'I will build a great, great wall on our southern border':
An analysis of non-verbal communication of the winner of the Republican primary
elections: Donald Trump

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1. Introduction

This study examines how Donald Trump, the winner of the Republican primary presidential elections, utilizes non-verbal communication in order to enhance his speech during his presidential campaign. Trump was chosen for the reason of him having the highest endorsement according to the polls collected and analyzed by RealClearPolitics in January 27th 2016 (RealClearPolitics.com, 2016). Being the leader of the polls during the moment when I started to write this thesis hinted that this candidate would probably be going to contest for the presidency in the election in September. Thus, it is more relevant to analyze him, instead of some other candidate of the Republican Party, even though candidate Ted Cruz was not too far behind in the polls when I started to work on this thesis.

I will be using a video recording of the presidential announcement speech from 16.6.2015 as research material. Suitable perspectives for analyzing this kind of a speech can be found in the field of Discourse Analysis. Because the field of DA is so vast, I had to choose one perspective or a combination of multiple perspectives that I would apply in this study. I decided that by concentrating on one perspective would facilitate more explicit data and conclusions. The perspective I chose was Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA). I made the decision to go with MDA for the reason that giving speeches is a form of multimodal discourse. Politicians tend to use their hands all the time when giving speeches and their posture and gaze change constantly.

First, I will be gathering the data from the recording in the form of a transcription. After that, the analysis will be done without any specific research questions in mind. But in order to give some idea of what I will be looking at, here are some possible questions: "Does Trump choose to use any particular gestures in order to convey a desired message? Do some gestures occur more frequently? How much Trump uses these rhetorical devices and are they effective? How does he combine different modes in his speech?" All these questions are intriguing, but one cannot simply expect any answers without collecting the data first.

This study contributes more information about multimodality in political grounds and provides a new viewpoint for analyzing political speeches from a qualitative perspective. Even though there has been multiple studies concerning discourse in politics and campaigning, this study provides an

interesting take by concentrating in finding patterns in politicians' manners. Therefore, this study could have some practical applications in journalism for example in recognizing patterns from politicians' speeches or in recognizing when they are lying or not, or if they are trying to affect an audience by using/combining modes which have contradicting messages.

Next, this study shall go through the research material. Then the theoretical and methodological background of Multimodal Discourse Analysis will be presented and how they will be applied in the further sections will be discussed. Then the following sections are presented respectively: analysis, findings, conclusion and list of references.

2. Description of the research material

The research material will consist of a video recording of Donald Trump's speech, where he announces that he is running for presidency. But before presenting the recording, it is wise to examine Donald Trump as a person in order to get to know him better. Where does he come from, what is he doing and what he wants?

2.1 Background: Donald J. Trump

Donald John Trump was born in 1946, Queens, New York. His father Frederik Trump was a real estate developer and he was a huge role model for his son Donald. Donald graduated from Wharton School of Finance at the University of Pennsylvania in 1968 with a degree in economics. He decided to follow in his father's footsteps, but he wanted to aim higher to "the big leagues". He became the leader of Trump organization, expanded it and reached cities worldwide. However, in 1990 the real estate market declined and Trump's net worth declined as well from estimated $1.7 billion to $500 million. Trump organization had to take huge loans, but eventually Trump "climbed back from $900 million in the red to a reported worth close to $2 billion by 1997." (Biography.com Editors, 2016) In June 16, 2015, Trump announced that he has decided to run for Presidency on the Republican ticket. This thesis is going to analyse the speech from June 16.

To fully understand the type of rhetoric Trump uses in politics, one has to familiarize oneself with Trump's negotiation strategies in the business world. Ross (2006) describes in his book what "Trump-style negotiation" is. The book is by no means scientific, its ideas are based on personal opinions of the author and it contains high quantities of "stories" and "examples". However, the book manages to give a somewhat clear description of the negotiation methods Trump uses, even though the author's opinions are clearly loaded and biased. Ross claims (Ross, 2006, p. xiv) that his "Trump-style negotiating" includes many of Trump's own negotiation strategies. Thus, it is reasonable to presume that the book gives a valid depiction of Trump's strategies from an outsider's perspective.

In the second chapter of the book, Ross describes three major goals of negotiation. First and the most important thing to do is to build trust between you and the other negotiator. Ross claims that in order for the negotiations to proceed without doubt and suspicion, trust between the participants is essential. Then, building rapport is the next big step in building a good relationship with the other negotiators. According to Ross, rapport is "a necessary ingredient for success." The third point Ross makes is that one should try to get the other participant feel satisfied in order for future business deals to have any chance of taking place. Creating an enemy is not a good tactic; if one would just try to "crush" the opposing side, one is not a negotiator – one is a bully. (Ross, 2006, pp. 21-25)

Ross lists five "psychological" aspects that Trump pays his mind into when he is negotiating and trying to persuade the other side of the deal: "**1. People want what they can't have or what somebody else wants.** 2. People become overwhelmed when faced with too many decisions. **3. People succumb to the aura of legitimacy. 4. Aiming high and holding back gets results.** 5. People have an innate fear of superiority in others. **6. Dumb is smart.**" (Ross, 2006, pp. 86-92)Concerning Trump's campaigning and announcement speech, the first, third, fourth, and sixth (**bolded**) "psychological" aspects need to be explained briefly. The first one is quite self-explanatory: people want to get what they do not have. It is a common phrase that most of us have heard at some point. The third one suggests that if people think something seems legitimate, they are more likely to accept it e.g. a claim in written form. Fourth aspect promises that having high goals and not giving away one's cards is the road to success. What it actually means is that one may hold back vital information in order to exceed one's goals. Sixth aspect may sound vague, but in fact Ross makes a valid point. By acting more "dumb" or incompetent, one is able to surprise his "opponent" or to find out information that one can use later during the negotiations in one's favour.

According to Ross, Trump's enthusiasm is "contagious" and his ability to convince other people to make deals with him is superb. Ross gives an example of how Trump was able to close the deal of Commodore hotel with all five different interest groups, thanks to his enthusiastic attitude, relationship building abilities, showmanship and good preparation. (Ross, 2006, pp. 52-60) Showmanship and enthusiastic attitude are present in Trump's speech as well. He manages to make the crowd to react to himself multiple times in the speech and his "contagious" enthusiasm can be heard in the reactions of the crowd.

Trump, as do most of the other politicians, utilizes all the aspects listed in the last three paragraphs. The way he utilizes them can actually be seen in the way they intertwine with his non-verbal communication. This thesis aims to reveal how Trump applies non-verbal communication in order to enhance his speech as a higher-level action and his utterances as lower-level actions.

2.2 Video recording and the transcription

The video recording was acquired from YouTube and it was later watched and the relevant parts were transcribed fully (Donald J. Trump for President, 2015, July 16). Why was the announcement speech from 2015 chosen? Well, even though Donald Trump has had a long political career and he has even run for president earlier, examining the presidential election of 2016 is more relevant. In addition, if Donald Trump becomes more active after his campaign whether he wins or not, this study provides a good basis for further examination of Donald Trump in the future.

The original transcription was acquired from the TIME website (TIME staff, 2015) and was edited later, because the TIME editors had misspelled some words and parts were excluded for some reason. The transcription reached its final form after two more rewatchings of the speech.

The more detailed transcriptions were transcribed by using conventions adopted from the book "Discourse and Technology: Multimodal Discourse Analysis" by LeVine et al., 2004. Most of the conventions were developed by Sigrid Norris in 2002. Utterances are given in regular font, nonverbal actions, such as gestures, are in *italics* and Trump's points of focus are in **bold.** (LeVine et al., cop. 2004, pp. 106-107) The point of focus will mostly be on the crowd in front of Trump, but when it changes, it will be indicated in the transcription. In addition, I will be CAPITALIZING stressed utterances, asterisk (*) will be an indicator of the crowd participating in the act, ellipsis can either mark a pause (…) or very long pause (. . .) in the flow speech, and an exclamation mark (!) points a sudden change in the speech. I will also follow the convention described by Norris (2002), developed by Tannen (1984), where overlapping of spoken interaction is indicated by using such bracket (⌉). Overlapping of speech and gestures is also indicated by the bracket (LeVine et al., cop. 2004, p. 106; Tannen, cop. 1984). Irrelevant parts in the transcription will not be transcribed fully, but the

transcribed parts are plenty enough to provide comprehensive examples. Here is an example just to give an idea of the transcription style:

1)   politicians
          spreads fingers and turns palms down, up/down beat gesture

2)   to ALLOW   this to happen
          beat gesture, up on 'to' and down on 'allow'

- STRESS in "to ALLOW"
- *gesture* in *"spreads fingers"*
- spoken in "politicians"
- over   in   to ALLOW
  lapping   *beat gesture*

3. Theoretical and methodological framework

This study, where the frequency of a politician's gesture has been studied for the purpose of revealing patterns and meanings, is challenging to compare with other studies. However, there has been many studies in the overall field of MDA. By going through some those studies, methodology and useful concepts can be presented and then utilized in this study. I will be referring a lot to Sigrid Norris' "Analyzing Multimodal Interaction" for it presents and explains the concepts of MDA clearly and concisely.

3.1 Modality and gestures

According to Enfield (2005) as cited in Sidnell and Stivers (2005), modality can be divided into vocal modality (spoken language) and visuospatial modality (gesture, gaze and body posture) (N. J. Enfield, 2005; Sidnell & Stivers, 2005, pp. 1-3). This thesis concentrates on finding the recurrent visuospatial modes and the possible links they have with the actor's spoken language. Of the different visuospatial modes, I will be more concerned with gestures at first, but the subject's gaze and body posture, too, will be examined a few times for them being linked distinctly to gestures and vocal modalities. For example at 7:48 where Trump gazed at the crowd above him, after the crowd there had cheered for a while.

The gestures discussed in this study will be classified according to the conventions defined in this paragraph. Sigrid Norris (2005) distinguished different types of gestures. '**Iconic gestures'** mimic often the verbal message taking place and they make the message seem more expressive. **'Metaphoric gestures'** are movements which depict an abstract concept in motion and space. For example one could spread ones arms and spin them around in order to describe motion. **'Deictic gestures'** are pointing gestures that can point either at physical or abstract objects e.g. pointing up to express where ones dead relative has gone. **'Beat gestures'** are rhythmic gestures, and unlike the other gestures, they occur in two phases: "in/out or up/down movement and are short and quick." The other gestures (iconic, metaphoric and deictic gestures) usually consist of three phases: *the preparation, the stroke and the retraction phase.* (Norris, 2004, pp. 28-29) The following quotation

is from McNeill (1992) as cited in Norris (2004) where he has described the three phases with unmatchable accuracy:

1. *Preparation*, during which the limb moves away from the reset position to a position in gesture space where the stroke begins.
   Pre-stroke hold is the position that is reached at the end of the prepared action.
2. *Stroke* is the peak of the gesture, at which point the meaning of the gesture is expressed.
   Post-stroke hold is the final position reached.
3. *Retraction* is the return of the hand to its rest position. (McNeill, 1995; Norris, 2004, p. 30)

Posture acts an important role in couple of the examples presented in the data. The most apparent distinction between postures that we make in this thesis is whether people have an open or closed posture. Dittman (1987) as cited in Norris (2004) defined open-closed division by discussing of the space between limbs. The further limbs are from each other, the more open the posture is. (Dittman, 1987; Norris, 2004, p. 24) However, Norris argued that there are even more ways the body can indicate openness. A person's torso may be hunched down, which makes the posture seem more closed. Or a person's head may be kept straight up, chin reaching for the roof, thus creating a more open posture. Norris acknowledges the cultural differences in posture taking, too. (Norris, 2004, pp. 24-25) For example, having a closed posture may be respectful in some cultures and a higher posture may give an arrogant image of oneself. Thus the assumption, that western conventions are 'the norm' elsewhere, is false.

Head movement and **gaze** have a prominent role in most of the examples of this this thesis. Norris (2004) argues that gaze varies so much from culture to culture and from person to person that it is usually unsystematic in nature. He gives an example of walking in the woods. The gaze may be focused at a rock or tree. Or the gaze may be focused at nothing, because the walker is so deep in her thought that she is not gazing at anything. Because with the methods used in this study cannot infiltrate the mind of Donald Trump, making too bold assumptions is a possible. So, when analysing gaze, one has to be careful not to overanalyse anything, because sometimes the actor is not gazing at anything at all. (Norris, 2004, pp. 36-38) During the speech Trump gives, his gaze acts mainly as a subordinate act, because the crowd is silent for most of the time. There are two types of

occurrences where Trump switches his gaze from the crowd in front of him: when he interacts with the crowd on the upper floor or when he gazes at the papers he has with him. These occurrences will be indicated if needed to. However, the fact that Trump raises his eyebrows multiple times during the speech is interesting and it will be analysed in some sections.

Head movement is a type of a gesture which often is closely related to gaze. For example Trump's head may move as the gaze shifts. However, sometimes one's head may be positioned or moved in a certain way for a reason. Altorfer et al. (2000) as cited in Norris (2004) have studied head movement in conversation and they distinguished three different patterns of head movement: **'rotational'** (shaking), **'lateral'** (tilting) and **'sagittal'** (nodding). Head movement that can be easily categorized into one of these three patterns is called a 'simple head movement'. Movement that cannot be categorized as easily and seems to overlap with at least two patterns is called a 'complex head movement'. (Altorfer, 2000; Norris, 2004, pp. 32-33) In addition, Norris divides head movement into two types. **'Conventional head movements'** have a clear one-to-one counterpart in verbal communication like yes/no. Obviously, conventional movements are easy to study. Then there are **'novel head movements'** that do not have clear counterparts. They are more difficult to study and Norris divides them even further into two types: deictic movements and beat movements. Deictic head movements have three phases the same way deictic gestures have: the preparation, the stroke and the retraction. Beat movements have two phases e.g. up/down or left/right. (Norris, 2004, pp. 32-34) Because head movements seem to fall into the 'novel' category more often, it is more reasonable to examine the message surrounding the head movement first, before trying to analyse the head movement itself. Doing it the other way around, may result into false analyses.

3.2 Levels of action and modal density

A crucial concept to understand, as Kress et al. (2001) as cited in LeVine et al. (2004) describe, is the interplay of communicative modes. Communicative function is entailed in every mode separately and together they form a communicative function of their own. Norris claims that the actor draws on "various communicative modes" in order to perform **'a higher-level action'**. (Kress, G., and T. Van Leeuwen, 2001; LeVine et al., cop. 2004, p. 103) Then there has to be **'a lower-level action'**,

too. It is simply the smallest unit of interaction which consists of a single mode. (Norris, 2004, pp. 13-14)

In his paper Norris (2004) focused on the interplay of communicative modes. In his study he had gathered the data from a naturally occurring interaction between multiple participants. He concentrated on the actions performed by one person and he defined multiple higher-level actions the person participated in. Then he gathered the actions on a Foreground- Background Continuum, from which can be seen how the attention is divided between different higher-level actions. There is always one action which gets distinctively more attention. In addition, from the graph can be understood that the actions with higher modal density can simply be positioned to the foreground of the continuum. Norris came to the conclusion that the more interlinked and/or intense the modes were, the higher their modal density was. However, the multiplicity of modes employed, did not guarantee high modal density. (LeVine et al., cop. 2004, p. 113) So, when studying Trump's gestures, we shall take into account how intensely he combines gestures with words/phrases with his speech. Thus, we can establish the modal density of his combination of gestures and utterances, which we will examine as higher-level actions.

3.3 Semantic/pragmatic means

The attention of an actor can only be focused on one higher-level action at a time. The actor will try her best to enhance the higher-level action by using different types of lower-lever actions like gestures or head movements. These actions are called **'means'** and they are used to foreground the higher-level action. Not all lower-level actions can be called means, but only the ones which are utilized in foregrounding of the higher-level action. Means are divided further into **'semantic'** and **'pragmatic'** means. Norris (2004) explained that semantic means "structure meaning beyond words and sentences and also beyond the mode of language through multiple communicative modes in systematic ways." Pragmatic means are the means in use which structure real-time interactions. (Norris, 2004, pp. 115-116) In Trump's case, he utilizes both semantic and pragmatic means. Acknowledging the difference between the two is vital when analysing the speech and when trying to find the meanings behind the recurrent gestures.

Norris (2004) lists three different functions a mean may have: means can be used in order to structure the consciousness of the actor's, actor may communicate their shift in focused action or means can be used to structure someone else's consciousness. (Norris, 2004, pp. 116-117) As it will become clear in the next part, Trump seems to use gestures in order to organize his speech and structure the consciousness of his listeners quite often. Now we will move forward to analysis and we will be describing some of the gestures and how they intertwine with other modes.

4. Analysis and findings

After going through the transcription and watching the speech multiple times, recurrent and in other ways notable gestures were discovered. Three kinds of gestures will be discussed in no particular order, but all the findings will be discussed under their own subheadings. The gestures are going to be analysed in three stages. First, the particular gesture will be presented by describing the gesture and by presenting a part of the transcription where the gesture occurs. After that, several other cases where the gesture occurs will be indicated from the transcription in order to confirm the recurrent nature of the gesture. Second, the gesture will be analysed as a lower-level action. We will be looking at how the gesture intertwines with other lower-level actions, and we will also discuss about the purpose of the gesture. Finally, all the gestures will be examined in the context of the higher-level action of "having a speech" in the conclusion section. How do they serve the purpose of the speech as a whole? This three-stage method facilitates a clear picture of the nature of the findings themselves. In addition, the study will show how the different gestures intertwine with other modes and with the speech itself. At the same time, we may detect the possible patterns and means Trump uses in order to convey his message.

4.1 Spreading arms

The gesture of spreading arms on both sides is one that Trump performs seemingly often. After further transcribing, it became evident that the gesture had one of the highest densities of the gestures in the speech. Altogether, there were 15 very distinctive cases of hand spreading and multiple other cases where the gesture took place briefly. Of all the cases, two very different variations were discovered after examining the physical properties of the gestures:

Figure 1. (14:51 spreading arms) Variation 1

Figure 2. (14:55 spreading arms) Variation 2

The combining element of the variations is that in both of them the actor has his palms open and arms spread. However, in variation 1 Trump's palms are pointing towards the crowd and in variation 2 his palms are pointing up. Another major difference between the variations is the straightening of arms. When performing variation 1 Trump's arms are straightened all the way, but in variation 2 his arms are flexed in a 90° angle. An example which has both of the variations in it occurred in 14:51:

(1) Trump's speech 14:51, Figure 1 and 2

1)	Trump:	and I hear…	
2)		*opens his arms*	*and closes them a bit* **(variation 1)**
3)		my fellow	Republicans
4)		*opens his arms again*	
5)		AND they're wonderful people	!I LIKE THEM
6)		*arms are still open* **(variation 2)**	*suddenly raises eyebrows and speaks loudly*

Curtis LeBaron and Jürgen Streeck (2000) discussed about how in their opinion conversational hand gestures originate from the physical surroundings and its manipulation. They claim that a gesture is always utilized at least metaphorically and it has indexical ties to the world, even if the gesture is not referring to an object. (McNeill, 2000, pp. 119-120) The 'Palm Up Open Hand' –gesture has a clear equivalence in physical reality as Müller (2014) has established. She mentions the gesture being "one of the most widespread gestures" and she claimed that many sequences "end in an open hand". She described two major kinetic features of the gesture being "palm faced up" and "fingers extended." According to Müller, the actor's gesture represents at least metaphorically "showing, giving or offering" of an object to the perceiver. (Müller, 2014, Ch. 116) Her depiction of the gesture seems to be appropriate when examining variation 1. As can be seen from the transcription line 3), Trump says "my fellow Republicans" as he spreads his arms all the way to his sides, while performing the 'Palms Up Open Hands' –gesture. It could be argued that the actor gives a receiving image of himself and invites the audience to him. The gesture is used in order to enhance the message of being in good terms with the 'fellow Republicans'; he shows that he has nothing to hide. However, in 14:55 he starts speaking more loudly and using variation 2. He still keeps his palms up, but now the gesture does not seem to convey any of the meanings mentioned by Müller. Kendon (2004) has discussed about this type of an Open Hand Supine gesture, as he calls it, where the movement of the hands is lateral and the hands move away from the actor's mid-line (Kendon, 2004, p. 275).

Kendon's description fits with the gesture performed by Trump, but the contexts for using such a gesture listed by Kendon are many, of which the following two can be argued to be the most likely:

(1) When the speaker expresses unwillingness or inability to intervene in respect to something.
(2) When the speaker admits, accepts or claims that something is 'obvious', about which nothing further need be said. (Kendon, 2004, p. 275)

It is not argued that the same context is used in every single occurrence of the gesture. However, to determine which one of the contexts is used in this case, the gesture should be analysed in relation to the other modes. After looking at how the hand gesture intertwines with other lower-level actions, we can see that gaze, tone and posture are heavily linked with the gesture in question. The fact that Trump utilizes beats during the hand spreading gesture, means that it should be discussed as well.

There is also a major difference between the intensity of the strokes and the beat gestures he performs during the variations; the movements are sharper during variation 2 and the beats are faster during variation 2. In addition, Trump's gaze and facial expressions are affected by variation 2. During variation 1 the actor seems more relaxed with his eyebrows low and mouth being relatively narrow. However, during variation 2 Trump's eyebrows raise abruptly, he suddenly opens his mouth wider and he speaks more loudly, which all make him seem more assailing than just seconds ago during variation 1. Thus, the nature of the beats and the sudden shifts in gaze and facial expressions support the idea of variation 2 being more aggressive than variation 1. When combined with the contexts suggested, the option 2 seems to be more likely, because the actor is talking about liking someone like it is a fact. However, the aggressive tone speaks against it.

In variation 1 Trump's posture is more open, which in western societies is seen as a sign of confidence and strength. In this particular case, Trump invites the "fellow Republicans" and the audience to him by being in open posture. During variation 2 Trump gets his hands closer to him and he raises his shoulders in a 'shrug', which sometimes accompanies the gesture according to Kendon (Kendon, 2004, p. 265). The function of the more closed and narrower posture during variation 2 is not as obvious, but approaching the problem by looking at the words uttered helps to

analyse the function. It seems like Trump takes the more closed posture in order to refute his prior statements about Republicans and the Republican Party. His assuring his audience that he "likes" the Republicans and he has no desire to quarrel with them. However, the closed posture makes him look reserved and not as assertive as before, which is atypical for Trump. Whether Trump does it on purpose or not cannot be defined, but it can be said that the change of posture surely affects the audience. What can be said of the two variations on the behalf of how the gesture intertwines with other actions is that variation 1 is used during more calm utterances and its purpose is to amplify the positive aspects of the actor. The combination of actions during variation 2 suggests that it is more about ensuring something aggressively; it even insinuates that Trump is possibly hesitant about something, because if there would not be any reason for doubting him, he would not probably be acting in such an assailing manner. The context of him representing the claims as facts, as suggested by Kendon, seems most likely in this case.

4.2 Raising the index finger

Trump performs a pointing gesture multiple times in the traditional deictic manner, where the actor points at something physical e.g. in 9:07 where Trump is talking about competition while pointing at himself or in 8:02 where he points at the crowd above him after they react to his speech. These types of typical pointing gestures have been a popular subject of study by many scholars like Haviland (2000) and Kendon (2004). Furthermore, they both agree that defining pointing only as extending a finger in a straight line towards an object is insufficient (Kendon, 2004, pp. 200-201; McNeill, 2000, pp. 13-14). So, instead of analysing the familiar occurrences of pointing gestures, we will be analysing the more obscure ones the actor performs. Two kinds of variations of extending the index finger are presented. Trump performs the gesture by raising the finger, pointing statically at the ceiling without a clear target of deictic pointing and during some occurrences he shakes the index finger in a back and forth manner as a beat gesture, which is marked by an arrow in the figure three. All in all, he performs the gesture 30 times during his speech, which makes it one of the most recurrent gestures of the speech. Again, we are discussing about two different variations, even though this time they are much closer to one another; the only divisive physical property is the shaking motion of the finger:

Figure 3. (7:33 shaking the index finger) Variation 1

Figure 4. (17:10 shaking the index finger) Variation 2

What can be seen from the figures is that during variation 2 the actor's eyebrows are yet again raised higher than during variation 1. Then in variation 2 the actor is holding on the podium with his left hand. The change in posture is not directly connected to the pointing gesture, but was already taken after the utterance "friend, who's a doctor" a few seconds earlier in 16:50. However, the words uttered are a linking factor between the variations and the reason why the variations can be categorised under the same gesture, as can be seen later. Following two figures exemplify the two variations:

(2) Trump's speech 7:33, Figure 3

1)	Trump:	and now they are beating us economically	
2)		*after a small rhythmical spinning motion, he lowers his hand*	
3)		THEY ARE NOT	our friend
4)		*points his index finger up and shakes it* **(variation 1)**	*lowers his hand*
5)		believe me	

(3) Trump's speech 17:10, Figure 4

1)	Trump:	we have to repeal Obamacare	
2)		*keeping his hand palm up and makes a "hit" on "repeal"*	
3)		*crowd stars cheering*	
4)		and it can	reperepa
5)		*makes a "zero" sign with his right hand*	
6)		!AND	
7)		*raises his index right finger*	
8)		AND it can be… REPLACED	with something
9)		*lowers his hand*	*spreads his hands*
10)		MUCH BETTER	for EVERYBODY
11)		*his hands form a box in front of him*	*and spreads his hands again*

As we can see from transcription (2), during variation 1 the actor raises his voice as he utters "they are not" which highlights the point in the speech act. What follows is the utilization of the collective pronoun "our", which attaches the audience to the group of the actor. What the actor does is that he gets the perceivers' attention first by raising his finger and voice, and then he gathers all him and the perceivers under his statement of Mexico not being their friends. This way the actor asserts his dominance and acts as a leader of the group who decides what the group's opinions are, like a true leader of a group does. "People have an innate fear of superiority in others" was mentioned by Ross as one of the "psychological" aspects of Trump's negotiation tactics (Ross, 2006, pp. 86-92). The actor truly seems to understand this, and instead of forcing his thoughts to the audience, he included them into his own group.

A distinctive feature of variation 1 is the beat gesture (wagging) of the index finger that the actor performs alongside the deictic gesture. Most of us may have been a 'victim' of the wagging finger back in our childhood. Interestingly, the popular gesture is used to animals such as dogs, too. It is dominant and an even parent-like gesture that is scarcely used during regular speech acts between equal participants of a conversation, except maybe for the sake humour. The actor raises his index finger in variation 2 as well, but this time for the reason of him wanting the audience to stop cheering. This type of use of the raised index finger is yet again used typically by parents when they want their children to 'zip it' or to listen to them. Between adults the gesture may occur during fights or for comical purposes.

From transcription (3) we can see that the actor starts by using the collective we again on line 1). Then he catches the audience's attention by raising his index finger to show that he has not yet finished what he had to say. Then follows the actor's own suggestion that the current healthcare system could be replaced with something else which is "much better for everybody." Yet again, the actor tries not to be too dominant by first using the collective 'we' and then by using the passive for "it can be replaced", instead informing how he or his subordinates are going to change it, which enables the actor to avoid giving concrete solutions.

In both cases, the actor was very concerned with the words uttered – to not show superiority over others too openly. The seemingly concerned attitude with the words uttered leads to the conclusion of vocal modality intertwining with the index finger gesture. However, the gesture of pointing the

index finger, and sometimes shaking it like an owner to a dog, suggests that the actor's intention, acknowledged or not, was to show dominance at least on the gesticulatory lower-level.

4.3 Assuring hands

The 'assuring hands' gesture is a very specific gesture to discuss in the sense of it having a quite low quantity – only four times during the speech. Nevertheless, the gesture changes the higher-level action of having the speech profoundly; thus, the modal density of the gesture is high. In addition, the purpose of the gesture is what covers the speech as a whole, for its purpose is to convey the attitudes and opinions of the actor to the audience. So, in a sense he is assuring that everything he will do after winning the presidency will be good and beneficial for the whole nation.

The gesture is fairly easy to describe: the actor waves both of his hands in sagittal motion from side to side while keeping the palms open towards the crowd. In addition, his arms are flexed during the gesture, as can be seen from the figure 5:
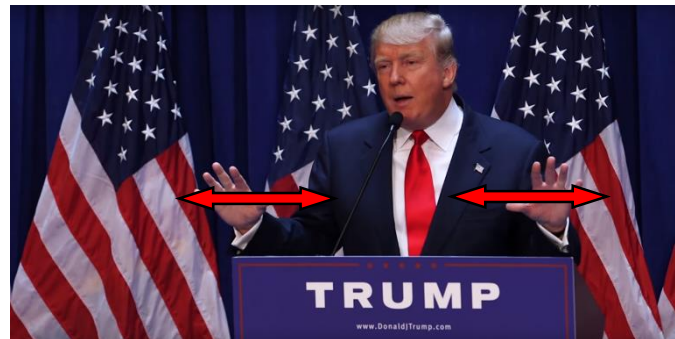

Figure 5. (18:18 assuring hands)

Kendon (2004) has discussed about the two different families of the open hand, of which the 'Open Hand Supine' was discussed under the section 4.1. The assuring hands falls under the other category called the 'Open Hand Prone', and more precisely the 'horizontal palm'. The palms of the hands face the audience horizontally "at an oblique angle", which in Trump's case is approximately 45° in relation to the podium. Kendon listed four possible contexts where the gesture is used, and the most appropriate of the contexts is the third one: "Universal statements which exclude all other possibilities."(Kendon, 2004, p. 258) Trump makes the statement that the other politicians are controlled by lobbyists and he is the one who is going to be independent and not controlled by any

lobbyists. He claims that "it won't happen", as seen from transcription 4, which implies clearly that there is no other possible outcome. Preceding the statement of "it not happening" the actor has pointed at himself or the table, which suggests that he is talking about himself.

(4) Trump's speech 18:16, Figure 5

1) Trump:	⎡but you know WHAT	
2)	⎣*points at the himself/table*	
3)	⎡it won't happen	⎡it won't happen
4)	⎣*waves his hands in an assuring manner*	⎣*waves his hands again*

The gesture is combined with multiple other modes, including vocal and visuospatial modes. Vocally there is a combining element in all the cases of Trump performing the 'Horizontal Open Hand Prone': the actor is assuring something e.g. in 29:50 where he assures that he has the best negotiators, while using the phrase "believe me", which is a recurrent element in the speech, too. In the case portrayed in transcription 4, line 3), where he performs the gesture, the actor's volume lowers and he speaks more calmly. Of the visuospatial modes posture and gaze change during the utterance. The actor gets lower, closer to the microphone and his posture gets more closed. Instead of looking at a fixed point, the actor gazes around the audience, and what takes place at the same time is a rotational head movement. Trump enhances the message of "it not happening" by performing a rotational beat gesture with his head from left to right, which in western societies is seen as a conventional head movement which counterpart meaning is 'no'.

5. Conclusion

The complexity of the higher-level action of having a speech is evident after analysing the data. One should pay attention to his words, volume, intonation, gaze, posture and gestures in order to achieve ones best performance in conveying the desired message. Politicians participate in the higher-level action of assuring the audience of their competence and professionalism, too. Their desire is to get more new endorsers, without losing the old ones in the process. Beneficial in achieving this goal is being aware of the positive and negative actions that can be performed during political speeches. Having a speech demands constant concentration on the lower-level actions; they need to be of service to the desired message of the higher-level action, which is constructed by the modes used as lower-level action. If the awareness on the actions is lost, the message may be lost or mispresented as well.

Most of the time our actor Trump seems to be aware of the lower-level actions he performs and how they affect higher-level actions. For example the 'assuring hands' as seen in figure 5 truly creates a comforting atmosphere when combined with other modes of posture, gaze and volume. However, from time to time the awareness is lost after interacting more with the audience or when the actor is speaking more loudly or passionately about something. When the awareness is lost, some more or less contracting types of modes are employed and the actor seems to be e.g. giving contradicting cues of himself like in 14:55 where he performs the 'Open Hand Supine' gesture, but speaks too loudly and raises his eyebrows, which makes him seem too assertive. After using a non-fitting combination of modes, the desired message is truly lost, which is probably never the desired result. This truly proves that politicians should not be overlooking their non-verbal communication. Gestures may portray their true emotions, if they are not careful enough.

The dominance oriented behaviour of Trump gets a grip of him too many times. Instead of keeping the higher-level action of asserting dominance on the background of his awareness, he cannot help himself but to act dominantly. For example by raising the index finger as a sign of being in control of the speech situation could make a perceiver's spine to shiver – as if the audience is not allowed to cheer unless they are told to. Without a doubt, leadership is an esteemed quality of a good leader, but showing too much dominant behaviour could make a candidate for presidency look like a stubborn or relentless goon, who has no interest in negotiating with others. United States for being

in the top leagues of the political grounds should be the one being able and willing to negotiate with other smaller and bigger nations. But maybe the assailing attitude of Donald Trump is one of the qualities of him that gets the attention of the people and their votes. Maybe people are bored with the friendly and cautious way politics is these days. Maybe they want more 'action'. One of the issues Trump wants to tackle after being elected according to his official website is the political correctness (Donald J. Trump for President, 2016).

Means have either both pragmatic and semantic purposes or at least one of the two. The way to find means from a speech quite effortlessly, is to locate the shifts between higher-level actions. Gestures are occasionally used as means to signal the shift between different higher-level actions, and during Trump's speech this happens multiple times e.g. in 18:18 where the beat-type lower-level action signals the shift from the action of presenting his opinions, to the action of gaining the trust of the audience. The gesture used as a mean was the assuring hands gesture and the point where the shift occurred can be located in the preparation of the gesture. The gesture occurs in a way that it affects the higher-level action greatly, thus it can be agreed that the gesture has a high modal density, which leads to the conclusion that the assuring hands truly are used as a mean. However, the shift is only the pragmatic function of the gesture. After analysing the pragmatic function, the semantic function is easier to determine if the gesture is analysed already; it is to assure the audience of the actor's trustworthiness. What is not as uncommon for Trump, is the involuntary-like shifts between some actions, which of the figure 4 gives a great example. Raising the index finger to silence the audience is the semantic function of the mean used, but what happens on the pragmatic level, is that there is a shift to a higher-level action of dominance asserting, which may cause an uneasy feeling on some members of the audience.

There is a reason for audiences to question the words uttered by politicians, because sometimes even the 'assuring hands' may be used to convey something that is not completely true. In 18:16 Trump talks about lobbying, their interests and how he cannot be bought. In United States in 2008, $3.28 billion were spent on lobbying, number of lobbying firms was 15,038 and there were even a street in Washington, D.C., which was filled with lobbying organizations and firms (Chari, Hogan, & Murphy, 2010, pp. 18-20). Thus, is it evident that in United States lobbyists possess an enormous amount of power over politicians' decision making. The power of the lobbyists leads to possible negative effects on the politicians' public image, if something suspicious is revealed of the donors

or their motives. The actor acknowledges the fear of the common people that lobbyists affect the opinions and goals of politicians. Therefore, for Trump, as an openly wealthy person, it is easier to give a guarantee to his endorsers of his incorruptibility. He has claimed from the beginning that he is wealthy enough to fund his own campaign and he has no need for lobbyists' money. However, funding his campaign all by himself is not entirely true. If we examine the claims from a critical perspective, we find out how he actually has got donations from such sources as John Powers Middleton Companies ($150,000) and Manchester Financial Group ($50,000), based on the data gathered by a reliable source, *the Center for Responsive Politics.* They base their information on Federal Election Commission data released on April 21, 2016 (Center for Responsive Politics, 2016).

This thesis has managed to offer new perspectives on how to analyse political speeches. Studying how gestures intertwine with other modes in order to convey the desired message of the speech has proven itself to be interesting and productive perspective. We have shown that sometimes the actor is able to control the delivery with positive outcomes, and how in some cases the delivery is not as controlled and undesired actions take control. Now, we return to the six "psychological" aspects described by Ross: 1. People want what they can't have or what somebody else wants. 2. People become overwhelmed when faced with too many decisions. 3. People succumb to the aura of legitimacy. 4. Aiming high and holding back gets results. 5. People have an innate fear of superiority in others. 6. Dumb is smart. (Ross, 2006, pp. 88-92) Trump offers solutions that are absurd and unreachable, e.g. building walls to stop illegal immigrants. He offers clear solutions to the people without taking account any harmful ramifications, and he supports his claims by showing written documents e.g. in 40:44 where he shows a document where his net worth is listed by a "large accounting firm". Trump aims to be a president and does not offer solutions to every problem, and he avoids presenting himself in a dominant position, even though he sometimes fails. He even speaks like a 4th grader according to Schumacher and Eskenazi (2016), which is two grades lower than his peers (Schumacher & Eskenazi, 2016). So, all the aspects described by Ross are present during Trump's speech and he tries to enhance most of them with multiple modes and by intertwining them with one another. Maybe these in "no means" scientific aspects could be what politicians pay their mind into when they are giving speeches and we should be taking it to account in future research.

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