Book Review

Linguistic Inquiries into Donald Trump's Language: From 'Fake News' to 'Tremendous Success'. Edited by Ulrike Schneider and Matthias Eitelmann.
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Since Donald Trump was elected as President of the United States in January 2016, his language has become a subject of significant interest to scholars. Although there are extensive studies of his idiolect, the contributors in this volume bring together eleven very different studies into a well-integrated and coherent linguistic analysis. *Linguistic Inquiries into Donald Trump's Language* is a collection of ten analytical chapters, edited by Ulrike Schneider and Matthias Eitelmann, which explore how Trump uses language in television interviews, tweets, debates, rallies and speeches from 1980 until 2018. In the introduction, the editors make clear that the volume illuminates how Trump's language is distinct. Even though the volume does not study the media and its ideology, its focus on linguistic analysis employing quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods allows each of the contributors to (dis)prove twelve comments that the media have made about Trump's language.

The volume groups the chapters into three themes ('Rhetoric and Repetition', 'Evaluation and Emotion' and 'Discourse and Metaphor'). The first and second themes are divided into three chapters, and the third theme into four. Every chapter aims to uncover one of Trump's idiolects. In the

volume, the chapters are divided into two categories: quantitatively oriented chapters, which come first, followed by qualitatively oriented chapters. The former relies on numbers, although the volume does not discuss whether the results of the quantitative analysis are the only evidence to show how Trump speaks and expresses his rhetoric. The latter chapters rely on textual analysis. Together, the editors have ensured a good balance between quantitative and qualitative analyses.

The volume has four aims. Firstly, it seeks to delineate the features of Trump's language. Secondly, it aims to draw the distinction between Trump's and other politicians' use of language. Thirdly, it reveals which linguistic strategies Trump uses to convey emotions, and to examine his discursive strategies. Lastly, it discovers whether these strategies reflect Trump's agenda. The volume also explains the notion of 'Trumpish' which 'is more than simply a salient idiolect, but also a reflection of changing social and political norms' (8). Eitelmann and Schneider indicate that it is difficult to establish linguistic idiosyncrasies because speechwriters coordinate political discourse. Thus, it is worth exploring 'Trumpish' social and political influences.

In contrast to previous studies, this work adopts a linguistic analysis based on Moffitt's and Hawkins' discourse-based definition of populism as a political style. Moffitt's definition is dependent on three features, in particular the separation of 'the people' from 'the elite', 'bad manners' and putting the feeling of crisis into people's minds (5). He also adds two performative elements, particularly 'the leader–performer and the media–stage' (5). Building on this, this volume derives 'twelve hypotheses about the constitutive elements of populist rhetoric. Nearly all of these were corroborated by the findings about Trump's language amassed in this volume' (248). Importantly, the first hypothesis that 'Trump's rhetoric shows a dualistic worldview consisting of the positively connoted people and the negatively connoted elite' (241), is the most central and was partially

confirmed by the contributors of this volume. The discussion in this volume uncovers a very noticeable split between a negatively connoted opposition and positively connoted 'Team Trump', with the aim of the split being more personal than ideological.

On the theme of 'Rhetoric and Repetition', Chapter Two ('*It's Just Words, Folks. It's Just Words*: Donald Trump's Distinctive Linguistic Style') by Egbert and Biber uses corpus linguistic analysis to compare Trump's lexical and structural features with those of every other presidential candidate since the 1960s, in their respective presidential debates and campaign rally speeches. Their comparison shows that Trump uses a more colloquial, vague, and interactive language with a greater amount of repetition. These features make Trump what Rackaway calls a 'disruptive innovator' (38) in terms of politics and linguistics. In Chapter Three ('*I Know Words, I have the Best Words*: Repetitions, Parallelisms, and Matters of (In)Coherence'), Björkenstam and Grigonytė compare Trump's scripted teleprompters with their delivery within presidential debates and campaign rally speeches. This comparison adds contextual nuance to Trump's repetition and confirms that his unscripted speech is frequently changing. They reveal that Trump prefers to repeat himself, especially when deviating from his scripted speech.

In Chapter Four ('*A Man who was Just an Incredible Man, an Incredible Man*: Age Factors and Coherence in Donald Trump's Spontaneous Speech'), Ronan and Schneider analyse Trump's various repetitions. They report an abundance of hesitant repetitions which they read as a sign of ageing in the Republican primary debates and phone-ins to television shows and interviews. They shed light on whether Trump's speech has changed over almost thirty years through comparison with interviews held at previous stages of his career. For example, there was a small increase in the richness of Trump's vocabulary over these years indicating that his vocabulary has become more varied over time, with verb usage increasing from 1980 to 2010. Trump's language use is also compared to other speakers, such as former president Barack Obama. Ronan and Schneider found that Trump uses more

personal pronouns. For instance, compared to Barack Obama, Trump uses more personal pronouns, verbs and informal language, yet fewer nouns. The chapter also notes that all candidates, such as Trump and Obama, make more repetitions. This means that the analysed data produced by Trump has more repetitions which cause logical incoherences than his data from the 1980s, or in comparison to the data from Barack Obama's speeches.

In Chapter Five, ('*Very Emotional, Totally Conservative, and Somewhat All over the Place*: An Analysis of Intensifiers in Donald Trump's Speech'), Stange compares Trump's use of intensifiers, whose function is to strengthen the meaning of other expressions, in his public language such as tweets and remarks. She compares it with that of other politicians and with a baseline of ordinary spoken language. Hence, the recognition circulating online of Trump's heavy use of intensifiers is evidenced. Chapter Six ('*Crooked Hillary, Lyin' Ted, and Failing New York Times*: Nicknames in Donald Trump's Tweets') examines the construction of Trump's opponents. Tyrkkö and Frisk state that his opponents are negatively described using nicknames, which has the effect of manipulating the audience's emotions. The data analysed included Donald Trump's public language, tweets and Zoom meetings on gender differences and the trajectories of change. Chapter Seven ('*I'm Doing Great with the Hispanics. Nobody Knows It*: The Distancing Effects of Donald Trump's *the*-Plurals') by Schneider and McClure investigates Trump's use of the definite article for ethnic minorities in his public language, tweets and interviews. Trump's use of the definite article has been criticised as a negative evaluation of ethnic minorities, and is shown to be an othering technique.

In Chapter Eight, ('*Either We WIN this Election, or we are Going to LOSE this Country!*: Trump's WARLIKE COMPETITION Metaphor'), Koth shows that Trump conceptualises politics as a competition in which there is a winner and a loser. However, this conceptualisation implies problematic issues, relating to Trump's description of immigration politics in tweets and in the

Republican primary debates. The focus on winning at all costs serves to influence people to suppress the ethical and moral values of one's deeds, but to think in terms of Trump's WARLIKE COMPETITION metaphor, wherein a loss by one person always comes about due to an illegitimate win by another. At the same time, only the winner deserves admiration while the loser deserves contempt. In the next chapter, ('Silence and Denial: Trump's Discourse on the Environment'), Degani and Onysko analyse Republican primary debates for Trump's use of discursive strategies on the environment, the most frequent of which are denying and silencing confirmed facts about climate change. It reveals that Trump's language use exhibits a striking use of metaphor to justify the adoption of what the volume's editors term an anti-environmental stance against all odds' (9). The following chapter ('Donald Trump's "Fake News" Agenda: A Pragmatic Account of Rhetorical Delegitimization') by Schubert examines Trump's complex use of lying. The analysis in this chapter shows that Trump uses terms such as 'fake news', hence delegitimising the media.

Finally, Chapter Eleven, ('*Sorry Not Sorry*: Political Apology in the Age of Trump'), by Hauck and Mitsuhara closely examine how Trump apologises for his misogynistic remarks in the Access Hollywood tape. The (non-) apologies of Trump are compared to those of Bill Clinton for his affair with Monica Lewinsky. The comparison reveals that Trump uses canonical forms of apology, the Christian testimonial, 'to present himself as a coherent, authentic political persona and at the same time promote his anti-establishment agenda' (2022: 9). In contrast to Bill Clinton's apology for his affair with Monika Lewinsky, Trump uses more conventional forms of apology to show that he is a coherent, authentic political persona while simultaneously promoting his anti-establishment agenda in video statements.

The concluding chapter ('Great Movement vs. Crooked Opponents: Is Donald Trump's Language Populist?') reveals to what extent Trump's style is exemplary of populist rhetoric. It also explores his techniques of othering

and antagonisation when referring to his opponents. Furthermore, it examines how these matches the definition of populism. Firstly, it is against the current ruling class, the system in place, or the group in power, as in Trump's infamous tweets calling for 'draining the swamp' in Washington. Secondly, it is against the mainstream media matches this definition. This is exemplified by Trump's calling out of newspapers like the New York Times for allegedly publishing fake news. Thirdly, it conflicts the minority, most notoriously in Trump's promise to build a wall on the Mexican border to prevent illegal immigration.

In conclusion, this volume is a timely and relevant contribution, using various fine-grained linguistic analyses for a better understanding of the striking features of Trump's language, building on earlier extensive commentary by the wider public. Thus, the book is relevant to those who are interested in linguistics, media and cultural studies, politics and (critical) discourse analysis, although some of the contributions require background knowledge. Most contributors in this volume focus on the years 2015–2018, meaning that specific issues which loomed later in public discussions regarding Trump presidency – including the recent impeachment and his handling of the Covid-19 outbreak – are not considered; these events are left for later studies of Donald Trump's language.

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