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Gender Differences in Donald Trump’s and Hillary Clinton’s Political Speech

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GENDER DIFFERENCES IN DONALD TRUMP’S AND HILLARY CLINTON’S POLITICAL SPEECH

A THESIS

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ENGLISH POSTGRADUATE STUDY PROGRAM
FACULTY OF CULTURAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY OF SUMATERA UTARA
MEDAN
2019
GENDER DIFFERENCES IN DONALD TRUMP’S AND HILLARY CLINTON’S POLITICAL SPEECH

A THESIS

Submitted as the Partial Fulfillment of Requirement for the Degree of Master of Arts (M.A.) in English Postgraduates Study Program, Faculty of Cultural Sciences, University of Sumatera Utara

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GENDER DIFFERENCES IN DONALD TRUMP’S AND HILLARY CLINTON’S
POLITICAL SPEECH

I certify that the thesis I wrote as one of the requirements to obtain the degree of Master of Art from English Postgraduate study program, Faculty of Cultural Sciences, University of Sumatera Utara, is exactly my own work.

I certify that I clearly mentioned the reference of the citations I used in some specific parts of the thesis based on norm, rule, and etiquette of the technique of a scientific writing.

I certify, in the future, that I am willing to accept the sanction of the renovation of my academic degree which I receive and other sanction in accordance with the prevailing laws and regulations, provided some parts of this thesis are invented not to be my own work or to commit plagiarism.

Medan, 30th July 2019
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ABSTRACT

This research entitled Gender Differences in Donald Trump’s and Hillary Clinton’s Political Speech. The objectives of this study are to find out the features and characteristics of Donald Trump’s and Hillary Clinton’s political speech, to describe how the characteristics and features of Donald Trump’s and Hillary Clinton’s differ, and to elaborate the reasons for Donald Trump’s and Hillary Clinton’s difference in their political speech. The data of this research are utterances of Donald Trump’s and Hillary Clinton’s Political Speech. The source of data are taken from the transcript of political speech in The United States by Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton candidate from year 2015. The method used in this research is descriptive qualitative adopted data analysis procedures proposed by Miles & Huberman. This study is focused on Donald Trump’s and Hillary Clinton’s features and characteristics based on Tannen’s theory (1990). The data of this study are 92 Donald Trump’s utterances and 51 Hillary Clinton’s utterances. The findings show that Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton use different features and characteristics to deliver their speech. Both Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton use report talk and rapport talk in the way of communication. The features of report talk that Donald Trump uses are: Direct request, Longer talk in public context, speech includes slang words, giving advices to solve problem, mixing business and non-business talk, and showing authority. While, Hillary Clinton uses the features of rapport talk, such as: thanking, maintaining an appearance of equality, establishing relationship, and downplaying authority. Then, both of them use different characteristics, Donald Trump frequently shows the characteristics such as: status, independence, advice, information, and order in his way of delivering speech. While, Hillary Clinton shows her support, intimacy, understanding, feeling, proposal in her speech. The reason why Donald Trump uses report talk whereas Hillary Clinton uses rapport talk is because Donald Trump treats the language to give factual information, tease or thread other and show or keep his status and power, whereas Hillary Clinton does it as a way to negotiate closeness and intimacy.

Keywords: Gender differences, Report Talk & Rapport Talk, Political Speech
ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini berjudul Perbedaan Gender dalam Pidato Politik Donald Trump dan Hillary Clinton. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk mengetahui fitur dan karakteristik dari pidato politik Donald Trump dan Hillary Clinton, untuk menggambarkan bagaimana karakteristik dan fitur dari Donald Trump dan Hillary Clinton berbeda, dan untuk menjelaskan alasan perbedaan Donald Trump dan Hillary Clinton dalam pidato politik mereka. Data dari penelitian ini adalah ucapan-ucapan pidato politik Donald Trump dan Hillary Clinton. Sumber data diambil dari transkrip pidato politik di Amerika Serikat oleh kandidat Donald Trump dan Hillary Clinton dari tahun 2015. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah deskriptif kualitatif mengadopsi prosedur analisis data yang diusulkan oleh Miles & Huberman. penelitian ini berfokus pada fitur dan karakteristik Donald Trump dan Hillary Clinton dengan menggunakan teori Tannen. Data dari penelitian ini adalah 92 ucapan Donald Trump dan 51 ucapan Hillary Clinton. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa Donald Trump dan Hillary Clinton menggunakan fitur dan karakteristik yang berbeda untuk menyampaikan pidato mereka. Baik Donald Trump dan Hillary Clinton menggunakan pembicaraan laporan dan pembicaraan hubungan dalam cara komunikasi. Fitur bicara laporan yang digunakan Donald Trump adalah: Permintaan langsung, bicara lebih lama dalam konteks publik, pidato mencakup kata-kata slang, memberikan saran untuk menyelesaikan masalah, mencampuradukkan pembicaraan bisnis dan non bisnis, dan menunjukkan otoritas. Sementara itu, Hillary Clinton menggunakan fitur-fitur pembicaraan hubungan, seperti: berterima kasih, mempertahankan penampilan kesetaraan, membangun hubungan, dan meremehkan otoritas. Kemudian, kedua mereka menggunakan karakteristik yang berbeda, Donald Trump sering menunjukkan karakteristik seperti: status, kemandirian, saran, informasi, dan ketertiban dalam caranya menyampaikan pidato. Sementara itu, Hillary Clinton menunjukkan dukungan, keintiman, pengertian, perasaan, proposal dalam pidatonya. Alasan mengapa Donald Trump menggunakan pembicaraan laporan sedangkan Hillary Clinton menggunakan pembicaraan hubungan adalah karena Donald Trump memperlakukan bahasa untuk memberikan informasi fakta, dan menunjukkan atau mempertahankan status dan kekuasannya. Sedangkan Hillary Clinton melakukannya sebagai cara untuk menegosiasikan kedekatan dan keintiman.

Kata kunci: Perbedaan Gender, Laporan Bicara & Pembicaraan Hubungan, Pidato Politik
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of Study

Language is used in many aspects of communication, one of them is in politics. Beard (2000:2) states that study the language of politics is important because help the language user to understand how language is used by those who wish to gain power, those who wish to exercise power, and who wish to keep power. Moreover, language has been powerful tool in the hands of political leaders. They manipulate this language become the tool to suit their purposes. Since politics is basically about struggling to control power, it is only through language a very strong weapon.

Language of politics is essential in the implementation of successful democratic rules in any country. Language in politics used to conveyer belt of power, it moves people to vote, debate or revolt and it is therefore a central explanation of political stability or polarization. Beard (2000:3) elaborates that politician is a practitioner of the art of politics, essential to the working of human society. The language of politics provides the opportunity for politician to explore the resources available through language to manipulate words to suit their intention. Hence, language could be regarded as the vehicle of politics the candidate of president, governor, people’s party are also politicians, because politics is the practice to influence other people to achieve and exercise position they want. Most activities performed by the politicians are done through the language, such as speech, debate, election, etc.
In recent years, politics is not only dominated by men but also women participated in politics. Both men and women use many ways to attract people to gain power and control them. Their purposes are to influence, educate, inform, persuade, incite or entertain people. In order to achieve their purposes, they must deliver their idea and feeling, one of the way is through speech. It means they used language so that they can communicate with other people.

Speech on the other hand is a connected discourse. This is not speech in the narrow sense of the spoken word but speech in the more inclusive sense. Any speech made places major emphasis on the language used to accomplish its goal, but political speeches place higher importance than others as they convey two elements, namely persuasive and aesthetic. It is persuasive is when a language in a speech technically used to persuade, to invite and to convince the audience. Aesthetic, on the other hand, aims to attract the audience’s attention that can be reflected through the word choices and the appropriate style. Beard (2000: 25)

A speech may serve a politician as an effective weapon or trump card if it is efficiently delivered and he or she is prepared to convincingly present arguments. The strength of a speech reflects his/her ability to persuade or to motivate the audience to be addressed by the speech.

Language and gender issues are always exist around society. People are constantly coming into contact these issue in the course of daily live. So they are avoidable. In social life, gender differences issue can cause miscommunication between male and female. Therefore, being familiar with language and gender concepts and understanding language and gender issues
can help people acquire clearer and deeper understanding of gender differences in society.

According to Lakoff and Spender (1975: 15) women’s speech is characterized as more hesitant, less fluent, less logical, less assertive than men’s speech. Women in their view are more silent, interrupt less frequently than men, use tag questions and modal verbs more than men, used cooperative strategies in conversations rather than competitive ones. Lakoff (1975) proposed that women language is different with the men language in use of grammatical features.

In this research, the researcher uses the transcript of political speech which represented by presidential announcement speech in United State by Male and Female candidate from year 2015 as a source data. This research focused on Mr. Donald Trump from Republic as Male representative and Mrs. Hillary Clinton from Democrat as Female representative. The reason to choose them as the object and source of data; first, both are the strongest candidate from their own party in United State. Second, they are in the same and equal status (as the president candidate), same event (as presidential announcement speech), same year in 2015. Then, the event is happening in the recent days.

In the study of language and gender, there are numerous studies that have described and raised many issue on differences between males and females in the way of speaking. Tannen (2000:85) stated that males and females in their ways in communication, males tend to use language to gain status, while females use the language to negotiate closeness and intimacy. Male grow up in a world in which conversation is competitive and therefore strive to ensure
that others don’t dominate them. Female however, use conversation to gain support and confirmation rather than status. Tannen (1990: 85) claims that due to the fact that men are concerned with status, they focus more on independence. Female, on the other hand, think in terms of intimacy, seeking support and closeness from their partner. Male like to find solutions whereas women seek sympathy and understanding. Whilst a male might seek to find a way of solving a problem that their wife or girlfriend might have, Tannen (1990: 85) claims that what the wife or girlfriend really wants is sympathy. Tannen claims that male make orders by using more direct imperatives whilst female suggest things in more indirect ways. Whilst male are more likely to voice their opposition to a suggestion in the workplace or home, according to Tannen, female are less likely to object and assert themselves. They might delay their opposition to the suggestions and complain later. Females used rapport talk to build and maintain relationships, while male use report talk to communicate factual information. It can be inferred that male and female have different objectives in using the language and they differently treated the language in their communication.

The researcher took the examples of male and female politician’s speech. The speeches are:

Our Labor participation rate was the worst since 1978. But think of it, GDP below zero, horrible labor participation rate. And our real unemployment is anywhere from 18 to 20 percent.

(http://www.p2016.org/trump/trump061615sp.html)
From the data display the male’s speech represented by Donald Trump, he made a statement directly that the labor participation rate was the worst since 1978. It can be seen that Trump gave information to the audience. Giving information is one of characteristics of male language. It is concluded into longer talk in public context features in report talk.

*Our political system is paralyzed by gridlock that most Americans have lost confidence that anything can actually get done. And they have lost trust in the ability of both government and big business to change course. Now, we can blame historic forces beyond our control for some of this but this choice we’ve made as a nation, leaders, and citizen alike, have also played a big role.* *(Hillary Clinton, on June 13, 2015 /transcript-full-text-hillary-clinton-campaign-launch/)*

While the female’s speech represented by Hillary Clinton showed she gave information based on her thought which is included longer talk in public context in report talk that actually used by male.

Based on the prior observation, there is a gap between the fact and the theory. The theory proposed by Tannen is contrary with the reality. In male’s speech above showed that he used language to establish relationship and using downplaying authority. In other hand, female’s speech showed she used longer talk in public to explain her thought, while theory told longer talk in public context is the feature of report talk used by men.

There have been some studies about male and female language, the first researcher is Tanjung (2010) focuses in describing female and male which have some difference strategies in expressing politeness. At the end of the thesis, she described that female always expressed politeness by requesting, offering, and apologizing to attract their listener. Meanwhile
for male they used expressive as their way to express their politeness because they always had a commitment to be more polite by giving promising, offering, thanking, and condoling to make their listeners thought they were responsible when expressing politeness. It aims to protect their face, tried to achieve high social status, and showed modeling correct behavior.

The second researchers are Mohindra and Azhar (2012). They found Men and Women communicate each other in their own communication styles. Men are competitive and hierarchical. They establish rank and status. Women look for similarities and value cooperation.

The third researcher is Hilma (2014) found the woman politician gains agency and power by adopting a fine and sophisticated balance of feminist and masculine speech styles. The fourth researcher is Svric (2014). Her research based on the gender specific differences in language use and use of syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, structure, lexical style, and rhetorical strategies. She found some male politician show characteristics of female gender speech style in their political discourse and vice versa. The female politician also used mixing the speech style by using report talk and female politician more frequently use the discourse strategies which are typical for male politician than vice versa.

Referring to the previous observation and studies above, every speech of politician has different style to deliver their speech based on
gender. In line with them, the researcher focuses this study to analyze the differences between male and female on the way of delivering their presidential announcement speech based on talk theory proposed by Tannen. The researcher tries to find out the features and characteristics that used by male and female politician in their speech that has not done by the previous research. This paper aims to determine the differences between Men and Women’s political discourse in the 21st century. Politics today is still a male-dominated world and still difficult to enter for women. In this research, the researcher uses the transcript of political speech which represented by presidential announcement speech in United State by Male and Female candidate from year 2015 as a source data. This research focused on Mr. Donald Trump from Republic as Male representative and Mrs. Hillary Clinton from Democrat as Female representative. For this reason, the researcher choosing Mrs. Hillary Clinton as a Female politician because, former US Secretary of State, who is one of the most powerful women politicians on earth. In the 2008 US presidential election, Mrs. Clinton was a leading candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, being the only woman politician ever to have run for the presidency.
1.2 Research Questions

The research questions are formulated as follows:

1. What are the features and the characteristics of Donald Trump’s and Hillary Clinton’s political speech?
2. How do Donald Trump’s and Hillary Clinton’s characteristics and features differ in their political speech?
3. Why do Donald Trump’s and Hillary Clinton’s characteristics and features differ in their political speech?

1.3 Objective of the Study

With reference to the above research questions previously, the objectives of the study are:

1. To find out the features and characteristics of Donald Trump’s and Hillary Clinton’s on their political speech.
2. To describe how characteristics and features of Donald Trump’s and Hillary Clinton’s differ in their political speech.
3. To elaborate the reasons for Donald Trump’s and Hillary Clinton’s difference in their political speech.

1.4 Scope of the Study

This research focus on the different ways of Donald Trump and Hillary on their political speech. The researcher observe the different gender characteristics of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton through their utterance.
1.5 Significance of the Study

Findings of the research are expected to be useful theoretically and practically:

a. Theoretically, the findings on this study are expected to enrich the theories about gender and language on how male and female ways in speech based on the purpose or field and the reason they deliver their speech especially in political discourse in the way they are.

b. Practically, the findings on this study are expected to contribute faithful information about gender, Language and Politic language that can be practiced or to avoid misunderstanding on how male and female’s speech in political discourse
2.1 Gender versus Sex

To begin with, we need to make a distinction between the two types of gender. On the one hand, grammatical gender is a property of nouns which affects grammatical agreement between a noun and an accompanying adjective, article, number and other basic sentence parts Cruse (2006:77). Feminist theorists believe that a distinction between the concepts of *sex, sexuality* and *gender* needs to be made. The terms *sex* and *gender* are often used interchangeably but incorrectly. According to Medilexicon medical dictionary, *sex* or *biological gender* is “the biologic character or quality that distinguishes male and female from one another as expressed by analysis of the person's gonadal, morphologic (internal and external), chromosomal, and hormonal characteristics.” To paraphrase, based on biological characteristics, sex is assigned to an individual at birth; therefore, there is *male sex* and *female sex* Holmes (2001) Trudgill (2000). Gender, on the other hand, is a more complicated concept. The term *gender* implies a socio-cultural construct.

Similarly, Lipman-Blumen (2004:3) states that gender addresses “all those cultural expectations associated with masculinity and femininity that go beyond biological sex differences”. Biological sex is attributed to an individual at birth. While growing up, an individual is raised to adopt the set of gender-labeled social rules which are built upon sex. To paraphrase, sex refers to biology and
physiology, sexuality points to sexual preferences, orientation and practices, while
gender deals with social roles and status Dovi (2008:154)

To summarize, women’s or men’s language is symbolic rather than a
descriptive category. It is based on a complex interrelationship between one’s sex
and a gender identity, i.e. one’s sense of self. People can develop their gender
identity to match their biological sex. Females can adopt a set of social roles,
behaviors and activities that are universally labeled as feminine gender roles, as
well as males can adopt masculine gender roles. Or, they may negotiate and
recreate their gender identity with respect to numerous factors such as audience,
topic, communication aim, situation, etc. Identity can be created and expressed in
different ways. Language is one of them, though a very powerful and productive.
We will focus on studying the relationship of language and gender.

2.2 Gender in Language

Lakoff (1975) proposed that assertive speech is one domain of power
denied to women, but available to men. That is, because women are relatively
powerless and marginal compared with men, they presumably are not given
opportunity to express themselves as forcefully and directly as men are. He
argues that women less powerfull speech would be manifested in their tendency
to swear less, speak more politely, use more questions tag, intensifiers, and
hedges.

As stated above, the differences between the sexes can be noticed at the
level of social, cultural, religions, economics, and political spheres and also the
level of language. Concerning language, males and females may adopt different characteristics when speaking to each others.

2.2.1 Male and Female’s Way of Communication

Some sociolinguistics and linguists have stated that male and female have different ways of communication. Both of genders have their own characteristics in communication. Tannen (2000:85) believe that men and women have different speech styles, and she defined them as report talk and rapport talk. Tannen states in general women focus on meaningful connection via `rapport-talk` that is after for more connections and exchange of emotions during a conversation; while men focus on gaining status via `report talk` that is after for building status and exchange of information Tannen (1990).

Women used conversation for intimacy, hence Tannen’s term rapport talk. Women’s conversation is used as negotiations for closeness in which they try to seek and give information and support and to reach consensus. For Men, conversations are for information, thus report talk. Men negotiate to maintain the upper hand in a conversation and protect themselves from other perceived attempts to put them down. The features of report talk and rapport talk in communication can see in the table below:
Table 2.1 Features of report talk and rapport talk in communication

(Based on Tannen’s Model 1990)

| No | Report Talk (Male)          | Rapport Talk (Female)                           |
|----|----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 1  | Direct Request             | Using Quantifiers                             |
| 2  | Longer talk in public context | Apologizing                      |
| 3  | Speech includes slang or swear words, teasing and banter. | Taking blame                             |
| 4  | Giving advices to solve problem | Thanking                       |
| 5  | Mixing business and Non-Business talk | Maintaining an appearance on equality, downplaying qualification |
| 6  | Rarely give praise and compliment | Establishing relationship        |
| 7  | Showing authority          | Downplaying authority                       |

The explanation about the feature of report talk will be elaborated below:

1. **Direct Request**

   Trump use direct imperative or request when speaking to others. For example: take the book, bring the bag. Men speak directly to the point, using no quantifiers and questions tag. Trump ignore indirect messages while they communicate with others. Trump use direct imperative or request when speaking to others. In this speech, Trump also use request to the audiences. The example of direct request can be seen below:

   “........Because we have to stop doing things for some people, but this country, it’s destroying our country. We have to stop, and it has to stop now.”
In this utterance, he asks the audience to stop doing something only for some people, but for their country. He made a statement *we have to stop doing* this statement indicates that he make a direct request by asking the audiences (citizen) to do something to their country.

2. **Longer talk in public context**

Trump talk more in public context. Trumps demonstrates their knowledge about a subject and will give general information as means to deliver factual information and solve the problem. Trump talk more in public context. Trump demonstrate their knowledge about a subject and will give general information about the topic. For example:

```
“......our labor participation rate was the worst since 1978. But think of it, horrible labor participation rate. And our real employment anywhere here from 18 to 20 percent.
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3. **Speech includes slang or swear words, teasing and banter.**

In their conversation, Trump tends to use more jokes and threatening communicating to show their power. Trump are direct and blunt in communicating with others. Their speech includes slang or swear words. Trump tends to use more joke and threatening communicating in show their power. Trump teased president Obama in his speech to show he was not good. For example:

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“You know when President Obama was elected, I said “well, one thing I think he will do well. I think he will be a great cheerleader for this country. I think he would be a good spirit.” He was vibrant. He was young. I really thought that he would be a great cheerleader. He’s not a leader. That’s true. You’re right about that. But he wasn’t a cheerleader. He’s actually a negative force. He has been a negative force. He wasn’t a cheerleader. He was the opposite.
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4. **Giving advices to solve problem**

Trump take a straightforward approach to solve the problem. Trump display a higher percentage of a task behaviors, providing information, direction, or answer, and direct disagreement than female do. They use problem solving as an opportunity to demonstrate competence, ability to solve the problem, they expect solution, exerting power to accomplish the problem solving task. On the other hand, use problem solving as a way to strengthen relationship, focusing and sharing and discussing the problem rather than end result.

5. **Mixing business and Non-Business talk**

In interaction, Trump takes one topic with another topic. In this study Mixing business and Non-Business talk means Trump’s talk about economy and another topic which not related to economy. In interaction, Trump talks one topic with another topic. Trump mixed between economy and personal life to explain himself.

"Somebody said to me the other day, a reporter, a very nice reporter. "but Mr. Trump, you’re not a nice person."

6. **Rarely give praise and compliment**

Male’s communication, traits tend to be honest, direct and factual. Male’s communication is message oriented based upon communicating information.
7. **Showing authority**

In giving their idea, Trump seeks to achieve the upper hand or prevent others from dominating them. Trump see the world as a place where people try to gain status and keep it. Trump tends to be competitive to establish their authority in communication. In giving their idea, Trump seeks to achieve the upper hand or prevent others from dominating them and show his power.

“So I announced that I’m running for president. I would. One of the early things I would do, probably before I ever got in and I wouldn’t even use you know, I have I know the smartest negotiators in the world, I know the good ones. I know the bad ones. I know the overrated ones.

These are the explanation about the features of rapport talk:

1. **Using Quantifiers**

Quantifier is a word or phrase that proceed an adjective or adverb, increasing or decreasing the quality signified by the word it modifies. Female use quantifiers as way of reducing potential conflict, softening disagreement, expressing tentativeness and sustaining dialogue. The words which are included in quantifiers in English are *very, quite, rather, somewhat, more, most, less, least, too, so, just, enough, indeed, still, almost, fairly, a bit, a lot, kind of, a little, even, really, etc.*

2. **Apologizing**

Apologizing here means a statement saying that someone are sorry about something or an expressing regret for having done something. Female apologized move and reported committing more offensive acts. An
apologizing is also an act that requires the speaker to admit the responsibility for some behavior that has proved costly to hearer.

3. Taking blame

Taking blame is an action and expression which shows an accepting or taking responsibility for something.

4. Thanking

Thanking is a way to express gratitude, appreciate or acknowledgement. In this study, thanking means an expression to show grateful feeling or acknowledgement of a benefit, favor or the like express by words. Thanking is one of the features of rapport talk in this utterance, female politician produced the word “thank you” to indicate her thanking. For example:

“Thank you! Oh thank you all thank you so very very much...”

5. Maintaining an appearance on equality, downplaying qualification

Female see the world as a network of connections seeking support and consensus. Female maintain an appearance of equality with their speaking partner and avoid showing an authority. Female use the language to seek and offer support. Female maintains an appearance of quality with their speaking partner and avoid showing an authority. For example:

“our next president must work with congress and every other willing partner across our entire country...”
6. **Establishing relationship**

Female talk is aimed to establish relationship and make people in the relationship feel closer to each other. Female deal with more intimate matters in their communication. Women’s talk is aimed to establish relationship and make people in the relationship feel closer to each other.

For example:

> “it is wonderful to be here with all of you. To be in New York with my family, with many friends including many New Yorkers who gave me the honor of serving them in the senate for eight years.

7. **Downplaying authority**

Female avoid using aggressive and threatening language irrespective of their position. They exhibit their subordinate status by being polite and soft spoken and demonstrate their authority in the same way. Women avoid using aggressive and threatening language irrespective of their position. They exhibit their subordinate status by being polite and soft spoken and demonstrate their authority in the same way. For example:

> “...that’s why we have to win the fourth fight...reforming our government and revitalizing our democracy so that it works for everyday Americans. We have to stop the endless flow of secret, unaccountable money that is distorting our elections, corrupting our political process, and drowning out the voices of our people...”

Beside Tannen, Holmes (1992) also stated that in generally speaking, female tend to favor more polite and less direct form of directives than male. In delivering their intention in interacting with others, men seek status, speaking most directly to the point, using no qualifiers, and asking no tag questions. Their language sometimes more offensive. Female try to avoid direct and threatening communication. They
usually use qualifiers and tag questions aiming to make softer what they have to say. Male often ignore indirect messages and do not understand nuisance in conversation.

According to Tannen (1991: 97), male are more likely to change in what is referred to, as report talk which is primarily characterized by focus on content. Male talk about affairs that are public matter such as sports and politics. During report talk, male demonstrate their knowledge about a subject and will give general information about the topic. Tannen further says that rapport talk on the other hand is designed to establish relationship and make people in the relationship feel closer to each other. Female are engaged in this kind of talk more often than male. Rapport talk deals with more intimate matters than report talk hence includes topic such as family and martial relationship. The male communication pattern and traits tend to be honest, direct, and factual.

From those theories, it can be seen that male and female have different ways or styles in communication. These different styles of communication can best be seen as two distinct cultural dialects rather that an inferior or superior way of speaking. Female use rapport talk to establish meaningful connection with each other, while male use report talk to gain status in relation to others.

2.2.3 The Characteristics of Male and Female Language

Tannen (1990) has postulated a series of six characteristics, each of which pairs contrasting use of language by males and females, they are:
1. **Status Versus Support**

   Means that Trump seeks to achieve the upper hand or to prevent others from dominating them. Trump see the world as a place while people try to gain status and keep it. On the other hand, Hillary uses language to seek and offer support. For Hillary, talking is often a way to gain confirmation and support for their ideas. Hillary see the world as a network and connections seeking support and consensus. For example of status that used by Trump:

   “......If I get elected president I will bring it back bigger and better and stronger than ever before.

   In this utterance, Trump showed that he has a power, authority, and status to promise something that he can do as the president if he gets elected.

   Example of support that used by Hillary:

   “that’s how we do it in America. With the same spirit, together we can win these four fights. We can build an economy where hard work is rewarded. We can strengthen our families. We can defend our country and can increase our opportunities all over the world. And we can renew the promise of our democracy. If we all do our part.

2. **Independence versus Intimacy**

   Means that Trump concerned with status, tend to focus more on independent. Meanwhile, Hillary often think in terms of closeness and support and struggle to preserve intimacy.

   Example of independence that used by Trump:

   “.....because I don’t need anybody’s money. It's nice. I don’t need anybody’s money. I’m using my own money. I’m not using the lobbyists. I’m not using donors.....”
Example of intimacy that used by Hillary:

“it is wonderful to be here with all of you. To be in New York with my family, with so many friends, including many New Yorkers who gave me the honor of serving them in the Senate for eight years.

3. Advice versus Understanding

Means that Trump will seek solution to the problem. Trump have expectation for a better future and female seek comfort and sympathy for their problem.

Example of advice that used by Trump:

“we have to reveal obamacare, and it can be....and....and it can be replaced with something much better for everybody...”

Example of understanding that used by Hillary:

“we Americans may differ, bicker, stumble, and fall; but we are at our best when we pick each other up, when we have each other’s back. Like any family, our American family is strongest when we cherish what we have in common, and fight back against those who would drive us apart...”

4. Information versus Feeling

Means that Trump’s conversation is message oriented, based uppon communicating information. Free from emotion. While, for Hillary conversation is much more important for building relationship and strengthening social link.

Example of Information that used by Trump:

“You come to La Guardia airport, it’s like we’re in a third world country. You look at the patches and the 40-year-old floor. They throw down asphalt. You look at these airports. We are like a third world country. And I come in from China and I come in Qatar and I come in from different places, and they have the most incredible airports in the world and come to back to this country and you have LAX, disaster. You have all of these disastrous airports.
Example of Feeling that used by Hillary:

“That’s why I believe with all my heart in America and in the potential of every American. To meet every challenge. To be resilient...no matter what the world throws at you. To solve the toughest problems. I believe we can do all these things because I’ve seen it happen.

5. Order versus Proposal

Means that male will use direct imperative when speaking to other. On the other hand, female encourage the use of superpolite forms. Female often suggest that people do things in indirect ways.

Example of Proposal that used by Hillary:

“If you will give me a chance, I’ll wage and win Four Fights for you...”

“So let’s staff our primary and secondary schools with teachers who are second to none in the world, and receive the respect they deserve for sparking the love of learning in every child. Let’s make collage affordable and available to all...and lift the crushing burden of student debt...”

6. Conflict versus Compromise

Means that male express conflict to maintain their ideas, they are tendency to resist it vocally. Whereas, most female avoid conflict in language at all costs, and instead attempt to resolve dissagreement without any direct confrontation as way of resolving differences and thereby negotiating status.

2.2.4 The Reasons for Trump and Hillary Speak Differently

Tannen (1992) stated that female are trained to look for connection in their interaction, they make efforts to raise topics and to get others to
take them up, in order to equalize speaker’s turn. Male are being trained to look for power in their interaction, try to control the topic.

Based on this statement, it is defined that female tend to be acquire the connection in their interaction, they establish it to promote the intimacy, cooperative, and warm feeling in their partner of conversation itself. Whereas, male raise up the power to promote their accomplishment and individual aim. They tend to be competitive to control the topic of conversation.

Table 2.2 The Reasons use Report Talk and Rapport talk in Communication

(Based on Tannen’s model 1990)

| No | TRUMP (Report Talk) | HILLARY (Rapport Talk) |
|----|---------------------|------------------------|
| 1  | To communicate factual information | To build and maintain the relationship |
| 2  | Tend to use language to gain status | Tend to use language to negotiate closeness and intimacy |

2.2.5 Gender and language in political speeches

Politics has been described as the sphere of public life limited to men and more intensely masculine than other social practice (Brown, 2003: 13). The fact that men’s linguistic style has been considered as a norm comes as no surprise. Nevertheless, with the exception of Wendy Brown’s (1988) Manhood and Politics and Jeff Hearn’s (1992) Men in the Public Eye, there have been few studies researching men’s behavior in politics. Studies, mostly done by feminists, tended to focus on women’s behavior and language trying to demarginalize women’s position in politics.
Many researchers (Carrol et al., 2002; Thomas, 2004; Lovenduski, 2000; Norris, 2006; Hansen, 2007) claimed that women stressed different issues than men (children and the elderly, education, social issues), hence, the number of women in decision-making positions needed to be increased for women’s issues to be dealt with. Secondly, men outnumbered women in organizations, committees and assemblies in the majority of countries. In the study of the representation of women in politics in the European countries, Ruth Wodak (2008) found that Finland and Luxembourg had the highest and Italy, Greece and Spain the lowest number of female representatives. She believed that southern countries were male-oriented, while northern countries have had a long tradition of equality. The same findings were reported in Solheim’s (2000) Scandinavian politics and Tamale (2000) South African politics study.

Numerous research have proven that male and female politicians behaved differently in various situations. As a follow up study of Edelsky and Adams (2002), Adams (2002) studied the gender differences in turn taking behavior in televised political debates. She found that women obeyed the debate rules (time and topic restrictions) more than men, who talked more than they were permitted and made uninvited interventions. Adams concluded that women appreciated obeying the rules thus presenting themselves as mannered politicians. What the author did not explain was how this obeying the rules benefitted women. This strategy of abiding by the rules might have served for the audience to create a better impression about female politicians.
2.3. Political Speech

Politics is a social activity, which is primarily expresses itself through language. The language is used to argue or debate, persuade, critique, and inform public policy. Public policy is therefore the result of the interplay among group through the medium language. In order to ensure a functioning democracy, political debate campaigning, and thus the use of political text is vital. An analysis of the political text used in an election can illuminate the workings of democracy in that country.

According to Bread (2005:5), political text is a language used in political activity, such as in general election campaign, presidential and vice presidential campaign or governor campaign. Political text is used by those who wish to keep power. A language must ultimately have political and economic causes. It is not due simply to the bad influence. But an effect can become a cause, reinforcing the original cause and producing the same effect in an intensified form, and so on indefinitely.

In political, there are various function of language that should be distinguished. Firstly, the function of language refers to the intention of those who use language, and then the effect achieved by using it. The aim is to influence power, and there is some impact upon power. Power is decision-making. Political text is the language of power.

Consideration of dialect status may also enter into the political text, where speakers of a particular dialect are perceived as speaking a more culturally advanced or correct form of the language. Politician may therefore try to use
that rather than their own when in the public eye. Alternatively, at time those speaking a high status dialect may try to use a low-status dialect when in public eye, in order to persuade voters the candidates is “a man of the people” one of us.

Language is used not only to communicate the ideas but also to persuade or convince other to see things our way. In other words, to use language means to get the persons to act or think in a certain way. Therefore, propaganda means materials written or spoken by people who want others to believe what they are saying is true. Propaganda is a way to persuade others. The information need not be false or misleading but merely presented for the purpose of convert persuasion.

2.4 Relevant Studies

Relevant studies on Gender Differences in Male and Female’s Political Speech have ever been done by former research:

Tanjung (2010) focuses in describing female and male which have some difference strategies in expressing politeness. At the end of the thesis, she described that female always expressed politeness by requesting, offering, and apologizing to attract their listener. Meanwhile for male they used expressive as their way to express their politeness because they always had a commitment to be more polite by giving promising, offering, thanking, and condoling to make their listeners thought they were responsible when expressing politeness. It aims to protect their face, tried to achieve high social status, and showed modeling correct behavior. The research contributes to help the researcher in
developing ideas in analyzing the difference strategies in expressing politeness based on gender theory.

Mohindra and Azhar (2012) examine men and women communicate each other in their own communication styles. Men are competitive and hierarchical. They establish rank and status. Women look for similarities and value cooperation. Research indicates men and women socialize differently and consequently, have diverse styles of speaking. Men view conversation as a means to exchange information and problem solve. Men stay away from personal topics and discuss events, sports, news, and facts. They tell more stories and jokes than women as a way to show status and power. Men are direct, blunt, and speech includes slang or swears words. Men get straight to work on a task and build relationships while working on the project. Men reflect and process information for decision making internally. Women avoid using aggressive and threatening language irrespective of their position. They exhibit their subordinate status by being polite and soft spoken and demonstrate their authority in the same way but with a little bit of discipline and straight face. In both the cases they avoid direct and threatening communication. Women want to be with their families, help others, feel respected and cared about, be a part of a community, be proud of the company they work for and be trusted. All of this reflects their need for connection and relationship, which is also the main reason why women are so well-suited for business their natural ability to develop and maintain relationships. The research contributes in helping the researcher to analyze the different characteristics between men and women in deliver speech.
Hilma (2014) examines the woman politician gains agency and power by adopting a fine and sophisticated balance of feminist and masculine speech styles. Based on her results the paper presents a qualitative study of the women’s political discourse. The relationship between the political discourse and the social status and power of women is investigated based on a combination of a social anda linguistic framework. Tajfel’s social identity theory (Tajfel 1974) serves as the social theoretical framework for this analysis. This theory describes three strategies through which inferior social groups reject their inferior status. First, they will adopt the values of the dominant group. Second, they will try to revalue positively the characteristics previously defined as negative by the society, and last, they will create new positive dimensions to compare with the dominant group. In terms of language, her paper investigates the political discourse of one of the most powerful women in the world, Mrs. Angela Merkel, in four televised political debates. With reference to the three above-mentioned strategies, it attempts (a) to detect the masculine linguistic component in her political discourse, (b) to acknowledge the values of the feminine linguistic characteristics in her speech, and (c) finally, to envision her political language in accordance with the social identity theory. The results demonstrate that Mrs. Angela gains agency and power by adopting a fine and sophisticated balance of feminine and masculine speech styles. This paper contributess to enlighten how the power of speech of women politicians is a means to establish their position in society today, and it is, as well, an indicator of this position by using Tajfel’s theory.
Svric (2014) examines based on the gender specific differences in language use and use of syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, structure, lexical style, and rhetorical strategies. She found some male politician show characteristics of female gender speech style in their political discourse and vice versa. The female politician also used mixing the speech style by using report talk and female politician more frequently use the discourse strategies which are typical for male politician than vice versa. The speeches are analyzed through the following categories: syntactic structures (word order, topicalization); semantic structures (explicit and implicit, detail and level of description, e.g. what is said and what is actually meant, what is not said but is in the discourse); lexical style (positive and negative words, use of pronouns, use of specific vocabulary); rhetoric (understatement and overstatement, euphemisms, repetition, metaphors); pragmatics (assertion and denial; assertive and directive speech acts); ideological square (description of the ‘inner’ and ‘outer’ group) and gender (supposed gender characteristics and differences in interactional styles). The research contributes the researcher in developing the ideas about gender specific differences in language use and use of syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, structure, lexical style, and rhetorical strategies.

Angelisca (2014) devotes to the description of gender peculiar in political discourse. She found male politician do not seem to prove their right to take part in political discourse, they seem to have self confidence and more privileged position to defend their point of view. Meanwhile, female politician struggle to prove their status, their right to be considered as equal
contenders in the political life. Last, female politician combine the peculiarities of feminist and masculine language, they tend to imitate male speech behavior in order to defend their status.

Based on the relevant studies, the phenomena that appeared in political discourse are different with the talk theory proposed by Tannen. Male use Report talk and female use Rapport talk. From the studies above, we can see that female tend to both characteristic of language. So, the researcher is interested to do research in this field especially related to the presidential election, how do male and female politician deliver their political speech.

2.5 Conceptual Framework

This research is undertaken from gender talk theory which proposed by Tannen. The types of the talk are report talk and rapport talk. This research is aimed to find out how the Trump’s and Hillary’s way of communication in delivering their political speech. Tannen (1990) stated that, male and female in their way of communication, males tend to use language to gain status, while female use the language to negotiate closeness and intimacy. In politics, the speech given by politicians end up into same intention. Political text is used by those who wish to keep power but the way they deliver their idea into speech is different. So this research aimed to analyze how do the male and female politician deliver their political speech based on the talk theory and characteristic in language use of male and female and find out the features itself in their speech.
GENDER DIFFERENCES IN DONALD TRUMP AND HILLARY CLINTON’S POLITICAL SPEECH
(BASED ON TANNEN’S MODEL 1990)

The features of Trump’s and Hillary’s language

REPORT TALK (DONALD TRUMP)
1. Direct request
2. Longer talk
3. Use of slang words, teasing and banter
4. Giving advices to solve problem
5. Mixing business and non business talk
6. Rarely give praise and compliment
7. Showing authority

RAPPORT TALK (HILLARY CLINTON)
1. Using quantifier
2. Apologizing
3. Taking blame
4. Thanking
5. Downplaying qualification
6. Establishing relationship
7. Downplaying authority

The Characteristics Trump’s and Hillary’s Language

The Reasons use Report Talk and Rapport talk in Communication

REPORT TALK (TRUMP)
1. To communicate factual information
2. Tend to use language to gain status

RAPPORT TALK (HILLARY)
1. To build and maintain the relationship
2. Tend to use language to negotiate closeness and intimacy
CHAPTER III
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

Descriptive qualitative method was applied in this research. Descriptive qualitative method is a research method which is used to describe, organize, and summarize important general characteristics of a set of data. This analysis based on report and rapport talk theory and the study is concerned to describe how Trump and Hillary give their political speech. Bogdan & Biklen (1982) stated that qualitative research is flexible, that is why the final result of descriptive explanation was to support or weaken the existing theory by using the theory itself in new phenomena.

The researcher observed several speeches of Trump and Hillary. Then choose the speeches from the same event and the same status of both politicians. The researcher identified the sentences from the transcript of the speeches. The utterances were identified based on the topic and the features of report and rapport talk theory and also from the characteristics of the language use of male and female. The researcher analyzed how do the Trump and Hillary give their speech in political discourse, and find out the differences between Trump and Hillary in their speech in political discourse. Then, the researcher find out the reason why they deliver their speech in the way they are. Finally, the researcher described the finding of data.
3.2 The Data and Data Source

The data of this research are utterances of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. The data of this study were 92 utterances of Donald Trump and 51 utterances of Hillary Clinton. Which were selected from Trump’s and Hillary’s presidential announcement speech in United States from year 2015. The source of the data is taken from the transcript of political speech which represented by presidential announcement speech in United State by Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton candidate from year 2015. The researcher take the data from the transcript of political speech, after reading the script, the researcher separate each of script into the utterances based on Trump’s and Hillary’s features and characteristics. Then the researcher put them into the table and the results show there are 92 utterances of Donald Trump and 51 utterances of Hillary Clinton. After that, do the analysis from the utterances that have separated based on the features and characteristics in Trump’s and Hillary’s political speech.

3.3 Technique of Collecting Data

The data were collected by applying documentary technique. Ary (2009:34) states many interesting and useful projects in the field have been concerned with information obtained by examining records and documents. The researcher applied the theory and the data were analyzed by features in Report and Rapport talk theory. The steps to collect the data can be seen in the following steps:

1. Search several speeches of Male and Female in political discourse,
2. Choose the same event and topic from the speeches.
3. Download the speeches.
4. Transcribe the speeches.
5. Divide the utterances in the speech based on the topic and the features of talk theory.
6. Confirm the data revealed

### 3.4 Technique of Analyzing Data

The analysis phase is the phase in which the researcher analyzed the problem of the research which is found in the data collected in qualitatively, that is grouping the data based on the categorized determined. After the data are collected through transcript of the speeches, the data will be classify based on the group and analyzed.

The data analysis was done by applying Miles, Huberman and Saldana (2014) it was conducted through the following steps:

1. **Data Collection**

   All data obtained from all sources were collected and presented in the findings and discussions because they were interrelated. The researcher collected the transcript of presidential announcement speech on June 2015. After that separate the transcript into the sentences in every speech by Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. Then, do the analysis from the sentences that have separated based on the features and characteristics in Trump’s and Hillary Clinton’s speech.
2. **Data condensation**: the first step was data selection. The data were selected from sentences in male and female politician presidential announcement speech in year 2015. Because not all sentences contained of features of report and rapport talk, that is why the researcher tried to select whether the sentences consisted the features in Report and Rapport talk. After that, it was focused on features of Report and Rapport talk found in sentences that had been selected in order to make sure that was really suitable as the data. Next simplified the features of Report and Rapport talk were given some codes in order to make easier to be classified in each category. The researcher conduct identifying the sentences in transcript of Donald Trump’s and Hillary Clinton’s presidential speech. The condensation process will be conducted by analyzing the sentences based on the features in report and rapport talk. Then, the transcript will be also analyzed by the characteristics of language use of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton.

a. **Selecting**: data selection of this research was done by selecting the most suitable data which were taken from presidential announcement speech on june 2015 [(http://www.p2016.org/trump/trump061615sp.html)] and (Hillary Clinton, on June 13, 2015 /transcript-full-text-hillary-clinton-campaign-launch/)

b. **Focusing**: focusing was done by concentrating on the features and characteristics of report and rapport talk used in Trump’s speech and Hillary’s speech, then the reason why Trump and Hillary differ their speech.
c. Simplifying: simplifying was done by categorizing Donald Trump’s and Hillary Clinton’s political speech which were written in italic text into features and characteristics, and the reason why they differ their speech.

d. Abstracting: abstracting was the process of making written summary on the features and characteristics and the reason why they differ their speech.

e. Transforming: transforming was to describe and connect the data to the related theory.

3. Data display: In the data display, the data were organized. The organization was explored and described in detail description in order to be easier to draw the conclusion and also to let the reader know the feature of Report and Rapport talk used by male and female politician in their political speech. It also aimed to sort the data into groups or categories. In this study, the researcher made the organization by showing the data in the table to put features of Report and Rapport talk used in the sentences in appendix 3, 4, 7, 8. Then, except made the display into tables, some of data were displayed and analyzed the detail description of the data that will be representative of each categorization.

Table 3.4 Data Display

| Features of Report and Rapport Talk by Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton | Total (%) |
|---|---|
| Report Talk (Trump) |  |
| Rapport Talk (Hillary) |  |
4. **Verify and Conclude**: The researcher would verify and conclude the reason for the report and rapport talk realization.

3.5 **Trustworthiness of the Study**

To ensure and develop the validity of the data, the data were collected by using data validity development. This research employs trustworthiness of data so the research findings were considered important. Trustworthiness of the data consists of credibility, dependability, transferability, and confirmability.

3.5.1 **Credibility**

In this criteria, after analyzing the data, this research used triangulation that has two points, namely:

- **Time**: the speeches delivered in presidential announcement speech of both male and female politician. Donald Trump as male politician delivered his speech on June 16, 2015 and Hillary Clinton was on June 13, 2015. These event and speeches can be seen from youtube.
• Person: it included the existence of the participant. In this research, male politician represented by Donald Trump, and female politician represented by Hillary Clinton.

3.5.2 Transferability

Transferability is concerned with the extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to other situation. It means that the findings of the study can be applied to other situation. Then, the findings and conclusions would applicable to other situations and populations based on the analysis which taken from the transcript of male and female’s political speech.

3.5.3 Dependability

Even though the data were taken from the transcript speeches, it was possible for the further research to have some results. In order to address the dependability, the processes within the study should be reported in detail, thereby enabling a future researcher to repeat the work, if not necessarily to gain the same results.

3.5.4 Confirmability

The data analysis was done by taken the sources from the suitable and relevant theory. Therefore the researcher got the findings.
CHAPTER IV
DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.1 Data Analysis

In analyzing the data, the data analysis was done in line with the Miles, Huberman and Saldana’s (2014) who state that there are three steps, namely data collection, data condensation, data display and verificatication and drawing conclusion.

In data condensation, the first step was data selection. The data were selected from sentences in male and female politician presidential announcement speech in year 2015. Because not all sentences contained of features of report and rapport talk, that is why the researcher tried to select whether the sentences consisted the features in Report and Rapport talk. After that, it was focused on features of Report and Rapport talk found in sentences that had been selected in order to make sure that was really suitable as the data. Next simplified the features of Report and Rapport talk were given some codes in order to make easier to be classified in each category. The researcher placed them into tables that presented in appendix 3, 4, 7 and 8 in line with each category by categorizing features in Report and Rapport talk used in sentences. Then, the data analysis was abstracted by describing in the tabulation and together with the research findings in this research. This step became the formulation or unification of important ideas from the researcher in answering the three research problem. The last transformed the data that have been displayed in tables as could be seen in appendix 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.
In the data display, the data were organized. The organization was explored and described in detail description in order to be easier to draw the conclusion and also to let the reader know the feature of Report and Rapport talk used by male and female politician in their political speech. It also aimed to sort the data into groups or categories. In this study, the researcher made the organization by showing the data in the table to put features of Report and Rapport talk used in the sentences in appendix 3, 4, 7, 8. Then, except made the display into tables, some of data were displayed and analyzed the detail description of the data that will be representative of each categorization.

In drawing conclusion, the data were interpreted and drawn a meaning from the data display. Data display and drawing conclusion step would be discussed deeply to answer the research problem about the ways of Donald Trump’s and Hillary Clinton’s in their political speech, the features and characteristics of Donald Trump’s and Hillary Clinton’s in their political speech, the reason why Donald Trump’s and Hillary Clinton’s differ in their political speech.

The data of this study were 92 utterances of Donald Trump and 51 utterances of Hillary Clinton selected from their political speech. The utterances then transcribed into written text. The utterances of their political speech were analyzed by using the features of Report and Rapport talk based on Tannen (1990). The transcription of presidential announcement of male and female politician can be seen in appendix 1 and appendix 5.
4.1.1 The features of report talk and rapport talk in communication

(Based on Tannen’s Model 1990)

| No | Report Talk (Trump) | Rapport Talk (Hillary) |
|----|---------------------|------------------------|
| 1  | Direct Request      | Using Quantifiers       |
| 2  | Longer talk in public context | Apologizing |
| 3  | Speech includes slang or swear words, teasing and banter. | Taking blame |
| 4  | Giving advices to solve problem | Thanking |
| 5  | Mixing business and Non-Business talk | Maintaining an appearance on equality, downplaying qualification |
| 6  | Rarely give praise and compliment | Establishing relationship |
| 7  | Showing authority   | Downplaying authority   |

4.1.1.1 The Characteristics of Donald Trump’s and Hillary Clinton’s Language

| The Characteristics of Donald Trump’s and Hillary Clinton’s Language |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| Donald Trump            | Hillary Clinton          |
| Status                  | Support                  |
| Independence            | Intimacy                 |
| Advice                  | Understanding            |
| Information             | Feeling                  |
| Order                   | Proposal                 |
| Conflict                | Compromise               |
4.1.2 The ways of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton in their political speech

Donald trump as representative of male politician use both of talk types. Report and Rapport talk in delivering presidential announcement speech 2015. Donald trump tended to use report talk in delivering his idea, it could be seen from the features of report and rapport talk which were indicated from his speech. The detail explanation and examples of report and rapport talk will be explain below:

Table 4.1 The features of report talk of Donald Trump

| No | Report Talk                                      | Total | Percentage |
|----|-------------------------------------------------|-------|------------|
| 1  | Direct Request                                  | 2     | 2%         |
| 2  | Longer talk in public context                   | 41    | 51%        |
| 3  | Speech includes slang or swear words, teasing and banter. | 16    | 20%        |
| 4  | Giving advices to solve problem                | 3     | 2%         |
| 5  | Mixing business and Non-Business talk           | 8     | 10%        |
| 6  | Rarely give praise and compliment               | -     | -          |
| 7  | Showing authority                               | 12    | 15%        |
|    | Total                                           | 82    | 100%       |

Table 4.1 showed that the longer talk in public as the highest features used by Trump in his political speech. It means, he tended to demonstrate his knowledge and opinion about a subject and gave information about the topic.

1. Direct request

Men will use direct request when speaking to others. In this speech, Trump also use request to the audiences.
Data 1

“........Because we have to stop doing things for some people, but this country, it’s destroying our country. We have to stop, and it has to stop now.

In this sentence, he asks the audience to stop doing something only for some people, but for their country. He made a statement we have to stop doing this statement indicates that he makes a direct request by asking the audiences (citizen) to do something to their country.

Data 2

I want to have the strongest military that we’ve ever had, and we need it more now than ever.

In this sentence, Trump shows the feature for making the direct request to his citizens. He wants to have the strongest military in his country if he gets elected to be a president. So that, the country will be save from the threat outside. This statement above indicates the feature of direct request.

2. Longer talk in public context

Trump talks more in public context. Trump demonstrates their knowledge about a subject and will give general information about the topic.

Data 1

“Last week, I read 2,300 Humvees— these are big vehicles— were left behind for the enemy. 2,000? You would say maybe two, maybe four? 2,300 sophisticated vehicles, they ran, and the enemy took them. Last quarter, it was just announced our gross domestic product— a sign of strength, right? But not for us. It was below zero. Whoever heard of this? It’s never below zero. Our labor participation
rate was the worst since 1978. But think of it, GDP below zero, horrible labor participation rate. And our real unemployment is anywhere from 18 to 20 percent. Don’t believe the 5.6. Don’t believe it. That’s right. A lot of people up there can’t get jobs. They can’t get jobs, because there are no jobs, because China has our jobs and Mexico has our jobs. They all have jobs. But the real number, the real number is anywhere from 18 to 19 and maybe even 21 percent, and nobody talks about it, because it’s a statistic that’s full of non-sense”.

Based on the theory, report talk is characterized by longer talk in public context. In this case, Trump gave the information based on his background knowledge that the percentage of GDP below zero and it was the worst in 1978 because of horrible labor participation rate.

Data 2

But I said, “Don’t hit Iraq,” because you’re going to totally destabilize the Middle East. Iran is going to take over the Middle East, Iran and somebody else will get the oil, and it turned out that Iran is now taking over Iraq. Think of it. Iran is taking over Iraq, and they’re taking it over big league. We spent $2 trillion in Iraq, $2 trillion. We lost thousands of lives, thousands in Iraq. We have wounded soldiers, who I love, I love — they’re great — all over the place, thousands and thousands of wounded soldiers.

In this sentence, Trump talks more in this context. The context talking about the information that “Don’t hit Iraq” because Iran is going to take over the Middle East. And the statement above indicates the feature of longer talk in public context.

Data 3

They don’t know how to bring it about. They come up to my office. I’m meeting with three of them in the next week. And they don’t know— “Are you running? Are you not running? Could we have your support? What do we do? How do we do it?” I like them. And I hear their speeches. And they don’t talk jobs and they don’t talk China. When was the last time you heard China is killing us? They’re devaluing their currency to a level that you wouldn’t believe. It makes it
impossible for our companies to compete, impossible. They’re killing us. But you don’t hear that from anybody else. You don’t hear it from anybody else. And I watch the speeches.

In this sentence, Trump still speaks longer talk in public context. He tells to his audiences that he ever met someone in the meeting that talking about the level of currency and he support them well. And he talks longer in that context.

Data 4

I watch the speeches of these people, and they say the sun will rise, the moon will set, all sorts of wonderful things will happen. And people are saying, “What’s going on? I just want a job. Just get me a job. I don’t need the rhetoric. I want a job.” And that’s what’s happening. And it’s going to get worse, because remember, Obamacare really kicks in ’16, 2016.

In this sentence, Trump like insinuating the previous government that there is someone who wants a job not only a rhetoric to prove all the promises as a president candidate. So here, Trump deliver his speech to show the information in public context.

Data 5

Now, our country needs—our country needs a truly great leader, and we need a truly great leader now. We need a leader that wrote “The Art of the Deal.” We need a leader that can bring back our jobs, can bring back our manufacturing, can bring back our military, can take care of our vets. Our vets have been abandoned. And we also need a cheerleader.

Here, Trump speaks longer in public context. He shows up his capabability to have a great leader in his country. From the statement, “We need a leader that can bring back our jobs, can bring back our manufacturing, can bring back our military, can take care of our vets.” He delivers his speech in front of his supporter that he able to bring back all as his promises.
3. Speech includes slangs or swear words, teasing and banter.

Trump tends to use more joke and threatening communicating in show their power. Trump teased president Obama in his speech to show he was not good.

Data 1

“You know when President Obama was elected, I said “well, one thing I think he will do well. I think he will be a great cheerleader for this country. I think he would be a good spirit.” He was vibrant. He was young. I really thought that he would be a great cheerleader. He’s not a leader. That’s true. You’re right about that. But he wasn’t a cheerleader. He’s actually a negative force. He has been a negative force. He wasn’t a cheerleader. He was the opposite.

The sentences of Trump about contains teasing word by saying President Obama was a cheerleader, not a leader and negative force which indicate one of the features of report talk. Speech includes slang or swear words, teasing and banter.

Data 2

They sweated like dogs. They didn’t know the room was too big, because they didn’t have anybody there.

In this sentence, Trump indicates the feature of speech includes slang words. From the underline word “they sweated like dogs” means that he uses the slang words that the meaning is not the real meaning.
They just built a hotel in Syria. Can you believe this? They built a hotel

In this sentence, Trump teasing one of the other president candidate by saying “they just built a hotel in Syiria, can you believe this?” He likes unbelieve that the other will build the hotel in syria. From his statement indicates the feature of report talk that speech include the slang words, teasing, and banter.

How are they going to beat ISIS? I don’t think it’s gonna happen.

In this sentence, Trump also indicates the speech include teasing and banter. By saying “How are they going to beat ISIS? I don’t think it’s gonna happen.” Because no one can defeat ISIS under his rules.

When do we beat Mexico at the border? They’re laughing at us, at our stupidity. And now they are beating us economically

In this sentence also indicates the speech includes teasing and banter. Trump didn’t want the other country beated him in every aspects. So he delivers the statement by saying “When do we beat Mexico at the border?”

When did we beat Japan at anything? They send their cars over by the millions, and what do we do?

In this sentence, Trump teased and banter by saying he will beat Japan at anything and he will do anything to maintain his authority as a president.
When was the last time you saw a Chevrolet in Tokyo? It doesn’t exist, folks. They beat us all the time.

In the sentence, Trump shows to his supporters that he makes a banter and teased by saying “when was the last time you saw a chevrolet in Tokyo?” it means that he doesn’t believe that there is no a chevrolet in Tokyo. It also indicates the slang words.

How stupid are these politicians to allow this to happen? How stupid are they?

In this sentence, as if Trump teased and banter some of politician. He said that “how stupid are these politicians to allow this to happen?” it means that he underestimates the other politicians.

4. Mixing business and nonbusiness talk

In interaction, Trump talks one topic with another topic. Trump mixed between economy and personal life to explain hisself.

“Somebody said to me the other day, a reporter, a very nice reporter. ‘but Mr. Trump, you’re not a nice person.’

In this sentence, can be seen that Trump mix the previous topic of his speech with another topic which is not related to economic topic.
Data 2

I can tell, some of the candidates, they went in. They didn’t know the air-conditioner didn’t work.

In this sentence, Trump mixing his speech which is not related to economic or business topic. By saying this statement “They didn’t know the air-conditioner didn’t work.”

Data 3

As an example, I’ve been on the circuit making speeches, and I hear my fellow Republicans.

In this sentence, Trump mixing his speech which is not related to economic or business topic. By saying this statement “I’ve been on the circuit making speeches, and I hear my fellow Republicans”. He mixing his speech with the other topic.

Data 4

Obama is going to be out playing golf. He might be on one of my courses. I would invite him, I actually would say. I have the best courses in the world, so I’d say, you what, if he wants to— I have one right next to the White House, right on the Potomac. If he’d like to play, that’s fine.

In this sentence, Trump mixing the topic with the other topic. Here, he tells his experience playing golf with Obama that he will invite obama to play together with him.

Data 5

And, I will tell you, I love my life. I have a wonderful family. They’re saying, “Dad, you’re going to do something that’s going to be so tough.” You know, all of
my life, I’ve heard that a truly successful person, a really, really successful person and even modestly successful cannot run for public office. Just can’t happen. And yet that’s the kind of mindset that you need to make this country great again.

In this sentence, Trump also share his life about his family. He mixing the topic, his children said that he will be a successful person, and make this country great again.

**Data 6**

Islamic terrorism is eating up large portions of the Middle East. They’ve become rich.

Trump mixing his talk with other topic. Here he talks about Islamic terrorism which is not related to economic or business topic.

**Data 7**

So I want to tell you this story. A friend of mine who’s a great manufacturer, calls me up a few weeks ago. He’s very upset. I said, “What’s your problem?” He said, “You know, I make great product.” And I said, “I know. I know that because I buy the product.” He said, “I can’t get it into China. They won’t accept it. I sent a boat over and they actually sent it back. They talked about environmental, they talked about all sorts of crap that had nothing to do with it.” I said, “Oh, wait a minute, that’s terrible. Does anyone know this?” He said, “Yeah, they do it all the time with other people.” I said, “They send it back?” “Yeah. So I finally got it over there and they charged me a big tariff. They’re not supposed to be doing that. I told them.” Now, they do charge you tariff on trucks, when we send trucks and other things over there. Ask Boeing. They wanted Boeing’s secrets. They wanted their patents and all their secrets before they agreed to buy planes from Boeing. Hey, I’m not saying they’re stupid. I like China. I sell apartments for—I just sold an apartment for $15 million to somebody from China. Am I supposed to dislike them? I own a big chunk of the Bank of America Building at 1290 Avenue of the Americas, that I got from China in a war. Very valuable. I love China. The biggest bank in the world is from China. You know where their United States headquarters is located? In this building, in Trump Tower. I love China. People say, “Oh, you don’t like China?” No, I love them. But their leaders are much smarter than our leaders, and we can’t sustain ourself with that. There’s too much—it’s like—it’s like take the New England Patriots and Tom Brady and have them play your high school football team. That’s the difference between China’s leaders and our leaders. They are ripping us. We are rebuilding China.
We’re rebuilding many countries. China, you go there now, roads, bridges, schools, you never saw anything like it. They have bridges that make the George Washington Bridge look like small potatoes. And they’re all over the place.

In this sentence, Trump mixes his talk by telling the story about his friend who is a great manufacture. They talked about environmental, they talked about all sorts of crap that had nothing to do with it. So, Trump is not only talking about business or economic but also the other topic.

5. Showing authority

In giving their idea, Trump seeks to achieve the upper hand or prevent others from dominating them and show his power.

Data 1

“So I announced that I’m running for president. I would. One of the early things I would do, probably before I ever got in ___ and I wouldn’t even use ___ you know, I have ___ I know the smartest negotiators in the world. I know the good ones. I know the bad ones. I know the overrated ones.

In the sentences, Trump showed his power, authority and status as the candidate of president because he has knowledge about the suitable person work with him. And make him get the support from his supporter.

Data 2

I have so many websites, I have them all over the place. I hire people, they do a website. It costs me $3. $5 billion website.

In this sentence, Trump shows his authority and status by giving the statement that he has so many website, and many people can use it. Because of this he gets the cost $3 billion website. So that his supporters believe him to be elected as a president.
Data 3

So ladies and gentlemen... I am officially running... for president of the United States, and we are going to make our country great again.

In this sentence, Trump shows his authority by saying and prove to his supporters that he will make this country The United State be a great country in the world if he gets elected as a President.

Data 4

I will be the greatest jobs president that God ever created. I tell you that. I’ll bring back our jobs from China, from Mexico, from Japan, from so many places. I’ll bring back our jobs, and I’ll bring back our money.

To show his authority, Trump convinced his supporters if he gets elected as a president, he will bring back jobs from China, Mexico, and Japan. And he will bring back money. So that, make him get support from his supporters.

Data 5

And I’m the one that made all of the right predictions about Iraq. You know, all of these politicians that I’m running against now— it’s so nice to say I’m running as opposed to if I run, if I run. I’m running.

Once, Trump shows his authority by giving the statement that he is the one that make all of the right predictions about Iraq. As if he was the right person to become president and who could run all government programs well.

Data 6

Sadly, the American dream is dead. But if I get elected president I will bring it back bigger and better and stronger than ever before
Trump shows his authority by saying if he gets elected as a president, he will bring it back bigger and better and stronger than ever before. He promises to his supporters and all of American.

Data 7

Nobody can do that like me. Believe me. It will be done on time, on budget, way below cost, way below what anyone ever thought. I look at the roads being built all over the country, and I say I can build those things for one-third.

To show his authority, Trump convinced his supporters if he gets elected he will be done on time, on budget, way below cos, way below what anyone ever thought. And he will look at the roads being built all over the country, and say can build those things for one-third.

Data 8

So, just to sum up, I would do various things very quickly. I would repeal and replace the big lie, Obamacare. I would build a great wall, and nobody builds walls better than me, believe me, and I’ll build them very inexpensively, I will build a great, great wall on our southern border. And I will have Mexico pay for that wall. Mark my words. Nobody would be tougher on ISIS than Donald Trump. Nobody. I will find — within our military, I will find the General Patton or I will find General MacArthur, I will find the right guy. I will find the guy that’s going to take that military and make it really work. Nobody, nobody will be pushing us around. I will stop Iran from getting nuclear weapons.

Trump shows authority that he will do various things very quickly, he will build a great wall and he said nobody builds walls better than him, and he will be tougher on ISIS than him. He also show that nobody will find military and he will find the guy that’s going to take that military and make it really work.
I. The Features of Rapport Talk used by Donald Trump

In the data analysis, the researcher found that Trump did not only use report talk but also rapport talk. The percentages of rapport talk used by Trump presented by the following table:

| No | The features of Rapport Talk                                           | Total | Percentage |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|------------|
| 1  | Using qualifier                                                        | 2     | 20%        |
| 2  | Apologizing                                                            | -     | -          |
| 3  | Taking blame                                                           | -     | -          |
| 4  | Thanking                                                               | 2     | 20%        |
| 5  | Maintaining an appearance of equality, downplaying qualification       | -     | -          |
| 6  | Establishing relationship                                              | 3     | 30%        |
| 7  | Downplaying authority                                                  | 3     | 30%        |
|    | **Total**                                                              | **10**| **100%**   |

In some sentences, they also showed rapport talk. One of the features which were used by Trump is establishing relationship. The following example showed that Trump establishing relationship with the audiences:

*It’s great to be at Trump Tower. It’s great to be in a wonderful city, New York. And it’s an honor to have everybody here. This is beyond anybody’s expectations. There’s been no crowd like this.*

This sentence above showed that Trump establishing relationship with his audiences so that they would feel closer each other. He appreciated the audience to attend his presidential announcement.

*“.....and we are going to make our country great again....”*
From this sentence, Trump used the pronoun “we” that indicated he downplaying his authority to be the presidential candidate. He did not use “I” to show himself as the speaker.

II. The Features of Rapport talk used by Hillary Clinton

Hillary Clinton also used both of talk type. It is different from Trump, Hillary tended to use rapport talk in delivering her speech. It could be seen from the features of rapport talk which were indicated from her utterances. The detail explanations and examples will be presented below:

| The features of rapport talk of Hillary Clinton |
|-----------------------------------------------|
| No | Rapport Talk                                      | Total | Percentage |
|----|--------------------------------------------------|-------|------------|
| 1  | Using qualifiers                                 | -     | -          |
| 2  | Apologizing                                      | -     | -          |
| 3  | Taking blame                                     | -     | -          |
| 4  | Thanking                                         | 2     | 7%         |
| 5  | Maintaining an appearance of equality,           | 8     | 29%        |
|    | downplaying qualification                        |       |            |
| 6  | Establishing relationship                        | 5     | 18%        |
| 7  | Downplaying authority                            | 13    | 46%        |
|    | Total                                            | 28    | 100%       |

1. Thanking

Data 1

Thanking is one of the features of rapport talk in this sentence, Hillary produced the word “thank you” to indicate her thanking.

“Thank you! Oh thank you all thank you so very very much...”
Data 2

*Thank you* all. God bless you. And may God bless America.

She expresses her thanking by saying “Thank you” to her supporters. This is one of the polite way to express her thanking.

2. Maintaining an appearance of equality, downplaying qualification

Hillary uses the language to seek and offer support. Hillary maintains an appearance of quality with their speaking partner and avoid showing an authority.

Data 1

“*our next president must work with congress and every other willing partner across our entire country*...”

Hillary used the pronoun “our” to maintain the equality status between her and the audience. Then, from the utterance she avoided to showing her interest to be the next president, but invite the audience to think about their next president, it means that she wanted to maintain the equality with the audience that they were citizen equality.

Data 2

*It is wonderful to be here with all of you. To be in New York with my family, with so many friends, including many New Yorkers who gave me the honor of serving them in the Senate for eight years. To be right across the water from the headquarters of the United Nations, where I represented our country many times. To be here in this beautiful park dedicated to Franklin*
Roosevelt’s enduring vision of America, the nation we want to be. And in a place... with absolutely no ceilings.

To maintain her equality, Hillary gives the statement “It is wonderful to be here with all of you. To be in New York with my family, with so many friends, including many New Yorkers who gave me the honor of serving them in the Senate for eight years.” It means that she wants to keep her relationship and her equality with her supporters. Thus, there is no gap between her and her supporters.

**Data 3**

I’m running to make our economy work for you and for every American. For the successful and the struggling. For the innovators and inventors. For those breaking barriers in technology and discovering cures for diseases. For the factory workers and food servers who stand on their feet all day. For the nurses who work the night shift. For the truckers who drive for hours and the farmers who feed us. For the veterans who served our country. For the small business owners who took a risk. For everyone who’s ever been knocked down, but refused to be knocked out.

She maintain an appearance equality by gives the statement that she will run to make the economy work not only for her supporters but also for every American. And for the successful and the struggling. Whatever she does for the better of United States, and she did not choose whoever that person was.

**Data 4**

So let’s staff our primary and secondary schools with teachers who are second to none in the world, and receive the respect they deserve for sparking the love of learning in every child. Let's make college affordable and available to all ...and lift the crushing burden of student debt. Let’s provide lifelong learning for workers to gain or improve skills the economy requires, setting up many more Americans for success.
She maintains equality and downplaying qualification by showing the statement that let’s provide life long learning for workers to gain or improve skills the economy requires, setting up many more Americans for success.

Data 5

Americans have come too far to see our progress ripped away. Now, there may be some new voices in the presidential Republican choir, but they’re all singing the same old song... A song called “Yesterday.” You know the one — all our troubles look as though they’re here to stay... and we need a place to hide away... They believe in yesterday. And you’re lucky I didn’t try singing that, too, I’ll tell you!

She maintains an appearance of equality by making the intimacy and closeness with her supporters. She talks to her supporters to sing the same old song to make the intimacy.

Data 6

And it is way past time to end the outrage of so many women still earning less than men on the job — and women of color often making even less. This isn’t a women’s issue. It’s a family issue. Just like raising the minimum wage is a family issue. Expanding childcare is a family issue. Declining marriage rates is a family issue. The unequal rates of incarceration is a family issue. Helping more people with an addiction or a mental health problem get help is a family issue.

Data 7

In America, every family should feel like they belong. So we should offer hard-working, law-abiding immigrant families a path to citizenship. Not second-class status. And, we should ban discrimination against LGBT Americans and their families so they can live, learn, marry, and work just like everybody else. You know, America’s diversity, our openness, our devotion to human rights and freedom is what’s drawn so many to our shores. What’s inspired people all over the world. I know. I’ve seen it with my own eyes.
3. Establishing relationship

Hillary’s talk is aimed to establish relationship and make people in the relationship feel closer to each other.

Data 1

“it is wonderful to be here with all of you. To be in New York with my family, with many friends including many New Yorkers who gave me the honor of serving them in the senate for eight years. (appendix 6 N0 2)

In rapport talk, Hillary always produces the statement contained establishing relationship. In this utterance Hillary showed it by starting “it is wonderful to be here with all of you.” She tended to establish her relationship with the audience.

Data 2

I’m not running for some Americans, but for all Americans.

To establish her relationship, Hillary not only focus with some Americans, but also for all Americans. She will run the government be better for all of Americans.

Data 3

As your President, I’ll do whatever it takes to keep Americans safe. And if you look over my left shoulder you can see the new World Trade Center soaring skyward. As a Senator from New York, I dedicated myself to getting our city and state the help we needed to recover. And as a member of the Armed Services Committee, I worked to maintain the best-trained, best-equipped, strongest military, ready for today’s threats and tomorrow’s. And when our brave men and women come home from war or finish their service, I’ll see to
it that they get not just the thanks of a grateful nation, but the care and benefits they’ve earned. I’ve stood up to adversaries like Putin and reinforced allies like Israel. I was in the Situation Room on the day we got bin Laden. But, I know — I know we have to be smart as well as strong. Meeting today’s global challenges requires every element of America’s power, including skillful diplomacy, economic influence, and building partnerships to improve lives around the world with people, not just their governments.

She establish relationship with her supporters by saying if she elected as a President she will keep Americans safe. And make requires every element of America’s power including skillful diplomacy, economic influence, and building partnerships to improve lives around the world with people not just their governments.

Data 4

We Americans may differ, bicker, stumble, and fall; but we are at our best when we pick each other up, when we have each other’s back. Like any family, our American family is strongest when we cherish what we have in common, and fight back against those who would drive us apart.

Hillary establish relationship by saying that we Americans may differ, bicker, stumble, and fall, but we are at our best like any family, our Americans family is strongest. By saying that, thus she feels closer with her supporters and establish relationship.

Data 5

Now, the second fight is to strengthen America’s families, because when our families are strong, America is strong. And today’s families face new and unique pressures. Parents need more support and flexibility to do their job at work and at home. I believe you should have the right to earn paid sick days. I believe you should receive your work schedule with enough notice to arrange childcare or take college courses to get ahead. I believe you should look forward to retirement with confidence, not anxiety. That you should have the
peace of mind that your health care will be there when you need it, without breaking the bank. I believe we should offer paid family leave so no one has to choose between keeping a paycheck and caring for a new baby or a sick relative.

To establish her relationship, Hillary said the statement that she will do to strengthen America’s families, because when families are strong, America is also strong. Thus, she feels closer with all her supporters.

4. Downplaying authority

Women avoid using aggressive and threatening language irrespective of their position. They exhibit their subordinate status by being polite and soft spoken and demonstrate their authority in the same way.

Data 1

“...that’s why we have to win the fourth fight...reforming our government and revitalizing our democracy so that it works for everyday Americans. We have to stop the endless flow of secret, unaccountable money that is distorting our elections, corrupting our political process, and drowning out the voices of our people...”

In the example, Hillary downplayed her authority as the president candidate. She stated “we have to win the fourth fight” she used the pronoun “we” instead of “I” to win the election while she is the candidate.

Data 2

Prosperity and democracy are part of your basic bargain too. You brought our country back. Now it’s time — your time to secure the gains and move ahead. And, you know what? America can’t succeed unless you succeed.

She downplaying authority by asking her supporters that they have to succeed the government program without them she can’t run the program well.
Data 3

*I believe we have a continuing rendezvous with destiny. Each American and the country we cherish.*

She convinced and show her authority that she will be able to continue rendezvous with destiny. Each American and the country will cherish.

Data 4

*At our best, that’s what Americans do. We’re problem solvers, not deniers. We don’t hide from change, we harness it. But we can’t do that if we go back to the top-down economic policies that failed us before.*

She asks her supporters to be a problem solvers not deniers. By saying this she shows her authority as a president candidate. And she will bring back to the top economic policies in the world.

Data 5

*I’ll give me the chance, I’ll wage and win Four Fights for you.*

She downplaying her authority if she gets elected she will wage and win four fights for all Americans.

Data 6

*We face new challenges in our economy and our democracy. We’re still working our way back from a crisis that happened because time-tested values were replaced by false promises. Instead of an economy built by every American, for every American, we were told that if we let those at the top pay lower taxes and bend the rules, their success would trickle down to everyone else. What happened? Well, instead of a balanced budget with surpluses that could have eventually paid off our national debt, the Republicans twice cut*
taxes for the wealthiest, borrowed money from other countries to pay for two wars, and family incomes dropped. You know where we ended up. Except it wasn’t the end. As we have since our founding, Americans made a new beginning.

Data 7

You worked extra shifts, took second jobs, postponed home repairs... you figured out how to make it work. And now people are beginning to think about their future again – going to college, starting a business, buying a house, finally being able to put away something for retirement. So we’re standing again. But, we all know we’re not yet running the way America should. You see corporations making record profits, with CEOs making record pay, but your paychecks have barely budged. While many of you are working multiple jobs to make ends meet, you see the top 25 hedge fund managers making more than all of America’s kindergarten teachers combined. And, often paying a lower tax rate. So, you have to wonder: “When does my hard work pay off? When does my family get ahead?” “When?” I say now. Prosperity can’t be just for CEOs and hedge fund managers. Democracy can’t be just for billionaires and corporations.

She downplayed authority by saying the statement to think about their future, going to college, starting a business, buying a house. And she pushes to all her supporters to help her to build America be better under her leads.

Data 8

That’s how we do it in America. With that same spirit, together, we can win these four fights. We can build an economy where hard work is rewarded. We can strengthen our families. We can defend our country and increase our opportunities all over the world. And we can renew the promise of our democracy. If we all do our part. In our families, in our businesses, unions, houses of worship, schools, and, yes, in the voting booth. I want you to join me in this effort. Help me build this campaign and make it your own. Talk to your friends, your family, your neighbors.
To show her authority, Hillary asks her supporter to join her to build her efforts to build an economy together. So that she can defend the country and increase the opportunities all over the world.

III. The Features of Report Talk used by Hillary Clinton

Hillary Clinton also used report talk in the way of her speech. The percentage of report talk used by Hillary Clinton can be seen in the following table:

Table 4.4 The features of Report Talk used by Hillary Clinton

| No | Report Talk                          | Total | Percentage |
|----|--------------------------------------|-------|------------|
| 1  | Direct Request                       | 1     | 4%         |
| 2  | Longer talk in public context        | 14    | 61%        |
| 3  | Speech includes slangs or swear words, teasing and banter. | - | - |
| 4  | Giving advices to solve problem     | -     | -          |
| 5  | Mixing business and Non-Business talk | 5     | 22%        |
| 6  | Rarely give praise and compliment    | -     | -          |
| 7  | Showing authority                   | 3     | 13%        |
|    | Total                               | 23    | 100%       |

“As a leader of the Legal Services Corporation, I defended the right of poor people to have a lawyer. And saw lives changed because an abusive marriage ended or an illegal eviction stopped. In Arkansas, I supervised law students who represented clients in courts and prisons, organized scholarships for single parents going to college, led efforts for better schools and health care, and personally knew the people whose lives were improved. As Senator, I had the honor of representing brave firefighters, police officers, EMTs, construction workers, and volunteers who ran toward danger on 9/11 and stayed there, becoming sick themselves.”
In the example above, Hillary Clinton showed showing her authority based on her background. It can be showed by using the pronoun “I”.

From the transcription of presidential announcement speech by Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton, it was found that there are 92 utterances of Donal Trump and 51 utterances of Hillary Clinton which were selected as the data. The reseacher found that there were 82 utterances of Donald Trump which were indicated in “Report Talk” and there were 10 utterances which were indicated in “Rapport Talk”. The same things were also happened in Hillary Clinton’s speech. It was found that Hillary Clinton produced 28 utterances in “Rapport Talk” and 23 utterances in “Report Talk”.

It means that either male and female politician in their presidential announcement speech used report and rapport talk as their way of communication in delivering their presidential announcement speech, although either male and female politician used both of talk types in different tendency. The total sentences and percentage of using report and rapport talk of male and female politician can be seen in the following table:

**Table 4.5 The use of Report and Rapport Talk by Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton in political speech**

| No | Gender         | Report Talk (in Percentage) | Rapport Talk (In Percentage) |
|----|----------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1  | Male (Donald Trump) | 82 (89%)                    | 10 (11%)                     |
| 2  | Female (Hillary Clinton) | 23 (45%)                   | 28 (55%)                     |
Table 4.5 presents that the total sentences which were showed the features of report talk used by Donald Trump are 82 sentences or 89% and the total of rapport talk are 10 sentences or 11%. It showed that Donald Trump used both of talk types, but percentage of using report talk is bigger than rapport talk.

The features of report talk used by Hillary Clinton are 23 sentences or 45% and the total of rapport talk are 28 sentences or 55%. It showed that Hillary Clinton used both of talk types, and the percentage of using both of talk types was almost in the same amount.

The Characteristics between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton

A. The Characteristics that Donald Trump Showed in Political Speech

The researcher found that Donald Trump showed his gendered characteristics in his communication by showing status, independence, advice, order, and information. The explanation will be presented below:

1. Status

“...If I get elected president I will bring it back bigger and better and stronger than ever before”

In this sentence, Trump showed that he has power, authority, and status to promise something that he can do if he gets elected. And prove to his supporter that he able to lead the country.

2. Independence

“...Because I don’t need anybody’s money. It’s nice. I don’t need anybody’s money. I’m using my own money. I’m not using the lobbyists. I’m not using donors.”
In the sentence, Trump showed his independence by stating that he will not need money from others because he has his own money. And he can do everything with his own money to reach his purposes.

3. Advice

“We have to repeal Obamacare, and it can be— and— and it can be replaced with something much better for everybody”.

In this sentence, Trump gave advice by saying “and it can be replaced with something much better for everybody” He advice people to replace obamacare by something much better.

4. Order

“So we have to rebuild our infrastructure, our bridges, our roadways, our airports.”

In this sentence, Trump expressed the order by delivering direct imperative sentence. He makes the order to the citizens to do something to make the country be better. It could be seen from his sentence by using “have to”.

5. Information

“You come into La Guardia Airport, it’s like we’re in a third world country. You look at the patches and the 40-year-old floor. They throw down asphalt, and they throw. You look at these airports, we are like a third world country. And I come in from China and I come in from Qatar and I come in from different places, and they have the most incredible airports in the world. You come to back to this country and you have LAX, disaster. You have all of these disastrous airports.” (Appendix 5 No 5)
The example showed how Trump gave the information for the audience. Trump demonstrate his knowledge about a subject and give the general information about the topic.

B. The Characteristics that Hillary Clinton Showed in Political Speech

The researcher found that Hillary Clinton showed her gendered characteristics in his communication by showing support, intimacy, understanding, feeling, and proposal. The explanation will be presented below:

1. Support

“That’s how we do it in America. With that same spirit, together, we can win these four fights. We can build an economy where hard work is rewarded. We can strengthen our families. We can defend our country and increase our opportunities all over the world. And we can renew the promise of our democracy. If we all do our part.”

The example shows Clinton showed support in her speech. It can be seen from the statement “That’s how we do it in America. With that same spirit, together, we can win these four fights. We can build an economy where hard work is rewarded. We can strengthen our families. We can defend our country... The words we can show she support the citizen to do something and she confirm to be included in their action.

2. Intimacy

“It is wonderful to be here with all of you. To be in New York with my family, with so many friends, including many New Yorkers who gave me the honor of serving them in the Senate for eight years.”
Clinton expressed her intimacy can be seen from the statement “It is wonderful to be here with all of you.” She expressed her intimacy by giving compliment and the expression that full of closeness and intimacy, the statement showed she was happy with the audience.

3. Understanding

“We Americans may differ, bicker, stumble, and fall; but we are at our best when we pick each other up, when we have each other’s back. Like any family, our American family is strongest when we cherish what we have in common, and fight back against those who would drive us apart.”

The example shows Clinton showed the understanding by stating “We Americans may differ, bicker, stumble, and fall; but we are at our best when we pick each other up, when we have each other’s back.” From the statement it can be seen that Clinton admitted her weakness, but she appreciated the best thing that they can do if they are together as a nation and united.

4. Feeling

“That’s why I believe with all my heart in America and in the potential of every American. To meet every challenge. To be resilient... no matter what the world throws at you. To solve the toughest problems. I believe we can do all these things because I’ve seen it happen.”

The sentence, showed that Hillary showed her feeling by the statement “That’s why I believe with all my heart”. Based on the theories, female always express their feeling in their interaction by delivering the statement.
5. Proposal

“So let’s staff our primary and secondary schools with teachers who are second to none in the world, and receive the respect they deserve for sparking the love of learning in every child. Let’s make college affordable and available to all ...and lift the crushing burden of student debt.” (Appendix 10 No 5)

In their interaction, Hillary prefers to express proposals than orders. Proposals means Hillary encourage the use of super polite forms. Hillary often suggests that people do things in indirect ways for instance with expression if you’ll give me...Let’s... the expression show that Hillary used this way to give the suggestion for audience (citizen).

4.1.3 The Reason of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton Differ in Their Political Speech

In the data analysis, it was found that Trump and Hillary have different way of delivering presidential announcement speech. The explanation why Trump and Hillary used the different way of communication will be explained in the following:

4.1.3.1 The reason of Donald Trump Gives Speech with Report Talk

In delivering their ideas, Trump frequently used report talk to deliver his speech. It could be seen from the features that Trump used. Based on the analysis of features of Report Talk, the reason why Trump used report talk are: First, Male tended to use factual information. The dominated features that he used was longer talk in public which means to give information about a subject. The example of the sentences can be seen in appendix 2 no 4
“...our labor participation rate was the worst since 1978. But think of it, horrible labor participation rate. And our real employment anywhere here from 18 to 20 percent.

In the sentence above, Trump made a statement directly that the labor participation rate was the worst since 1978. It can be seen Trump gave information to the audience. Giving information is one of the characteristics of male language. It is included into longer talk in public context is the features of Report talk.

The second reason could be seen from the dominant features in Trump’s speech is using joke and threatening to show their power. The example:

“They sweated like dogs. They didn’t know the room was too big, because they didn’t have anybody there.”

In this sentence, Trump teased other candidates that they are not capable and don’t have power to be the president. For example to solve a problem about ISIS. He threatened others that they do not have supporter to work with them if they become president.

The third reason is male tended to show his power. It can be seen from the third dominant features in report talk by showing authority. The example:

“Nobody can do that like me. Believe me. It will be done on time, on budget, way below cost, way below what anyone ever thought. I look at the roads being built all over the country, and I say I can build those things for one-third.”

In giving his ideas, male seek to achieve the upper hand or prevent others from dominating them. Trump stated there was no one can do like he does. He showed his power that he can do everything and better.
4.1.3.2 The reason of Hillary Clinton Gives Speech with Rapport Talk

In delivering their ideas, female also frequently used Rapport Talk to deliver her speech. Female used Rapport Talk to build and to maintain relationship and negotiate closeness and intimacy. It can be seen from the statement below:

“*It is wonderful to be here with all of you. To be in New York with my family, with so many friends, including many New Yorkers who gave me the honor of serving them in the Senate for eight years.*”

Clinton expressed her intimacy can be seen from the statement “*It is wonderful to be here with all of you.*” She expressed her intimacy by giving compliment and the expression that full of closeness and intimacy, the statement showed she was happy with the audience.

Other features that found in this speech is downplaying authority. Clinton avoid to use aggressive and threatening language of their position. They exhibit their subordinate status by being polite. Female tend to be indirect, tactful, and use more courtesy word. Female use pronoun “we” than”I”. The example:

“...that’s why we have to win the fourth fight...reforming our government and revitalizing our democracy so that it works for everyday Americans. We have to stop the endless flow of secret, unaccountable money that is distorting our elections, corrupting our political process, and drowning out the voices of our people...”

In the example, female politician downplayed her authority as the president candidate. She stated “*we have to win the fourth fight*” she used the pronoun “we” instead of “I” to win the election while she is the candidate. She used downplaying authority to seek and offer support in gaining relationship with people.
4.2 Findings

Based on the data analysis there are some findings to be drawn as the following:

1. Both Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton in delivering their speech used Report Talk and Rapport Talk in their way of communication, but Donald Trump use Report Talk more in delivering his speech. Meanwhile, Hillary Clinton tended to use Rapport Talk more in delivering her speech to the audience.

2. Trump and Hillary were different in delivering their speech. It could be seen from different features and characteristics which were showed on their speech. Trump frequently showed the characteristics of male communication, such as status, independence, advice, information, and order, while Hillary showed her support, intimacy, understanding, feeling, and proposal in her speech. However conflict as male characteristics and compromise as female characteristics were not found in findings.

3. The reason why Trump used Report Talk to give factual information, teased, thread other to show and keep his status and power. Trump used Rapport talk to gain relationship with other to gain status. Whereas Hillary used Rapport talk to negotiate closeness and intimacy and female used Report talk because she tended to imitate male’s way to defend her status and power.
4.3 Discussions

After having analyzed the data, there are some points as the important one to be discussed in this study. From the data analysis, researcher found Trump and Hillary used both of talk types, but Trump used Report Talk more than Rapport Talk. It means male seems to have self confident and more privilege position to defend their points of view, while female combine the talk types tend to imitate male speech behavior in order to defend their status.

The researcher found that there are different reasons why Trump dominantly used Report Talk and why Hillary dominantly used Rapport Talk. The reason why Trump used Report talk to give factual information, teased and thread other and show and keep his status and power. Trump used Rapport Talk to gain relationship with other to gain support. While hillary used Rapport talk to negotiate closeness and intimacy, and Hillary used Report talk because she tend to imitate’s Trump way to defend her status and power.

In accordance with Mohindra and Azhar (2012) in “Gender Communication: A Comparative Analysis of Communicational Approaches of Men and Women at Workplace” found male competitive and hierarchial, then female looked for similarities and cooperation. Male established rank and status, while female are sensitive to issue. But in this finding, male tended to give information than establish his status, even he tried to establish relationship with others to gain support. Whereas, female showed she was interested with issue by giving information and imitate the male’s ways to defend her status. There was a such a little bit different case in this study.
CHAPTER V
CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

5.1 CONCLUSIONS

This study was concerned on Gender Differences on the way of communication of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton in political speech. It was aimed at describing how Trump and Hillary delivered their speech and describing the different characteristics of Donald Trump and Hillary in the way they delivered their speech. After analyzing the data, the conclusions can be stated as follows:

1. Trump and Hillary used different features and characteristics to deliver their speech. Both Trump and Hillary in delivering their political speech used Report talk and Rapport talk in the way of communication, but Trump used Report talk more in delivering his speech. Meanwhile, Hillary used Rapport talk more in delivering her speech to the audiences. The features of report talk that Trump used are: Direct request, Longer talk in public context, speech includes slang or swear words, giving advices to solve problem, mixing business and non business talk, and showing authority. While, the features of rapport talk that Hillary used are: thanking, maintaining an appearance of equality, establishing relationship, and downplaying authority. Then, both of them used different characteristics. In his speech, The characteristics are: status, independence, advice, information, and order. While, Hillary used: support, intimacy, understanding, feeling, and proposal.
2. Trump and Hillary were different in delivering their speech. It could be seen from the different characteristics which were showed on their speech. Trump frequently showed the characteristics of male communication, such as: status, independence, advice, information, and order. While Hillary showed her support, intimacy, understanding, feeling, and proposal in their speech to the audiences. In this case, the researcher did not find that Trump showed the characteristics of conflict, whereas based on the six characteristics of male communication, male will show conflict in their communication. The same thing also happened in Hillary, in this case the researcher did not find one of the six characteristics of female which is compromise. Conflict is one of male’s ways of communication which express conflict in maintaining their ideas and they tend to resist their idea vocally. Compromise is one of characteristics of female's communication which avoid conflict and attempt to resolve disagreement with direct confrontation. Conflict and compromise are generally used in conversation or two ways of communication while responding different argumentation from the communication partner. In presidential announcement speech 2015, the interaction happened in one way communication where the politician just give their politician to the audience and the audiences listen to the candidate’s speech.

3. The reason why Trump used Report talk to give factual information, teased and thread other and show and keep his status and power. Trump used Rapport Talk to gain relationship with other to gain support. While hillary used Rapport talk to negotiate closeness and intimacy, and Hillary used Report talk because she tend to imitate’s Trump way to defend her status and power.
5.2 Suggestions

Due to the above conclusions, it is necessary to give suggestions by the following:

1. The students as the representative of the readers to increase their understanding how male and female communicate in their interaction to avoid misperceive in communication.

2. Other researchers, especially the researchers majoring in English to conduct further research in Gender Differences in other fields in order to find other phenomenon related to Gender.

3. The lecturers to practice the theory of Gender Differences in communication to their students in teaching and learning process.
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Appendix 1

Donald Trump’s Presidential Announcement Speech On June, 16 2015

It’s great to be at Trump Tower. It’s great to be in a wonderful city, New York. And it’s
an honor to have everybody here. This is beyond anybody’s expectations. There’s been no crowd
like this. And, I can tell, some of the candidates, they went in. They didn’t know the air-
conditioner didn’t work. They sweated like dogs. They didn’t know the room was too big, because
they didn’t have anybody there. How are they going to beat ISIS? I don’t think it’s gonna happen.

Our country is in serious trouble. We don’t have victories anymore. We used to have
victories, but we don’t have them. When was the last time anybody saw us beating, let’s say,
China in a trade deal? They kill us. I beat China all the time. All the time. When did we beat Japan
at anything? They send their cars over by the millions, and what do we do? When was the last time
you saw a Chevrolet in Tokyo? It doesn’t exist, folks. They beat us all the time. When do we beat
Mexico at the border? They’re laughing at us, at our stupidity. And now they are beating us
economically. They are not our friend, believe me. But they’re killing us economically. The U.S.
has become a dumping ground for everybody else’s problems.

Thank you. It’s true, and these are the best and the finest. When Mexico sends its people,
they’re not sending their best. They’re not sending you. They’re not sending you. They’re sending
people that have lots of problems, and they’re bringing those problems with us. They’re bringing
drugs. They’re bringing crime. They’re rapists. And some, I assume, are good people. But I speak
to border guards and they tell us what we’re getting. And it only makes common sense. It only
makes common sense. They’re sending us not the right people. It’s coming from more than
Mexico. It’s coming from all over South and Latin America, and it’s coming probably—
probably—from the Middle East. But we don’t know. Because we have no protection and we
have no competence, we don’t know what’s happening. And it’s got to stop and it’s got to stop
fast. Islamic terrorism is eating up large portions of the Middle East. They’ve become rich. I’m in
competition with them. They just built a hotel in Syria. Can you believe this? They built a hotel.
When I have to build a hotel, I pay interest. They don’t have to pay interest, because they took the
oil that, when we left Iraq, I said we should’ve taken. So now ISIS has the oil, and what they don’t
have, Iran has. And in 19—and I will tell you this, and I said it very strongly, years ago, I said—and
and I love the military, and I want to have the strongest military that we’ve ever had, and we need
it more now than ever. But I said, “Don’t hit Iraq,” because you’re going to totally destabilize the
Middle East. Iran is going to take over the Middle East, Iran and somebody else will get the oil,
and it turned out that Iran is now taking over Iraq. Think of it. Iran is taking over Iraq, and they’re
taking it over big league.

We spent $2 trillion in Iraq, $2 trillion. We lost thousands of lives, thousands in Iraq. We
have wounded soldiers, who I love, I love — they’re great — all over the place, thousands and
thousands of wounded soldiers. And we have nothing. We can’t even go there. We have nothing.
And every time we give Iraq equipment, the first time a bullet goes off in the air, they leave it. Last
week, I read 2,300 Humvees — these are big vehicles — were left behind for the enemy. 2,000? You
would say maybe two, maybe four? 2,300 sophisticated vehicles, they ran, and the enemy
took them. Last quarter, it was just announced our gross domestic product — a sign of strength,
right? But not for us. It was below zero. Whoever heard of this? It’s never below zero. Our labor
participation rate was the worst since 1978. But think of it, GDP below zero, horrible labor
participation rate. And our real unemployment is anywhere from 18 to 20 percent. Don’t believe
the 5.6. Don’t believe it. That’s right. A lot of people up there can’t get jobs. They can’t get jobs,
because there are no jobs, because China has our jobs and Mexico has our jobs. They all have jobs.
But the real number, the real number is anywhere from 18 to 19 and maybe even 21 percent, and
nobody talks about it, because it’s a statistic that’s full of nonsense.

Our enemies are getting stronger and stronger by the way, and we as a country are getting
weaker. Even our nuclear arsenal doesn’t work. It came out recently they have equipment that is 30
years old. They don’t know if it worked. And I thought it was horrible when it was broadcast on
television, because boy, does that send signals to Putin and all of the other people that look at us and they say, “That is a group of people, and that is a nation that truly has no clue. They don’t know what they’re doing. They don’t know what they’re doing.” We have a disaster called the big lie: Obamacare. Obamacare.

Yesterday, it came out that costs are going for people up 29, 39, 49, and even 55 percent, and deductibles are through the roof. You have to be hit by a tractor, literally, a tractor, to use it, because the deductibles are so high, it’s virtually useless. It’s virtually useless. It is a disaster. And remember the $5 billion website? $5 billion we spent on a website, and to this day it doesn’t work. A $5 billion website. I have so many websites, I have them all over the place. I hire people, they do a website. It costs me $3. $5 billion website.

Well, you need somebody, because politicians are all talk, no action. Nothing’s gonna get done. They will not bring us—believe me—to the promised land. They will not. As an example, I’ve been on the circuit making speeches, and I hear my fellow Republicans. And they’re wonderful people. I like them. They all want me to support them. They don’t know how to bring it about. They come up to my office. I’m meeting with three of them in the next week. And they don’t know—“Are you running? Are you not running? Could we have your support? What do we do? How do we do it?” I like them. And I hear their speeches. And they don’t talk jobs and they don’t talk China. When was the last time you heard China is killing us? They’re devaluing their currency to a level that you wouldn’t believe. It makes it impossible for our companies to compete, impossible. They’re killing us. But you don’t hear that from anybody else. You don’t hear it from anybody else. And I watch the speeches.

I watch the speeches of these people, and they say the sun will rise, the moon will set, all sorts of wonderful things will happen. And people are saying, “What’s going on? I just want a job. Just get me a job. I don’t need the rhetoric. I want a job.” And that’s what’s happening. And it’s going to get worse, because remember, Obamacare really kicks in in ’16, 2016. Obama is going to be out playing golf. He might be on one of my courses. I would invite him, I actually would say. I have the best courses in the world, so I’d say, you what, if he wants to—I have one right next to the White House, right on the Potomac. If he’d like to play, that’s fine. In fact, I’d love him to leave early and play, that would be a very good thing. But Obamacare kicks in in 2016. Really big league. It is going to be amazingly destructive. Doctors are quitting. I have a friend who’s a doctor, and he said to me the other day, “Donald, I never saw anything like it. I have more accountants than I have nurses. It’s a disaster. My patients are beside themselves. They had a plan that was good. They have no plan now.”

We have to repeal Obamacare, and it can be—and—and it can be replaced with something much better for everybody. Let it be for everybody. But much better and much less expensive for people and for the government. And we can do it. So I’ve watched the politicians. I’ve dealt with them all my life. If you can’t make a good deal with a politician, then there’s something wrong with you. You’re certainly not very good. And that’s what we have representing us. They will never make America great again. They don’t even have a chance. They’re controlled fully—they’re controlled fully by the lobbyists, by the donors, and by the special interests, fully. Yes, they control them. Hey, I have lobbyists. I have to tell you. I have lobbyists that can produce anything for me. They’re great. But you know what? it won’t happen. It won’t happen. Because we have to stop doing things for some people, but for this country, it’s destroying our country. We have to stop, and it has to stop now.

Now, our country needs—our country needs a truly great leader, and we need a truly great leader now. We need a leader that wrote “The Art of the Deal.” We need a leader that can bring back our jobs, can bring back our manufacturing, can bring back our military, can take care of our vets. Our vets have been abandoned. And we also need a cheerleader. You know, when President Obama was elected, I said, “Well, the one thing, I think he’ll do well. I think he’ll be a great cheerleader for the country. I think he’d be a great spirit.” He was vibrant. He was young. I really thought that he would be a great cheerleader. He’s not a leader. That’s true. You’re right
about that. But he wasn’t a cheerleader. He’s actually a negative force. He’s been a negative force. He wasn’t a cheerleader; he was the opposite.

We need somebody that can take the brand of the United States and make it great again. It’s not great again. We need—we need somebody—we need somebody that literally will take this country and make it great again. We can do that. And, I will tell you, I love my life. I have a wonderful family. They’re saying, “Dad, you’re going to do something that’s going to be so tough.” You know, all of my life, I’ve heard that a truly successful person, a really, really successful person and even modestly successful cannot run for public office. Just can’t happen. And yet that’s the kind of mindset that you need to make this country great again.

So ladies and gentlemen… I am officially running… for president of the United States, and we are going to make our country great again. It can happen. Our country has tremendous potential. We have tremendous people. We have people that aren’t working. We have people that have no incentive to work. But they’re going to have incentive to work, because the greatest social program is a job. And they’ll be proud, and they’ll love it, and they’ll make much more than they would’ve ever made, and they’ll be—they’ll be doing so well, and we’re going to be thriving as a country, thriving. It can happen.

I will be the greatest jobs president that God ever created. I tell you that. I’ll bring back our jobs from China, from Mexico, from Japan, from so many places. I’ll bring back our jobs, and I’ll bring back our money. Right now, think of this: We owe China $1.3 trillion. We owe Japan more than that. So they come in, they take our jobs, they take our money, and then they loan us back the money, and we pay them in interest, and then the dollar goes up so their deal’s even better. How stupid are our leaders? How stupid are these politicians to allow this to happen? How stupid are they? I’m going to tell you—thank you. I’m going to tell you a couple of stories about trade, because I’m totally against the trade bill for a number of reasons. Number one, the people negotiating don’t have a clue. Our president doesn’t have a clue. He’s a bad negotiator. He’s the one that did Bergdahl. We get Bergdahl, they get five killer terrorists that everybody wanted over there. We get Bergdahl. We get a traitor. We get a no-good traitor, and they get the five people that they wanted for years, and those people are now back on the battlefield trying to kill us. That’s the negotiator we have. Take a look at the deal he’s making with Iran. He makes that deal, Israel maybe won’t exist very long. It’s a disaster, and we have to protect Israel. But…

So we need people—I’m a free trader. But the problem with free trade is you need really talented people to negotiate for you. If you don’t have talented people, if you don’t have great leadership, if you don’t have people that know business, not just a political hack that got the job because he made a contribution to a campaign, which is the way all jobs, just about, are gotten, free trade terrible. Free trade can be wonderful if you have smart people, but we have people that are stupid. We have people that aren’t smart. And we have people that are controlled by special interests. And it’s just not going to work.

So, here’s a couple of stories happened recently. A friend of mine is a great manufacturer. And, you know, China comes over and they dump all their stuff, and I buy it. I buy it, because, frankly, I have an obligation to buy it, because they devalue their currency so brilliantly, they just did it recently, and nobody thought they could do it again. But with all our problems with Russia, with all our problems with everything—everything, they got away with it again. And it’s impossible for our people here to compete. So I want to tell you this story. A friend of mine who’s a great manufacturer, calls me up a few weeks ago. He’s very upset. I said, “What’s your problem?” He said, “You know, I make great product.” And I said, “I know. I know that because I buy the product.” He said, “I can’t get it into China. They won’t accept it. I sent a boat over and they actually sent it back. They talked about environmental, they talked about all sorts of crap that had nothing to do with it.” I said, “Oh, wait a minute, that’s terrible. Does anyone know this?” He said, “Yeah, they do it all the time with other people.” I said, “They send it back?” “Yeah. So I finally got it over there and they charged me a big tariff. They’re not supposed to be doing that. I told them.”
Now, they do charge you tariff on trucks, when we send trucks and other things over there. Ask Boeing. They wanted Boeing’s secrets. They wanted their patents and all their secrets before they agreed to buy planes from Boeing. Hey, I’m not saying they’re stupid. I like China. I sell apartments for— I just sold an apartment for $15 million to somebody from China. Am I supposed to dislike them? I own a big chunk of the Bank of America Building at 1290 Avenue of the Americas, that I got from China in a war. Very valuable. I love China. The biggest bank in the world is from China. You know where their United States headquarters is located? In this building, in Trump Tower. I love China. People say, “Oh, you don’t like China?” No, I love them. But their leaders are much smarter than our leaders, and we can’t sustain ourselves with that. There’s too much— it’s like— it’s like take the New England Patriots and Tom Brady and have them play your high school football team. That’s the difference between China’s leaders and our leaders. They are ripping us. We are rebuilding China. We’re rebuilding many countries. China, you go there now, roads, bridges, schools, you never saw anything like it. They have bridges that make the George Washington Bridge look like small potatoes. And they’re all over the place.

We have all the cards, but we don’t know how to use them. We don’t even know that we have the cards, because our leaders don’t understand the game. We could turn off that spigot by charging them tax until they behave properly. Now they’re going militarily. They’re building a military island in the middle of the South China sea. A military island. Now, our country could never do that because we’d have to get environmental clearance, and the environmentalist wouldn’t let our country— we would never build in an ocean. They built it in about one year, this massive military port. They’re building up their military to a point that is very scary. You have a problem with ISIS. You have a bigger problem with China. And, in my opinion, the new China, believe it or not, in terms of trade, is Mexico. So this man tells me about the manufacturing. I say, “That’s a terrible story. I hate to hear it.” But I have another one, Ford. So Mexico takes a company, a car company that was going to build in Tennessee, rips it out. Everybody thought the deal was dead. Reported it in the Wall Street Journal recently. Everybody thought it was a done deal. It’s going in and that’s going to be it, going into Tennessee. Great state, great people. All of a sudden, at the last moment, this big car manufacturer, foreign, announces they’re not going to Tennessee. They’re gonna spend their $1 billion in Mexico instead. Not good. Now, Ford announces a few weeks ago that Ford is going to build a $2.5 billion car and truck and parts manufacturing plant in Mexico. $2.5 billion, it’s going to be one of the largest in the world. Ford. Good company.

So I announced that I’m running for president. I would… one of the early things I would do, probably before I even got in— and I wouldn’t even use— you know, I have— I know the smartest negotiators in the world. I know the good ones. I know the bad ones. I know the overrated ones. You get a lot of them that are overrated. They’re not good. They think they are. They get good stories, because the newspapers get buffaloced. But they’re not good. But I know the negotiators in the world, and I put them one for each country. Believe me, folks. We will do very, very well, very, very well. But I wouldn’t even waste my time with this one. I would call up the head of Ford, who I know. If I was president, I’d say, “Congratulations. I understand that you’re building a nice $2.5 billion car factory in Mexico and that you’re going to take your cars and sell them to the United States zero tax, just flow them across the border.” And you say to yourself, “How does that help us,” right? “How does that help us? Where is that good”? It’s not. So I would say, “Congratulations. That’s the good news. Let me give you the bad news. Every car and every truck and every part manufactured in this plant that comes across the border, we’re going to charge you a 35-percent tax, and that tax is going to be paid simultaneously with the transaction, and that’s it.

Now, here’s what is going to happen. If it’s not me in the position, it’s one of these politicians that we’re running against, you know, the 400 people that we’re (inaudible). And here’s what’s going to happen. They’re not so stupid. They know it’s not a good thing, and they may even be upset by it. But then they’re going to get a call from the donors or probably from the lobbyist for Ford and say, “You can’t do that to Ford, because Ford takes care of me and I take care of you, and you can’t do that to Ford.” And guess what? No problem. They’re going to build in Mexico. They’re going to take away thousands of jobs. It’s very bad for us.
So under President Trump, here’s what would happen: The head of Ford will call me back, I would say within an hour after I told them the bad news. But it could be he’d want to be cool, and he’ll say, “Please, please, please.” He’ll beg for a little while, and I’ll say, “No interest.” Then he’ll call all sorts of political people, and I’ll say, “Sorry, fellas. No interest,” because I don’t need anybody’s money. It’s nice. I don’t need anybody’s money. I’m using my own money. I’m not using the lobbyists. I’m not using donors. I don’t care. I’m really rich. I (inaudible).

And by the way, I’m not even saying that’s the kind of mindset, that’s the kind of thinking you need for this country. So— because we got to make the country rich. It sounds crass. Somebody said, “Oh, that’s crass.” It’s not crass. We got $18 trillion in debt. We got nothing but problems. We got a military that needs equipment all over the place. We got nuclear weapons that are obsolete. We’ve got nothing. We’ve got Social Security that’s going to be destroyed if somebody like me doesn’t bring money into the country. All these other people want to cut the hell out of it. I’m not going to cut it at all; I’m going to bring money in, and we’re going to save it.

But here’s what’s going to happen: After I’m called by 30 friends of mine who contributed to different campaigns, after I’m called by all of the special interests and by the—the donors and by the lobbyists—and they have zero chance at convincing me, zero—I’ll get a call the next day from the head of Ford. He’ll say. “Please reconsider,” I’ll say no. He’ll say, “Mr. President, we’ve decided to move the plant back to the United States, and we’re not going to build it in Mexico.” That’s it. They have no choice. They have no choice. There are hundreds of things like that.

I’ll give you another example. Saudi Arabia, they make $1 billion a day. $1 billion a day. I love the Saudis. Many are in this building. They make a billion dollars a day. Whenever they have problems, we send over the ships. We say “we’re gonna protect.” What are we doing? They’ve got nothing but money. If the right person asked them, they’d pay a fortune. They wouldn’t be there except for us. And believe me, you look at the border with Yemen. You remember Obama a year ago, Yemen was a great victory. Two weeks later, the place was blown up. Everybody got out—and they kept our equipment. They always keep our equipment. We ought to send used equipment, right? They always keep our equipment. We ought to send some real junk, because, frankly, it would be—we ought to send our surplus. We’re always losing this gorgeous brand-new stuff. But look at that border with Saudi Arabia. Do you really think that these people are interested in Yemen? Saudi Arabia without us is gone. They’re gone. And I’m the one that made all of the right predictions about Iraq. You know, all of these politicians that I’m running against now—it’s so nice to say I’m running as opposed to if I run, if I run. I’m running. But all of these politicians that I’m running against now, they’re trying to dissociate. I mean, you looked at Bush, it took him five days to answer the question on Iraq. He couldn’t answer the question. He didn’t know. I said, “Is he intelligent?” Then I looked at Rubio. He was unable to answer the question, is Iraq a good thing or bad thing? He didn’t know. He couldn’t answer the question. How are these people gonna lead us? How are we gonna—we gonna—how are we gonna gonna go back and make it great again? We can’t. They don’t have a clue. They can’t lead us. They can’t. They can’t even answer simple questions. It was terrible. But Saudi Arabia is in big, big trouble. Now, thanks to fracking and other things, the oil is all over the place. And I used to say it, there are ships at sea, and this was during the worst crisis, that were loaded up with oil, and the cartel kept the price up, because, again, they were smarter than our leaders. They were smarter than our leaders.

There is so much wealth out there that can make our country so rich again, and therefore make it great again. Because we need money. We’re dying. We’re dying. We need money. We have to do it. And we need the right people. So Ford will come back. They’ll all come back. And I will say this, this is going to be an election, in my opinion, that’s based on competence. Somebody said — thank you, darlin’. Somebody said to me the other day, a reporter, a very nice reporter, “But, Mr. Trump, you’re not a nice person.” That’s true. But actually I am. I think I am a nice person. People that know me, like me. Does my family like me? I think so, right. Look at my family. I’m proud of my family. By the way, speaking of my family, Melania, Barron, Kai, Donnie, Don, Vanessa, Tiffany, Evanka did a great job. Did she do a great job? Great. Jared, Laura
and Eric, I’m very proud of my family. They’re a great family. So the reporter said to me the other day, “But, Mr. Trump, you’re not a nice person. How can you get people to vote for you?” I said, “I don’t know.” I said, “I think that number one, I am a nice person. I give a lot of money away to charities and other things. I think I’m actually a very nice person.” But, I said, “This is going to be an election that’s based on competence, because people are tired of these nice people. And they’re tired of being ripped off by everybody in the world. And they’re tired of spending more money on education than any nation in the world per capita, than any nation in the world, and we are 26th in the world, 25 countries are better than us in education. And some of them are like third world countries. But we’re becoming a third world country, because of our infrastructure, our airports, our roads, everything. So one of the things I did, and I said, you know what I’ll do. I’ll do it. Because a lot of people said, “He’ll never run. Number one, he won’t want to give up his lifestyle.” They’re right about that, but I’m doing it.

Number two, I’m a private company, so nobody knows what I’m worth. And the one thing is that when you run, you have to announce and certify to all sorts of governmental authorities your net worth. So I said, “That’s OK.” I’m proud of my net worth. I’ve done an amazing job. I started off — thank you — I started off in a small office with my father in Brooklyn and Queens, and my father said — and I love my father. I learned so much. He was a great negotiator. I learned so much just sitting at his feet playing with blocks listening to him negotiate with subcontractors. But I learned a lot. But he used to say, “Donald, don’t go into Manhattan. That’s the big leagues. We don’t know anything about that. Don’t do it.” I said, “I gotta go into Manhattan. I gotta build those big buildings. I gotta do it, Dad. I’ve gotta do it.” And after four or five years in Brooklyn, I ventured into Manhattan and did a lot of great deals — the Grand Hyatt Hotel. I was responsible for the convention center on the west side. I did a lot of great deals, and I did them early and young. And now I’m building all over the world, and I love what I’m doing. But they all said, a lot of the pundits on television, “Well, Donald will never run, and one of the main reasons is he’s private and he’s probably not as successful as everybody thinks.” So I said to myself, you know, nobody’s ever going to know unless I run, because I’m really proud of my success. I really am.

I’ve employed — I’ve employed tens of thousands of people over my lifetime. That means medical. That means education. That means everything. So a large accounting firm and my accountants have been working for months, because it’s big and complex, and they’ve put together a statement, a financial statement, just a summary. But everything will be filed eventually with the government, and we don’t [use] extensions or anything. We’ll be filing it right on time. We don’t need anything. And it was even reported incorrectly yesterday, because they said, “He had assets of $9 billion.” So I said, “No, that’s the wrong number. That’s the wrong number. Not assets.” So they put together this. And before I say it, I have to say this. I made it the old-fashioned way. It’s real estate. You know, it’s real estate. It’s labor, and it’s unions good and some bad and lots of people that aren’t in unions, and it’s all over the place and building all over the world. And I have assets — big accounting firm, one of the most highly respected — 9 billion 240 million dollars.

I’m doing that to say that that’s the kind of thinking our country needs. We need that thinking. We have the opposite thinking. We have losers. We have losers. We have people that don’t have it. We have people that are morally corrupt. We have people that are selling this country down the drain. So I put together this statement, and the only reason I’m telling you about it today is because we really do have to get going, because if we have another three or four years — you know, we’re at $8 trillion now. We’re soon going to be at $20 trillion. According to the economists — who I’m not big believers in, but, nevertheless, this is what they’re saying — that $24 trillion — we’re very close — that’s the point of no return. $24 trillion. We will be there soon. That’s when we become Greece. That’s when we become a country that’s unsalvageable. And we’re gonna be there very soon. We’re gonna be there very soon.

So, just to sum up, I would do various things very quickly. I would repeal and replace the big lie, Obamacare. I would build a great wall, and nobody builds walls better than me, believe me, and I’ll build them very inexpensively, I will build a great, great wall on our southern border. And I will have Mexico pay for that wall. Mark my words. Nobody would be tougher on ISIS than
Donald Trump. Nobody. I will find — within our military, I will find the General Patton or I will find General MacArthur, I will find the right guy. I will find the guy that’s going to take that military and make it really work. Nobody, nobody will be pushing us around. I will stop Iran from getting nuclear weapons. And we won’t be using a man like Secretary Kerry that has absolutely no concept of negotiation, who’s making a horrible and laughable deal, who’s just being tapped along as they make weapons right now, and then goes into a bicycle race at 72 years old, and falls and breaks his leg. I won’t be doing that. And I promise I will never be in a bicycle race. That I can tell you. I will immediately terminate President Obama’s illegal executive order on immigration, immediately. Fully support and back up the Second Amendment.

Now, it’s very interesting. Today I heard it. Through stupidity, in a very, very hard core prison, interestingly named Clinton, two vicious murderers, two vicious people escaped, and nobody knows where they are. And a woman was on television this morning, and she said, “You know, Mr. Trump,” and she was telling other people, and I actually called her, and she said, “You know, Mr. Trump, I always was against guns. I didn’t want guns. And now since this happened”— it’s up in the prison area— “my husband and I are finally in agreement, because he wanted the guns. We now have a gun on every table. We’re ready to start shooting.” I said, “Very interesting.” So protect the Second Amendment. End— end Common Core. Common Core should— it is a disaster. Bush is totally in favor of Common Core. I don’t see how he can possibly get the nomination. He’s weak on immigration. He’s in favor of Common Core. How the hell can you vote for this guy? You just can’t do it. We have to end education has to be local. Rebuild the country’s infrastructure.

Nobody can do that like me. Believe me. It will be done on time, on budget, way below cost, way below what anyone ever thought. I look at the roads being built all over the country, and I say I can build those things for one-third. What they do is unbelievable, how bad. You know, we’re building on Pennsylvania Avenue, the Old Post Office, we’re converting it into one of the world’s great hotels. It’s gonna be the best hotel in Washington, D.C. We got it from the General Services Administration in Washington. The Obama administration. We got it. It was the most highly sought after— or one of them, but I think the most highly sought after project in the history of General Services. We got it. People were shocked, Trump got it. Well, I got it for two reasons. Number one, we’re really good. Number two, we had a really good plan. And I’ll add in the third, we had a great financial statement. Because the General Services, who are terrific people, by the way, and talented people, they wanted to do a great job. And they wanted to make sure it got built. So we have to rebuild our infrastructure, our bridges, our roadways, our airports. You come into La Guardia Airport, it’s like we’re in a third world country. You look at the patches and the 40-year-old floor. They throw down asphalt, and they throw. You look at these airports, we are like a third world country. And I come in from China and I come in from Qatar and I come in from different places, and they have the most incredible airports in the world. You come to back to this country and you have LAX, disaster. You have all of these disastrous airports. We have to rebuild our infrastructure.

Save Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security without cuts. Have to do it. Get rid of the fraud. Get rid of the waste and abuse, but save it. People have been paying it for years. And now many of these candidates want to cut it. You save it by making the United States, by making us rich again, by taking back all of the money that’s being lost. Renegotiate our foreign trade deals. Reduce our $18 trillion in debt, because, believe me, we’re in a bubble. We have artificially low interest rates. We have a stock market that, frankly, has been good to me, but I still hate to see what’s happening. We have a stock market that is so bloated. Be careful of a bubble because what you’ve seen in the past might be small potatoes compared to what happens. So be very, very careful. And strengthen our military and take care of our vets. So, so important. Sadly, the American dream is dead. But if I get elected president I will bring it back bigger and better and stronger than ever before, and we will make America great again. Thank you. Thank you very much.

(http://www.p2016.org/trump/trump061615sp.html)
**Appendix 2**

**The sentences of Donald Trump’s Presidential Announcement Speech**

| No | utterances |
|----|------------|
| 1  | It’s great to be at Trump Tower. It’s great to be in a wonderful city, New York. And it’s an honor to have everybody here. This is beyond anybody’s expectations. There’s been no crowd like this. |
| 2  | And, I can tell, some of the candidates, they went in. They didn’t know the air-conditioner didn’t work. |
| 3  | They sweated like dogs. They didn’t know the room was too big, because they didn’t have anybody there. |
| 4  | How are they going to beat ISIS? I don’t think it’s gonna happen. |
| 5  | Our country is in serious trouble. We don’t have victories anymore. We used to have victories, but we don’t have them. |
| 6  | When was the last time anybody saw us beating, let’s say, China in a trade deal? They kill us, I beat China all the time. |
| 7  | When did we beat Japan at anything? They send their cars over by the millions, and what do we do? |
| 8  | When was the last time you saw a Chevrolet in Tokyo? It doesn’t exist, folks. They beat us all the time. |
| 9  | When do we beat Mexico at the border? They’re laughing at us, at our stupidity. And now they are beating us economically |
| 10 | They are not our friend, believe me. But they’re killing us economically. The U.S. has become a dumping ground for everybody else’s problems. |
| 11 | It’s true, and these are the best and the finest. |
| 12 | When Mexico sends its people, they’re not sending their best. They’re not sending you. They’re not sending you. They’re sending people that have lots of problems, and they’re bringing those problems with us. They’re bringing drugs. They’re bringing crime. They’re rapists. |
| 13 | But I speak to border guards and they tell us what we’re getting. |
| 14 | And it only makes common sense. It only makes common sense. They’re sending us not the right people. It’s coming from more than Mexico. It’s coming from all over South and Latin America, and it’s coming probably—probably—from the Middle East. But we don’t know. Because we have no protection and we have no competence, we don’t know what’s happening. And it’s got to stop and it’s got to stop fast. |
| 15 | Islamic terrorism is eating up large portions of the Middle East. They’ve become rich. |
| 16 | I’m in competition with them. |
| 17 | They just built a hotel in Syria. Can you believe this? They built a hotel |
| 18 | When I have to build a hotel, I pay interest. |
| 19 | They don’t have to pay interest, because they took the oil that, when we left Iraq |
| 20 | I said we should’ve taken. So now ISIS has the oil, and what they don’t have, Iran has. |
| 21 | And in 19— and I will tell you this, and I said it very strongly, years ago, I said—and I love the military, and I want to have the strongest military that we’ve ever had, and we need it more now than ever. |
| 22 | But I said, “Don’t hit Iraq,” because you’re going to totally destabilize the Middle East. Iran is going to take over the Middle East, Iran and somebody else will get the oil, and it turned out that Iran is now taking over Iraq. Think of it. Iran is taking over Iraq, and they’re taking it over big league. We spent $2 trillion in Iraq, $2 trillion. We lost thousands of lives, thousands in Iraq. We have wounded soldiers, who I love, I love—they’re great—all over the place, thousands and thousands of wounded soldiers. |
| 23 | And we have nothing. We can’t even go there. We have nothing. And every time we give Iraq equipment, the first time a bullet goes off in the air, they leave it. |
| 24 | Last week, I read 2,300 Humvees—these are big vehicles—were left behind for the |
| Line | Text |
|------|------|
| 26   | Our enemies are getting stronger and stronger by the way, and we as a country are getting weaker. Even our nuclear arsenal doesn’t work. It came out recently they have equipment that is 30 years old. They don’t know if it worked. And I thought it was horrible when it was broadcast on television, because boy, does that send signals to Putin and all of the other people that look at us and they say, “That is a group of people, and that is a nation that truly has no clue. They don’t know what they’re doing. They don’t know what they’re doing.” |
| 27   | We have a disaster called the big lie: Obamacare. |
| 28   | Yesterday, it came out that costs are going for people up 29, 39, 49, and even 55 percent, and deductibles are through the roof. You have to be hit by a tractor, literally, a tractor, to use it, because the deductibles are so high, it’s virtually useless. It’s virtually useless. It is a disaster. |
| 29   | And remember the $5 billion website? $5 billion we spent on a website, and to this day it doesn’t work. A $5 billion website. |
| 30   | I have so many websites, I have them all over the place. I hire people, they do a website. It costs me $3. $5 billion website. |
| 31   | Well, you need somebody, because politicians are all talk, no action. Nothing’s gonna get done. They will not bring us—believe me—to the promised land. |
| 32   | As an example, I’ve been on the circuit making speeches, and I hear my fellow Republicans. |
| 33   | And they’re wonderful people. I like them. |
| 34   | They all want me to support them. |
| 35   | They don’t know how to bring it about. They come up to my office. I’m meeting with three of them in the next week. And they don’t know—“Are you running? Are you not running? Could we have your support? What do we do? How do we do it?” I like them. And I hear their speeches. And they don’t talk jobs and they don’t talk China. When was the last time you heard China is killing us? They’re devaluing their currency to a level that you wouldn’t believe. It makes it impossible for our companies to compete, impossible. They’re killing us. But you don’t hear that from anybody else. You don’t hear it from anybody else. And I watch the speeches. |
| 36   | I watch the speeches of these people, and they say the sun will rise, the moon will set, all sorts of wonderful things will happen. And people are saying, “What’s going on? I just want a job. Just get me a job. I don’t need the rhetoric. I want a job.” And that’s what’s happening. And it’s going to get worse, because remember, Obamacare really kicks in in ’16, 2016. |
| 37   | Obama is going to be out playing golf. He might be on one of my courses. I would invite him, I actually would say. I have the best courses in the world, so I’d say, you what, if he wants to—I have one right next to the White House, right on the Potomac. If he’d like to play, that’s fine. |
| 38   | In fact, I’d love him to leave early and play, that would be a very good thing. |
| 39   | But Obamacare kicks in in 2016. Really big league. It is going to be amazingly destructive. |
| 40   | Doctors are quitting. I have a friend who’s a doctor, and he said to me the other day, “Donald, I never saw anything like it. I have more accountants than I have nurses. It’s a disaster. My patients are beside themselves. They had a plan that was good. They have no plan now.” |
| 41   | We have to repeal Obamacare, and it can be—and—and it can be replaced with something much better for everybody. Let it be for everybody. But much better and much less expensive for people and for the government. And we can do it. |
| 42   | So I’ve watched the politicians. I’ve dealt with them all my life. If you can’t make a good
deal with a politician, then there’s something wrong with you. You’re certainly not very good. And that’s what we have representing us. They will never make America great again. They don’t even have a chance. They’re controlled fully—they’re controlled fully by the lobbyists, by the donors, and by the special interests, fully. Yes, they control them. Hey, I have lobbyists. I have to tell you. I have lobbyists that can produce anything for me. They’re great.

But you know what? it won’t happen. It won’t happen. Because we have to stop doing things for some people, but for this country, it’s destroying our country. We have to stop, and it has to stop now.

Now, our country needs—our country needs a truly great leader, and we need a truly great leader now. We need a leader that wrote “The Art of the Deal.”We need a leader that can bring back our jobs, can bring back our manufacturing, can bring back our military, can take care of our vets. Our vets have been abandoned. And we also need a cheerleader.

You know, when President Obama was elected, I said, “Well, the one thing, I think he’ll do well. I think he’ll be a great cheerleader for the country. I think he’d be a great spirit.” He was vibrant. He was young. I really thought that he would be a great cheerleader. He’s not a leader. That’s true. You’re right about that. But he wasn’t a cheerleader. He’s actually a negative force. He’s been a negative force. He wasn’t a cheerleader; he was the opposite.

We need somebody that can take the brand of the United States and make it great again. It’s not great again. We need—we need somebody—we need somebody that literally will take this country and make it great again. We can do that.

And, I will tell you, I love my life. I have a wonderful family. They’re saying, “Dad, you’re going to do something that’s going to be so tough.” You know, all of my life, I’ve heard that a truly successful person, a really, really successful person and even modestly successful cannot run for public office. Just can’t happen. And yet that’s the kind of mindset that you need to make this country great again.

So ladies and gentlemen…I am officially running…for president of the United States, and we are going to make our country great again.

It can happen. Our country has tremendous potential. We have tremendous people. We have people that aren’t working. We have people that have no incentive to work. But they’re going to have incentive to work, because the greatest social program is a job. And they’ll be proud, and they’ll love it, and they’ll make much more than they would’ve ever made, and they’ll be—they’ll be doing so well, and we’re going to be thriving as a country, thriving. It can happen.

I will be the greatest jobs president that God ever created. I tell you that. I’ll bring back our jobs from China, from Mexico, from Japan, from so many places. I’ll bring back our jobs, and I’ll bring back our money.

Right now, think of this: We owe China $1.3 trillion. We owe Japan more than that. So they come in, they take our jobs, they take our money, and then they loan us back the money, and we pay them in interest, and then the dollar goes up so their deal’s even better.

How stupid are these politicians to allow this to happen? How stupid are they?

So I’m going to tell you a couple of stories about trade, because I’m totally against the trade bill for a number of reasons.

Number one, the people negotiating don’t have a clue. Our president doesn’t have a clue. He’s a bad negotiator. He’s the one that did Bergdahl. We get Bergdahl, they get five killer terrorists that everybody wanted over there. We get Bergdahl. We get a traitor. We get a no-good traitor, and they get the five people that they wanted for years, and those people are now back on the battlefield trying to kill us. That’s the negotiator we have. Take a look at the deal he’s making with Iran. He makes that deal, Israel maybe won’t exist very long. It’s a disaster, and we have to protect Israel.

So we need people—I’m a free trader. But the problem with free trade is you need really talented people to negotiate for you. If you don’t have talented people, if you don’t have great leadership, if you don’t have people that know business, not just a political hack that got the job because he made a contribution to a campaign, which is the way all jobs, just about, are gotten, free trade terrible. Free trade can be wonderful if you have smart people,
but we have people that are stupid. We have people that aren’t smart. And we have people that are controlled by special interests. And it’s just not going to work. So, here’s a couple of stories happened recently. A friend of mine is a great manufacturer. And, you know, China comes over and they dump all their stuff, and I buy it. I buy it, because, frankly, I have an obligation to buy it, because they devalue their currency so brilliantly, they just did it recently, and nobody thought they could do it again. But with all our problems with Russia, with all our problems with everything—everything, they got away with it again. And it’s impossible for our people here to compete.

58 So I want to tell you this story. A friend of mine who’s a great manufacturer, calls me up a few weeks ago. He’s very upset. I said, “What’s your problem?” He said, “You know, I make great product.” And I said, “I know. I know that because I buy the product.” He said, “I can’t get it into China. They won’t accept it. I sent a boat over and they actually sent it back. They talked about environmental, they talked about all sorts of crap that had nothing to do with it.” I said, “Oh, wait a minute, that’s terrible. Does anyone know this?” He said, “Yeah, they do it all the time with other people.” I said, “They send it back?” “Yeah. So I finally got it over there and they charged me a big tariff. They’re not supposed to be doing that. I told them.” Now, they do charge you tariff on trucks, when we send trucks and other things over there. Ask Boeing. They wanted Boeing’s secrets. They wanted their patents and all their secrets before they agreed to buy planes from Boeing. Hey, I’m not saying they’re stupid. I like China. I sell apartments for— I just sold an apartment for $15 million to somebody from China. Am I supposed to dislike them? I own a big chunk of the Bank of America Building at 1290 Avenue of the Americas, that I got from China in a war. Very valuable. I love China. The biggest bank in the world is from China. You know where their United States headquarters is located? In this building, in Trump Tower. I love China. People say, “Oh, you don’t like China?” No, I love them. But their leaders are much smarter than our leaders, and we can’t sustain ourself with that. There’s too much—it’s like—it’s like take the New England Patriots and Tom Brady and have them play your high school football team. That’s the difference between China’s leaders and our leaders. They are ripping us. We are rebuilding China. We’re rebuilding many countries. China, you go there now, roads, bridges, schools, you never saw anything like it. They have bridges that make the George Washington Bridge look like small potatoes. And they’re all over the place.

59 We have all the cards, but we don’t know how to use them. We don’t even know that we have the cards, because our leaders don’t understand the game. We could turn off that spigot by charging them tax until they behave properly. Now they’re going militarily. They’re building a military island in the middle of the South China sea. A military island. Now, our country could never do that because we’d have to get environmental clearance, and the environmentalist wouldn’t let our country—we would never build in an ocean. They built it in about one year, this massive military port. They’re building up their military to a point that is very scary. You have a problem with ISIS. You have a bigger problem with China. And, in my opinion, the new China, believe it or not, in terms of trade, is Mexico. So this man tells me about the manufacturing. I say, “That’s a terrible story. I hate to hear it.” But I have another one, Ford.

60 So Mexico takes a company, a car company that was going to build in Tennessee, rips it out. Everybody thought the deal was dead. Reported it in the Wall Street Journal recently. Everybody thought it was a done deal. It’s going in and that’s going to be it, going into Tennessee. Great state, great people. All of a sudden, at the last moment, this big car manufacturer, foreign, announces they’re not going to Tennessee. They’re gonna spend their $1 billion in Mexico instead. Not good. Now, Ford announces a few weeks ago that Ford is going to build a $2.5 billion car and truck and parts manufacturing plant in Mexico. $2.5 billion, it’s going to be one of the largest in the world. Ford. Good company.

61 So I announced that I’m running for president. I would…… one of the early things I would do, probably before I even got in—and I wouldn’t even use—you know, I have—I know the smartest negotiators in the world. I know the good ones.

62 You get a lot of them that are overrated. They’re not good. They think they are. They get good stories, because the newspapers get buffed. But they’re not good.

63 But I know the negotiators in the world, and I put them one for each country. Believe me, folks. We will do very, very well, very, very well. But I wouldn’t even waste my time with this one. I would call up the head of Ford, who I know. If I was president, I’d say,
“Congratulations. I understand that you’re building a nice $2.5 billion car factory in Mexico
and that you’re going to take your cars and sell them to the United States zero tax, just flow
them across the border.” And you say to yourself, “How does that help us,” right? “How
does that help us? Where is that good”? It’s not. So I would say, “Congratulations. That’s
the good news. Let me give you the bad news. Every car and every truck and every part
manufactured in this plant that comes across the border, we’re going to charge you a 35-
percent tax, and that tax is going to be paid simultaneously with the transaction, and that’s
it.

So under President Trump, here’s what would happen: The head of Ford will call me back, I
would say within an hour after I told them the bad news. But it could be he’d want to be
cool, and he’ll wait until the next day. You know, they want to be a little cool. And he’ll
say, “Please, please, please.” He’ll beg for a little while, and I’ll say, “No interest.” Then
he’ll call all sorts of political people, and I’ll say, “Sorry, fellas. No interest,” because I
don’t need anybody’s money. It’s nice. I don’t need anybody’s money. I’m using my own
money. I’m not using the lobbyists. I’m not using donors. I don’t care. I’m really rich. I
(inaudible). And by the way, I’m not even saying that’s the kind of mindset, that’s the kind
of thinking you need for this country. So— because we got to make the country rich. It
sounds crass. Somebody said, “Oh, that’s crass.” It’s not crass. We got $18 trillion in debt.
We got nothing but problems. We got a military that needs equipment all over the place. We
got nuclear weapons that are obsolete. We’ve got nothing. We’ve got Social Security that’s
going to be destroyed if somebody like me doesn’t bring money into the country. All these
other people want to cut the hell out of it. I’m not going to cut it at all; I’m going to bring
money in, and we’re going to save it.

I’ll give you another example. Saudi Arabia, they make $1 billion a day. $1 billion a day. I
love the Saudis. Many are in this building. They make a billion dollars a day. Whenever
they have problems, we send over the ships. We say “we’re gonna protect.” What are we
doing? They’ve got nothing but money. If the right person asked them, they’d pay a fortune.
They wouldn’t be there except for us. And believe me, you look at the border with Yemen.
You remember Obama a year ago, Yemen was a great victory. Two weeks later, the place
was blown up. Everybody got out—and they kept our equipment. They always keep our
equipment. We ought to send used equipment, right? They always keep our equipment. We
ought to send some real junk, because, frankly, it would be— we ought to send our surplus.
We’re always losing this gorgeous brand-new stuff. But look at that border with Saudi
Arabia. Do you really think that the people are interested in Yemen? Saudi Arabia without
us is gone. They’re gone.

And I’m the one that made all of the right predictions about Iraq. You know, all of these
politicians that I’m running against now— it’s so nice to say I’m running as opposed to if I
run, if I run. I’m running.

But all of these politicians that I’m running against now, they’re trying to disassociate. I
mean, you looked at Bush, it took him five days to answer the question on Iraq. He couldn’t
answer the question. He didn’t know. I said, “Is he intelligent?” Then I looked at Rubio. He
was unable to answer the question, is Iraq a good thing or bad thing? He didn’t know. He
couldn’t answer the question. How are these people gonna lead us? How are we gonna—
how are we gonna go back and make it great again? We can’t. They don’t have a clue. They
can’t lead us. They can’t. They can’t even answer simple questions. It was terrible. But
Saudi Arabia is in big, big trouble. Now, thanks to fracking and other things, the oil is all
over the place. And I used to say it, there are ships at sea, and this was during the worst
crisis, that were loaded up with oil, and the cartel kept the price up, because, again, they
were smarter than our leaders. They were smarter than our leaders.

71 There is so much wealth out there that can make our country so rich again, and therefore
make it great again. Because we need money. We’re dying. We’re dying. We need money.
We have to do it. And we need the right people. So Ford will come back. They’ll all come
back. And I will say this, this is going to be an election, in my opinion, that’s based on
competence.

72 Somebody said — thank you, darlin’. Somebody said to me the other day, a reporter, a very
nice reporter, “But, Mr. Trump, you’re not a nice person.” That’s true. But actually I am. I
think I am a nice person.

73 That’s true. But actually I am. I think I am a nice person. People that know me, like me.
Does my family like me? I think so, right. Look at my family. I’m proud of my family. By
the way, speaking of my family, Melania, Barron, Kai, Donnie, Don, Vanessa, Tiffany,
Evanka did a great job. Did she do a great job? Great. Jared, Laura and Eric, I’m very proud
of my family. They’re a great family. So the reporter said to me the other day, “But, Mr.
Trump, you’re not a nice person. How can you get people to vote for you?” I said, “I don’t
know.” I said, “I think that number one, I am a nice person. I give a lot of money away to
charities and other things. I think I’m actually a very nice person.” But, I said, “This is
going to be an election that’s based on competence, because people are tired of these nice
people. And they’re tired of being ripped off by everybody in the world. And they’re tired
of spending more money on education than any nation in the world per capita, than any
nation in the world, and we are 26th in the world, 25 countries are better than us in
education. And some of them are like third world countries. But we’re becoming a third
word country, because of our infrastructure, our airports, our roads, everything. So one of
the things I did, and I said, you know what I’ll do. I’ll do it. Because a lot of people said,
“He’ll never run. Number one, he won’t want to give up his lifestyle.”

74 Number two, I’m a private company, so nobody knows what I’m worth. And the one thing
is that when you run, you have to announce and certify to all sorts of governmental
authorities your net worth. So I said, “That’s OK.” I’m proud of my net worth. I’ve done an
amazing job. I started off— thank you— I started off in a small office with my father in
Brooklyn and Queens, and my father said — and I love my father. I learned so much. He
was a great negotiator. I learned so much just sitting at his feet playing with blocks listening
to him negotiate with subcontractors. But I learned a lot. But he used to say, “Donald, don’t
go into Manhattan. That’s the big leagues. We don’t know anything about that. Don’t do it.”
I said, “I gotta go into Manhattan. That’s the big leagues. We don’t know anything about that. Don’t do it,”
I said, “I gotta go into Manhattan. I gotta build those big buildings. I gotta do it, Dad. I’ve
gotta do it.” And after four or five years in Brooklyn, I ventured into Manhattan and did a
lot of great deals — the Grand Hyatt Hotel. I was responsible for the convention center on
the west side. I did a lot of great deals, and I did them early and young. And now I’m
building all over the world, and I love what I’m doing. But they all said, a lot of the pundits
on television, “Well, Donald will never run, and one of the main reasons is he’s private and
he’s probably not as successful as everybody thinks.” So I said to myself, you know,
obody’s ever going to know unless I run, because I’m really proud of my success. I really
am.

75 I’ve employed— I’ve employed tens of thousands of people over my lifetime. That means
medical. That means education. That means everything. So a large accounting firm and my
accountants have been working for months, because it’s big and complex, and they’ve put
together a statement, a financial statement, just a summary. But everything will be filed
eventually with the government, and we don’t [use] extensions or anything. We’ll be filing
it right on time. We don’t need anything. And it was even reported incorrectly yesterday,
because they said, “He had assets of $9 billion.” So I said, “No, that’s the wrong number.
That’s the wrong number. Not assets.” So they put together this. And before I say it, I have
to say this. I made it the old-fashioned way. It’s real estate. You know, it’s real estate. It’s
labor, and it’s unions good and some bad and lots of people that aren’t in unions, and it’s all
over the place and building all over the world. And I have assets — big accounting firm, one of the most highly respected — 9 billion 240 million dollars.

76 I’m doing that to say that that’s the kind of thinking our country needs. We need that thinking. We have the opposite thinking. We have losers. We have losers. We have people that don’t have it. We have people that are morally corrupt. We have people that are selling this country down the drain.

77 So I put together this statement, and the only reason I’m telling you about it today is because we really do have to get going, because if we have another three or four years — you know, we’re at $8 trillion now. We’re soon going to be at $20 trillion. According to the economists — who I’m not big believers in, but, nevertheless, this is what they’re saying — that $24 trillion — we’re very close — that’s the point of no return. $24 trillion. We will be there soon. That’s when we become Greece. That’s when we become a country that’s unsalvageable. And we’re gonna be there very soon. We’re gonna be there very soon.

78 So, just to sum up, I would do various things very quickly. I would repeal and replace the big lie, Obamacare. I would build a great wall, and nobody builds walls better than me, believe me, and I’ll build them very inexpensively, I will build a great, great wall on our southern border. And I will have Mexico pay for that wall. Mark my words. Nobody would be tougher on ISIS than Donald Trump. Nobody. I will find — within our military, I will find the General Patton or I will find General MacArthur, I will find the right guy. I will find the guy that’s going to take that military and make it really work. Nobody, nobody will be pushing us around. I will stop Iran from getting nuclear weapons.

79 And we won’t be using a man like Secretary Kerry that has absolutely no concept of negotiation, who’s making a horrible and laughable deal, who’s just being tapped along as they make weapons right now, and then goes into a bicycle race at 72 years old, and falls and breaks his leg. I won’t be doing that. And I promise I will never be in a bicycle race.

80 That I can tell you. I will immediately terminate President Obama’s illegal executive order on immigration, immediately. Fully support and back up the Second Amendment.

81 Now, it’s very interesting.

82 Today I heard it. Through stupidity, in a very, very hard core prison, interestingly named Clinton, two vicious murderers, two vicious people escaped, and nobody knows where they are. And a woman was on television this morning, and she said, “You know, Mr. Trump,” and she was telling other people, and I actually called her, and she said, “You know, Mr. Trump, I always was against guns. I didn’t want guns. And now since this happened” — it’s up in the prison area — “my husband and I are finally in agreement, because he wanted the guns. We now have a gun on every table. We’re ready to start shooting.”

83 End — end Common Core. Common Core should — it is a disaster. Bush is totally in favor of Common Core. I don’t see how he can possibly get the nomination. He’s weak on immigration. He’s in favor of Common Core. How the hell can you vote for this guy? You just can’t do it. We have to end education has to be local. Rebuild the country’s infrastructure.

84 Nobody can do that like me. Believe me. It will be done on time, on budget, way below cost, way below what anyone ever thought. I look at the roads being built all over the country, and I say I can build those things for one-third.

85 What they do is unbelievable, how bad. You know, we’re building on Pennsylvania Avenue, the Old Post Office, we’re converting it into one of the world’s great hotels. It’s gonna be the best hotel in Washington, D.C. We got it from the General Services Administration in Washington. The Obama administration. We got it. It was the most highly sought after — or one of them, but I think the most highly sought after project in the history of General Services. We got it. People were shocked, Trump got it. Well, I got it for two reasons. Number one, we’re really good. Number two, we had a really good plan. And I’ll add in the third, we had a great financial statement. Because the General Services, who are terrific people, by the way, and talented people, they wanted to do a great job. And they wanted to make sure it got built.

86 So we have to rebuild our infrastructure, our bridges, our roadways, our airports.

87 You come into La Guardia Airport, it’s like we’re in a third world country. You look at the patches and the 40-year-old floor. They throw down asphalt, and they throw. You look at these airports, we are like a third world country. And I come in from China and I come in
from Qatar and I come in from different places, and they have the most incredible airports in the world. You come to back to this country and you have LAX, disaster. You have all of these disastrous airports. We have to rebuild our infrastructure.

88 Save Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security without cuts. Have to do it. Get rid of the fraud. Get rid of the waste and abuse, but save it. People have been paying it for years. And now many of these candidates want to cut it. You save it by making the United States, by making us rich again, by taking back all of the money that’s being lost. Renegotiate our foreign trade deals.

89 Reduce our $18 trillion in debt, because, believe me, we’re in a bubble. We have artificially low interest rates. We have a stock market that, frankly, has been good to me, but I still hate to see what’s happening. We have a stock market that is so bloated. Be careful of a bubble because what you’ve seen in the past might be small potatoes compared to what happens. So be very, very careful. And strengthen our military and take care of our vets. So, so important.

90 Sadly, the American dream is dead. But if I get elected president I will bring it back bigger and better and stronger than ever before

91 and we will make America great again.

92 Thank you. Thank you very much.

Appendix 3

The Analysis of The Features of Report Talk used by Donald Trump

NOTE:

DT 1 : Direct Request

DT 2 : Longer talk in public context

DT 3 : Speech includes slang or swear words, teasing and banter

DT 4 : Giving advise to solve problem

DT 5 : Mixing Business and Non Business talk

DT 6 : Rarely give praise and compliment

DT 7 : Showing Authority

| No | utterances | DT1 | DT2 | DT3 | DT4 | DT5 | DT6 | DT7 |
|----|------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 1  | I can tell, some of the candidates, they went in. *They didn’t know the air-conditioner didn’t work.* |   |     |     |     | √   |     |     |
| 2  | They *sweated like dogs*. They didn’t know the room was too big, because they didn’t have anybody there. |     |     |     |     |     | √   |     |
| 3  | How are they going to beat ISIS? *I don’t think it’s gonna happen.* |     |     |     |     |     |     | √   |
| 4  | Our country is in serious trouble. We don’t have victories anymore. We used to have victories, but we don’t have them. |     |     |     | √   |     |     |     |
|   | Text                                                                 |   |
|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------|---|
| 5 | When was the last time anybody saw us beating, let’s say, China in a trade deal? They kill us. I beat China all the time. | ✓ |
| 6 | When did we beat Japan at anything? They send their cars over by the millions, and what do we do? | ✓ |
| 7 | When was the last time you saw a Chevrolet in Tokyo? It doesn’t exist, folks. They beat us all the time. | ✓ |
| 8 | When do we beat Mexico at the border? They’re laughing at us, at our stupidity. And now they are beating us economically. | ✓ |
| 9 | They are not our friend, believe me. But they’re killing us economically. The U.S. has become a dumping ground for everybody else’s problems. | ✓ |
|10 | It’s true, and these are the best and the finest. | ✓ |
|11 | When Mexico sends its people, they’re not sending their best. They’re not sending you. They’re sending people that have lots of problems, and they’re bringing those problems with us. They’re bringing drugs. They’re bringing crime. They’re rapists. | ✓ |
|12 | But I speak to border guards and they tell us what we’re getting. | ✓ |
|13 | And it only makes common sense. It only makes common sense. They’re sending us not the right people. It’s coming from more than Mexico. It’s coming from all over South and Latin America, and it’s coming probably—probably—from the Middle East. But we don’t know. Because we have no protection and we have no competence, we don’t know what’s happening. And it’s got to stop and it’s got to stop fast. | ✓ |
|14 | Islamic terrorism is eating up large portions of the Middle East. They’ve become rich. | ✓ |
|15 | I’m in competition with them. | ✓ |
|16 | They just built a hotel in Syria. Can you believe this? They built a hotel | ✓ |
|17 | When I have to build a hotel, I pay interest. | ✓ |
|18 | They don’t have to pay interest. | ✓ |
because they took the oil that, when we left Iraq

| 19 | I said we should’ve taken. |
| 20 | So now ISIS has the oil, and what they don’t have, Iran has. |
| 21 | I want to have the strongest military that we’ve ever had, and we need it more now than ever. |
| 22 | But I said, “Don’t hit Iraq,” because you’re going to totally destabilize the Middle East. Iran is going to take over the Middle East, Iran and somebody else will get the oil, and it turned out that Iran is now taking over Iraq. Think of it, Iran is taking over Iraq, and they’re taking it over big league. We spent $2 trillion in Iraq, $2 trillion. We lost thousands of lives, thousands in Iraq. We have wounded soldiers, who I love, I love — they’re great — all over the place, thousands and thousands of wounded soldiers. |
| 23 | And we have nothing. We can’t even go there. We have nothing. And every time we give Iraq equipment, the first time a bullet goes off in the air, they leave it. |
| 24 | Last week, I read 2,300 Humvees— these are big vehicles— were left behind for the enemy. 2,000? You would say maybe two, maybe four? 2,300 sophisticated vehicles, they ran, and the enemy took them. Last quarter, it was just announced our gross domestic product—a sign of strength, right? But not for us. It was below zero. Whoever heard of this? It’s never below zero. Our labor participation rate was the worst since 1978. But think of it, GDP below zero, horrible labor participation rate. And our real unemployment is anywhere from 18 to 20 percent. Don’t believe the 5.6. Don’t believe it. That’s right. A lot of people up there can’t get jobs. They can’t get jobs, because there are no jobs, because China has our jobs and Mexico has our jobs. They all have jobs. But the real number, the real number is anywhere from 18 to 19 and maybe even 21. |
percent, and nobody talks about it, because it’s a statistic that’s full of nonsense.

Our enemies are getting stronger and stronger by the way, and we as a country are getting weaker. Even our nuclear arsenal doesn’t work. It came out recently they have equipment that is 30 years old. They don’t know if it worked. And I thought it was horrible when it was broadcast on television, because boy, does that send signals to Putin and all of the other people that look at us and they say, “That is a group of people, and that is a nation that truly has no clue. They don’t know what they’re doing. They don’t know what they’re doing.”

We have a disaster called the big lie: Obamacare.

Yesterday, it came out that costs are going for people up 29, 39, 49, and even 55 percent, and deductibles are through the roof. You have to be hit by a tractor, literally, a tractor, to use it, because the deductibles are so high, it’s virtually useless. It is a disaster.

And remember the $5 billion website? $5 billion we spent on a website, and to this day it doesn’t work. A $5 billion website.

I have so many websites, I have them all over the place. I hire people, they do a website. It costs me $3. $5 billion website.

Well, you need somebody, because politicians are all talk, no action. Nothing’s gonna get done. They will not bring us—believe me—to the promised land.

As an example, I’ve been on the circuit making speeches, and I hear my fellow Republicans.

And they’re wonderful people. I like them.

They don’t know how to bring it about. They come up to my office, I’m meeting with three of them in the next week. And they don’t know—“Are you running? Are you not running? Could we have your support? What do we do?“
How do we do it?” I like them. And I hear their speeches. And they don’t talk jobs and they don’t talk China. When was the last time you heard China is killing us? They’re devaluing their currency to a level that you wouldn’t believe. It makes it impossible for our companies to compete, impossible. They’re killing us. But you don’t hear that from anybody else. You don’t hear it from anybody else. And I watch the speeches.

34 I watch the speeches of these people, and they say the sun will rise, the moon will set, all sorts of wonderful things will happen. And people are saying, “What’s going on? I just want a job. Just get me a job. I don’t need the rhetoric, I want a job.” And that’s what’s happening. And it’s going to get worse, because remember, Obamacare really kicks in in ’16, 2016.

35 Obama is going to be out playing golf. He might be on one of my courses. I would invite him, I actually would say. I have the best courses in the world, so I’d say, you what, if he wants to— I have one right next to the White House, right on the Potomac. If he’d like to play, that’s fine.

36 Doctors are quitting. I have a friend who’s a doctor, and he said to me the other day, “Donald, I never saw anything like it. I have more accountants than I have nurses. It’s a disaster. My patients are beside themselves. They had a plan that was good. They have no plan now.”

37 We have to repeal Obamacare, and it can be— and— and it can be replaced with something much better for everybody. Let it be for everybody. But much better and much less expensive for people and for the government. And we can do it.

38 So I’ve watched the politicians. I’ve dealt with them all my life. If you can’t make a good deal with a politician, then there’s something wrong with you.
You’re certainly not very good. And that’s what we have representing us. They will never make America great again. They don’t even have a chance. They’re controlled fully—they’re controlled fully by the lobbyists, by the donors, and by the special interests, fully. Yes, they control them. Hey, I have lobbyists. I have to tell you. I have lobbyists that can produce anything for me. They’re great.

But you know what? it won’t happen. It won’t happen. Because we have to stop doing things for some people, but for this country, it’s destroying our country. We have to stop, and it has to stop now.

Now, our country needs—our country needs a truly great leader, and we need a truly great leader now. We need a leader that wrote “The Art of the Deal.” We need a leader that can bring back our jobs, can bring back our manufacturing, can bring back our military, can take care of our vets. Our vets have been abandoned. And we also need a cheerleader.

You know, when President Obama was elected, I said, “Well, the one thing, I think he’ll do well. I think he’ll be a great cheerleader for the country. I think he’d be a great spirit.” He was vibrant. He was young. I really thought that he would be a great cheerleader. He’s not a leader. That’s true. You’re right about that. But he wasn’t a cheerleader. He’s actually a negative force. He’s been a negative force. He wasn’t a cheerleader; he was the opposite.

We need somebody that can take the brand of the United States and make it great again. It’s not great again. We need—we need somebody—we need somebody that literally will take this country and make it great again. We can do that.

And, I will tell you, I love my life. I have a wonderful family. They’re saying, “Dad, you’re
going to do something that’s going to be so tough.” You know, all of my life, I’ve heard that a truly successful person, a really, really successful person and even modestly successful cannot run for public office. Just can’t happen. And yet that’s the kind of mindset that you need to make this country great again.

44 So ladies and gentlemen... *I am officially running... for president of the United States, and we are going to make our country great again.*

45 *It can happen. Our country has tremendous potential. We have tremendous people. We have people that aren’t working. We have people that have no incentive to work. But they’re going to have incentive to work because the greatest social program is a job. And they’ll be proud, and they’ll love it, and they’ll make much more than they would’ve ever made, and they’ll be—they’ll be doing so well, and we’re going to be thriving as a country, thriving. It can happen.*

46 *I will be the greatest jobs president that God ever created. I tell you that. I’ll bring back our jobs from China, from Mexico, from Japan, from so many places. I’ll bring back our jobs, and I’ll bring back our money.*

47 *Right now, think of this: We owe China $1.3 trillion. We owe Japan more than that. So they come in, they take our jobs, they take our money, and then they loan us back the money, and we pay them in interest, and then the dollar goes up so their deal’s even better.*

48 *How stupid are these politicians to allow this to happen? How stupid are they?*

49 *I’m going to tell you a couple of stories about trade, because I’m totally against the trade bill for a number of reasons.*

50 *Number one, the people negotiating don’t have a clue. Our president doesn’t have a clue. He’s a bad negotiator. He’s the one that did Bergdahl. We get*
Bergdahl, they get five killer terrorists that everybody wanted over there. We get Bergdahl. We get a traitor. We get a no-good traitor, and they get the five people that they wanted for years, and those people are now back on the battlefield trying to kill us. That’s the negotiator we have. Take a look at the deal he’s making with Iran. He makes that deal, Israel maybe won’t exist very long. It’s a disaster, and we have to protect Israel.

So we need people—I’m a free trader. But the problem with free trade is you need really talented people to negotiate for you. If you don’t have talented people, if you don’t have great leadership, if you don’t have people that know business, not just a political hack that got the job because he made a contribution to a campaign, which is the way all jobs, just about, are gotten, free trade terrible. Free trade can be wonderful if you have smart people, but we have people that are stupid. We have people that aren’t smart. And we have people that are controlled by special interests. And it’s just not going to work. So, here’s a couple of stories happened recently. A friend of mine is a great manufacturer. And, you know, China comes over and they dump all their stuff, and I buy it. I buy it, because, frankly, I have an obligation to buy it, because they devalue their currency so brilliantly, they just did it recently, and nobody thought they could do it again. But with all our problems with Russia, with all our problems with everything—everything, they got away with it again. And it’s impossible for our people here to compete.

So I want to tell you this story. A friend of mine who’s a great manufacturer, calls me up a few weeks ago. He’s very upset. I said, “What’s your problem?” He said, “You know, I make great product.” And I said, “I know. I know that because I buy the
product.” He said, “I can’t get it into China. They won’t accept it. I sent a boat over and they actually sent it back. They talked about environmental, they talked about all sorts of crap that had nothing to do with it.” I said, “Oh, wait a minute, that’s terrible. Does anyone know this?” He said, “Yeah, they do it all the time with other people.” I said, “They send it back?” “Yeah. So I finally got it over there and they charged me a big tariff. They’re not supposed to be doing that. I told them. Now, they do charge you tariff on trucks, when we send trucks and other things over there. Ask Boeing. They wanted Boeing’s secrets. They wanted their patents and all their secrets before they agreed to buy planes from Boeing. Hey, I’m not saying they’re stupid, I like China. I sell apartments for—I just sold an apartment for $15 million to somebody from China. Am I supposed to dislike them? I own a big chunk of the Bank of America Building at 1290 Avenue of the Americas, that I got from China in a war. Very valuable, I love China. The biggest bank in the world is from China. You know where their United States headquarters is located? In this building, in Trump Tower. I love China. People say, “Oh, you don’t like China?” No, I love them. But their leaders are much smarter than our leaders, and we can’t sustain ourself with that. There’s too much—it’s like—it’s like take the New England Patriots and Tom Brady and have them play your high school football team. That’s the difference between China’s leaders and our leaders. They are ripping us. We are rebuilding China. We’re rebuilding many countries. China, you go there now, roads, bridges, schools, you never saw anything like it. They have bridges that make the George Washington Bridge look like small potatoes. And they’re
| Page | Text                                                                 | Verdict |
|------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| 53   | We have all the cards, but we don’t know how to use them. We don’t even know that we have the cards, because our leaders don’t understand the game. We could turn off that spigot by charging them tax until they behave properly. Now they’re going militarily. They’re building a military island in the middle of the South China sea. A military island. Now, our country could never do that because we’d have to get environmental clearance, and the environmentalist wouldn’t let our country—we would never build in an ocean. They built it in about one year, this massive military port. They’re building up their military to a point that is very scary. You have a problem with ISIS. You have a bigger problem with China. And, in my opinion, the new China, believe it or not, in terms of trade, is Mexico. So this man tells me about the manufacturing. I say, “That’s a terrible story. I hate to hear it.” But I have another one, Ford. | ✓       |
| 54   | So Mexico takes a company, a car company that was going to build in Tennessee, rips it out. Everybody thought the deal was dead. Reported it in the Wall Street Journal recently. Everybody thought it was a done deal. It’s going in and that’s going to be it, going into Tennessee. Great state, great people. All of a sudden, at the last moment, this big car manufacturer, foreign, announces they’re not going to Tennessee. They’re gonna spend their $1 billion in Mexico instead. Not good. Now, Ford announces a few weeks ago that Ford is going to build a $2.5 billion car and truck and parts manufacturing plant in Mexico. $2.5 billion, it’s going to be one of the largest in the world. Ford. Good company. | ✓       |
| 55   | So I announced that I’m running for president. I would…… one of the early things I would do, probably before I even got in— | ✓       |
and I wouldn’t even use— you know, I have— I know the smartest negotiators in the world. I know the good ones.

You get a lot of them that are overrated. They’re not good. They think they are. They get good stories, because the newspapers get buffa...ed. But they’re not good.

But I know the negotiators in the world, and I put them one for each country. Believe me, folks. We will do very, very well, very, very well. But I wouldn’t even waste my time with this one. I would call up the head of Ford, who I know. If I was president, I’d say, “Congratulations. I understand that you’re building a nice $2.5 billion car factory in Mexico and that you’re going to take your cars and sell them to the United States zero tax, just flow them across the border.”

And you say to yourself, “How does that help us,” right? “How does that help us? Where is that good”? It’s not. So I would say, “Congratulations. That’s the good news. Let me give you the bad news. Every car and every truck and every part manufactured in this plant that comes across the border, we’re going to charge you a 35-percent tax, and that tax is going to be paid simultaneously with the transaction, and that’s it.

Now, here’s what is going to happen. If it’s not me in the position, it’s one of these politicians that we’re running against, you know, the 400 people that we’re (inaudible). And here’s what’s going to happen. They’re not so stupid. They know it’s not a good thing, and they may even be upset by it. But then they’re going to get a call from the donors or probably from the lobbyist for Ford and say, “You can’t do that to Ford, because Ford takes care of me and I take care of you, and you can’t do that to Ford.” And guess what? No problem. They’re going to build in Mexico. They’re going to take...
So under President Trump, here’s what would happen: The head of Ford will call me back, I would say within an hour after I told them the bad news. But it could be he’d want to be cool, and he’ll wait until the next day. You know, they want to be a little cool. And he’ll say, “Please, please, please.” He’ll beg for a little while, and I’ll say, “No interest.” Then he’ll call all sorts of political people, and I’ll say, “Sorry, fellas, No interest,” because I don’t need anybody’s money. It’s nice. I don’t need anybody’s money. I’m using my own money. I’m not using the lobbyists. I’m not using donors. I don’t care. I’m really rich. I (inaudible). And by the way, I’m not even saying that’s the kind of mindset, that’s the kind of thinking you need for this country. So— because we got to make the country rich. It sounds crass. Somebody said, “Oh, that’s crass.” It’s not crass. We got $18 trillion in debt. We got nothing but problems. We got a military that needs equipment all over the place. We got nuclear weapons that are obsolete. We’ve got nothing. We’ve got Social Security that’s going to be destroyed if somebody like me doesn’t bring money into the country. All these other people want to cut the hell out of it. I’m not going to cut it at all; I’m going to bring money in, and we’re going to save it.
we’re not going to build it in Mexico.” That’s it. They have no choice. They have no choice. There are hundreds of things like that.

61 I’ll give you another example. Saudi Arabia, they make $1 billion a day. $1 billion a day. I love the Saudis. Many are in this building. They make a billion dollars a day. Whenever they have problems, we send over the ships. We say “we’re gonna protect.” What are we doing? They’ve got nothing but money. If the right person asked them, they’d pay a fortune. They wouldn’t be there except for us. And believe me, you look at the border with Yemen. You remember Obama a year ago, Yemen was a great victory. Two weeks later, the place was blown up. Everybody got out—and they kept our equipment. They always keep our equipment. We ought to send used equipment, right? They always keep our equipment. We ought to send some real junk, because, frankly, it would be—we ought to send our surplus. We’re always losing this gorgeous brand-new stuff. But look at that border with Saudi Arabia. Do you really think that these people are interested in Yemen? Saudi Arabia without us is gone. They’re gone.

62 And I’m the one that made all of the right predictions about Iraq. You know, all of these politicians that I’m running against now—it’s so nice to say I’m running as opposed to if I run, if I run. I’m running. But all of these politicians that I’m running against now, they’re trying to disassociate. I mean, you looked at Bush, it took him five days to answer the question on Iraq. He couldn’t answer the question. He didn’t know. I said, “Is he intelligent?” Then I looked at Rubio. He was unable to answer the question. Is Iraq a good thing or bad thing? He didn’t know. He couldn’t answer the question. How are these
people gonna lead us? How are we gonna go back and make it great again? We can’t. They don’t have a clue. They can’t lead us. They can’t. They can’t even answer simple questions. It was terrible. But Saudi Arabia is in big, big trouble. Now, thanks to fracking and other things, the oil is all over the place. And I used to say, there are ships at sea, and this was during the worst crisis, that were loaded up with oil, and the cartel kept the price up, because, again, they were smarter than our leaders. They were smarter than our leaders.

There is so much wealth out there that can make our country so rich again, and therefore make it great again. Because we need money. We’re dying. We need money. We have to do it. And we need the right people. So Ford will come back. They’ll all come back. And I will say this, this is going to be an election, in my opinion, that’s based on competence.

Somebody said — thank you, darlin’. Somebody said to me the other day, a reporter, a very nice reporter. “But, Mr. Trump, you’re not a nice person.” That’s true. But actually I am. I think I am a nice person. People that know me, like me. Does my family like me? I think so. Right. Look at my family. I’m proud of my family. By the way, speaking of my family, Melania, Barron, Kai, Donnie, Don, Vanessa, Tiffany, Evanka did a great job. Did she do a great job? Great. Jared, Laura and Eric, I’m very proud of my family. They’re a great family. So the reporter said to me the other day, “But, Mr. Trump, you’re not a nice person. How can you get people to vote for you?” I said, “I don’t know.” I said, “I think that number one, I am a nice person. I give a lot of money away to charities and other things, I think I’m actually
a very nice person." But, I said, "This is going to be an election that's based on competence, because people are tired of these nice people. And they're tired of being ripped off by everybody in the world. And they're tired of spending more money on education than any nation in the world per capita, than any nation in the world, and we are 26th in the world, 25 countries are better than us in education. And some of them are like third world countries. But we're becoming a third world country, because of our infrastructure, our airports, our roads, everything. So one of the things I did, and I said, you know what I'll do. I'll do it. Because a lot of people said, "He'll never run. Number one, he won't want to give up his lifestyle."

Number two, I'm a private company, so nobody knows what I'm worth. And the one thing is that when you run, you have to announce and certify to all sorts of governmental authorities your net worth. So I said, "That's OK." I'm proud of my net worth. I've done an amazing job. I started off — thank you — I started off in a small office with my father in Brooklyn and Queens, and my father said — and I love my father. I learned so much. He was a great negotiator. I learned so much just sitting at his feet playing with blocks listening to him negotiate with subcontractors. But I learned a lot. But he used to say, "Donald, don't go into Manhattan. That's the big leagues. We don't know anything about that. Don't do it."

I said, "I gotta go into Manhattan. I gotta build those big buildings. I gotta do it, Dad. I've gotta do it." And after four or five years in Brooklyn, I ventured into Manhattan and did a lot of great deals— the Grand Hyatt Hotel. I was responsible for the convention center on the west side. I did a lot of great deals, and I did them early and young.
And now I’m building all over the world, and I love what I’m doing. But they all said, a lot of the pundits on television, “Well, Donald will never run, and one of the main reasons is he’s private and he’s probably not as successful as everybody thinks.” So I said to myself, you know, nobody’s ever going to know unless I run, because I’m really proud of my success. I really am.

I’ve employed—I’ve employed tens of thousands of people over my lifetime. That means medical. That means education. That means everything. So a large accounting firm and my accountants have been working for months, because it’s big and complex, and they’ve put together a statement, a financial statement, just a summary. But everything will be filed eventually with the government, and we don’t use extensions or anything. We’ll be filing it right on time. We don’t need anything. And it was even reported incorrectly yesterday, because they said, “He had assets of $9 billion.” So I said, “No, that’s the wrong number. That’s the wrong number. Not assets.” So they put together this. And before I say it, I have to say this. I made it the old-fashioned way. It’s real estate. You know, it’s real estate. It’s labor, and it’s unions good and some bad and lots of people that aren’t in unions, and it’s all over the place and building all over the world. And I have assets—big accounting firm, one of the most highly respected—9 billion 240 million dollars.

I’m doing that to say that’s the kind of thinking our country needs. We need that thinking. We have the opposite thinking. We have losers. We have losers. We have people that don’t have it. We have people that are morally corrupt. We have people that are selling this country down the drain.

So I put together this statement, and the only reason I’m telling
you about it today is because we really do have to get going, because if we have another three or four years—you know, we’re at $8 trillion now. We’re soon going to be at $20 trillion. According to the economists—who I’m not big believers in, but, nevertheless, this is what they’re saying—that $24 trillion—we’re very close—that’s the point of no return. $24 trillion. We will be there soon. That’s when we become Greece. That’s when we become a country that’s unsalvageable. And we’re gonna be there very soon. We’re gonna be there very soon.

| 71 | So, just to sum up, I would do various things very quickly. I would repeal and replace the big lie, Obamacare. I would build a great wall, and nobody builds walls better than me, believe me, and I’ll build them very inexpensively, I will build a great wall on our southern border, And I will have Mexico pay for that wall. Mark my words. Nobody would be tougher on ISIS than Donald Trump. Nobody. I will find — within our military, I will find the General Patton or I will find General MacArthur, I will find the right guy. I will find the guy that’s going to take that military and make it really work. Nobody, nobody will be pushing us around. I will stop Iran from getting nuclear weapons. | ✓ |

| 72 | And we won’t be using a man like Secretary Kerry that has absolutely no concept of negotiation, who’s making a horrible and laughable deal, who’s just being tapped along as they make weapons right now, and then goes into a bicycle race at 72 years old, and falls and breaks his leg. I won’t be doing that. And I promise I will never be in a bicycle race. | ✓ |

| 73 | That I can tell you. I will immediately terminate President Obama’s illegal executive order on immigration, immediately. Fully support and back up the | ✓ |
Today I heard it. Through stupidity, in a very, very hard core prison, interestingly named Clinton, two vicious murderers, two vicious people escaped, and nobody knows where they are. And a woman was on television this morning, and she said, “You know, Mr. Trump,” and she was telling other people, and I actually called her, and she said, “You know, Mr. Trump, I always was against guns. I didn’t want guns. And now since this happened”—it’s up in the prison area—“my husband and I are finally in agreement, because he wanted the guns. We now have a gun on every table. We’re ready to start shooting.”

End—end Common Core. Common Core should—it is a disaster. Bush is totally in favor of Common Core. I don’t see how he can possibly get the nomination. He’s weak on immigration. He’s in favor of Common Core. How the hell can you vote for this guy? You just can’t do it. We have to end education has to be local. Rebuild the country’s infrastructure.

Nobody can do that like me. Believe me. It will be done on time, on budget, way below cost, way below what anyone ever thought. I look at the roads being built all over the country, and I say I can build those things for one-third.

What they do is unbelievable, how bad. You know, we’re building on Pennsylvania Avenue, the Old Post Office, we’re converting it into one of the world’s great hotels. It’s gonna be the best hotel in Washington, D.C. We got it from the General Services Administration in Washington. The Obama administration. We got it. It was the most highly sought after—or one of them, but I think the most highly sought after project in the history of General Services. We got it. People were shocked,
|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Trump got it.** Well, I got it for two reasons. Number one, we’re really good. Number two, we had a really good plan. And I’ll add in the third, we had a great financial statement. Because the General Services, who are terrific people, by the way, and talented people, they wanted to do a great job. And they wanted to make sure it got built. |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| **78** So we have to rebuild our infrastructure, our bridges, our roadways, our airports. |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| **79** You come into La Guardia Airport, it’s like we’re in a third world country. You look at the patches and the 40-year-old floor. They throw down asphalt, and they throw. You look at these airports, we are like a third world country. And I come in from China and I come in from Qatar and I come in from different places, and they have the most incredible airports in the world. You come to back to this country and you have LAX, disaster. You have all of these disastrous airports. We have to rebuild our infrastructure. |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| **80** Save Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security without cuts. Have to do it. Get rid of the fraud. Get rid of the waste and abuse, but save it. People have been paying it for years. And now many of these candidates want to cut it. You save it by making the United States, by making us rich again, by taking back all of the money that’s being lost. Renegotiate our foreign trade deals. |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| **81** Reduce our $18 trillion in debt, because, believe me, we’re in a bubble. We have artificially low interest rates. We have a stock market that, frankly, has been good to me, but I still hate to see what’s happening. We have a stock market that is so bloated. Be careful of a bubble because what you’ve seen in the past might be small potatoes compared to what happens. So be very, very careful. And strengthen our military and take care of our... |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
vets. So, so important.

82 Sadly, the American dream is dead. But if I get elected president I will bring it back bigger and better and stronger than ever before.

Appendix 4

The Analysis of The Features of Rapport Talk used by Donald Trump

NOTE:
DT1 : Using qualifiers
DT2 : Apologizing
DT3 : Taking blame
DT4 : Thanking
DT5 : Maintaining an appearance of equality, downplaying qualification
DT6 : Establishing relationship
DT7 : Downplaying Authority

| No | Utterances                                                                 | DT1 | DT2 | DT3 | DT4 | DT5 | DT6 | DT7 |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 1  | It’s great to be at Trump Tower. It’s great to be in a wonderful city, New York. And it’s an honor to have everybody here. This is beyond anybody’s expectations. There’s been no crowd like this. |     |     |     |     |     |     | √   |
| 2  | I will tell you this, and I said it very strongly, years ago, I said-----and I love the military. |     |     |     |     |     |     | √   |
| 3  | In fact, I’d love him to leave early and play, that would be a very good thing. |     |     |     |     |     |     | √   |
| 4  | It is going to be amazingly destructive                                    |     |     |     |     |     |     | √   |
| 5  | And we are going to make our country great again                           |     |     |     |     |     |     | √   |
| 6  | I’m going to tell you---thank you.                                        |     |     |     |     |     |     | √   |
| 7  | it at all; I’m going to bring money in, and we’re going to save it.        |     |     |     |     |     |     | √   |
| 8  | Now, it’s very interesting.                                                |     |     |     |     |     |     | √   |
| 9  | and we will make America great again.                                      |     |     |     |     |     |     | √   |
| 10 | Thank you. Thank you very much.                                            |     |     |     |     |     |     | √   |

Appendix 5

The Characteristics of Donald Trump in Political Speech

DT1 Status
If I get elected president, I will bring it back bigger and better and stronger than ever before.

Because I don’t need anybody’s money. It’s nice. I don’t need anybody’s money. I’m using my own money. I’m not using the lobbyists. I’m not using donors.

We have to repeal Obamacare, and it can be— and— and it can be replaced with something much better for everybody.

So we have to rebuild our infrastructure, our bridges, our roadways, our airports.

You come into La Guardia Airport, it’s like we’re in a third world country. You look at the patches and the 40-year-old floor. They throw down asphalt, and they throw. You look at these airports, we are like a third world country. And I come in from China and I come in from Qatar and I come in from different places, and they have the most incredible airports in the world. You come to back to this country and you have LAX, disaster. You have all of these disastrous airports.
Appendix 6

Hillary Clinton’s Presidential Announcement Speech On June, 13 2015
(Hillary Clinton, on June 13, 2015 /transcript-full-text-hillary-clinton-campaign-launch/)

Thank you! Oh, thank you all! Thank you so very, very much. It is wonderful to be here with all of you. To be in New York with my family, with so many friends, including many New Yorkers who gave me the honor of serving them in the Senate for eight years. To be right across the water from the headquarters of the United Nations, where I represented our country many times. To be here in this beautiful park dedicated to Franklin Roosevelt’s enduring vision of America, the nation we want to be. And in a place… with absolutely no ceilings.

You know, President Roosevelt’s Four Freedoms are a testament to our nation’s unmatched aspirations and a reminder of our unfinished work at home and abroad. His legacy lifted up a nation and inspired presidents who followed. One is the man I served as Secretary of State, Barack Obama, and another is my husband, Bill Clinton. Two Democrats guided by the — Oh, that will make him so happy. They were and are two Democrats guided by the fundamental American belief that real and lasting prosperity must be built by all and shared by all. President Roosevelt called on every American to do his or her part, and every American answered. He said there’s no mystery about what it takes to build a strong and prosperous America: “Equality of opportunity… Jobs for those who can work… Security for those who need it… The ending of special privilege for the few… The preservation of civil liberties for all… a wider and constantly rising standard of living.” That still sounds good to me.

It’s America’s basic bargain. If you do your part you ought to be able to get ahead. And when everybody does their part, America gets ahead too. That bargain inspired generations of families, including my own. It’s what kept my grandfather going to work in the same Scranton lace mill every day for 50 years. It’s what led my father to believe that if he scrimped and saved, his small business printing drapery fabric in Chicago could provide us with a middle-class life. And it did.

When President Clinton honored the bargain, we had the longest peacetime expansion in history, a balanced budget, and the first time in decades we all grew together, with the bottom 20 percent of workers increasing their incomes by the same percentage as the top 5 percent. When President Obama honored the bargain, we pulled back from the brink of Depression, saved the auto industry, provided health care to 16 million working people, and replaced the jobs we lost faster than after a financial crash. But, it’s not 1941, or 1993, or even 2009. We face new challenges in our economy and our democracy. We’re still working our way back from a crisis that happened because time-tested values were replaced by false promises. Instead of an economy built by every American, for every American, we were told that if we let those at the top pay lower taxes and bend the rules, their success would trickle down to everyone else. What happened? Well, instead of a balanced budget with surpluses that could have eventually paid off our national debt, the Republicans twice cut taxes for the wealthiest, borrowed money from other countries to pay for two wars, and family incomes dropped. You know where we ended up. Except it wasn’t the end. As we have since our founding, Americans made a new beginning. You worked extra shifts, took second jobs, postponed home repairs… you figured out how to make it work. And now people are beginning to think about their future again – going to college, starting a business, buying a house, finally being able to put away something for retirement. So we’re standing again. But, we all know we’re not yet running the way America should. You see corporations making record profits, with CEOs making record pay, but your paychecks have barely budged. While many of you are working multiple jobs to make ends meet, you see the top 25 hedge fund managers making more than all of America’s kindergarten teachers combined. And, often paying a lower tax rate. So, you have to wonder: “When does my hard work pay off? When does my family get ahead?” “When?” I say now. Prosperity can’t be just for CEOs and hedge fund managers. Democracy can’t be just for billionaires and corporations.
Prosperity and democracy are part of your basic bargain too. You brought our country back. Now it’s time — your time to secure the gains and move ahead. And, you know what? America can’t succeed unless you succeed. That is why I am running for President of the United States. Here, on Roosevelt Island, I believe we have a continuing rendezvous with destiny. Each American and the country we cherish.

I’m running to make our economy work for you and for every American. For the successful and the struggling. For the innovators and inventors. For those breaking barriers in technology and discovering cures for diseases. For the factory workers and food servers who stand on their feet all day. For the nurses who work the night shift. For the truckers who drive for hours and the farmers who feed us. For the veterans who served our country. For the small business owners who took a risk. For everyone who’s ever been knocked down, but refused to be knocked out.

I’m not running for some Americans, but for all Americans. Our country’s challenges didn’t begin with the Great Recession and they won’t end with the recovery. For decades, Americans have been buffeted by powerful currents. Advances in technology and the rise of global trade have created whole new areas of economic activity and opened new markets for our exports, but they have also displaced jobs and undercut wages for millions of Americans. The financial industry and many multi-national corporations have created huge wealth for a few by focusing too much on short-term profit and too little on long-term value… too much on complex trading schemes and stock buybacks, too little on investments in new businesses, jobs, and fair compensation. Our political system is so paralyzed by gridlock and dysfunction that most Americans have lost confidence that anything can actually get done. And they’ve lost trust in the ability of both government and Big Business to change course. Now, we can blame historic forces beyond our control for some of this, but the choices we’ve made as a nation, leaders and citizens alike, have also played a big role.

Our next President must work with Congress and every other willing partner across our entire country. And I will do just that — to turn the tide so these currents start working for us more than against us. At our best, that’s what Americans do. We’re problem solvers, not deniers. We don’t hide from change, we harness it. But we can’t do that if we go back to the top-down economic policies that failed us before.

Americans have come too far to see our progress ripped away. Now, there may be some new voices in the presidential Republican choir, but they’re all singing the same old song…A song called “Yesterday.” You know the one — all our troubles look as though they’re here to stay… and we need a place to hide away… They believe in yesterday. And you’re lucky I didn’t try singing that, too, I’ll tell you!

These Republicans trip over themselves promising lower taxes for the wealthy and fewer rules for the biggest corporations without regard for how that will make income inequality even worse. We’ve heard this tune before. And we know how it turns out. Ask many of these candidates about climate change, one of the defining threats of our time, and they’ll say: “I’m not a scientist.” Well, then, why don’t they start listening to those who are? They pledge to wipe out tough rules on Wall Street, rather than rein in the banks that are still too risky, courting future failures. In a case that can only be considered mass amnesia. They want to take away health insurance from more than 16 million Americans without offering any credible alternative. They shame and blame women, rather than respect our right to make our own reproductive health decisions. They want to put immigrants, who work hard and pay taxes, at risk of deportation. And they turn their backs on gay people who love each other. Fundamentally, they reject what it takes to build an inclusive economy. It takes an inclusive society. What I once called “a village” that has a place for everyone.

Now, my values and a lifetime of experiences have given me a different vision for America. I believe that success isn’t measured by how much the wealthiest Americans have, but by how many children climb out of poverty… How many start-ups and small businesses open and
thrive... How many young people go to college without drowning in debt... How many people find a good job... How many families get ahead and stay ahead. I didn’t learn this from politics. I learned it from my own family.

My mother taught me that everybody needs a chance and a champion. She knew what it was like not to have either one. Her own parents abandoned her, and by 14 she was out on her own, working as a housemaid. Years later, when I was old enough to understand, I asked what kept her going. You know what her answer was? Something very simple: Kindness from someone who believed she mattered. The 1st grade teacher who saw she had nothing to eat at lunch and, without embarrassing her, brought extra food to share. The woman whose house she cleaned letting her go to high school so long as her work got done. That was a bargain she leapt to accept. And, because some people believed in her, she believed in me. That’s why I believe with all my heart in America and in the potential of every American. To meet every challenge. To be resilient... no matter what the world throws at you. To solve the toughest problems. I believe we can do all these things because I’ve seen it happen.

As a young girl, I signed up at my Methodist Church to babysit the children of Mexican farmworkers, while their parents worked in the fields on the weekends. And later, as a law student, I advocated for Congress to require better working and living conditions for farm workers whose children deserved better opportunities. My first job out of law school was for the Children’s Defense Fund. I walked door-to-door to find out how many children with disabilities couldn’t go to school, and to help build the case for a law guaranteeing them access to education.

As a leader of the Legal Services Corporation, I defended the right of poor people to have a lawyer. And saw lives changed because an abusive marriage ended or an illegal eviction stopped. In Arkansas, I supervised law students who represented clients in courts and prisons, organized scholarships for single parents going to college, led efforts for better schools and health care, and personally knew the people whose lives were improved. As Senator, I had the honor of representing brave firefighters, police officers, EMTs, construction workers, and volunteers who ran toward danger on 9/11 and stayed there, becoming sick themselves. It took years of effort, but Congress finally approved the health care they needed. There are so many faces and stories that I carry with me of people who gave their best and then needed help themselves.

Just weeks ago, I met another person like that, a single mom juggling a job and classes at community college, while raising three kids. She doesn’t expect anything to come easy. But she did ask me: What more can be done so it isn’t quite so hard for families like hers? I want to be her champion and your champion. If you’ll give me the chance, I’ll wage and win Four Fights for you. The first is to make the economy work for everyday Americans, not just those at the top. To make the middle class mean something again, with rising incomes and broader horizons. And to give the poor a chance to work their way into it. The middle class needs more growth and more fairness. Growth and fairness go together. For lasting prosperity, you can’t have one without the other. Is this possible in today’s world? I believe it is or I wouldn’t be standing here. Do I think it will be easy? Of course not. But, here’s the good news: There are allies for change everywhere who know we can’t stand by while inequality increases, wages stagnate, and the promise of America dims. We should welcome the support of all Americans who want to go forward together with us.

There are public officials who know Americans need a better deal. Business leaders who want higher pay for employees, equal pay for women and no discrimination against the LGBT community either. There are leaders of finance who want less short-term trading and more long-term investing. There are union leaders who are investing their own pension funds in putting people to work to build tomorrow’s economy. We need everyone to come to the table and work with us. In the coming weeks, I’ll propose specific policies to:Reward businesses who invest in long term value rather than the quick buck – because that leads to higher growth for the economy, higher wages for workers, and yes, bigger profits, everybody will have a better time. I will rewrite the tax code so it rewards hard work and investments here at home, not quick trades or stashing profits overseas. I will give new incentives to companies that give their employees a fair share of the
profits their hard work earns. We will unleash a new generation of entrepreneurs and small business owners by providing tax relief, cutting red tape, and making it easier to get a small business loan. We will restore America to the cutting edge of innovation, science, and research by increasing both public and private investments. And we will make America the clean energy superpower of the 21st century. Developing renewable power – wind, solar, advanced biofuels… Building cleaner power plants, smarter electric grids, greener buildings… Using additional fees and royalties from fossil fuel extraction to protect the environment… We will also connect workers to their jobs and businesses. Customers will have a better chance to actually get where they need and get what they desire with roads, railways, bridges, airports, ports, and broadband brought up to global standards for the 21st century. We will establish an infrastructure bank and sell bonds to pay for some of these improvements. Now, building an economy for tomorrow also requires investing in our most important asset, our people, beginning with our youngest.

That’s why I will propose that we make preschool and quality childcare available to every child in America. And I want you to remember this, because to me, this is absolutely the most compelling argument why we should do this. Research tells us how much early learning in the first five years of life can impact lifelong success. In fact, 80 percent of the brain is developed by age three. One thing I’ve learned is that talent is universal – you can find it anywhere – but opportunity is not. Too many of our kids never have the chance to learn and thrive as they should and as we need them to. Our country won’t be competitive or fair if we don’t help more families give their kids the best possible start in life. So let’s staff our primary and secondary schools with teachers who are second to none in the world, and receive the respect they deserve for sparking the love of learning in every child. Let’s make college affordable and available to all … and lift the crushing burden of student debt. Let’s provide lifelong learning for workers to gain or improve skills the economy requires, setting up many more Americans for success.

Now, the second fight is to strengthen America’s families, because when our families are strong, America is strong. And today’s families face new and unique pressures. Parents need more support and flexibility to do their job at work and at home. I believe you should have the right to earn paid sick days. I believe you should receive your work schedule with enough notice to arrange childcare or take college courses to get ahead. I believe you should look forward to retirement with confidence, not anxiety. That you should have the peace of mind that your health care will be there when you need it, without breaking the bank. I believe we should offer paid family leave so no one has to choose between keeping a paycheck and caring for a new baby or a sick relative.

And it is way past time to end the outrage of so many women still earning less than men on the job — and women of color often making even less. This isn’t a women’s issue. It’s a family issue. Just like raising the minimum wage is a family issue. Expanding childcare is a family issue. Declining marriage rates is a family issue. The unequal rates of incarceration is a family issue. Helping more people with an addiction or a mental health problem get help is a family issue. In America, every family should feel like they belong. So we should offer hard-working, law-abiding immigrant families a path to citizenship. Not second-class status. And, we should ban discrimination against LGBT Americans and their families so they can live, learn, marry, and work just like everybody else. You know, America’s diversity, our openness, our devotion to human rights and freedom is what’s drawn so many to our shores. What’s inspired people all over the world. I know. I’ve seen it with my own eyes. And these are also qualities that prepare us well for the demands of a world that is more interconnected than ever before. So we have a third fight: to harness all of America’s power, smarts, and values to maintain our leadership for peace, security, and prosperity. No other country on Earth is better positioned to thrive in the 21st century. No other country is better equipped to meet traditional threats from countries like Russia, North Korea, and Iran – and to deal with the rise of new powers like China. No other country is better prepared to meet emerging threats from cyber attacks, transnational terror networks like ISIS, and diseases that spread across oceans and continents.
As your President, I’ll do whatever it takes to keep Americans safe. And if you look over my left shoulder you can see the new World Trade Center soaring skyward. As a Senator from New York, I dedicated myself to getting our city and state the help we needed to recover. And as a member of the Armed Services Committee, I worked to maintain the best-trained, best-equipped, strongest military, ready for today’s threats and tomorrow’s. And when our brave men and women come home from war or finish their service, I’ll see to it that they get not just the thanks of a grateful nation, but the care and benefits they’ve earned. I’ve stood up to adversaries like Putin and reinforced allies like Israel. I was in the Situation Room on the day we got bin Laden. But, I know — I know we have to be smart as well as strong. Meeting today’s global challenges requires every element of America’s power, including skillful diplomacy, economic influence, and building partnerships to improve lives around the world with people, not just their governments. There are a lot of trouble spots in the world, but there’s a lot of good news out there too. I believe the future holds far more opportunities than threats if we exercise creative and confident leadership that enables us to shape global events rather than be shaped by them. And we all know that in order to be strong in the world, though, we first have to be strong at home.

That’s why we have to win the fourth fight — reforming our government and revitalizing our democracy so that it works for everyday Americans. We have to stop the endless flow of secret, unaccountable money that is distorting our elections, corrupting our political process, and drowning out the voices of our people. We need Justices on the Supreme Court who will protect every citizen’s right to vote, rather than every corporation’s right to buy elections. If necessary, I will support a constitutional amendment to undo the Supreme Court’s decision in Citizens United. I want to make it easier for every citizen to vote. That’s why I’ve proposed universal, automatic registration and expanded early voting. I’ll fight back against Republican efforts to disempower and disenfranchise young people, poor people, people with disabilities, and people of color. What part of democracy are they afraid of? No matter how easy we make it to vote, we still have to give Americans something worth voting for. Government is never going to have all the answers — but it has to be smarter, simpler, more efficient, and a better partner. That means access to advanced technology so government agencies can more effectively serve their customers, the American people. We need expertise and innovation from the private sector to help cut waste and streamline services.

There’s so much that works in America. For every problem we face, someone somewhere in America is solving it. Silicon Valley cracked the code on sharing and scaling a while ago. Many states are pioneering new ways to deliver services. I want to help Washington catch up. To do that, we need a political system that produces results by solving problems that hold us back, not one overwhelmed by extreme partisanship and inflexibility. Now, I’ll always seek common ground with friend and opponent alike. But I’ll also stand my ground when I must. That’s something I did as Senator and Secretary of State — whether it was working with Republicans to expand health care for children and for our National Guard, or improve our foster care and adoption system, or pass a treaty to reduce the number of Russian nuclear warheads that could threaten our cities — and it’s something I will always do as your President.

We Americans may differ, bicker, stumble, and fall; but we are at our best when we pick each other up, when we have each other’s back. Like any family, our American family is strongest when we cherish what we have in common, and fight back against those who would drive us apart. People all over the world have asked me: “How could you and President Obama work together after you fought so hard against each other in that long campaign?” Now, that is an understandable question considering that in many places, if you lose an election you could get imprisoned or exiled — even killed — not hired as Secretary of State. But President Obama asked me to serve, and I accepted because we both love our country.

That’s how we do it in America. With that same spirit, together, we can win these four fights. We can build an economy where hard work is rewarded. We can strengthen our families. We can defend our country and increase our opportunities all over the world. And we can renew the promise of our democracy. If we all do our part. In our families, in our businesses, unions, houses of worship, schools, and, yes, in the voting booth. I want you to join me in this effort. Help
me build this campaign and make it your own. Talk to your friends, your family, your neighbors. It’s no secret that we’re going up against some pretty powerful forces that will do and spend whatever it takes to advance a very different vision for America. But I’ve spent my life fighting for children, families, and our country. And I’m not stopping now. You know, I know how hard this job is. I’ve seen it up close and personal. All our Presidents come into office looking so vigorous. And then we watch their hair grow grayer and grayer.

Well, I may not be the youngest candidate in this race. But I will be the youngest woman President in the history of the United States! And the first grandmother as well. And one additional advantage: You’re won’t see my hair turn white in the White House. I’ve been coloring it for years! So I’m looking forward to a great debate among Democrats, Republicans, and Independents. I’m not running to be a President only for those Americans who already agree with me. I want to be a President for all Americans. And along the way, I’ll just let you in on this little secret. I won’t get everything right. Lord knows I’ve made my share of mistakes. Well, there’s no shortage of people pointing them out! And I certainly haven’t won every battle I’ve fought. But leadership means perseverance and hard choices. You have to push through the setbacks and disappointments and keep at it. I think you know by now that I’ve been called many things by many people — “quitter” is not one of them. Like so much else in my life, I got this from my mother.

When I was a girl, she never let me back down from any bully or barrier. In her later years, Mom lived with us, and she was still teaching me the same lessons. I’d come home from a hard day at the Senate or the State Department, sit down with her at the small table in our breakfast nook, and just let everything pour out. And she would remind me why we keep fighting, even when the odds are long and the opposition is fierce. I can still hear her saying: “Life’s not about what happens to you, it’s about what you do with what happens to you — so get back out there.” She lived to be 92 years old, and I often think about all the battles she witnessed over the course of the last century — all the progress that was won because Americans refused to give up or back down. She was born on June 4, 1919 — before women in America had the right to vote. But on that very day, after years of struggle, Congress passed the Constitutional Amendment that would change that forever. The story of America is a story of hard-fought, hard-won progress. And it continues today. New chapters are being written by men and women who believe that all of us — not just some, but all — should have the chance to live up to our God-given potential. Not only because we’re a tolerant country, or a generous country, or a compassionate country, but because we’re a better, stronger, more prosperous country when we harness the talent, hard work, and ingenuity of every single American. I wish my mother could have been with us longer. I wish she could have seen Chelsea become a mother herself. I wish she could have met Charlotte. I wish she could have seen the America we’re going to build together. An America, where if you do your part, you reap the rewards. Where we don’t leave anyone out, or anyone behind. An America where a father can tell his daughter: yes, you can be anything you want to be. Even President of the United States. Thank you all. God bless you. And may God bless America.
Appendix 7

The sentences of Hillary Clinton’s Presidential Announcement Speech

| No | utterances                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1  | Thank you! Oh, thank you all! Thank you so very, very much.                                                                                                                                                 |
| 2  | It is wonderful to be here with all of you. To be in New York with my family, with so many friends, including many New Yorkers who gave me the honor of serving them in the Senate for eight years. To be right across the water from the headquarters of the United Nations, where I represented our country many times. To be here in this beautiful park dedicated to Franklin Roosevelt’s enduring vision of America, the nation we want to be. And in a place… with absolutely no ceilings. |
| 3  | You know, President Roosevelt’s Four Freedoms are a testament to our nation’s unmatched aspirations and a reminder of our unfinished work at home and abroad. His legacy lifted up a nation and inspired presidents who followed. One is the man I served as Secretary of State, Barack Obama, and another is my husband, Bill Clinton. Two Democrats guided by the — Oh, that will make him so happy. They were and are two Democrats guided by the fundamental American belief that real and lasting prosperity must be built by all and shared by all. President Roosevelt called on every American to do his or her part, and every American answered. He said there’s no mystery about what it takes to build a strong and prosperous America: “Equality of opportunity… Jobs for those who can work… Security for those who need it… The ending of special privilege for the few… The preservation of civil liberties for all… a wider and constantly rising standard of living.” That still sounds good to me. |
| 4  | It’s America’s basic bargain. If you do your part you ought to be able to get ahead.                                                                                                                                 |
| 5  | And when everybody does their part, America gets ahead too. That bargain inspired generations of families, including my own. It’s what kept my grandfather going to work in the same Scranton lace mill every day for 50 years. It’s what led my father to believe that if he scrimped and saved, his small business printing drapery fabric in Chicago could provide us with a middle-class life. And it did. |
| 6  | When President Clinton honored the bargain, we had the longest peacetime expansion in history, a balanced budget, and the first time in decades we all grew together, with the bottom 20 percent of workers increasing their incomes by the same percentage as the top 5 percent. |
| 7  | When President Obama honored the bargain, we pulled back from the brink of Depression, saved the auto industry, provided health care to 16 million working people, and replaced the jobs we lost faster than after a financial crash.                                                                                                                                                               |
| 8  | We face new challenges in our economy and our democracy. We’re still working our way back from a crisis that happened because time-tested values were replaced by false promises. Instead of an economy built by every American, for every American, we were told that if we let those at the top pay lower taxes and bend the rules, their success would trickle down to everyone else. What happened? Well, instead of a balanced budget with surpluses that could have eventually paid off our national debt, the Republicans twice cut taxes for the wealthiest, borrowed money from other countries to pay for two wars, and family incomes dropped. You know where we ended up. Except it wasn’t the end. As we have since our founding, Americans made a new beginning. |
| 9  | You worked extra shifts, took second jobs, postponed home repairs… you figured out how to make it work. And now people are beginning to think about their future again — going to college, starting a business, buying a house, finally being able to put away something for retirement. So we’re standing again. But, we all know we’re not yet running the way America should. You see corporations making record profits, with CEOs making record pay, but your paychecks have barely budged. While many of you are working multiple jobs to make ends meet, you see the top 25 hedge fund managers making more than all of America’s kindergarten teachers combined. And, often paying a lower tax rate. So, you have to wonder: “When does my hard work pay off? When does my family get ahead?” “When?” I say now. Prosperity can’t be just for CEOs and hedge fund managers. Democracy can’t be just for billionaires and corporations. |
Prosperity and democracy are part of your basic bargain too. You brought our country back. Now it’s time — your time to secure the gains and move ahead. And, you know what? America can’t succeed unless you succeed.

That is why I am running for President of the United States.

I believe we have a continuing rendezvous with destiny. Each American and the country we cherish.

I’m running to make our economy work for you and for every American. For the successful and the struggling. For the innovators and inventors. For those breaking barriers in technology and discovering cures for diseases. For the factory workers and food servers who stand on their feet all day. For the nurses who work the night shift. For the truckers who drive for hours and the farmers who feed us. For the veterans who served our country. For the small business owners who took a risk. For everyone who’s ever been knocked down, but refused to be knocked out.

I’m not running for some Americans, but for all Americans.

Our country’s challenges didn’t begin with the Great Recession and they won’t end with the recovery. For decades, Americans have been buffeted by powerful currents. Advances in technology and the rise of global trade have created whole new areas of economic activity and opened new markets for our exports, but they have also displaced jobs and undercut wages for millions of Americans. The financial industry and many multi-national corporations have created huge wealth for a few by focusing too much on short-term profit and too little on long-term value... too much on complex trading schemes and stock buybacks, too little on investments in new businesses, jobs, and fair compensation. Our political system is so paralyzed by gridlock and dysfunction that most Americans have lost confidence that anything can actually get done. And they’ve lost trust in the ability of both government and Big Business to change course. Now, we can blame historic forces beyond our control for some of this, but the choices we’ve made as a nation, leaders and citizens alike, have also played a big role.

Our next President must work with Congress and every other willing partner across our entire country. And I will do just that — to turn the tide so these currents start working for us more than against us.

Our next President must work with Congress and every other willing partner across our entire country. And I will do just that — to turn the tide so these currents start working for us more than against us. At our best, that’s what Americans do. We’re problem solvers, not deniers. We don’t hide from change, we harness it. But we can’t do that if we go back to the top-down economic policies that failed us before.

Americans have come too far to see our progress ripped away. Now, there may be some new voices in the presidential Republican choir, but they’re all singing the same old song...A song called “Yesterday.” You know the one — all our troubles look as though they’re here to stay... and we need a place to hide away... They believe in yesterday. And you’re lucky I didn’t try singing that, too, I’ll tell you!

These Republicans trip over themselves promising lower taxes for the wealthy and fewer rules for the biggest corporations without regard for how that will make income inequality even worse. We’ve heard this tune before. And we know how it turns out. Ask many of these candidates about climate change, one of the defining threats of our time, and they’ll say: “I’m not a scientist.” Well, then, why don’t they start listening to those who are? They pledge to wipe out tough rules on Wall Street, rather than rein in the banks that are still too risky, courting future failures. In a case that can only be considered mass amnesia. They want to take away health insurance from more than 16 million Americans without offering any credible alternative. They shame and blame women, rather than respect our right to make our own reproductive health decisions. They want to put immigrants, who work hard and pay taxes, at risk of deportation. And they turn their backs on gay people who love each other. Fundamentally, they reject what it takes to build an inclusive economy. It takes an inclusive society. What I once called “a village” that has a place for everyone.

Now, my values and a lifetime of experiences have given me a different vision for America. I believe that success isn’t measured by how much the wealthiest Americans have, but by how many children climb out of poverty... How many start-ups and small businesses open and thrive... How many young people go to college without drowning in debt... How many...
people find a good job... How many families get ahead and stay ahead. I didn’t learn this from politics. I learned it from my own family.

21 My mother taught me that everybody needs a chance and a champion. She knew what it was like not to have either one. Her own parents abandoned her, and by 14 she was out on her own, working as a housemaid. Years later, when I was old enough to understand, I asked what kept her going. You know what her answer was? Something very simple: Kindness from someone who believed she mattered. The 1st grade teacher who saw she had nothing to eat at lunch and, without embarrassing her, brought extra food to share. The woman whose house she cleaned letting her go to high school so long as her work got done. That was a bargain she leapt to accept. And, because some people believed in her, she believed in me.

22 That’s why I believe with all my heart in America and in the potential of every American. To meet every challenge. To be resilient... no matter what the world throws at you. To solve the toughest problems. I believe we can do all these things because I’ve seen it happen.

23 As a young girl, I signed up at my Methodist Church to babysit the children of Mexican farmworkers, while their parents worked in the fields on the weekends. And later, as a law student, I advocated for Congress to require better working and living conditions for farm workers whose children deserved better opportunities. My first job out of law school was for the Children’s Defense Fund. I walked door-to-door to find out how many children with disabilities couldn’t go to school, and to help build the case for a law guaranteeing them access to education.

24 As a leader of the Legal Services Corporation, I defended the right of poor people to have a lawyer. And saw lives changed because an abusive marriage ended or an illegal eviction stopped. In Arkansas, I supervised law students who represented clients in courts and prisons, organized scholarships for single parents going to college, led efforts for better schools and health care, and personally knew the people whose lives were improved. As Senator, I had the honor of representing brave firefighters, police officers, EMTs, construction workers, and volunteers who ran toward danger on 9/11 and stayed there, becoming sick themselves.

25 Just weeks ago, I met another person like that, a single mom juggling a job and classes at community college, while raising three kids. She doesn’t expect anything to come easy. But she did ask me: What more can be done so it isn’t quite so hard for families like hers? I want to be her champion and your champion.

26 If you’ll give me the chance, I’ll wage and win Four Fights for you. The first is to make the economy work for everyday Americans, not just those at the top. To make the middle class mean something again, with rising incomes and broader horizons. And to give the poor a chance to work their way into it. The middle class needs more growth and more fairness. Growth and fairness go together. For lasting prosperity, you can’t have one without the other. Is this possible in today’s world? I believe it is or I wouldn’t be standing here. Do I think it will be easy? Of course not.

27 But, here’s the good news: There are allies for change everywhere who know we can’t stand by while inequality increases, wages stagnate, and the promise of America dims. We should welcome the support of all Americans who want to go forward together with us.

28 There are public officials who know Americans need a better deal. Business leaders who want higher pay for employees, equal pay for women and no discrimination against the LGBT community either. There are leaders of finance who want less short-term trading and more long-term investing. There are union leaders who are investing their own pension funds in putting people to work to build tomorrow’s economy.

29 We need everyone to come to the table and work with us.

30 There are public officials who know Americans need a better deal. Business leaders who want higher pay for employees, equal pay for women and no discrimination against the LGBT community either. There are leaders of finance who want less short-term trading and more long-term investing. There are union leaders who are investing their own pension funds in putting people to work to build tomorrow’s economy. We need everyone to come to the table and work with us. In the coming weeks, I’ll propose specific policies to: Reward businesses who invest in long term value rather than the quick buck – because that leads to
higher growth for the economy, higher wages for workers, and yes, bigger profits, everybody will have a better time. I will rewrite the tax code so it rewards hard work and investments here at home, not quick trades or stashing profits overseas. I will give new incentives to companies that give their employees a fair share of the profits their hard work earns. We will unleash a new generation of entrepreneurs and small business owners by providing tax relief, cutting red tape, and making it easier to get a small business loan. We will restore America to the cutting edge of innovation, science, and research by increasing both public and private investments. And we will make America the clean energy superpower of the 21st century.

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| 31 | That’s why I will propose that we make preschool and quality childcare available to every child in America. And I want you to remember this, because to me, this is absolutely the most-compelling argument why we should do this. Research tells us how much early learning in the first five years of life can impact lifelong success. In fact, 80 percent of the brain is developed by age three. One thing I’ve learned is that talent is universal — you can find it anywhere — but opportunity is not. Too many of our kids never have the chance to learn and thrive as they should and as we need them to. Our country won’t be competitive or fair if we don’t help more families give their kids the best possible start in life. |
| 32 | So let’s staff our primary and secondary schools with teachers who are second to none in the world, and receive the respect they deserve for sparking the love of learning in every child. Let’s make college affordable and available to all … and lift the crushing burden of student debt. Let’s provide lifelong learning for workers to gain or improve skills the economy requires, setting up many more Americans for success. |
| 33 | Now, the second fight is to strengthen America’s families, because when our families are strong, America is strong. And today’s families face new and unique pressures. Parents need more support and flexibility to do their job at work and at home. I believe you should have the right to earn paid sick days. I believe you should receive your work schedule with enough notice to arrange childcare or take college courses to get ahead. I believe you should look forward to retirement with confidence, not anxiety. That you should have the peace of mind that your health care will be there when you need it, without breaking the bank. I believe we should offer paid family leave so no one has to choose between keeping a paycheck and caring for a new baby or a sick relative. |
| 34 | And it is way past time to end the outrage of so many women still earning less than men on the job — and women of color often making even less. This isn’t a women’s issue. It’s a family issue. Just like raising the minimum wage is a family issue. Expanding childcare is a family issue. Declining marriage rates is a family issue. The unequal rates of incarceration is a family issue. Helping more people with an addiction or a mental health problem get help is a family issue. |
| 35 | In America, every family should feel like they belong. So we should offer hard-working, law-abiding immigrant families a path to citizenship. Not second-class status. And, we should ban discrimination against LGBT Americans and their families so they can live, learn, marry, and work just like everybody else. You know, America’s diversity, our openness, our devotion to human rights and freedom is what’s drawn so many to our shores. What’s inspired people all over the world. I know. I’ve seen it with my own eyes. |
| 36 | And these are also qualities that prepare us well for the demands of a world that is more interconnected than ever before. So we have a third fight: to harness all of America’s power, smarts, and values to maintain our leadership for peace, security, and prosperity. No other countries have our combination of wealth, smarts, and values. No other countries have the dedication to our principles and the respect we command around the world. And let’s use that power not just for peace, but for progress. We will pursue nuclear arms reduction with unpaid attention and vigor. We will lead the world in fighting climate change. We will make it easier for families to be together. We will become the clean energy superpower of the 21st century. We will establish an infrastructure bank and sell bonds to pay for some of these improvements. Now, building an economy for tomorrow also requires investing in our most important asset, our people, beginning with our youngest. |
country on Earth is better positioned to thrive in the 21st century. No other country is better equipped to meet traditional threats from countries like Russia, North Korea, and Iran – and to deal with the rise of new powers like China. No other country is better prepared to meet emerging threats from cyber attacks, transnational terror networks like ISIS, and diseases that spread across oceans and continents.

37 As your President, I’ll do whatever it takes to keep Americans safe. And if you look over my left shoulder you can see the new World Trade Center soaring skyward. As a Senator from New York, I dedicated myself to getting our city and state the help we needed to recover. And as a member of the Armed Services Committee, I worked to maintain the best-trained, best-equipped, strongest military, ready for today’s threats and tomorrow’s. And when our brave men and women come home from war or finish their service, I’ll see to it that they get not just the thanks of a grateful nation, but the care and benefits they’ve earned. I’ve stood up to adversaries like Putin and reinforced allies like Israel. I was in the Situation Room on the day we got bin Laden. But, I know — I know we have to be smart as well as strong. Meeting today’s global challenges requires every element of America’s power, including skillful diplomacy, economic influence, and building partnerships to improve lives around the world with people, not just their governments.

38 There are a lot of trouble spots in the world, but there’s a lot of good news out there too. I believe the future holds far more opportunities than threats if we exercise creative and confident leadership that enables us to shape global events rather than be shaped by them. And we all know that in order to be strong in the world, though, we first have to be strong at home.

39 That’s why we have to win the fourth fight – reforming our government and revitalizing our democracy so that it works for everyday Americans. We have to stop the endless flow of secret, unaccountable money that is distorting our elections, corrupting our political process, and drowning out the voices of our people. We need Justices on the Supreme Court who will protect every citizen’s right to vote, rather than every corporation’s right to buy elections.

40 If necessary, I will support a constitutional amendment to undo the Supreme Court’s decision in Citizens United. I want to make it easier for every citizen to vote. That’s why I’ve proposed universal, automatic registration and expanded early voting. I’ll fight back against Republican efforts to disempower and disenfranchise young people, poor people, people with disabilities, and people of color.

41 What part of democracy are they afraid of? No matter how easy we make it to vote, we still have to give Americans something worth voting for. Government is never going to have all the answers – but it has to be smarter, simpler, more efficient, and a better partner. That means access to advanced technology so government agencies can more effectively serve their customers, the American people. We need expertise and innovation from the private sector to help cut waste and streamline services.

42 There’s so much that works in America. For every problem we face, someone somewhere in America is solving it. Silicon Valley cracked the code on sharing and scaling a while ago. Many states are pioneering new ways to deliver services. I want to help Washington catch up. To do that, we need a political system that produces results by solving problems that hold us back, not one overwhelmed by extreme partisanship and inflexibility. Now, I’ll always seek common ground with friend and opponent alike. But I’ll also stand my ground when I must. That’s something I did as Senator and Secretary of State — whether it was working with Republicans to expand health care for children and for our National Guard, or improve our foster care and adoption system, or pass a treaty to reduce the number of Russian nuclear warheads that could threaten our cities — and it’s something I will always do as your President.

43 We Americans may differ, bicker, stumble, and fall; but we are at our best when we pick each other up, when we have each other’s back. Like any family, our American family is strongest when we cherish what we have in common, and fight back against those who would drive us apart.

44 People all over the world have asked me: “How could you and President Obama work together after you fought so hard against each other in that long campaign?” Now, that is an understandable question considering that in many places, if you lose an election you could get imprisoned or exiled — even killed — not hired as Secretary of State. But President
| Page | Text |
|------|------|
| 45   | Obama asked me to serve, and I accepted because we both love our country. That’s how we do it in America. With that same spirit, together, we can win these four fights. We can build an economy where hard work is rewarded. We can strengthen our families. We can defend our country and increase our opportunities all over the world. And we can renew the promise of our democracy. If we all do our part. In our families, in our businesses, unions, houses of worship, schools, and, yes, in the voting booth. I want you to join me in this effort. Help me build this campaign and make it your own. Talk to your friends, your family, your neighbors. |
| 46   | It’s no secret that we’re going up against some pretty powerful forces that will do and spend whatever it takes to advance a very different vision for America. But I’ve spent my life fighting for children, families, and our country. And I’m not stopping now. You know, I know how hard this job is. I’ve seen it up close and personal. All our Presidents come into office looking so vigorous. And then we watch their hair grow gray and gray. |
| 47   | Well, I may not be the youngest candidate in this race. But I will be the youngest woman President in the history of the United States! And the first grandmother as well. And one additional advantage: You won’t see my hair turn white in the White House. I’ve been coloring it for years! |
| 48   | So I’m looking forward to a great debate among Democrats, Republicans, and Independents. I’m not running to be a President only for those Americans who already agree with me. I want to be a President for all Americans. And along the way, I’ll just let you in on this little secret. I won’t get everything right. Lord knows I’ve made my share of mistakes. Well, there’s no shortage of people pointing them out! And I certainly haven’t won every battle I’ve fought. But leadership means perseverance and hard choices. You have to push through the setbacks and disappointments and keep at it. I think you know by now that I’ve been called many things by many people — “quitter” is not one of them. Like so much else in my life, I got this from my mother. |
| 49   | When I was a girl, she never let me back down from any bully or barrier. In her later years, Mom lived with us, and she was still teaching me the same lessons. I’d come home from a hard day at the Senate or the State Department, sit down with her at the small table in our breakfast nook, and just let everything pour out. And she would remind me why we keep fighting, even when the odds are long and the opposition is fierce. |
| 50   | I can still hear her saying: “Life’s not about what happens to you, it’s about what you do with what happens to you – so get back out there.” She lived to be 92 years old, and I often think about all the battles she witnessed over the course of the last century — all the progress that was won because Americans refused to give up or back down. She was born on June 4, 1919 — before women in America had the right to vote. But on that very day, after years of struggle, Congress passed the Constitutional Amendment that would change that forever. The story of America is a story of hard-fought, hard-won progress. And it continues today. New chapters are being written by men and women who believe that all of us – not just some, but all – should have the chance to live up to our God-given potential. Not only because we’re a tolerant country, or a generous country, or a compassionate country, but because we’re a better, stronger, more prosperous country when we harness the talent, hard work, and ingenuity of every single American. I wish my mother could have been with us longer. I wish she could have seen Chelsea become a mother herself. I wish she could have met Charlotte. I wish she could have seen the America we’re going to build together. An America where if you do your part, you reap the rewards. Where we don’t leave anyone out, or anyone behind. An America where a father can tell his daughter: yes, you can be anything you want to be. Even President of the United States. |
| 51   | Thank you all. God bless you. And may God bless America. |
# Appendix 8

## The Analysis of The Features of Rapport Talk used by Hillary Clinton

| No | Utterances                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | HC1 | HC2 | HC3 | HC4 | HC5 | HC6 | HC7 |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 1  | Thank you! Oh, thank you all! Thank you so very, very much.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |     |     |     | ✓   |     |     |     |
| 2  | It is wonderful to be here with all of you. To be in New York with my family, with so many friends, including many New Yorkers who gave me the honor of serving them in the Senate for eight years. To be right across the water from the headquarters of the United Nations, where I represented our country many times. To be here in this beautiful park dedicated to Franklin Roosevelt’s enduring vision of America, the nation we want to be. And in a place… with absolutely no ceilings. |     |     |     |     |     |     | ✓   |
| 3  | It’s America’s basic bargain. If you do your part you ought to be able to get ahead. And when everybody does their part, America gets ahead too.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |     |     |     |     |     |     | ✓   |
| 4  | We face new challenges in our economy and our democracy. We’re still working our way back from a crisis that happened because time-tested values were replaced by false promises. Instead of an economy built by every American, for every American, we were told that if we let those at the top pay lower taxes and bend the rules, their success would trickle down to everyone else. What happened? Well, instead of a balanced budget with surpluses that could have eventually paid off our national debt, the Republicans twice cut taxes for the wealthiest, borrowed money from other countries to pay for two wars. |     |     |     |     |     |     | ✓   |
and family incomes dropped. You know where we ended up. Except it wasn’t the end. As we have since our founding, Americans made a new beginning.

5 You worked extra shifts, took second jobs, postponed home repairs… you figured out how to make it work. And now people are beginning to think about their future again – going to college, starting a business, buying a house, finally being able to put away something for retirement. So we’re standing again. But, we all know we’re not yet running the way America should. You see corporations making record profits, with CEOs making record pay, but your paychecks have barely budged. While many of you are working multiple jobs to make ends meet, you see the top 25 hedge fund managers making more than all of America’s kindergarten teachers combined. And, often paying a lower tax rate. So, you have to wonder: “When does my hard work pay off? When does my family get ahead?” “When?” I say now. Prosperity can’t be just for CEOs and hedge fund managers. Democracy can’t be just for billionaires and corporations.

6 Prosperity and democracy are part of your basic bargain too. You brought our country back. Now it’s time — your time to secure the gains and move ahead. And, you know what? America can’t succeed unless you succeed.

7 I believe we have a continuing rendezvous with destiny. Each American and the country we cherish.

8 I’m running to make our economy work for you and for every American. For the successful and the struggling. For the innovators and inventors. For those breaking barriers in technology and discovering cures for diseases. For the factory workers and food servers who stand on their feet all day. For the nurses who work the night shift. For the truckers who drive for hours and the farmers who feed us. For the veterans who served our country. For the small business owners who took a risk. For everyone who’s ever been knocked down, but refused to be knocked out.

9 I’m not running for some Americans,
but for all Americans.

10 Our country’s challenges didn’t begin with the Great Recession and they won’t end with the recovery. For decades, Americans have been buffeted by powerful currents. Advances in technology and the rise of global trade have created whole new areas of economic activity and opened new markets for our exports, but they have also displaced jobs and undercut wages for millions of Americans. The financial industry and many multinational corporations have created huge wealth for a few by focusing too much on short-term profit and too little on long-term value... too much on complex trading schemes and stock buybacks, too little on investments in new businesses, jobs, and fair compensation. Our political system is so paralyzed by gridlock and dysfunction that most Americans have lost confidence that anything can actually get done. And they’ve lost trust in the ability of both government and Big Business to change course. Now, we can blame historic forces beyond our control for some of this, but the choices we’ve made as a nation, leaders and citizens alike, have also played a big role.

11 Our next President must work with Congress and every other willing partner across our entire country. And I will do just that — to turn the tide so these currents start working for us more than against us.

12 At our best, that’s what Americans do. We’re problem solvers, not deniers. We don’t hide from change, we harness it. But we can’t do that if we go back to the top-down economic policies that failed us before.

13 Americans have come too far to see our progress ripped away. Now, there may be some new voices in the presidential Republican choir, but they’re all singing the same old song...A song called “Yesterday.” You know the one — all our troubles look as though they’re here to stay... and we need a place to hide away... They believe in yesterday. And you’re lucky I didn’t try singing that, too, I’ll tell you!

14 Now, my values and a lifetime of experiences have given me a different
|   |   |   | Vision for America. I believe that success isn’t measured by how much the wealthiest Americans have, but by how many children climb out of poverty... How many start-ups and small businesses open and thrive... How many young people go to college without drowning in debt... How many people find a good job... How many families get ahead and stay ahead. I didn’t learn this from politics. I learned it from my own family. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 15 | Now, my values and a lifetime of experiences have given me a different vision for America. I believe that success isn’t measured by how much the wealthiest Americans have, but by how many children climb out of poverty... How many start-ups and small businesses open and thrive... How many young people go to college without drowning in debt... How many people find a good job... How many families get ahead and stay ahead. I didn’t learn this from politics. I learned it from my own family. |
| 16 | If you’ll give me the chance, I’ll wage and win Four Fights for you. |
| 17 | We need everyone to come to the table and work with us. |
| 18 | So let’s staff our primary and secondary schools with teachers who are second to none in the world, and receive the respect they deserve for sparking the love of learning in every child. Let’s make college affordable and available to all...and lift the crushing burden of student debt. Let’s provide lifelong learning for workers to gain or improve skills the economy requires, setting up many more Americans for success. |
| 19 | Now, the second fight is to strengthen America’s families, because when our families are strong, America is strong. And today’s families face new and unique pressures. Parents need more support and flexibility to do their job at work and at home. I believe you should have the right to earn paid sick days. I believe you should receive your work schedule with enough notice to arrange childcare or take college courses to get ahead. I believe you should look forward to retirement with confidence, not anxiety. That you should have the peace of mind that your health care will be there when... |
you need it, without breaking the bank. I believe we should offer paid family leave so no one has to choose between keeping a paycheck and caring for a new baby or a sick relative.

20 And it is way past time to end the outrage of so many women still earning less than men on the job — and women of color often making even less. This isn’t a women’s issue. It’s a family issue. Just like raising the minimum wage is a family issue. Expanding childcare is a family issue. Declining marriage rates is a family issue. The unequal rates of incarceration is a family issue. Helping more people with an addiction or a mental health problem get help is a family issue.

21 In America, every family should feel like they belong. So we should offer hard-working, law-abiding immigrant families a path to citizenship. Not second-class status. And, we should ban discrimination against LGBT Americans and their families so they can live, learn, marry, and work just like everybody else. You know, America’s diversity, our openness, our devotion to human rights and freedom is what’s drawn so many to our shores. What’s inspired people all over the world. I know. I’ve seen it with my own eyes.

22 As your President, I’ll do whatever it takes to keep Americans safe. And if you look over my left shoulder you can see the new World Trade Center soaring skyward. As a Senator from New York, I dedicated myself to getting our city and state the help we needed to recover. And as a member of the Armed Services Committee, I worked to maintain the best-trained, best-equipped, strongest military, ready for today’s threats and tomorrow’s. And when our brave men and women come home from war or finish their service, I’ll see to it that they get not just the thanks of a grateful nation, but the care and benefits they’ve earned. I’ve stood up to adversaries like Putin and reinforced allies like Israel. I was in the Situation Room on the day we got bin Laden. But, I know — I know we have to be smart as well as strong. Meeting today’s global
challenges requires every element of America’s power, including skillful diplomacy, economic influence, and building partnerships to improve lives around the world with people, not just their governments.

| 23 | There are a lot of trouble spots in the world, but there’s a lot of good news out there too. I believe the future holds far more opportunities than threats if we exercise creative and confident leadership that enables us to shape global events rather than be shaped by them. And we all know that in order to be strong in the world, though, we first have to be strong at home. | ✓ |

| 24 | That’s why we have to win the fourth fight – reforming our government and revitalizing our democracy so that it works for everyday Americans. We have to stop the endless flow of secret, unaccountable money that is distorting our elections, corrupting our political process, and drowning out the voices of our people. We need Justices on the Supreme Court who will protect every citizen’s right to vote, rather than every corporation’s right to buy elections. | ✓ |

| 25 | We Americans may differ, bicker, stumble, and fall; but we are at our best when we pick each other up, when we have each other’s back. Like any family, our American family is strongest when we cherish what we have in common, and fight back against those who would drive us apart. | ✓ |

| 26 | That’s how we do it in America. With that same spirit, together, we can win these four fights. We can build an economy where hard work is rewarded. We can strengthen our families. We can defend our country and increase our opportunities all over the world. And we can renew the promise of our democracy. If we all do our part. In our families, in our businesses, unions, houses of worship, schools, and, yes, in the voting booth. I want you to join me in this effort. Help me build this campaign and make it your own. Talk to your friends, your family, your neighbors. | ✓ |

| 27 | It’s no secret that we’re going up against some pretty powerful forces that will do and spend whatever it takes to advance a very different | ✓ |
vision for America. But I’ve spent my life fighting for children, families, and our country. And I’m not stopping now. You know, I know how hard this job is. I’ve seen it up close and personal. All our Presidents come into office looking so vigorous. And then we watch their hair grow grayer and grayer.

28 Thank you all. God bless you. And may God bless America.

**Appendix 9**

The Analysis of The Features of Report Talk used by Hillary Clinton

**NOTE:**

| HC1 | HC2 | HC3 | HC4 | HC5 | HC6 | HC7 |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Direct Request | Longer talk in public context | Speech includes slang or swear words, teasing and banter | Giving advice to solve problem | Mixing Business and Non Business talk | Rarely give praise and compliment | Showing Authority |

| No | utterances | HC1 | HC2 | HC3 | HC4 | HC5 | HC6 | HC7 |
|----|------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 1  | You know, President Roosevelt’s Four Freedoms are a testament to our nation’s unmatched aspirations and a reminder of our unfinished work at home and abroad. His legacy lifted up a nation and inspired presidents who followed. One is the man I served as Secretary of State, Barack Obama, and another is my husband, Bill Clinton. Two Democrats guided by the — Oh, that will make him so happy. They were and are two Democrats guided by the fundamental American belief that real and lasting prosperity must be built by all and shared by all. President Roosevelt | √ | | | | | | | |
called on every American to do his or her part, and every American answered. He said there’s no mystery about what it takes to build a strong and prosperous America: “Equality of opportunity... Jobs for those who can work... Security for those who need it... The ending of special privilege for the few... The preservation of civil liberties for all... a wider and constantly rising standard of living.” That still sounds good to me.

2 And when everybody does their part, America gets ahead too. That bargain inspired generations of families, including my own. It’s what kept my grandfather going to work in the same Scranton lace mill every day for 50 years. It’s what led my father to believe that if he scrimped and saved, his small business printing drapery fabric in Chicago could provide us with a middle-class life. And it did.

3 When President Clinton honored the bargain, we had the longest peacetime expansion in history, a balanced budget, and the first time in decades we all grew together, with the bottom 20 percent of workers increasing their incomes by the same percentage as the top 5 percent.

4 When President Obama honored the bargain, we pulled back from the brink of Depression, saved the auto industry, provided health care to 16 million working people, and replaced the jobs we lost faster than after a financial crash.

5 That is why I am running for President of the United States.

6 These Republicans trip over themselves promising lower taxes for the wealthy and fewer rules for the biggest corporations without regard for how that will make income inequality even worse. We’ve
heard this tune before. And we know how it turns out. Ask many of these candidates about climate change, one of the defining threats of our time, and they’ll say: “I’m not a scientist.” Well, then, why don’t they start listening to those who are? They pledge to wipe out tough rules on Wall Street, rather than rein in the banks that are still too risky, courting future failures. In a case that can only be considered mass amnesia. They want to take away health insurance from more than 16 million Americans without offering any credible alternative. They shame and blame women, rather than respect our right to make our own reproductive health decisions. They want to put immigrants, who work hard and pay taxes, at risk of deportation. And they turn their backs on gay people who love each other. Fundamentally, they reject what it takes to build an inclusive economy. It takes an inclusive society. What I once called “a village” that has a place for everyone.

My mother taught me that everybody needs a chance and a champion. She knew what it was like not to have either one. Her own parents abandoned her, and by 14 she was out on her own, working as a housemaid. Years later, when I was old enough to understand, I asked what kept her going. You know what her answer was? Something very simple: Kindness from someone who believed she mattered. The 1st grade teacher who saw she had nothing to eat at lunch and, without embarrassing her, brought extra food to share. The woman whose house she cleaned letting her go to high school so long as her work got done. That was a bargain she leapt to accept. And, because some people believed in her,
she believed in me.

8 As a young girl, I signed up at my Methodist Church to babysit the children of Mexican farmworkers, while their parents worked in the fields on the weekends. And later, as a law student, I advocated for Congress to require better working and living conditions for farm workers whose children deserved better opportunities. My first job out of law school was for the Children’s Defense Fund. I walked door-to-door to find out how many children with disabilities couldn’t go to school, and to help build the case for a law guaranteeing them access to education.

9 As a leader of the Legal Services Corporation, I defended the right of poor people to have a lawyer. And saw lives changed because an abusive marriage ended or an illegal eviction stopped. In Arkansas, I supervised law students who represented clients in courts and prisons, organized scholarships for single parents going to college, led efforts for better schools and health care, and personally knew the people whose lives were improved. As Senator, I had the honor of representing brave firefighters, police officers, EMTs, construction workers, and volunteers who ran toward danger on 9/11 and stayed there, becoming sick themselves.

10 Just weeks ago, I met another person like that, a single mom juggling a job and classes at community college, while raising three kids. She doesn’t expect anything to come easy. But she did ask me: What more can be done so it isn’t quite so hard for families like hers? I want to be her champion and your champion.

11 But, here’s the good news: There are allies for change everywhere who know we can’t
stand by while inequality increases, wages stagnate, and the promise of America dims. We should welcome the support of all Americans who want to go forward together with us.

12 There are public officials who know Americans need a better deal. Business leaders who want higher pay for employees, equal pay for women and no discrimination against the LGBT community either. There are leaders of finance who want less short-term trading and more long-term investing. There are union leaders who are investing their own pension funds in putting people to work to build tomorrow’s economy.

13 In the coming weeks, I’ll propose specific policies to: Reward businesses who invest in long term value rather than the quick buck – because that leads to higher growth for the economy, higher wages for workers, and yes, bigger profits, everybody will have a better time. I will rewrite the tax code so it rewards hard work and investments here at home, not quick trades or stashing profits overseas. I will give new incentives to companies that give their employees a fair share of the profits their hard work earns. We will unleash a new generation of entrepreneurs and small business owners by providing tax relief, cutting red tape, and making it easier to get a small business loan. We will restore America to the cutting edge of innovation, science, and research by increasing both public and private investments. And we will make America the clean energy superpower of the 21st century. Developing renewable power – wind, solar, advanced biofuels... Building cleaner power plants, smarter electric grids, greener buildings... Using additional
fees and royalties from fossil fuel extraction to protect the environment... And ease the transition for distressed communities to a more diverse and sustainable economic future from coal country to Indian country, from small towns in the Mississippi Delta to the Rio Grande Valley to our inner cities, we have to help our fellow Americans. Now, this will create millions of jobs and countless new businesses, and enable America to lead the global fight against climate change. We will also connect workers to their jobs and businesses. Customers will have a better chance to actually get where they need and get what they desire with roads, railways, bridges, airports, ports, and broadband brought up to global standards for the 21st century. We will establish an infrastructure bank and sell bonds to pay for some of these improvements. Now, building an economy for tomorrow also requires investing in our most important asset, our people, beginning with our youngest.

And these are also qualities that prepare us well for the demands of a world that is more interconnected than ever before. So we have a third fight: to harness all of America’s power, smarts, and values to maintain our leadership for peace, security, and prosperity. No other country on Earth is better positioned to thrive in the 21st century. No other country is better equipped to meet traditional threats from countries like Russia, North Korea, and Iran – and to deal with the rise of new powers like China. No other country is better prepared to meet emerging threats from cyber attacks, transnational terror networks like ISIS, and diseases that spread across
15 If necessary, I will support a constitutional amendment to undo the Supreme Court’s decision in Citizens United. I want to make it easier for every citizen to vote. That’s why I’ve proposed universal, automatic registration and expanded early voting. I’ll fight back against Republican efforts to disempower and disenfranchise young people, poor people, people with disabilities, and people of color.

16 What part of democracy are they afraid of? No matter how easy we make it to vote, we still have to give Americans something worth voting for. Government is never going to have all the answers – but it has to be smarter, simpler, more efficient, and a better partner. That means access to advanced technology so government agencies can more effectively serve their customers, the American people. We need expertise and innovation from the private sector to help cut waste and streamline services.

17 There’s so much that works in America. For every problem we face, someone somewhere in America is solving it. Silicon Valley cracked the code on sharing and scaling a while ago. Many states are pioneering new ways to deliver services. I want to help Washington catch up. To do that, we need a political system that produces results by solving problems that hold us back, not one overwhelmed by extreme partisanship and inflexibility. Now, I’ll always seek common ground with friend and opponent alike. But I’ll also stand my ground when I must. That’s something I did as Senator and Secretary of State — whether it was working with Republicans to expand health care for children and for our National Guard, or improve
our foster care and adoption system, or pass a treaty to reduce the number of Russian nuclear warheads that could threaten our cities — and it’s something I will always do as your President.

Well, I may not be the youngest candidate in this race. But I will be the youngest woman President in the history of the United States! And the first grandmother as well. And one additional advantage: You’re won’t see my hair turn white in the White House. I’ve been coloring it for years!

So I’m looking forward to a great debate among Democrats, Republicans, and Independents. I’m not running to be a President only for those Americans who already agree with me. I want to be a President for all Americans. And along the way, I’ll just let you in on this little secret. I won’t get everything right. Lord knows I’ve made my share of mistakes. Well, there’s no shortage of people pointing them out! And I certainly haven’t won every battle I’ve fought. But leadership means perseverance and hard choices. You have to push through the setbacks and disappointments and keep at it. I think you know by now that I’ve been called many things by many people — “quitter” is not one of them. Like so much else in my life, I got this from my mother.

When I was a girl, she never let me back down from any bully or barrier. In her later years, Mom lived with us, and she was still teaching me the same lessons. I’d come home from a hard day at the Senate or the State Department, sit down with her at the small table in our breakfast nook, and just let everything pour out. And she would remind me why we keep fighting, even when the odds are long and the opposition is fierce.
| 22 | I can still hear her saying: “Life’s not about what happens to you, it’s about what you do with what happens to you – so get back out there.” She lived to be 92 years old, and I often think about all the battles she witnessed over the course of the last century — all the progress that was won because Americans refused to give up or back down. She was born on June 4, 1919 — before women in America had the right to vote. But on that very day, after years of struggle, Congress passed the Constitutional Amendment that would change that forever. |
| 23 | The story of America is a story of hard-fought, hard-won progress. And it continues today. New chapters are being written by men and women who believe that all of us — not just some, but all — should have the chance to live up to our God-given potential. Not only because we’re a tolerant country, or a generous country, or a compassionate country, but because we’re a better, stronger, more prosperous country when we harness the talent, hard work, and ingenuity of every single American. I wish my mother could have been with us longer. I wish she could have seen Chelsea become a mother herself. I wish she could have met Charlotte. I wish she could have seen the America we’re going to build together. An America, where if you do your part, you reap the rewards. Where we don’t leave anyone out, or anyone behind. An America where a father can tell his daughter: yes, you can be anything you want to be. Even President of the United States. |
Appendix 10

The Characteristics of Hillary Clinton in Political Speech

HC1 Support

HC2 Intimacy

HC3 understanding

HC4 feeling

HC5 Proposal

| No | utterances                                                                                           | HC1 | HC2 | HC3 | HC4 | HC5 |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 1  | If I get elected president I will bring it back bigger and better and stronger than ever before       | √   |     |     |     |     |
| 2  | It is wonderful to be here with all of you. To be in New York with my family, with so many friends, including many New Yorkers who gave me the honor of serving them in the Senate for eight years |     | √   |     |     |     |
| 3  | We Americans may differ, bicker, stumble, and fall; but we are at our best when we pick each other up, when we have each other’s back. Like any family, our American family is strongest when we cherish what we have in common, and fight back against those who would drive us apart |     |     | √   |     |     |
| 4  | That’s why I believe with all my heart in America and in the potential of every American. To meet every challenge. To be resilient… no matter what the world throws at you. To solve the toughest problems. I believe we can do all these things because I’ve seen it happen |     |     |     | √   |     |
| 5  | So let’s staff our primary and secondary schools with teachers who are second to none in the world, and receive the respect they deserve for sparking the love of learning in every child. Let’s make college affordable and available to all ...and lift the crushing burden of student debt |     |     |     |     | √   |