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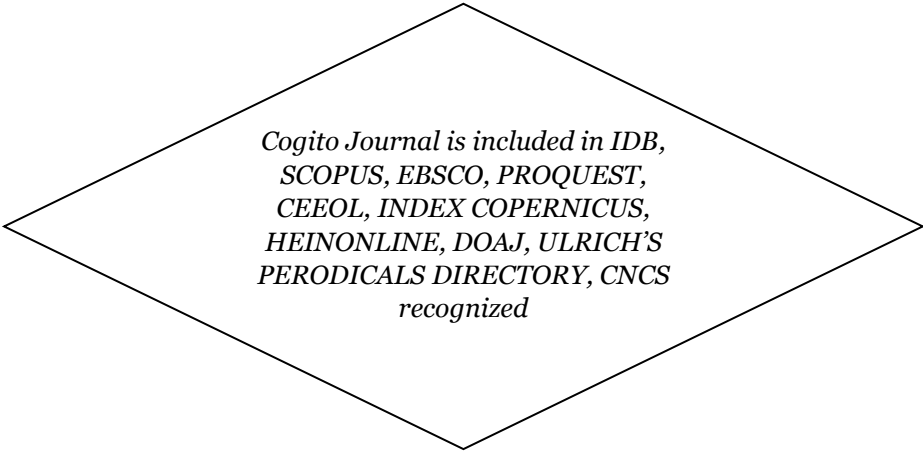
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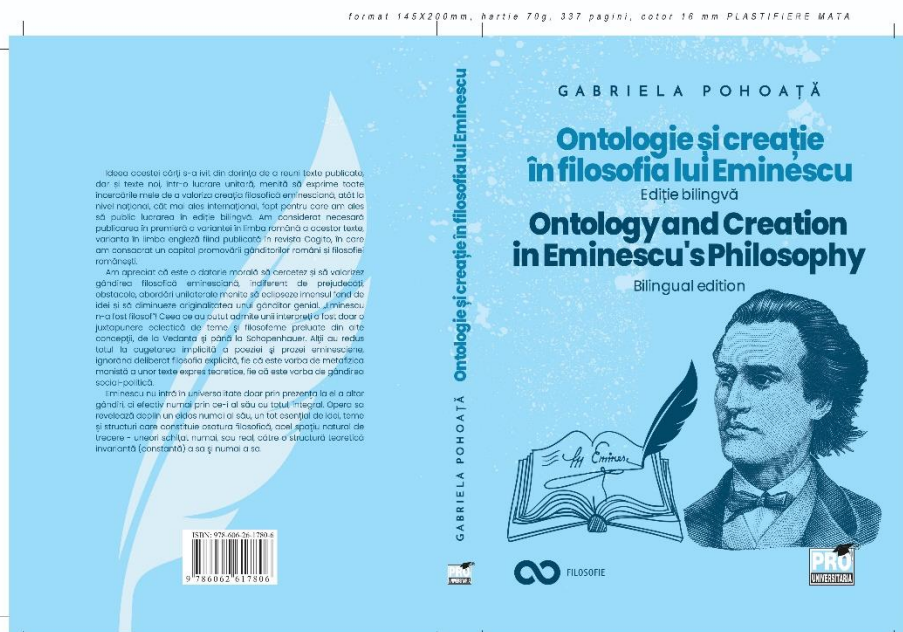


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## 135 YEARS OF POSTERITY - HOMAGE TO MIHAI EMINESCU

### ONTOLOGY AND CREATION IN EMINESCU'S PHILOSOPHY

#### Bilingual Edition



**Prof. PhD. Hab. Gabriela Pohoată**

[Ontologie și creație în filosofia lui Eminescu. Ontology and creation in Eminescu's philosophy. Ed. bilingvă - Proniversitaria.ro](#)

# CONTRASTING VISIONS OF UNIFICATION: DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF REAGAN'S AND TRUMP'S INAGURAL ADDRESSES

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**Abstract:** *The inaugural speeches of Reagan and Trump differ in cognitive structures, discourse-forming strategies, and linguistic means. The semantic dominant in Reagan's discourse is "unity based on heroic continuity" versus "division" in Trump's discourse with the "us-them" opposition. The conceptual architecture of Reagan's discourse is based on the clusters of "American uniqueness", "sense of national pride" and "continuity of the heroic past" with connotations of optimism versus "threat" and "protection" in Trump's discourse, implying pessimism. In Reagan's metaphors, 75 % of source domains serve as identifiers of positive emotions, compared to Trump's 77.7% of negatively connoted source spaces. The primary stylistic device in Trump's speech is explicit antitheses, implementing the strategy of constructing a "we-group" based on the opposition to "them", while Reagan's antitheses are implicit, implementing a strategy of consolidation by cancelling negative propositions with affirmative ones denoting ways to compensate for negativity. Temporal deixis in Trump's speech actualizes the "past is bad" model in antithesis to "future is good". Reagan's temporal perspective of the future is conceptualized as a positively evaluated heroic past, using intertextual citations, paraphrases, allusions, and narratives. Trump builds an emotional connection stylistically, while Reagan does so lexically-semantically, operating not with forms, but with meanings in an ethos argumentative model, using complex syntactic structures, an intimate and*

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narrative style, direct directives, and "I"-based personal deixis, implementing a strategy of unification via individualization. Trump employs a slogan-like style in a pathos argumentative model, relying on simple syntax accumulating stylistic devices, aimed at mass audience in a strategy of unification versus individualization.

**Keywords:** inaugural speeches, cognitive structures, metaphors, syntactic stylistics, temporal deixis, connotation, discourse-forming strategies, concepts.

## Introduction

The article is aimed at examining the differences in the inaugural speeches of American Presidents Reagan (first Inaugural address) and Trump (2017) from cognitive-discursive, conceptual, lexical-semantic, and stylistic perspectives. The focus of the research on the comparative analysis of the discourses of the two Republican presidents is conditioned by a number of factors – both linguistic and extralinguistic. American political discourse often draws a parallel between the two presidents, with Trump being called the "new Reagan"<sup>1</sup>, it is asserted that both politicians are "essentially cut from the same cloth"<sup>2</sup> based on a number of shared characteristics, including linguistic – similar rhetoric in big speeches<sup>3</sup>. It is known that only a few American politicians have enjoyed greater popularity than Ronald Reagan. This is evidenced, in particular, by the fact that intertextual quotations and references to Reagan's speeches were most frequent in the speeches of congressmen when discussing the aid package to Ukraine in the US House of Representatives. Shortly before the discussion, Mike Johnson, as reported by the New York Times, invoked his political roots as a Reagan Republican<sup>4</sup>.

In this regard, a discourse analysis of the inaugural speeches of Reagan and Trump is particularly interesting to demonstrate their dissimilarity in cognitive structure, discourse-forming strategies, and conceptual architecture. This analysis is based on the use of verbal, stylistic, and pragmatic devices and is aimed at identifying the presidents' different and often contrasting visions of building intragroup identity.

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<sup>1</sup> Todd Blodgett, "Why 'the Donald' is the new 'Ronald': Parallels between Trump and Reagan", *The Des Moines Register*, June 10, 2019.

<sup>2</sup> Tom Cotton, "A time for choosing", Onstage at the Reagan Library with Senator Tom Cotton, March 7, 2022.

<sup>3</sup> Bret Baier, Catherine Whitney, "Three Days in Moscow: Ronald Reagan and the Fall of the Soviet Empire", Harper Large Print, 2018.

<sup>4</sup> Julian Barnes, Vowing the U.S. Will 'Do Our Job,' Johnson Searches for a Path on Ukraine, *The New York Times*, March 26, 2024.

## Literature Review

The article is theoretically based on the integration of discourse analysis by Norman Fairclough<sup>5</sup> with elements of socio-cognitive discourse theory by Teun van Dijk<sup>6</sup> and discourse-strategic approach in terms of Ruth Wodak<sup>7</sup>. Fairclough identifies three perspectives of discourse analysis: discourse as a text, discourse as a discursive practice and as a social practice, which correlate with three directions in research methodology: description, interpretation and explanation.

The first perspective focuses on analyzing the linguistic characteristics of the text, their internal connections, and corresponds to the phase of description, when discourse is considered as a system of lexical-grammatical variants of choice, from which texts/authors select what needs to be included or excluded<sup>8</sup>. At this stage, lexical-semantic means are systematically studied, focusing on evaluative words; connotative meanings; inclusive pronouns and pronouns of simulated personal address; syntactic-stylistic devices (antitheses, parallelism, repetitions, gradations, etc.) and stylistic semasiology, primarily metaphors and metonymies as means of manipulation and construction/maintenance of social representations, as well as hyperboles, epithets, and other tropes; a thematic series of key words, particularly to identify the key concepts of the text and the conceptual opposition of "us" vs. "them"; cohesion and coherence as means of connecting and coordinating meanings; grammar, temporal and personal deixis, mood, modality, transitivity (means of bringing the speakers closer to audience or distancing them from their own discourse); argumentation models and rhetorical devices<sup>9</sup>.

Discourse as discursive practice is studied in the perspective of dialectical connections between the text and other texts, discourses, and contexts in aspects of intertextuality, interdiscursivity<sup>10</sup>, as well as assumptions – various types of presuppositions and implicatures, ensuring

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<sup>5</sup> Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*, New York: Routledge, 2003; Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, Pearson Education, 2010.

<sup>6</sup> Teun A. van Dijk, *Macrostructures. An Interdisciplinary Study of Global Structures in Discourse, Interaction, and Cognition*, Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1980; Teun A. van Dijk, *Discourse and Knowledge*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

<sup>7</sup> Ruth Wodak, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, Sage Publications, 2012; Ruth Wodak, Michael Meyer, *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, London: SAGE Publications, 2001.

<sup>8</sup> B. Benwell, E. Stokoe, *Discourse and Identity*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006, p. 108.

<sup>9</sup> Nataliia Kravchenko, *Practical discourseology: schools, methods, techniques of modern discourse analysis*, Scientific and practical manual, Lutsk: Volinpoligraf, 2012, pp. 15-16.

<sup>10</sup> Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*, London: Routledge, p. 218.

commonality of views between politicians and the audience and based on "shared knowledge" of social and ideological background. The analysis of discourse as social practice is oriented towards identifying how a specific discourse constitutes social and political reality, the connections between discourse and the version of reality that the speakers construct for their audience. In other words, this stage of analysis corresponds to the methodological vector of "explanation" and, ultimately, is associated with identifying the speakers' ideological frameworks, the features of event representation in their mental models.

Therefore, despite Fairclough and his followers' rejection of using cognitive methodology, it is logical, in our view, to employ socio-cognitive analysis<sup>11</sup> for interpreting discourse at the stage of its analysis as social practice. Socio-cognitive analysis examines the conditioning of discourse creation and perception by cognitive structures that legitimize the politician's ideas. Discourse analysis in this case involves extracting meaningful blocks and fragments from the text relevant to the author's situational model, comparing them, and generalizing them into a system of categories representing the politician's socio-ideological position<sup>12</sup>.

The discourse-strategic approach, as one of the three directions of the discourse-historical socio-cognitive approach<sup>13</sup>, is oriented towards identifying the discourse strategies and linguistic means of their realization<sup>14</sup>: nomination (referential) strategies – constructing the internal and external group, which linguistically may be realized by explicit and deictic noun phrases, metaphors, etc.; predicational strategies – assigning positive or negative social labels; argumentation strategies – justifying positive or negative traits, inclusion, and exclusion, with the use of topoi as premises for conclusions; perspectivation and framing by means of which speakers express their point of view; intensification or mitigation strategies.

Few studies have examined Trump's inaugural address using Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional analytical model.<sup>15</sup> However, these studies predominantly focus on examining discourse as a "text," employing the methodological vector of description, focusing on transitivity and modality in terms of Michael Halliday's systemic functional linguistics<sup>16</sup>, or make use

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<sup>11</sup> Toin Van Dijk, *Macrostructures. An Interdisciplinary Study of Global Structures in Discourse, Interaction, and Cognition*.

<sup>12</sup> Nataliia Kravchenko, *Discourse and discourse analysis: a concise encyclopedia*, Kyiv: Interservice, pp. 169.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 172.

<sup>14</sup> Ruth Wodak, Michael Meyer, *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*.

<sup>15</sup> N.A. Hassan, "Critical Discourse Analysis of Donald Trump's Inaugural Speech", *Alustath journal for human and social sciences* 226 (1), (2018), pp. 87-110.

<sup>16</sup> M. A. AlAfnan, "Public discourse: Systemic functional analysis of Trump's and Biden's inaugural speeches", *Journal of Language and Linguistic Studies* 18 (1), (2022),

of Ruth Wodak's Discourse Historical Model<sup>17</sup>. A number of works examine individual linguistic aspects of Trump's speech: stylistic, rhetorical and syntactic devices<sup>18</sup>, as well as conceptual metaphors as ways of constructing the politician's personality.<sup>19</sup>

Reagan's inaugural address is predominantly researched from the perspective of rhetorical devices<sup>20</sup>, style and genre features<sup>21</sup>, ways of expressing evaluativeness and value concepts<sup>22</sup>. Individual studies examine pragmatic devices characteristic of the discourse of the two politicians: the speech act pragmatics of Reagan's inaugural speech, and the pragmatics of Trump's speech in terms of positive (alignment) and negative (distancing) politeness strategies<sup>23</sup>.

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pp. 1-14; W. Chen, "A Critical Discourse Analysis of Donald Trump's Inaugural Speech from the Perspective of Systemic Functional Grammar", *Theory and Practice in Language Studies* 8 (8), (2018), pp. 966-972; Z. Zhou, "Analysis of Donald Trump's Inaugural Speech based on Attitude Within Appraisal Theory", *Journal of Education and Educational Research* 4 (1), (2023), pp. 151-158.

<sup>17</sup> A. Ali, M.S. Ibrahim, "A Critical Discourse Analysis of Donald Trump's Inaugural Address in 2017", *International Journal of Linguistics and Translation Studies* 1(1), (2020), pp. 16-31.

<sup>18</sup> H. M. Al-Saeedi, "The Function of Repetition in Trumps Inaugural Address. A discourse analysis study", *Journal of Education College Wasit University* 1(28), (2017), pp. 709-732; J. Olusegun, "Syntactic Analysis of Donald Trump's Inaugural Speech", *ELS Journal on Interdisciplinary Studies in Humanities* 3, (2020), pp. 317-327; Robert C. Rowland, *The Rhetoric of Donald Trump: Nationalist Populism and American Democracy*, University Press of Kansas, 2021.

<sup>19</sup> K. Pilyarchuk, A. Onysko, "Conceptual Metaphors in Donald Trump's Political Speeches: Framing his Topics and (Self-)Constructing his Persona", *Colloquium: New Philologies* 3 (2), (2018), pp. 98-156.

<sup>20</sup> C. Bailey, E. Yager, S. Lahlou, "Yes, Ronald Reagan's rhetoric was unique – but statistically, how unique?" *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 42, (2012), pp. 482–513; G. Bates, *The Reagan rhetoric: History and memory in 1980s America*. DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2011; G. T. Goodnight. "Ronald Reagan and the American dream: A study in rhetoric out of time", in L. G. Dorsey (Ed.), *The presidency and rhetorical leadership* (pp. 200-230), (2002), College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press; S. J. Heidt, "Presidential rhetoric, metaphor, and the emergence of the democracy promotion industry", *Southern Communication Journal* 78, (2013), pp. 233-255.

<sup>21</sup> E.R. Gold, "Ronald Reagan and the oral tradition", *Central States Speech Journal* 39, (1988), pp. 159-176; W. Lawrence, R. Carpenter, "On the Conversational Style of Ronald Reagan: 'A-E=[less than]Gc' Revisited and Reassessed," *Speaker & Gavel* 44, (2007), pp. 1-12; William F. Lewis, "Telling America's Story: Narrative Form and the Reagan Presidency," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 73, (1987), pp. 281-293

<sup>22</sup> R.L. Johannesen, "An ethical assessment of the Reagan rhetoric: 1981-1982", in K. R. Sanders, L. L. Kaid, & D. Nimmo (Eds.), *Political communication yearbook – 1984* (pp. 211-225). Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, (1985); Henry Z. Schleele, "Ronald Reagan's 1980 Acceptance Address: A Focus on American Values," *Western Journal of Communication* 48, (1984), pp. 51-61.

<sup>23</sup> R.I. Muhsen, I. H. Smeer, "A Pragmatic Analysis of Speech Acts in Reagan's First Inaugural Speech", *Al-Adab Journal* 2 (140), (2022), pp. 47-64; S. I. Megah, G. P. Soframi,

However, there is a lack of research in which description, interpretation, and explanation (at the levels of text analysis, discursive practice, and social practice) are projected onto cognitive modeling of the discourse of two politicians and the identification of discourse-forming strategies. There are no studies analyzing the speeches of Reagan and Trump in a comparative perspective, focusing on differences in cognitive structures, key concepts, connotations, and the lexical-semantic, stylistic, and rhetorical devices that implement them. This defines the novelty of the study, allowing, in our view, to refute the notion of similarity between the two politicians in their ideologemes, value concepts, and discourse-forming strategies.

### **Data and methods**

The research material includes the texts of the inauguration speeches of Ronald Reagan (1981) and Donald Trump (2017). The analysis methods include cognitive modeling of discourses combined with techniques of strategic analysis, methods of stylistic, textual and conceptual analysis, based on the search for keywords and their clustering and on the reconstruction of conceptual metaphors. The method of cognitive modeling consists of defining the macro-propositions of discourse – a global semantic proposition, a propositional common denominator<sup>24</sup>. Accordingly, the identification of macro-propositions is preceded by the identification of propositions – the basic unit of semantic structures<sup>25</sup>, from which macro-propositions are derived. In terms of verbalization means, propositions rely on coreferential utterances that contain linguistic means nominating a specific referent or implicitly or associatively related to it. Identifying propositions corresponds to the perspective of studying the discourse as a text and the methodological vector of describing its verbal and stylistic manifestations.

Macro-propositions are derived based on semantic operations – macro-rules: (a) deletion - the elimination of "all those propositions of the text base which are not relevant for the interpretation of other propositions of the discourse"<sup>26</sup>; (b) generalization, which involves abstracting "from semantic detail in the respective sentences by constructing a proposition that is conceptually more general"<sup>27</sup>; (c) construction, when sentences are "put

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"Trump's strategies in his speech: A politeness strategies approach", *Cahaya Pendidikan* 6 (1), (2020), pp. 1-12.

<sup>24</sup> Toin Van Dijk, *Macrostructures. An Interdisciplinary Study of Global Structures in Discourse, Interaction, and Cognition*, p. 43.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p.48.

together" by replacing them with a sentence denoting a global fact, incorporating a new predicate to denote a complex event.

"Construction" stage implies the perspective of studying discourse as discursive practice, with the examination, in addition to explicit propositions, of intertextual means, implicatures, strategies of constructing internal and external groups, predicating them, respectively, of positive and negative characteristics. Macro-propositions derived through construction rely not only on text, but also on personal or collective background knowledge<sup>28</sup>, associatively evoking a specific frame or scenario. Therefore, during the stage of drawing macro-propositions, it is important to consider not only explicit expressions but also implicatures and connotations<sup>29</sup>, which influences the construction of macro-propositions within an interpretative frame<sup>30</sup> that involves the activation of values or beliefs. Such an approach necessitates the involvement of stylistic analysis of semasiological means, including conceptual metaphors, and expressive syntax – aiming at exploring semantic and connotative increments; analysis of temporal deixis, revealing ways in which politicians conceptualize the past, present, and future; personal "I"-deixis, implying the leadership potential of the speakers, and elements of pragmatic analysis – to identify metaphorical implicatures and speech acts.

At the conceptual level, macro-propositions rely on discourse-forming concepts<sup>31</sup>, and propositions – on the concepts that structure them. The concepts' identification is based on key words of the text, source spaces of conceptual metaphors, as well as stylistic devices marking strong positions in the text and revealing the conceptual connotations.

The stage of explanation includes justifying the differences in macro-propositions and discourse-forming concepts in terms of positioning strategies, identifying the determinants of the ideological frame that politicians construct for their audience.

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<sup>28</sup> Gillian Brown, George Yule, *Discourse analysis*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, p. 235.

<sup>29</sup> Nataliia Kravchenko, *Discourse and discourse analysis: a concise encyclopedia*, pp. 175-176.

<sup>30</sup> David A. Snow et al., "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation," *American Sociological Review* 51, (1986), p. 469.

<sup>31</sup> Nataliia Kravchenko, "Manipulative Argumentation in Anti-Ukrainian Discourse of Russian Politicians: Integration of Discourse-Analytical and Classical Rhetorical Approaches", *Cogito*, XIV (3), p. 228; N. Kravchenko et al., "An ideational level of Ukrainian counterpropaganda: the communicative-discursive dimension", *Amazonia Investiga* 12 (66), (2023), 8-47; N. Kravchenko, V. Blidchenko-Naiko, O. Yudenko, "Discursive pragmatics via classical rhetoric in the European discourse of assistance to Ukraine (based on English-language speeches of German politicians)", *Cogito*, XV (2), (2023), 194-21.



## Discussion

Based on cognitive modeling of the discourses of Reagan and Trump, the article identified two key macro-propositions common to both speeches: "unity of the nation and the President" and "future prosperity of America," which structure discourse-forming concepts of "renewal" and "unity." However, the propositions and implicatures, which are the semantic base for deriving macro-propositions only partially coincide. Common are propositions based on verbal markers of "unity", while different are the strategies of constructing "unity" based on the opposition of "us vs. them" in Trump's speech, and on "the uniqueness of Americans" and "the continuity of their heroism" in Reagan's discourse.

### *Common features of inaugural speeches*

Verbal markers of integration include: (a) inclusive pronouns "we" and "our": in Trump's inaugural speech, the term "our" was used 49 times, "we" 48 times; in Reagan's speech, "we" was used 55 times, and "our" 52 times; (b) lexemes containing denotative or connotative semes of togetherness: "all must share," "together," "pursue solidarity," etc.; (c) lexical units with a component of togetherness, functioning as vocatives with the connotation of 'a unified group': "my fellow citizens," "our fellow citizens," "the citizens of this blessed land"; (d) lexemes referring to shared values: "freedom and the dignity of the individual," "our faith and our hope," "with faith in themselves and faith in an idea," etc.; (e) formulas of participation: "You and I, as individuals," "we as Americans," "all of us," "we the people," "this breed called Americans".

Common in constructing the macro-proposition of "future prosperity of America" in both speeches are propositions with components of "forces hindering prosperity" and "fighting against these forces," nominating "government as a source of America's problems" and international terrorism. However, the cardinal difference lies in the fact that in Reagan's speech, the strategy of negative predication is peripheral, while in Trump's speech, it is a key discourse-forming strategy, expanding the group of "they" to a wide range of action agents, including agents of the "deep state," criminality, countries parasitizing on America, former authorities, etc.

### *Differences in inauguration speeches.*

Reagan's and Trump's discourses differ in cognitive structures, associated conceptual speech architecture of speeches, the style and stylistic devices, temporal organization, connotations, respectively, of optimism (Reagan) and pessimism (Trump), argumentation models based on pathos (Trump) and ethos (Reagan). Identifying differences is the main focus of the subsequent discourse analysis.

In a conceptual perspective, in Reagan's speech, the main content, structured around the key macro-proposition "America's future prosperity" is based on the concepts of pride, uniqueness, harmony, freedom, dignity, self-belief, love, hope, support, compassion, will, and moral courage, with the dominant role of the concept of heroism. Concepts are integrated into three clusters: the unique human qualities of ordinary Americans, awakening a sense of national pride, and the heroic continuity, marked by key words in the text: *"the compassion that is so much a part of your makeup; love our country, love our countrymen; loving them, reach out a hand when they fall"* (the metaphor-based contextual seme "support"); *"our willingness to believe in ourselves and to believe in our capacity to perform great deeds"*; *"the Americans of today, are ready to act worthy of ourselves, to ensure happiness and liberty for ourselves"*; *"you meet heroes across a counter"*; *"you can see heroes every day going in and out of factory gates"*; *"with faith in themselves and faith in an idea"*; *"how unique we really are"*; *"freedom and the dignity of the individual have been more available and assured here than in any other place on Earth"* (the hyperbole-based contextual seme of uniqueness); *"this makes us special among the nations of the Earth"* (denotative seme of uniqueness).

The concepts and their verbalizers in Reagan's speech are clearly linked to identifiers of positive emotions – pride, dignity, faith, love, etc. – and connotations of optimism, encouraging Americans to "dream heroic dreams" in support of "national renewal." Meanwhile, Trump's speech is constructed from a distinctly pessimistic perspective, focusing on a list of grievances and dissatisfaction, embodied in the key metaphor of the "American carnage." He depicted an America where "factories are closed," crime and gangs are rampant, and the education system is conceptualized through metaphor-based hyperbole as a thief, who leaves students "deprived of all knowledge." Unlike Reagan, who sees the key to America's prosperity and unity in awakening a sense of national pride, Trump constructs national unity based on the opposition of "us vs. them": *"Now, there are some who question the scale of our ambitions, who suggest that our system cannot tolerate too many big plans"*, inflaming feelings of victimhood and promising to retaliate against the source of the grievance. Trump conceptualizes the pledge of America's prosperity as a metaphor for combating both internal and external enemies: *"I will fight for you with every breath in my body"*; *"America will start winning again, winning like never before."*

The conceptual architecture of Trump's speech, associated with the macro-propositions of "America's future prosperity" and "national unity", is structured around concepts such as "division", "protection", "security", "enemy", "national interests", "anger", "threat", "discontent", "safety",

"isolationism", "protectionism", which can be generalized into two clusters: threat and protection, identified through key words: *hardships, borne the cost, struggling families, poverty, the forgotten men and women, rusted out (factories), the crime, the gangs, the drugs, unrealized potential, stolen (too many lives), stealing, robbed (our country), pain, depletion, disrepair and decay, shuddered, ripped, the ravages, destroying, protection, ignored.*

All key concepts in Trump's speech contain connotations of unhappiness, insecurity, dissatisfaction, and are associated with constructing the frame of "threat" with the dominant emotion of fear. This, combined with excessive generalizations, distorted exaggerations, and "labeling" nominations, serves as a unifying factor, ensuring an emphatic connection with the audience. The conceptual architecture of the speech is based on the conceptual dichotomy of "us vs. them", "internal vs. external", "past vs. future", "America vs. others", with the opposition of demonized others to that group or that (leader) who has the strength to fight them.

In this regard, the predominant stylistic device in Trump's speech is explicit antithesis, which implements the strategy of constructing the internal group in semantic opposition of "they against us – we against them." Antitheses are marked by adversative conjunctions like "but" and "while", highlighting the semantic opposition of syntactically parallel constructions, and by explicit lexical opposition of pronouns "we-they", "your/our - their": "*Subsidized the armies of other countries while allowing for the very sad depletion of our military*"; "*We've defended other nation's borders while refusing to defend our own*"; "*We've made other countries rich while the wealth, strength, and confidence of our country has disappeared over the horizon*"; "*an education system, flush with cash, but which leaves our young and beautiful students deprived of knowledge*"; "*And while they celebrated in our nation's capital, there was little to celebrate for struggling families all across our land*".

Antitheses are often used in combination with syntactic parallelism, which enhances the semantic contrast between the members of the oppositions: "*Washington flourished, but the people did not share in its wealth. Politicians prospered, but the jobs left and the factories closed. The establishment protected itself, but not the citizens of our country* (three-component parallelism)"; "*For too long, a small group in our nation's Capital has reaped the rewards of government while the people have borne the cost*" (two-component parallelism); "*Their victories have not been your victories. Their triumphs have not been your triumphs*" (two-component parallelism).

In accordance with the features of meaning formation in political discourse based on the conceptual opposition of "us vs. them," the

markedness of one member of the opposition necessarily implies an unmarked (implicit) member of the opposition<sup>32</sup>. In Trump's speech, the topoi of danger and threat emanating from "them" imply such unmarked members of the opposition as the topoi of security, confidence, and salvation, with implications of the "messianic" role of a powerful leader capable of standing up to the "them" group and restoring the nation's glory.

In contrast to Trump's speech, Reagan's discourse predominantly employs implicit antitheses, with rare exceptions. These antitheses consolidate the group not by opposing "us vs. them," but rather by compensating negative information with positive affirmations, transforming negative statements into affirmative ones, resulting in the replacement of "-" with "+". The affirmative part of such structures contains meanings that not only oppose the negative part but also denote ways to compensate for the negativity in the reference situation: "*I do not believe in a fate that will fall on us no matter what we do. I do believe in a fate that will fall on us if we do nothing*" (action vs. inaction, faith vs. unbelief); "*We are a nation that has a government - not the other way around*" (supremacy of the nation over the government vs. supremacy of government over nation).

Compensation of negative meanings with positive ones, accompanied by the enhancement of optimistic connotations, is achieved through the addition of implicit antitheses with stylistic devices such as direct and indirect antonyms, semantically complex chiasmus, inversion of repeated lexical components, syntactic parallelism, framing repetition, litotes, and the reinforcement of word meaning through double negation. Stylistic means of creating an implicit antithesis in Reagan's speech with compensation of negative meanings by positive ones are illustrated in Table 1.

**Table 1: Strengthening the implicit antithesis with stylistic devices in Reagan's speech: compensation of negative meanings**

<i>"All of us need to be reminded that <u>the Federal Government did not create the States; the States created the Federal Government</u>"</i>	semantically complicated chiasmus
<i>"It is time for us to realize that <u>we're too great a nation to limit ourselves to small dreams</u>"</i>	direct antonyms
<i>"It is rather to make it work -- <u>work with us, not over us; to stand by our side, not ride on our back. Government can and must provide opportunity, not smother it; foster productivity, not stifle it</u>"</i>	syntactic parallelism

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<sup>32</sup> Nataliia Kravchenko, *Discourse and discourse analysis: a concise encyclopedia*, p. 92.

<i>"The price for this freedom at times has been high, but <u>we</u> have never been unwilling to pay that <u>price</u>"</i>	framing repetition combined with litotes
<i>"Their patriotism is <u>quiet</u>, but <u>deep</u>"</i>	indirect antonyms

Since the main connotation of Reagan's speech is optimism, the metaphors used in his speech are related to an optimistic subtext, implying confidence in the revival of America, as presented in Table 2.

**Table 2: Reagan's conceptual metaphors: source spaces as identifiers of positive connotations**

<b>Metaphors</b>	<b>verbalization of metaphor in Trump's inauguration speech</b>
America is a <u>Bastion of Freedom</u>	<i>"we as Americans have the capacity now, as we've had in the past, to do whatever needs to be done to preserve this last and greatest bastion of freedom"</i>
Revived economy is a <u>Reward</u>	<i>"all must share in the bounty of a revived economy"</i>
Continuity is a <u>Bulwark</u>	<i>"maintaining the continuity which is the bulwark of our Republic"</i>
Ending Inflation is <u>Liberation</u>	<i>"Ending inflation means freeing all Americans from the terror of runaway living costs"</i>
America is a <u>Giant</u>	<i>"It is time to reawaken this industrial giant"</i>
Americans are a <u>Beacon of hope</u>	<i>"We will again be the exemplar of freedom and a beacon of hope for those who do not now have freedom"</i>
Outstanding American presidents are <u>giants</u>	<i>"shrines to the giants on whose shoulders we stand"</i>

The analysis of metaphors corresponds, according to Fairclough, to the level of description in studying discourse "as text". At the same time, metaphors, according to Grice's inferential theory, represent a violation of cooperative maxims<sup>33</sup>, triggering metaphorical implicatures that contribute to the level of interpretation in discourse analysis as discursive practice. Metaphorical implicatures in Reagan's speech underlie propositions that are generalized based on macro-rules into a causal macro-proposition: "Confidence in the revival of America, because Americans are united, unique in their volition, moral valor and continuity in the heroism of the struggle for freedom".

Among the 12 metaphors identified in Reagan's speech, 9 involve source domains associated with identifiers of positive emotions (beacon of hope, bastion of freedom, bulwark, freedom, bounty, etc.) and connotations of

<sup>33</sup> H.P. Grice, "Logic and conversation", *Syntax and Semantics* 3, (1975), p. 53.

optimism, while only 3 source domains (predator, burden, rider) are associated with identifiers of negative emotions: *"it's not my intention to do away with government. It is rather to make it work -- work with us, not over us; to stand by our side, not ride on our back"* (metaphor "The government is a Rider"); *"our punitive tax burden"* (metaphor "Taxes are a Burden"); *"Let that be understood by those who practice terrorism arid prey upon their neighbors"* (metaphor "Terrorism is a Predator").

In contrast to Reagan's speech, in Trump's discourse, among the identified 9 metaphors, only 2 are based on source domains associated with positive emotions (light/sun and healer): "American way of life is Light/Sun": *"We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example for everyone to follow"*; "National pride is a Healer": *"A new national pride will (...) heal our divisions"*. All the remaining metaphors, in terms of their source domains, are associated with identifiers of negative emotions: depression, fear, unhappiness, and anger, actualizing connotations of dissatisfaction and disappointment. Trump's conceptual metaphors implying the responsibility of the "they" group for the misfortunes and decline of the nation and evoking negative connotations are illustrated in Table 3.

**Table 3: Trump's conceptual metaphors: source spaces as identifiers of negative connotations**

<b>Metaphors</b>	<b>Verbalization of metaphor in Trump's inauguration speech</b>
Poverty is a <u>Trap</u>	<i>"Mothers and children trapped in poverty in our inner cities"</i>
Rusty Factories are <u>Tombstones</u>	<i>"rusted-out factories scattered like tombstones across the landscape of our nation"</i>
Elites are <u>the Reaper</u> (in a negative connotative sense); Losses are a <u>Burden</u>	<i>"For too long, a small group in our nation's Capital has reaped the rewards of government while the people have borne the cost"</i>
The country is <u>the Robbed</u>	<i>"the crime and gangs and drugs that have stolen too many lives and robbed our country of so much unrealized potential"</i>
The situation in the country is a <u>Carnage</u>	<i>"this American carnage"</i>
Impoverishment is a <u>Rip</u>	<i>"The wealth of our middle class has been ripped"</i>
Other countries are <u>Thieves and Destroyers</u>	<i>"We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries making our products, stealing our companies, and destroying our jobs"</i>

Military is a <u>Depleted</u> person	" <i>depletion of our military</i> "
Terrorism is a <u>Weed</u>	" <i>Islamic terrorism, which we will eradicate completely</i> "
Problems are <u>Physical Suffering</u>	" <i>We are one nation - and their pain is our pain</i> "

The metaphorical implicatures in Trump's discourse underlie propositions that are generalized based on macro-rules into two macro-propositions: the responsibility of "others" (the Clinton administration, other countries using America, elites, Islamic terrorism, etc.) for the nation's misfortunes and decline. Accordingly, following the rule of invoking the unmarked member of oppositions in the "us-them" dichotomy, the marked macro-proposition actualizes its unmarked correlate about Trump's role as a builder, reviver, and savior of the nation and the country.

The variances in identifiers, indicative of positive-optimistic and negative-pessimistic connotations respectively, delineate the temporal disparities between two discourses. These differences are underscored by the speaker's disparate focus on temporal deixis, coupled with modes of evaluating the past. In Trump's speech, the dominant emphasis is on the present, in contrast to the future and negatively evaluated past. Temporal deixis is explicitly marked by lexical means such as "right here," "right now," "this moment," "now": "*That all changes – starting right here, and right now, because this moment is your moment: it belongs to you*"; "*Now arrives the hour of action*". The past is associated with the "PAST IS BAD" model, forming an antithesis to "FUTURE IS GOOD" (progress, prosperity) in the causal connection of "rejecting the bad past": "*But that is the past. And now we are looking only to the future,*" with an explicit nomination of future-guaranteeing "protection": "*Protection will lead to great prosperity and strength.*" The temporal deixis of the past, in its syntactic (present perfect form) and lexical manifestations, is subordinated to the macro-proposition: "helped other countries at the expense of oneself": "*For many decades, we've enriched foreign industry at the expense of American industry, subsidized the armies of other countries while allowing for the very sad depletion of our military. We've defended other nations' borders while refusing to defend our own and spent trillions and trillions of dollars overseas while America's infrastructure has fallen into disrepair and decay. We've made other countries rich while the wealth, strength, and confidence of our country has dissipated over the horizon*".

Macro-proposition "helped others to the detriment of oneself" actualizes the damage/harm topos, which invokes a value presupposition (Fairclough's terms) within a causal scheme, connecting the argument to

the conclusion<sup>34</sup>: "If X threatens/harms Y, then X is undesirable; if actions have negative consequences, they should be replaced with measures to prevent such actions in the future."

On the contrary, in Reagan's speeches, the temporal perspective of the future is conceptualized within the framework of a positively evaluated heroic past in the model "PAST IS GOOD >> FUTURE IS GOOD". Semantic coherence between the past and the future is ensured by the concept of "heroism" at the denotative level of speech and through optimistic connotations within the frame "A glorious past is confidence in a glorious future," with argumentative slots such as "self-sacrifice," "glorious traditions," and "continuity." These lexical components are marked by key words in the speech: "to carry on this tradition; in maintaining the continuity which is the bulwark of our Republic"; "They (economic ills) will go away because we as Americans have the capacity now, as we've had in the past, to do whatever needs to be done to preserve this last and greatest bastion of freedom".

This temporal emphasis yields a series of stylistic features in Reagan's speeches that are absent in Trump's discourse. Relying on history becomes the predominant method of proving America's future prosperity. Specifically, Reagan employs numerous quotes from speeches of eminent American presidents, contextualizing them with his own messages to the American nation in terms of the continuity of values. The use of citations and paraphrases as means of explicit (or manifest, in Fairclough's terms) intertextuality corresponds to the perspective of viewing discourse as discursive practice. Source texts are framed in relation to each other and to the authorial voice, realizing common topics, concepts, and arguments. Thus, paraphrasing Churchill's words "*I did not take the oath I've just taken with the intention of presiding over the dissolution of the world's strongest economy*" on the level of implicit antithesis actualizes the proposition: "The task of my presidency is to halt the economy's dissolution." The quote from Joseph Warren's speech supports the recurrent proposition of the text that "America's prosperity depends on the courage of ordinary Americans": "*Our country is in danger, but not to be despaired of ... On you depend the fortunes of America. You are to decide the important questions upon which rests the happiness and the liberty of millions yet unborn. Act worthy of yourselves*". In addition to explicit quotes and paraphrases, Reagan employs allusions to speeches of eminent American presidents. Specifically, the directive act "*We must think anew and move with a new boldness*" serves as a recognizable allusive paraphrase of Lincoln's words "we must think anew, and act anew," with an implication-based proposition of "the

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<sup>34</sup> Manfred Kientpointer, *Alltagslogik. Struktur und Funktion von Argumentationsmustern*, Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 1992.



key to change lies in the creativity and courage of Americans." All intertextual propositions are framed with the key macro-proposition of the speech: "America's prosperity depends on the president's efforts being supported by ordinary Americans, their courage, and creativity." Associated with the temporal perspective of the past projected into the future based on the concept of heroization is Reagan's engagement with narrative forms, particularly in his recounting of Martin Treptow's story. By illustrating Americans' willingness to sacrifice themselves for the nation's honor, Reagan actualizes optimistic connotations about the nation's ability to overcome crisis, stemming from Americans' inclination toward heroic deeds.

In contrast to Reagan's speeches, Trump's discourse lacks narrative elements and is organized around slogan-like statements – short, propagandistic utterances that emotionally engage the audience through the use of syntactic stylistics, such as parallel constructions with ordinary repetition, anaphora and epiphora, as well as the previously analyzed antithesis: "From this day forward, a new vision will govern our land. From this moment on, it's going to be America First" (anaphora); "There should be no fear – we are protected, and we will always be protected" (anaphora combined with epiphora); "This is your day. This is your celebration" (anaphora combined with syntactic parallelism); "This American carnage stops right here and stops right now" (ordinary repetition combined with syntactic parallelism).

The accumulation of stylistic syntactic devices in Trump's speech significantly enhances expressiveness and creates a technique of ascending semantic gradation, where each subsequent unit amplifies the semantic or emotional-expressive significance:

"We will bring back our jobs. We will bring back our borders. We will bring back our wealth. And we will bring back our dreams" (syntactic parallelism combined with anaphora and ascending gradation).

"We will build new roads, and highways, and bridges, and airports, and tunnels, and railways all across our wonderful nation" (enumeration in combination with polysyndeton – a deliberate increase in the number of conjunctions resulting in an ascending gradation).

"We will face challenges. We will confront hardships. But we will get the job done" (syntactic parallelism combined with anaphora and ascending gradation).

"Together, We Will Make America Strong Again. We Will Make America Wealthy Again. We Will Make America Proud Again. We Will Make America Safe Again. And, Yes, Together, We Will Make America Great Again" (syntactic parallelism in combination with anaphora,

epiphora, positively connoted epithets and cross repetition, resulting in an ascending gradation).

Thus, Trump's slogan-style, employing simple syntactic structures with an accumulation of stylistic devices, is based on pathos argumentation, exerting a direct emotional impact on the mass audience, which becomes the primary method of creating common ground and building a shared speaker-audience group.

Reagan resorts to more complex syntactic structures, utilizing a dramatic, intimate, and narrative style, along with references to historical analogies, which provide a deeper emotional impact on the audience, fostering solidarity through individualization rather than unification. Means of argumentation based on ethos – shared historical values and authorities – are used to create common ground and construct intra-group identity. Unlike Trump, Reagan builds an emotional connection with the audience not stylistically, but semantically, operating not with forms, but with meanings. In addition to citations and allusions, the frequent use of rhetorical questions, completely absent in Trump's speech, serves this purpose. Such a stylistic device not only captures the audience's attention but also stimulates their cognitive activity, prompting to contemplate the issue and lean towards the speaker's intended conclusion: "*Well, if no one among us is capable of governing himself, then who among us has the capacity to govern someone else?*"; "*How can we love our country and not love our countrymen (...)?*"; "*Why, then, should we think that collectively, as a nation, we're not bound by that same limitation? And after all, why shouldn't we believe that? We are Americans*".

The speeches of Reagan and Trump differ in their use of first-person singular personal deixis and pragmatic devices. On one hand, Trump declares himself as the leader who will save America. This is absent in Reagan's discourse, where the key to America's renewal lies in the kindness and heroism of ordinary Americans. On the other hand, although Trump declares his leadership role, this is partly dissonant with his use of first-person singular pronouns (applied only 3 times), whereas Reagan's discourse employs the pronoun "I" and its indirect forms 20 times. The use of such personal deixis indexes the politician's readiness to take personal responsibility for his words and actions, identifies the speaker as a leader. "I"-deixis contributes to the strategies of the personalization, authenticity and subjectivity of the Reagan's speech, creates a more intimate and emotional connection with the audience: "*In the days ahead I will propose removing the roadblocks that have slowed our economy and reduced productivity*"; "*Well, I believe we, the Americans of today, are ready to act worthy of ourselves*"; "*Now, I have used the words "they" and "their" in speaking of these heroes. I could say "you" and "your," because I'm*

*addressing the heroes of whom I speak"; "I do not believe in a fate that will fall on us no matter what we do. I do believe in a fate that will fall on us if we do nothing"; "it's not my intention to do away with government. It is rather to make it work"; "It is my intention to curb the size and influence of the Federal establishment".*

In Reagan's speech, "I" serves as a component of the formula of involvement ("You and I, as individuals"), paired with verbs expressing opinions, positions, or initiatives, which act as propositional settings of the speaker. Strategies of individualization, intimacy, and identification of the speaker as a leader are further realized through pragmatic devices such as direct directives urging joint action, which are practically absent in Trump's speech, where only two explicit directives are identified. Reagan's discourse includes such directives as formulas for joint action: "*So, as we begin, let us take inventory*"; "*let us begin an era of national renewal. Let us renew our determination, our courage, and our strength. And let us renew our faith and our hope*"; "*Do not let anyone tell you it cannot be done*"; "*So to all Americans, in every city near and far, small and large, from mountain to mountain, and from ocean to ocean, hear these words*".

The differences in the ways and means of constructing unity in the inaugural speeches of Reagan and Trump are illustrated in Table 4.

**Table 4. The means of constructing unity in the inaugural speeches of Reagan and Trump**

<b>Reagan</b>	<b>Trump</b>
Conceptual level	
concepts of pride, uniqueness, harmony, freedom, dignity, self-belief, love, hope, support, compassion, will, moral courage, and heroism, structured in three clusters: "American uniqueness", "sense of national pride" and "continuity of the heroic past"	concepts of division, security, enemy, national interests, anger, threat, discontent, safety, isolationism, protectionism, structured into two clusters: "threat" and "protection".
Predominant stylistic devices	
Implicit antithesis, with compensation of negative meanings with positive ones, and the inclusion of direct and indirect antonyms, chiasmus, inversion, syntactic parallelism, framing repetition, litotes, double negation; intertextual citations, paraphrases, allusions, and narrative forms; rhetorical questions.	explicit antithesis, reinforced by syntactic parallelism; ordinary repetition, anaphora, epiphora, enumeration, polysyndeton, cross repetition, etc. resulting in an ascending gradation.
Connotative level	
Connotations of optimism	Connotations of pessimism
Source spaces of metaphors: optimism versus pessimism	

identifiers of positive emotions - 75% of source domains, identifiers of negative emotions -25%	identifiers of positive emotions - 22.3% of source domains, identifiers of negative emotions - 77.7%
Temporal organization	
the positive perspective of future is conceptualized within the framework of a positively evaluated past in the model "Past is good >> Future is good"	the positive perspective of future is opposed to a negatively evaluated past in the model "Past is bad" and "Future is Good".
Style	
dramatic, intimate, and narrative style, with complex syntactic structures; an emotional connection is built semantically, at the level of meanings	slogan-like style, with simple syntactic structures; an emotional connection is built stylistically, at the level of forms
Key strategies for constructing an ingroup	
Uniting "us" based on unique moral qualities, readiness for self-sacrifice and a common heroic past; a strategy of unification via individualization	Uniting "us" based on opposition to "them"; a strategy of unification versus individualization.
Personal deixis	
frequency of "I"-deixis (20 times use)	isolated cases of "I"-deixis (3 times use)
argumentative models	
Ethos-based model of argumentation	Pathos-based model of argumentation
explicit directives	
frequent	isolated instances of use

## Conclusion

The inaugural speeches of Reagan and Trump are similar in their overall macro-propositions of "solidarity of the president with the people" and "future prosperity of America," while they differ in semantic bases for deriving macro-propositions, and in corresponding linguistic devices. For Reagan, the semantic dominant of the propositions is based on the unity-constructing continuity of heroic history, values, and moral qualities of ordinary Americans. For Trump, it is based on division, constructing the widest oppositional group, labeled "they". Reagan's discourse-forming strategies are to stimulate Americans towards a collective effort to overcome crisis, relying on their own strengths and abilities, with a horizontal vector of "people – president." Trump's discourse is constituted by a strategy of a common struggle against hostile forces, led by the president, with a vertical vector of "president-savior – people." Reagan's conceptual architecture, marked by key words, forms clusters such as "uniqueness of Americans" and "continuity", with connotations of optimism, while for Trump, it's threat and protection, with pessimistic connotations. In Reagan's metaphors, 75%

of source domains serve as identifiers of positive emotions and 25% as negative. In Trump's speech, sources of metaphorical nomination connoting negative emotions constitute 77.7% vs. 22.3% for positively connoted source domains.

Trump's main stylistic device is the use of explicit antitheses that implement the strategy of building an in-group in the semantic opposition "us-them." Reagan's discourse includes implicit antitheses that consolidate the group by compensating negative information with positive, indicating ways to compensate for negativity in the reference situation. In terms of temporal deixis, the past in Trump's speech is associated with the model "past is bad", forming an antithesis with "future is good". The speech of Reagan conceptualizes the future within the framework of positively evaluated heroic past, utilizing a wide array of intertextual devices contextualized with the overarching proposition of the continuity as a guarantee for future prosperity and national unity. Intertextual devices are absent in Trump's speech. Unlike Trump, Reagan builds an emotional connection with the audience semantically and lexically, operating more on the level of values rather than forms in an ethos-oriented argumentative model, which is manifested in the use of complex syntactic structures, intimate and narrative styles, and direct directive acts prompting action that realizes a strategy of unification through individuation. Trump uses a slogan-like style in a pathos-oriented argumentative model, relying on simple syntactic structures with an accumulation of stylistic devices, aimed at a mass audience in a strategy of unification vs. individualization.

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