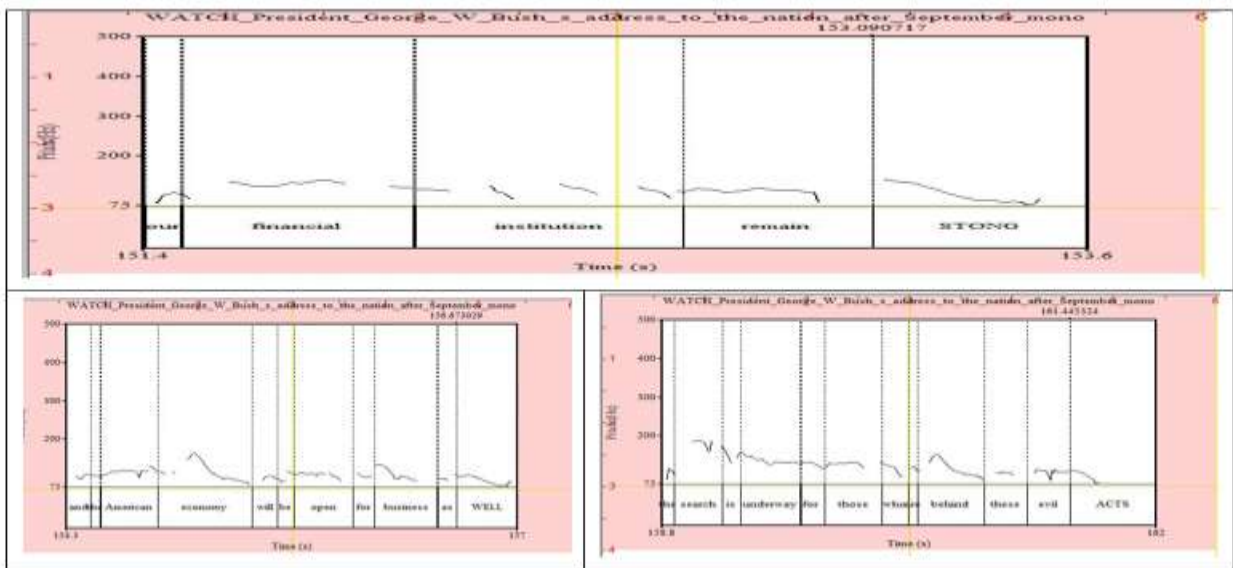


Figure 4 an extraction of pitch contours in some TUs //our financial institutions remain strong//, //and the American economy will be open for business, as well//, //the search is underway for those who are behind these evil acts//

This excerpt contains twelve tone units, as illustrated in the accompanying figures, where Bush employs various tones to convey multiple strategies, including metaphor, implication, categorization, lexicalization, victimization, authority, and generalization. In the initial two tone units, he utilizes a referring tone (fall-rise) to capture the audience's attention regarding a significant event and to emphasize the importance of the forthcoming information. In this context, he aims to reiterate previously mentioned information by highlighting the strength of Americans and asserting that the American economy remains robust and unchanged. This strategy is essential for strengthening public trust in his presidency and providing assurance to the nation that America is capable of recovering

from the catastrophic attacks. In addition, a fall tone is utilized specifically to express the metaphorical concept of 'evil,' which Bush employs to trigger the audience's ideological prejudices against such an opponent.

Moreover, the use of a proclaiming tone (rise-fall) in the speech of Bush emphasizes essential points, particularly warning and punishing not only the terrorists but also the nations that harbor them. After that, various strategies are used like categorization, lexicalization, and victimization with a falling tone. As for categorization, Bush adopts this strategy to categorize the terrorists negatively, especially Muslims and portraying the American people positively as "innocent people". Then, Bush creates a vivid depiction of the hatred encountered by innocent and victim people using the strategy of victimization and simultaneously emphasizing the power and unity of U.S. Bush tried to attract the attention of the public to the states, who can support the terrorists and at the same time he reflects the nation's strength and American economy are not affected by terrorists' attacks. Finally, he portrays Americans as perpetual victims of those who oppose freedom.

Excerpt 5:

"America and our friends and allies join with all those who want peace and security in the world and we stand together to win the war against terrorism. Tonight, I ask for your prayers for all those who grieve, for the children whose worlds have been shattered for all whose sense of safety and security has been threatened, and I pray they will be comforted by a power greater than any of us, spoken through the ages in Psalm 23: "Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil, for You are with me."

Figure 5 indicates an extraction of pitch contours in some TUs //America and our friends and allies//, //join with all those who want peace and security in the world//, //and we stand together to win the war////spoken through the ages in Psalm twenty three//, //even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death//, //I fear no evil// respectively:

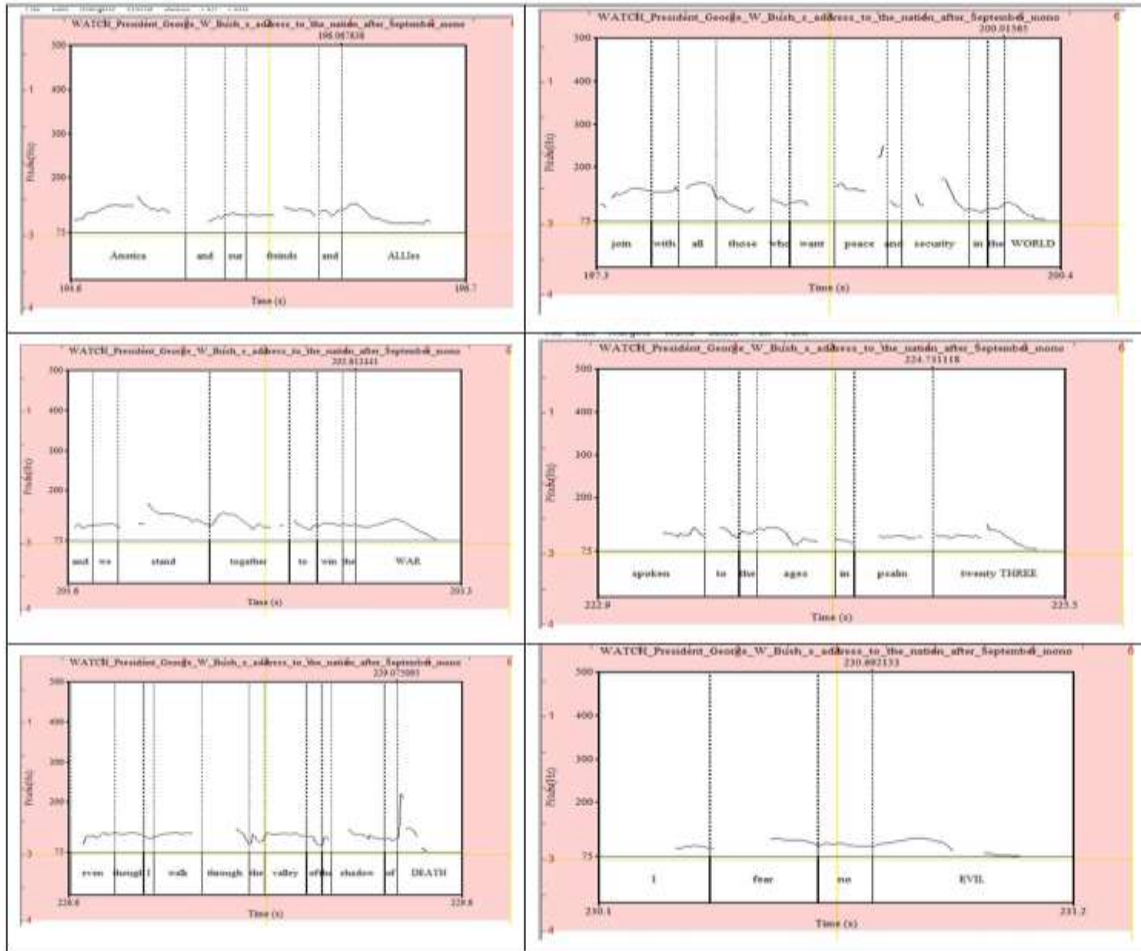


Figure 5 an extraction of pitch contours in some TUs //America and our friends and allies//, //join with all those who want peace and security in the world//, //and we stand together to win the war////spoken through the ages in Psalm twenty three//, //even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death//, //I fear no evil//

This excerpt contains 14 tone units, as illustrated in the accompanying figures. It is noted that the falling and rising tones are used by Bush to convey different strategies categorization, polarization, lexicalization, hyperbole, and victimization. In most of his tones, he uses a falling tone to capture the audience’s attention for the importance of upcoming message. In this context, he states that those who are the enemies of American people represent the evil. Actually, this tone triggers a sense of sorrow as Bush calls to pray for those who are grieving and suffering because of the terrorism. Furthermore, the falling tone reflect his continuous dialogue in order to enhance the audiences’ feelings and his exaggerated language highlights the American unity in the battle against terrorism. He further elaborates on the same subject using a rising tone, specifically accentuated on the word "us" to convey that Americans still victims of terrorists’ attacks In this way, he expresses his faith and comfort in “GOD”, to unify the audience and remind them about GOD who is always present with “us” during times of crisis.

Finally, Bush ends with a proclaiming tone to indicate two essential strategies, which are metaphor and comparison. At the beginning of his speech, Bush adopts the falling tone to recite some biblical passages to refer to GOD, which reflect the ongoing nature and his commitment to confront terrorism with determination. Accordingly, Bush shifts to a rise-fall tone to emphasize the comparison between ‘good’ and ‘evil’, which in turn this will highlight the difference between Christianity and Islam, where the former represents the Bible and the latter represents the Quran. By doing so, he linked between the religious and political principles to enhance his political agenda, confidence and capture the audiences’ interest. However, he sometimes adopts the falling tone to emphasize his commitment and reassure the nation and encourage the sense of security. It is important to note that Bush ends his speech using the concept of an ‘exceptional’ state in contrast to the ordinary one. More important, it is noted that Bush does not take the dominant role in his presenting new information concerning the war on terrorism. He shows his gratitude towards the countries, which provide assistance against terrorism. Besides, his goal is to convey his policies with confidence, aiming to provide the sense of security in the public and reduce the potential effect of attacks on the United States as a whole.

Furthermore, he assures that he will support and guide the families of those who have lost their lives, ensuring their safety. Conversely, he employs the rising tone to assert his authority during the speech, particularly when expressing his faith in God as the supreme power who stands with "us" in moments of despair. This suggests that God is aligned with and supports Americans, who are portrayed as innocent and peace-loving individuals. It is noted that Bush assumes a controlling position when he emphasizes the distinction between 'us' and 'them,' contrasting the positive aspects of Christianity with the negative aspects of Islam. He then shifts to a more inclusive approach to engage his audience effectively. His use of a descending tone signifies the conclusion of his address.

Excerpt 6:

“This is a day when all Americans from every walk of life unite in our resolve for justice and peace. America has stood down enemies before and we will do so this time. None of us will ever forget this day. Yet, we go forward to defend freedom and all that is good and just in our world”.

Figure 6 indicates an extraction of pitch contours in some TUs //America has stood down enemies before//, //and we will do so this time// respectively:

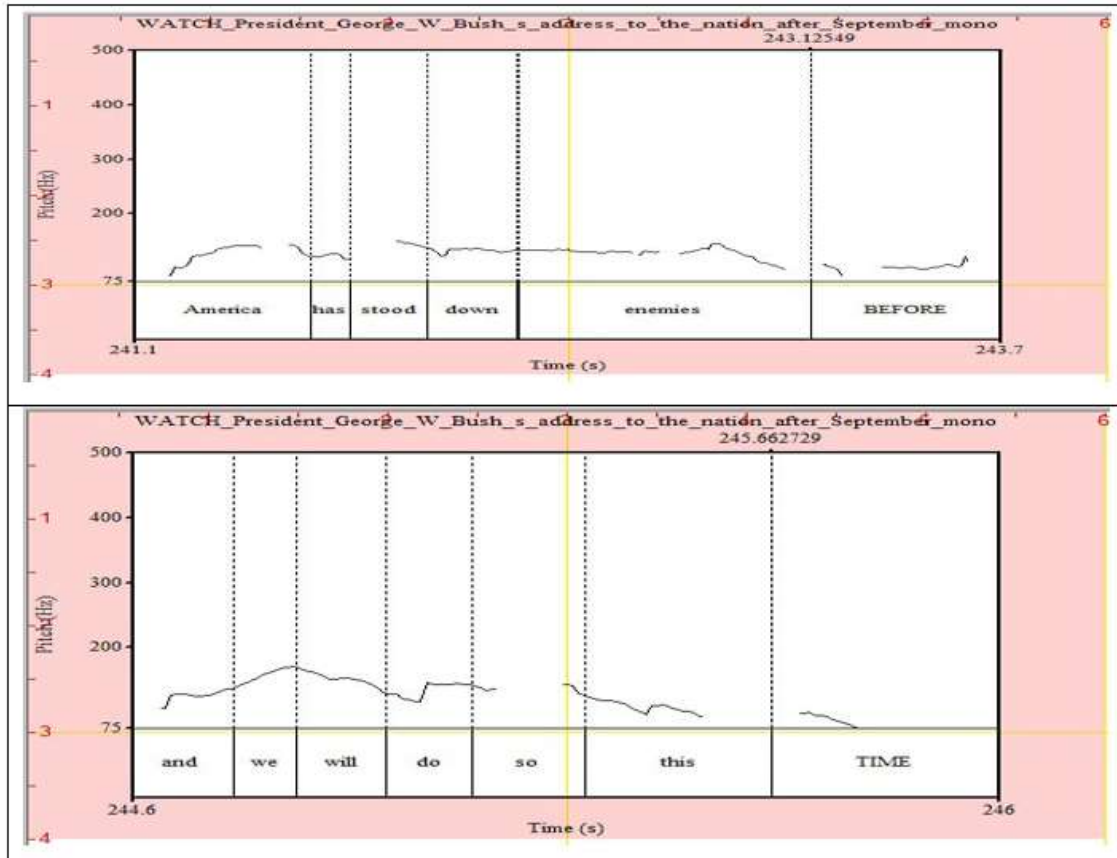


Figure 6 an extraction of pitch contours in some TUs //America has stood down enemies before//, //and we will do so this time//

In the above excerpt, there are eight tone units, where Bush used various tones to express different strategies like generalization, categorization, comparison, and consensus. Here, Bush notably shifts from a proclaiming (fall) tone to a referring (fall-rise) to illustrate a successfully different strategies and ideologies. Bush began with a proclaiming (fall) tone to emphasize statements concerning the unity of American nation with its partners. Subsequently, his speech introduces new information to engage the audience for the subsequent content. Here, Bush emphasizes the commitment of America to defend the freedom against the terrorists using the strategy of consensus. Actually, this tone provides confidence in Bush and the nation, which conveys that America can not be undermined. It is worth to mention that the use of a fall- rise tone is essential in reflecting the ongoing discussion in addition to enhance the assertive and emphatic quality of the speech, particularly the Bush's authority. Further, he always highlights a comparison between the positive acts of Americans and negative acts of their adversaries. Finally, he ends his speech definitely with a falling tone reflecting that he finishes his address.

However, Bush does not share some particular information with his audience, instead he elaborates on the American's role in defending about the freedom of Americans in the past and in the present. He assures their unity in facing the terrorism, achieving the peace, justice, and freedom. His humble tone is essential of reminding the audience about their enduring strength. In this way, he does not take the role of controller in his speech reflecting the unity of America by depicting all the Americans are part of a historically interconnected family. Such unity enhances their understanding of the essential sacrifices connected with freedom, which is fundamental to their identity. Conversely, Bush does assert control at times by intensifying the pressure on his audience, conveying his negative perceptions of the enemy. He employs the pronouns "us" and "them" to create a distinction between virtuous Americans and malevolent terrorists, thereby intensifying the American public's animosity towards this new adversary. Additionally, he highlights the word "just" to suggest not only a sense of incompleteness but also to enhance the emphatic nature of his speech, reinforcing his authoritative presence. His intention is to underscore the contrast between Americans as a positive force and their adversaries as a negative one.

2.4.2.2 Ideology of us/them in Trump's speech

Excerpt 1:

“Donald J. Trump is calling for a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country's representatives can figure out what the hell is going on. We have no choice; we have no choice, we have no choice. According to Pew Research, among others, there is great hatred towards Americans by large segments of the Muslim population”.

Figure 7 below shows an extraction of (fall) pitch contour in three TUs //P Donald J. \ TRUMP// , // P is calling for a \ Total // , and //P and complete \ SHUTdown//

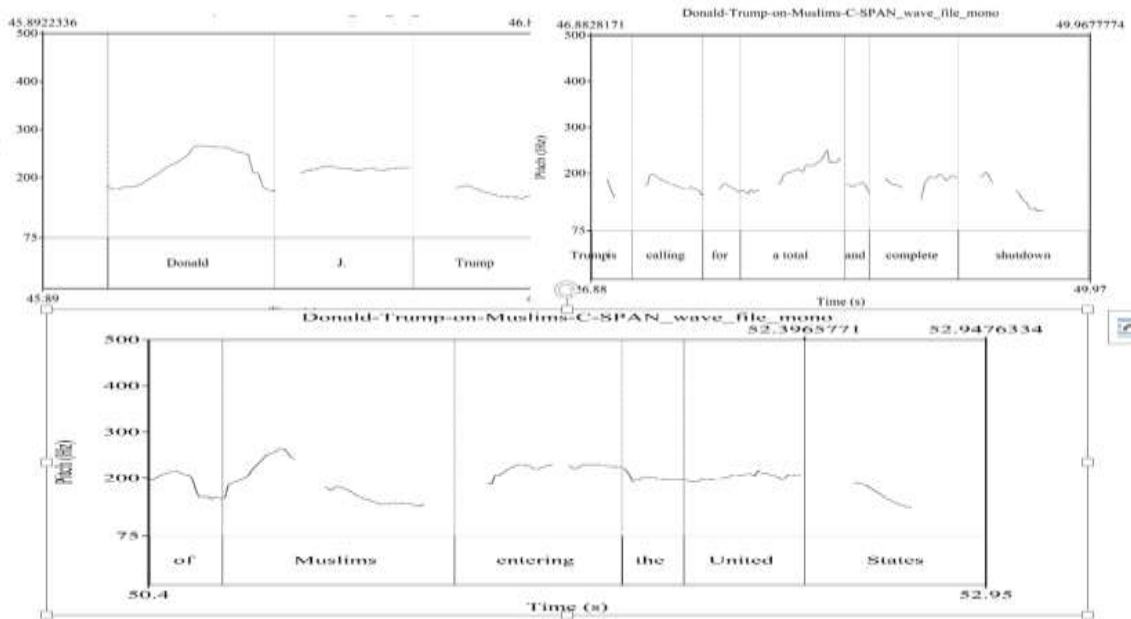


Figure 7 an extraction of pitch contours in some TUs //P **Donald J. ↘ TRUMP**//, // P is calling for a ↘ **TOTal** // , and //P and complete ↘ **SHUTdown**//

In this excerpt, Trump commenced his speech with falling tone to capture the attention of the American populace and announce a significant decision: the prohibition of Muslims from entering the United States. In this way, Trump uses his authority strategically when he highlighted his position in the governance of the United States. His employing of a polarization strategy reflects the dichotomy of "us versus them" scenario to emphasize that Muslims are responsible for 9/11 attacks and they subsequent acts of terrorism in America. Therefore, this strategy shows that Trump intends to categorize all Muslims as an out-group related to terrorism, which in turn this led to diminish the identity of Muslims as part of the American community. The rise and fall tone are almost used by Trump either by asserting his authority or presenting surprising information about the ban of Muslim entry into the U.S. Besides, He tends to exert pressure on his audience and takes the non-dominant role to rally support from the public for his decision, which in turn this can engage his chances in the presidential election. It seems that Trump's aim is to gain more support from a large number of elected officials to bolster his campaign for the upcoming presidential elections. After that, Trump tried to convey familiar information to his public by reminding them about the terrible events of the 9/11 attacks. He adopts the rising tone to highlight that Americans should not think to protect them, announcing that "we have no choice" only by prohibiting Muslims from entering the U.S. since they constitute a threat for American security. Hence, the out-group term is commonly employed by Trump using the generalization strategy, which attributed to all Muslims. It is noted that the phrase "we have no choice" was commonly repeated in three times, in which the first two starts with a

rising tone and the third tone ends with a falling tone, emphasizing that he will attain this decision if he will win in the upcoming presidential election.

Moreover, It is noticed that Trump did not give basic information to Americans when he said “ according to Pew research” , by which he tried to supply his arguments using some strategies like the generalization and evidentiality. In this regard, he tends to use either the fall or rise-fall tone to prevent any challenges to his decision on that Muslims constitute a threat to American safety. It is noteworthy that Trump utilized the evidentiality strategy to validate his stance while employing generalization to categorize all Muslims as a threatening out-group. He effectively established the second concept of Van Dijk’s Ideological Square, which emphasizes negative attributes about them, by portraying all Muslims in a negative light through hyperbolic generalizations, without acknowledging any positive aspects of the United States. In doing so, he also reinforced the fourth concept of Van Dijk’s ideological square, which involves de-emphasizing positive attributes about them. In summary, Trump’s anti-Muslim rhetoric contributed to the formation of his Islamophobic narrative, particularly when he stated, “there is great hatred towards Americans by large segments of the Muslim population.”

Excerpt No. 2:

“Most recently, a poll from the Center for Security Policy released data showing “25% of those polled agreed that violence against Americans , these people that are here by the way, 25% not 1% (by the way 1% is unacceptable), (1% is unacceptable), 25% of those polled agreed that violence against Americans here in the United States is justified as a part , think of it, “as part of the global jihad” they want change your religion, I don’t think so, I don’t think so as part of the global jihad, and 50% of those polled “agreed that Muslims in America should have the choice of being governed according to Shariah”. You know what Shariah is, 51% Shariah author, authorizes and I look this is I mean terrible Shariah authorizes such atrocities as murder against non-believers who won’t convert beheadings and more unthinkable acts that pose great harm to Americans, especially women”.

Figure 8 below shows an extraction of (fall-rise) pitch contour in TUs// r Most \rREcently//, //r a \rPOLL from //, and (fall) pitch contour in TU // P Center for Security \uPolicy //

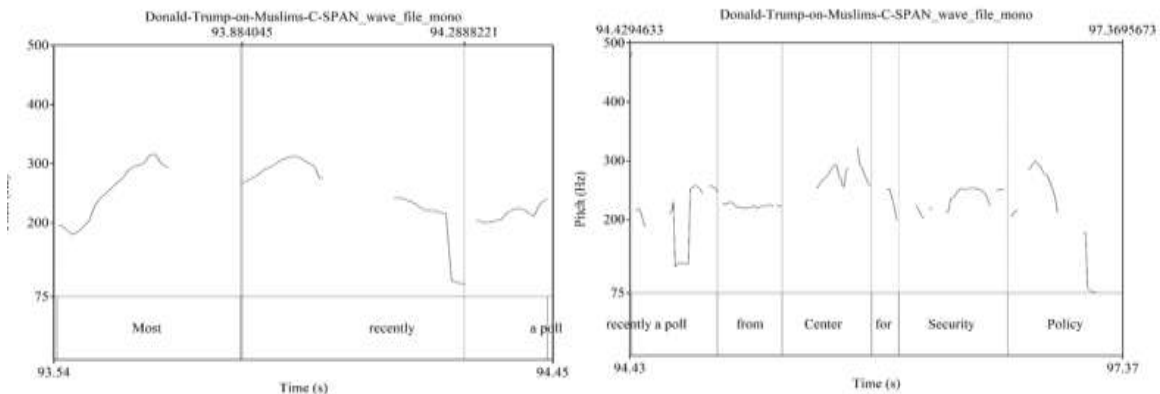


Figure 8 an extraction of pitch contours in some TUs // r Most ↘REcently//, //r a ↘POLL from //, and (fall) pitch contour in TU // P Center for Security ↘POlicy //

In this excerpt, Trump employs two rhetorical strategies: the number game using the numerical data and appeals to authority, while adopting a fall-rise intonation when referencing a survey conducted by the Security Policy Centre. He then shifts to a falling tone to underscore a critical point, noting that 25% of survey participants attributed violence and unrest against Americans to Global Jihad, while 51% believed that Muslims in America should be granted the freedom to live according to Shariah principles. It is noteworthy that Trump's fall-rise tone emphasizes the term "violence" rather than the majority opinion favoring Muslim rights.

Additionally, Trump utilizes a polarization strategy by implicitly framing Shariah as a threat to Americans, suggesting that the public has permitted Muslims to act in ways detrimental to non-Muslims. He also employs presupposition, implying that the dangers of Shariah are not fully recognized by Americans, while he himself is acutely aware of its potential destructiveness to American society. Much of Trump's speech is delivered in a falling tone, aimed at informing Americans about their future and heightening concern regarding Muslim terrorist activities against non-Muslims, particularly women. In this context, he resorts to hyperbole, characterizing Islam as inherently misogynistic and labeling Muslims as religious extremists and murderers who pose significant risks to Americans. At times, he adopts a rising tone to draw attention to the notion that violence against Americans is perceived and justified by Muslims as part of a global jihad. Consequently, it is evident that Trump's rhetoric contains anti-Muslim sentiments, reflecting Islamophobia and revealing biases against Jihad and Shariah.

Excerpt No. 3:

“Without looking at the various polling data, it is obvious to anybody the hatred is beyond comprehension. Where this hatred comes from and why we will have to determine, we're gonna have to figure it out. we have to figure it out we can't live like this, Gonna get worse and worse. we could be politically correct and we can be stupid, but it's going to get worse and worse. Until we are able to determine and understand this problem and the dangerous threat it poses, our country cannot be the victims of horrendous attacks by people that believe only in Jihad, these people only believe in jihad, They don't want our system, They don't want our system, and have no sense of reason or respect for human life, they have no respect for human life”.

Figure 9 below shows an extraction of (fall-rise) pitch contour in TUs // r our ↘↗COUNTRY // // r cannot ↘↗BE // // r the ↘↗VICTims //, and the (fall) pitch contour in TU //P of horrendous ↘Attacks //:

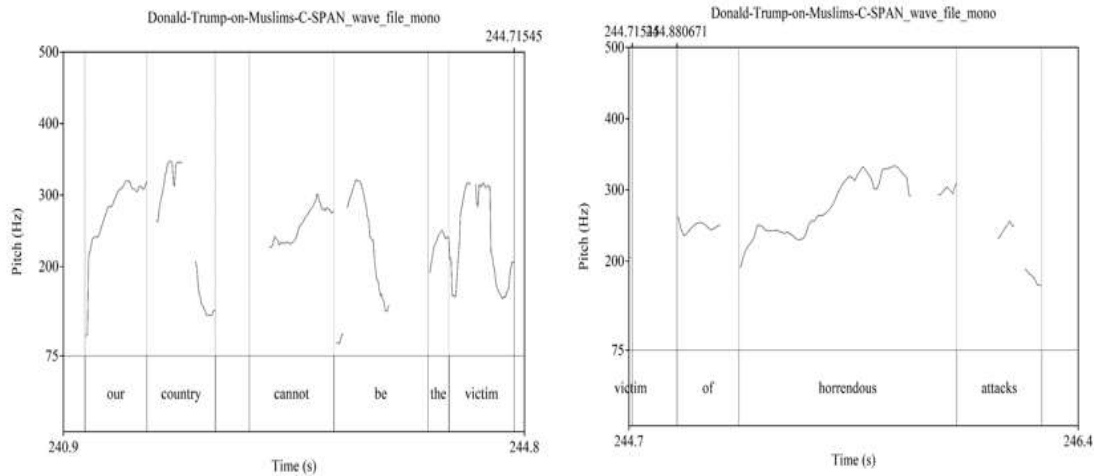


Figure 9 an extraction of pitch contours in some TUs // r our ↘↗COUNTRY // // r cannot ↘↗BE // // r the ↘↗VICTims //, and the (fall) pitch contour in TU //P of horrendous ↘Attacks //

In this segment of Trump's address, he commenced with a distinctly falling intonation while discussing polling data. The assertive information presented in his speech, characterized by a rise-fall tone, conveys a sense of uncertainty regarding his assertion that Muslims harbor animosity towards the West. In this point, Trump utilized a fall-rise tone to communicate his proposal for a "Muslim Ban" to the American public, suggesting a restriction on Muslim immigration. He employed two rhetorical strategies: generalization and hyperbole, as he implied that all Muslims bear responsibility for the terrorist incidents that have occurred in the United States. The hyperbolic nature of his argument is evident when he claimed that all Muslims harbor religious hatred against Americans and non-believers. At times, he adopted a referential tone, alternating between a rising intonation to engage his audience and a fall-rise tone to caution Americans about the perceived threat posed by Muslims who adhere to Jihad. Ultimately, Trump ended his speech with a falling tone, asserting negatively that these Muslims do not respect human life. In this context, Trump crafted an Islamophobic narrative targeting Islam and Muslims. These remarks illustrate the initial strategy of Van Dijk's (2006) model, which emphasizes the positive characteristics of "us" while depicting Muslims negatively as "they lack reason and respect for human life.", thereby categorizing them as the "out-group." Consequently, Trump's

rhetoric positions himself and Americans as the "in-group," who are portrayed as possessing reason and respect for human life.

2.5 Results and Discussion

- 1) What ideology of us versus them is more frequently employed in the speeches of Bush and Trump?

Table 3 illustrates the frequency and percentages of the ideological strategy types of us versus them employed by Bush and Trump in their speeches:

Table 3 The frequency and percentages of the various ideological strategies of us versus them employed by Bush and Trump in their speeches

No.	Ideological strategies	frequency of positive (us)%		frequency of negative (them) %		Percentage of the total frequency %	
		Bush	Trump	Bush	Trump	Bush	Trump
1	consensus	2 (4.44)	0 (0)	1(2.22)	0 (0)	6.66	0
2	categorization	2(4.44)	0 (0)	2(4.44)	0 (0)	8.88	0
3	Number game	0 (0)	0 (0)	1(2.22)	1(6.25)	2.22	6.25
4	hyperbole	1(2.22)	1 (6.25)	2(4.44)	2 (12.5)	6.66	18.75
5	euphemism	0 (0)	0 (0)	2(4.44)	0 (0)	4.44	0
6	lexicalization	2(4.44)	0 (0)	3 (6.66)	0 (0)	11.1	0
7	presupposition	1(2.22)	0 (0)	1(2.22)	1(6.25)	4.44	6.25
8	victimization	2(4.44)	0 (0)	2(4.44)	0 (0)	8.88	0
9	polarization	1(2.22)	2 (12.5)	1(2.22)	2(12.5)	4.44	25
10	disclaimers	0 (0)	0 (0)	1(2.22)	0 (0)	2.22	0
11	burden	1(2.22)	0 (0)	0(0)	0 (0)	2.22	0
12	National self-glorification	2(4.44)	0 (0)	0(0)	0 (0)	4.44	0
13	metaphor	3 (6.66)	0 (0)	1(2.22)	0 (0)	8.88	0
14	evidentiality	1(2.22)	0 (0)	1(2.22)	1(6.25)	4.44	6.25
15	vagueness	1(2.22)	0 (0)	0(0)	0 (0)	3.84	0
16	actor description	1(2.22)	0 (0)	1(2.22)	0 (0)	4.44	0
17	norm expression	0 (0)	0 (0)	0(0)	0 (0)	0	0
18	implication	1(2.22)	0 (0)	0(0)	0 (0)	2.22	0
19	authority	1(2.22)	0 (0)	0(0)	2(12.5)	2.22	12.5
20	generalization	2(4.44)	1(6.25)	0(0)	3(18.75)	4.44	25
21	Comparison	2(4.44)	0 (0)	0(0)	0 (0)	4.44	0

Total	57.77	25	42.22	68.75	99.99	93.75
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The analysis reveals that Bush employed a greater number of ideological strategies compared to Trump in order to positively portray the image of 'US' (selves) and negatively depict 'THEM' (others). Specifically, Bush utilized 17 ideological strategies, achieving a frequency percentage of 57.77% for 'US' and 42.22% for 'THEM', while Trump applied 7 strategies, with 25% for 'US' and 68.75% for 'THEM'.

It is noted that metaphorical imagery is commonly used in Bush's speeches, which constituted 6.66% of his rhetorical strategies, where as other strategies like consensus, categorization, and hyperbole had a lesser extent. This shows that Bush commonly employed metaphorical terms such as 'beacon', 'steel', and 'evil' to present America positively and simultaneously terrorists, particularly Muslims in negative manner. Besides, Americans are characterized by words like 'good', 'innocent', and 'strong', while Muslims are described as 'bad', 'violent', and 'dangerous'. It is important to mention that the pronouns 'we' and 'our' are deliberately used by Bush's speech to enhance the unity and belonging among American people and simultaneously promote America's resilience and determination, specifically in the context of the ongoing 'war on terror' that has emerged after the events of September 11, 2001 attacks.

By contrast, many discursive strategies are used by Trump like evidentiality and the generalization strategies to portray Islam in negative picture and categorize them as the threatening out-group. In addition, it is noted that Trump utilized the strategy of generalization, which is more prevalent than other strategies, as evidenced by the percentages: 18.75 for generalization compared to 6.25, 12.5, 6.25, 12.5, 6.25, and 12.5 for number game, hyperbole, presupposition, polarization, evidentiality, and authority, respectively. This approach stemmed from Trump's negative portrayal of all Muslims as a threatening out-group, whom he blamed for the various troubles and destruction experienced in America. Furthermore, he characterized Islam as inherently misogynistic and depicted Muslims as religious extremists and murderers, suggesting they posed a significant threat to Americans, labeling them as terrorists due to their religious beliefs regarding Shariah and Jihad.

In brief, it is evident that Bush employed ideological strategies to portray the image of 'US' (selves) in a more favorable light compared to the negative depiction of 'THEM' (others). In contrast, Trump utilized ideological strategies to depict 'THEM' (others) negatively more than he did to present 'US' (selves) positively. In other words, Bush's speech explicitly emphasizes positive self-representation over negative other-representation, while the negative other representation is explicitly used more than the positive 'US' (selves) in Trump's speech since the percentage of positive 'US' (selves) in Bush's speech is (57.77%) and the percentage of negative 'THEM' (others) is (68.75)%.

2. What types of tones are employed in Bush and Trump's anti-Muslim speech to convey the ideology of polarization between us and them?

Table 4 below illustrates the percentages of proclaiming and referring tones concerning the dominance and non-dominance components in the speeches of Bush and Trump:

Table 4 illustrates the percentages of proclaiming and referring tones concerning the dominant and non-dominant elements in the speeches of Bush and Trump.

The results indicate that non-dominance is more commonly used in the speeches of both Bush and Trump compared to dominance, with respective percentages of (88.73, 62.35)% for non-dominance and (11.26, 37.64)% for dominance. This suggests that neither Bush nor Trump assumed a controlling role in their discourse when addressing the public. The predominant tone in their speeches is the falling tone, which accounts for (76.05, 47.05)% of their speech patterns, surpassing the percentages of the rise-fall, rise, and fall-rise tones, which are (8.45, 2.81, 12.67)% and (27.05, 10.58, 15.29)% respectively.

Furthermore, both Bush and Trump endeavored to fulfill various roles. Concerning Bush's address, the primary and most significant aspect is that it was delivered immediately following the September 11 attacks. In this speech, Bush aimed to engage and resonate with the American populace by expressing sympathy, compassion, and solidarity with the majority of Americans throughout his remarks. His intention was to foster a negative perception of the terrorists, particularly Muslims. Additionally, the non-dominance role is evident through the use of impactful lexical choices, which serve to positively depict the

Dominance/non-dominance	Type of information tones	Bush's speech %		Trump's speech %	
Dominance	Proclaiming Rise-fall P+	6 (8.45)	8 (11.26)	23 (27.05)	32 (37.64)
	Referring Rise r+	2 (2.81)		9 (10.58)	
Non-Dominance	Proclaiming Fall P	54 (76.05)	63 (88.73)	40 (47.05)	53 (62.35)
	Referring Fall-rise r	9 (12.67)		13 (15.29)	
Total%		71		85	

self-image of Americans, highlighting their admirable qualities to influence the psychology of his audience by contrasting them with the reprehensible actions of the terrorists. Actually, this form of language enhance a sense of empowerment and support in American community, while simultaneously inciting hatred against Muslims. Accordingly, another essential factor, which supports the non-dominance in Bush's speech is the use of the pathos and religious rhetoric in addressing the public to provide reassurance and comfort. In this way, it highlights the belief that God stands with American people in times of crisis, which confirm that they are innocent and peaceful individuals.

Finally, one reason behind using the proclaiming (fall) tone belong to engaging the

Americans while announcing an important policy decision: “the ban on Muslims entering the United States”. His intention is to apply pressure on his audience to support his presidential race and at the same time to emphasize that Muslims represent a danger to American national security. Actually, one reason behind Trump’s position is to secure the support of a considerable number of elected officials in order to strength his campaign for the upcoming presidential elections.

2.6 Conclusions

After the brief discussion, the main conclusions are as follows:

- 1) This study shows that the information tones in Brazil's (1997) discourse intonation framework play an important role in shaping the ideological strategies in Van Dijk's (2006) work. Hence, the dichotomy construction of 'US' (self) versus 'THEM' (others) have clearly clarified in the speeches of George W. Bush and Donald Trump. The findings reveal that Bush’s speech focuses mainly on the positive representation of ‘US’ (self), whereas Trump’s speech focuses primarily on the negative representation of “THEM” (others). In other words, Bush’s speech emphasizes mainly the positive portrayal of US" (self) rather than offering a negative representation of “THEM” (others). On the other hand, Trump’s speech focuses primarily on a negative portrayal of “THEM” (others) than showing a positive representation of “US” (self).
- 2) The predominant tone used by the speeches of Bush and Trump is the proclaiming (fall) tone to show various discursive strategies. It is observed that Bush utilizes this tone to present addition information, which aims to capture the attention of American people in order to manipulate and motivate them against terrorists, specifically directed towards Muslims. On the other hand, the falling tone is used predominantly in Trump’s speech to project confidence and to establish a rapport with the American people, thereby announcing a crucial decision concerning the prohibition of Muslims from entering the United States. However, both speeches show prejudice against Muslims, highlighting Islamophobia by casting Americans as in-group and innocent victims while negatively depicting terrorists, especially Muslims, as out-group and aggressors.
- 3) It is worth to mention that Bush and Trump tend not to take the dominant role in addressing the public. This is because that Bush tried to enhance the Americans by emphasizing the expressions of empathy, compassion, and solidarity in most of his speech, which in turn this helps to portray negatively the image of terrorists, specifically in relation to Muslims. In contrast, the reason behind Trump’s non-dominance role in his speech seems to be a strategy of reducing the potential opposition to his decision, while simultaneously constructing an image that Muslims are a threat to Americans safety. Besides, this may also be interpreted as politically motivated, aiming to secure broader support from elected officials and strengthen his campaign ahead of upcoming presidential elections.

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