

Faculté de philosophie, arts et lettres

The Rise to Power of Adolf Hitler and Donald Trump

A comparative study of speech delivery

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Abstract

Keywords : Trump, Hitler, Speeches, Similarity, Speech delivery, Body language, Intonation, Word recurrence, Propaganda, Word prominence.

[Français]

En raison de plusieurs déclarations controversées de Trump au cours de sa campagne électorale de 2016 et de son mandat présidentiel, beaucoup de gens ont tendance à le comparer à Adolf Hitler, dont les actions et l'idéologie sont presque universellement considérées comme cruelles. Il semble néanmoins excessif de comparer quiconque avec la personne la plus meurtrière du XXe siècle.

A travers une étude comparative des discours prononcés par Hitler et Trump, ce mémoire vise donc à identifier les possibles similitudes entre la montée au pouvoir des deux hommes politiques. Pour ce faire, l'accent est mis sur trois concepts : la récurrence des mots, l'intonation et le langage corporel.

L'étude révèle qu'en dépit de quelques similitudes, la façon dont les deux politiciens s'expriment publiquement diffère. Les similitudes sont principalement présentes dans la récurrence des mots, où ils ont tendance à utiliser des mots liés au nationalisme et au patriotisme, et dans le langage corporel, qui est fortement lié à l'intonation et est largement utilisé pour mettre l'accent sur des mots spécifiques.

[English]

Due to Trump's several controversial statements during his 2016 electoral campaign and his current presidential term of office, many people tend to compare him with Adolf Hitler, whose actions and ideology are almost universally considered as evil. It seems nevertheless excessive to compare anyone with the most murderous person of the 20th century.

Through a comparative study of Hitler's and Trump's delivery of speech, this dissertation therefore aims to identify possible similarities between both politicians' rise to power. To do so, the focus is put on three concepts: word recurrence, intonation and body language.

The study reveals that despite some similarities, both politicians' delivery of speech mainly differs. The similarities are mostly present in the word recurrence, where there is a tendency to use words related to nationalism and patriotism; and in the body language, which is strongly connected to intonation and is broadly used to emphasize specific words.

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Introduction

After the numerous controversial statements of Donald Trump during his 2016 electoral campaign and his current presidential term of office, many comparisons have been made between Donald Trump and Adolf Hitler. The *Philadelphia Daily News* has, for instance, put a photo implying a resemblance between Trump and Hitler on the front page of one of its editions¹. Articles have since appeared contradicting the extreme comparison. The *New York Times* has, for example, published an article stating “Trump is no Hitler, but the way he has manipulated the American people with outrageous lies, stacked one on top of the other, has an eerie historical resonance.”² It seems almost unbelievable that a politician of today’s society should be compared to the person responsible for the deadliest conflict in history. Such accusations should not be made thoughtlessly and without any evidence. Although mainstream media do not hesitate to make the comparison, to my knowledge, no study has been - until now - carried out on this subject. This dissertation therefore aims to determine whether there is any similarity between Trump and Hitler.

The study focuses on the speeches by Hitler and Trump during their rise to power. Instead of comparing the political arguments put forward, this dissertation mainly concentrates on the similarities between both politicians’ delivery of speech. Three main concepts were considered for analysis: word recurrence, intonation and body language.

The first chapter is devoted to the key theoretical notions underpinning this dissertation. The chapter is divided in two sections. The first section gives a general view of nonverbal communication, more especially of body language (hand gestures and smiles) and of intonation. For each concept, the implications it can have in politics are discussed with the means of previous research. The second section covers the

¹ See Appendix 1.

² Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/19/opinion/trump-isnt-hitler-but-the-lying.html>. Last visited on August 6, 2019.

notion of persuasion and its implication in politics, mainly focusing on Aristotle's three modes of persuasion: ethos, pathos and logos.

Then, a general overview of both politicians' background is given. The chapter mainly focusses on their historical background and their rise to power. During the whole dissertation, it should be borne in mind that Hitler and Trump lived in different eras and that, therefore, their political, economic and historical contexts strongly contrast.

The third chapter discusses the three research questions of this dissertation, each of them being devoted to the concepts mentioned above, mainly: word recurrence, intonation and body language. It then outlines the data and the method used to answer the three questions as well as the difficulties encountered during the analysis.

The "Results and Discussion" chapter aims to answer the three research questions by analysing and discussing the results. It consequently answers the main research question of this dissertation: *Is there any similarity in the delivery of the speeches by Adolf Hitler and Donald Trump during their rise to power?*

Finally, a small conclusion is drawn from the answers provided in the previous chapters. The limitations of the study are outlined as well as further studies which could be interesting to carry out.

Chapter 1: Theoretical framework

1. Nonverbal communication

Nowadays, most countries let citizens vote for the politician they want as their new leader through national elections. Even though people might choose their leader regarding the political program put forward, they may also be influenced by other aspects of the candidate's communication without even noticing it. Therefore, it is important to understand and take into account those aspects of communication that might help the candidate gain people's trust. This chapter aims to discuss the key concepts underlying this dissertation: kinesics, intonation and voice pitch.

1.1. Definition

Defining nonverbal communication is no easy task. Many scholars have tried to define it but have always ended up with different definitions such as "the study of behaviours other than words that create shared meaning between people who are interacting with one another" (Hale, 2003, quoted in Burgoon, Guerrero & Floyd, 2010 : 11) or "any kind of expression, gesture or symbolic behaviour that is either intended to convey meaning or happens to convey meaning" (Burlison, 2003, quoted in Burgoon, Guerrero & Floyd, 2010 : 11) or even "the intentional behaviour that's used to symbolically convey an idea" (Canary, 2003, quoted in Burgoon, Guerrero & Floyd, 2010 : 11).

As defining nonverbal communication remains an issue, it might be better to go back to the concept of communication itself. When it comes to human communication, most scholars agree that communication refers to "the process of creating meanings between senders and receivers through the exchange of signs and symbols. Messages originate as sender cognitions that are encoded through commonly understood codes and decoded by receivers" (Burgoon, Guerrero & Floyd, 2010 : 12). This definition allows scholars to claim that either formal languages (French, English, Spanish, etc.),

sign languages or Morse code meet all the requirements to have an efficient communication. Therefore, nonverbal codes must have the same properties (Burgoon, Guerrero & Floyd, 2010) as they also are really useful to the creation of meanings during the act of speaking.

Scherer argues that nonverbal signs have four main functions: semantic, syntactic, pragmatic and dialogic (Scherer, 1980, quoted in Bull, 1986). The semantic function means that nonverbal signs may add meaning to the speech or imply meaning in themselves. The syntactic function refers to the regulation of “simultaneous and sequential occurrence” as well as the “organisation of verbal signs and other nonverbal signs” (Bull, 1986 : 103). The pragmatic function of nonverbal signs is simply the indication of “characteristics of the message sender and the message receiver” (Bull, 1986 : 103). The last function, the dialogic one, considers that nonverbal signs may specify the nature of the connection between the interlocutors (Scherer, 1980, quoted in Bull, 1986).

In other words, nonverbal communication refers to paraverbal aspects such as gestures, facial expressions, eye behaviour, body language, etc. that are used in order to add meaning to the verbal communication in context. This means that nonverbal communication is mostly dependent on the verbal communication and the context in which the speech is occurring. This aid to communication is most of the time subjective but may also be cultural or even sometimes universal, as Russian and American scientists showed in 1975 (Key, 1980). They studied the universality of symbolic nonverbal acts such as the palm presentation in each other’s greetings, shaken hands during human interactions, the hand raising’s meaning in classrooms, and eye contact avoidance in parliamentary proceedings. The study revealed that the action of raising the hand in classrooms has simply been ritualized as an attention-getter while eye contact avoidance in parliamentary meetings symbolizes the unwillingness of the chairman to hand over to a member of the assembly. Every example illustrated above shows that “the occurrence of a particular nonverbal act might be universal” but “*how it is done* is conventional” (Key, 1980 : 6).

To fully understand what is being referred to when nonverbal communication aspects are analysed, it has been decided, for this dissertation, to combine the three definitions of nonverbal communication mentioned above, namely “the study of behaviours other than words that create shared meaning between people who are interacting with one another” (Hale, 2003, quoted in Burgoon, Guerrero & Floyd, 2010 : 11), “any kind of expression, gesture or symbolic behaviour that is either intended to convey meaning or happens to convey meaning” (Burlison, 2003, quoted in Burgoon, Guerrero & Floyd, 2010 : 11) and “the intentional behaviour that’s used to symbolically convey an idea” (Canary, 2003, quoted in Burgoon, Guerrero & Floyd, 2010 : 11). Nonverbal communication will therefore be considered as any seemingly intentional or unintentional kind of gesture or behaviour people adopt in order to symbolically convey an idea. Only the semantic function of Scherer’s nonverbal communication’s functions will be analysed in this dissertation.

1.2. Kinesics

When one uses the term kinesics, one refers to all the forms of body movements human beings are able to make except from movements made in order to create physical contacts with another’s body (Burgoon, Guerrero & Floyd, 2010). This term, which derives from the Greek word “movement”, is less popular than the term “body language” but includes facial, head, eye, hand, foot movements, etc. as well as gait and postures (Burgoon, Guerrero & Floyd, 2010). It is perhaps one of the most influential of nonverbal codes (Burgoon, Guerrero & Floyd, 2010).

As mentioned above, some nonverbal acts of communication may be universal while others may not be. It most of the time depends on the person’s culture: some gestures may for example be conventional in some countries while they might be interpreted differently in other countries (Burgoon, Guerrero & Floyd, 2010). In the United States, for instance, people wave their hand to say “hello” or “good-bye”, nod to say “yes” or cross their fingers to wish somebody “good luck”. This is called an *emblem*, a gesture which is a substitute for language (Burgoon, Guerrero & Floyd, 2010). Emblems have

literal translations and might thus differ depending on the country in which they occur (Burgoon, Guerrero & Floyd, 2010). For example, the “come here” gestures that some European countries and America use - which consists of pointing a finger at someone and moving it back and forth - means “goodbye” in China, Italy and Colombia (in Burgoon, Guerrero & Floyd, 2010).

It is obviously easy to interpret universal and common nonverbal acts of communication. However, it gets somewhat tricky when one attempts to interpret the typical nonverbal acts of different people. For this reason, this dissertation will mainly focus on the recurrent nonverbal acts politicians do when they deliver a speech. It will more specifically focus on two different body parts which are frequently used to express meaning: the hand and the face.

1.2.1. Hand gesture

Hand gesture is commonly referred to as a medium of expression, which is both informational and pragmatic or socio-interactional, but whose “manuality” is considered as unintentional or irrelevant (Streeck, 2009). According to Streeck (2009), the genre of gesticulation can be referred to as *pragmatic* or *meta-pragmatic* gesture. The first one is considered as enacting a communicative function (for instance, when one raises one’s hand in front of somebody, palm facing the person, to tell the person to stop and wait). It may vary and have different modes, as pointed out Kendon (2004).

Pragmatic gesturing can:




contribute to the significance of the utterance of which they are part in several different ways. They can show the kind of *move* being undertaken by a turn at talk, indicating for example, that it is a question, a denial, or an offer. In these cases the gestures have [...] *performative* functions. On other occasions, however, [...] the speaker may mark up some feature of the discourse structure, and in such cases the gestures [...] have *parsing* functions. [...] Gestures that *operate on* the verbal component of the utterance [...] can

function in ways similar to negative particles, but [...] can also serve as intensifiers. [...] In such cases [...] the gestures have *modal* functions. The ways in which these gestures achieve these results is partly by combining with the verbal or contextual meaning of the utterance, but also [...] by reaching beyond the bounds of the current utterance to operate in relation to the implied *dialogue* within which the utterance is embedded. (Kendon, 2004 : 281-282)

The second type, the meta-pragmatic gesture, adds meaning to the words. It has therefore a communicative function or illocutionary force and never occurs by itself (Streeck, 2009). For instance, one could say to a friend “do you want to sit here?” by moving one’s hand to the right or left with the index pointing at a free table in a bar. This reflects the idea of Kendon (2004) that gestures contribute a great deal to the meaning of the utterance. Gestures can be employed to “create objects”, “show spatial relationships” or “exemplify action” and have a strong relation with the verbal component of the utterance to meet different goals (Kendon, 2004 : 197). According to Kendon (2004), gestures are used to supply meaning to the statement expressed verbally at the simultaneous time. For instance, when one is pointing at something or someone with an “Index Finger Extended” movement or with an Open Hand Prone (palm up or away), one is establishing a necessary tie between circumstance and word (Kendon, 2004) and is consequently adding meaning to the utterance.

However, as Streeck (2009) argues, the use of hand gesture varies from a person to another. Some people gesture abundantly while others hardly do it at all. The society in which people live may influence their use of hand gesture as well. It is therefore important to understand the meaning that intentional gestures made by a particular person might have regarding the person’s culture. Figure 1, retrieved from Burgoon, Guerrero & Floyd (2010 : 164), illustrates some international gestures which have a different meaning depending on the country in which they are used. For instance, the R-hand shape (Kendon, 2004) or the “A-OK gesture” (Burgoon, Guerrero & Floyd

(2010) which is frequently used by the President of the United States of America, Donald Trump, means “OK” in his culture while it actually has a different meaning in other countries such as France, Japan, etc. (cf. Figure 1).

U.S. Gesture	Meanings in Other Cultures
<p data-bbox="204 533 480 566">The A-OK Gesture</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Money” or “coin” (Japan) - “Worthless” or “zero” (France and parts of Switzerland) - An obscene gesture in various places around the world
<p data-bbox="204 902 568 936">The Thumbs-up Gesture</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “speak up” or “turn up the volume” in parts of South America - Used when counting in parts of Central Europe (where it means “one”) and in parts of Asia (where it means “five”) - An insult in many places (Iran, parts of South America and Europe, especially when the thumb is pumped up and down)
<p data-bbox="204 1469 400 1503">The “V” sign</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Victory” or “peace” in many Western countries - If made with the open palm toward one’s face, it is an insult in Australia, Great Britain, and South Africa (where it means that you are acting like an animal with horns)

The “Hang Loose” Gesture



- Is associated with alcohol in some parts of Mexico and the Caribbean
- Means “six” in some parts of Asia (five for the thumb, plus one)

Figure 1. Hand gestures and their meanings based on Burgoon, Guerrero & Floyd (2010 : 164).

1.2.1.1. Use of hand gesture in political speeches

Some studies have already been carried out on the relation between hand gestures and political speeches. In one of his studies, McNeill, for instance, uncovered evidence that gestures only occur during speech and that they are synchronized with linguistic units (McNeill, 1985). This theory is in line with Kendon (2004)'s findings on the relation between utterances and hand gestures. Kendon (2004) affirmed that gestures are punctuated by pronunciation and more specifically, by tone units. McNeill (1985) also pointed out that 90% of gestures performed during a speech actually takes place during the speaker's articulation, while the remaining 10% of gestures left occur during silences preceding further speech. According to him, the synchronisation of gestures with linguistic units in speech suggests that gesture “reveals the moment at which the speaker's thinking process formulates the concept that the linguistic item signifies” (McNeill, 1985 : 361). This idea of synchronization of gestures put forward by both McNeill (1985) and Kendon (2004) is in line with Streeck's concept of meta-pragmatic gesture. This means that at the moment one performs a gesture while giving a speech, one is actually thinking of the concept of the gesture itself. For instance, if someone says “he started running as far as he could”, they might show the “as far” by raising their hand into the air and moving it away from their body. The hand movement performed is thought to occur while the speaker is formulating a mental representation of “far” and is therefore synchronously used to illustrate the speaker's speech.

One other interesting study, carried out by Bull, aimed to determine the functions of hand gestures in political speeches by studying their organization with respect to the

speech (Bull, 1986). Bull's data was made up of speeches given by three speakers coming from the political world: Arthur Scargill (President, National Union of Mineworkers), Pat Wal (Labour Party candidate, Bradford North, West Yorkshire) and Martin Leathley (Labour Party candidate, Shipley, West Yorkshire). The speeches were given in the context of the General Election campaign occurring in the York region in 1983. Bull (1986) transcribed the hand gestures performed in those speeches by using the Body Movement Scoring System. Each visual appearance of body movements could therefore be more easily described by the investigator as the system takes the single movement as its basic unit of analysis. Bull's finding showed that hand gestures and intonation are closely linked, both in terms of tone group boundaries and vocal stress. It was also demonstrated that except for the elicitation and control of applause, hand gestures in political speeches do not seem to have any explicit meaning. It has thus been suggested that speech-related movements do not have meanings in themselves but the speech in which they are used gives them meanings instead. The hand gesture is therefore used to amplify and elaborate spoken words.

The findings from those studies indicate that the hand gestures used during the delivery of speech do not have meaning in themselves but actually emphasize some words that might need emphasising according to the speaker. In this regard, hand gesture will be considered as an inescapable tool to deliver a political speech in this dissertation.

1.2.2. Facial expression

A few centuries ago, Darwin argued that facial expressions of emotions are inherited, natural and hence universal (Burgoon, Guerrero & Floyd, 2010). According to him, people are conditioned to perform certain facial expressions when they experience specific emotions and the performed behaviours are meant to meet certain needs (Burgoon, Guerrero & Floyd, 2010). Darwin also pointed out the fact that basic emotions such as happiness, sadness, anger, disgust and fear result from nervous system arousal (Burgoon, Guerrero & Floyd, 2010). It has been argued that those six

basic emotions are universally understood but that they sometimes may be hidden or not expressed by people experiencing them (Burgoon, Guerrero & Floyd, 2010).

1.2.2.1. *Smile*

In the political arena, leaders or candidates must sometimes hide or express emotions in order to attain and maintain the support of their followers. One facial expression that is interesting to study when focusing on politicians is the smile. A smile is indeed a facial expression which might say a lot about a person. According to Stewart, Bucy and Mehu (2015), previous research has already focused on the richness and nuance of smiles by political figures. In their article *Strengthening bonds and connecting with followers* (2015), they pointed out six distinct types of smile: amusement, enjoyment, controlled, contempt, posed and fear smiles. They were able to distinguish them by analysing morphological characteristics of the face, such as the direction of lip corner pull, the shape of the mouth influenced by muscular “controls” and the *orbicularis oculi* muscles which surround the eyes and coactivate when one smiles. The duration, timing and symmetry of displays were also taken into account as they differ depending on the smile.

a) Posed (photo B in Figure 2)

Associated with misery, embarrassment, flirtation or even compliance and coordination, posed smiles are fake smiles used to express positive emotion when one does not feel any positivity (phony smile) or conceal a negative emotion (masking smile). The specific characteristic of posed smiles is that the lip corners are pulled up.

b) Enjoyment (photo A in Figure 2)

In contrast to the posed smile, the pulled up lip corners are not the only characteristic of the enjoyment smile. When one performs an enjoyment smile, one contracts the muscles surrounding the eyes. This smile is mainly associated with happiness and

amusement. It is also used in a context of cooperation or approach between more than two people.

c) Amusement (photos C + D in Figure 2)

The amusement smile has been observed on both human beings and primates. It can be best understood as indicators of equality between individuals. The key characteristic of this fundamental facial display is the loose jaw or relaxed open mouth. Most of the time, this type of smile occurs when one feels high levels of playful exhilaration and it is often accompanied by sounds of laughter and shakings of the body. However, according to Stewart, Bucy and Mehu (2015), amusement smiles may also be used to signal purpose in dampening aggression in competitive political contexts.

d) Controlled (photo F in Figure 2)

Controlled smiles occur when people wish to lessen their amusement or self-satisfaction following an audience laughter or applause. In addition to the characteristics of the amusement smile, in controlled smiles, the lip corners are being tightened or pulled downward. In some cases, the lower lip might be pressed up or both lips might be tightened or be pressed together. By analysing the smile repertoire of President Barack Obama, Stewart and Dowe (2013) showed that this type of smile could diminish viewer perceptions of happiness or reassurance and could enhance perceptions of anger, threat or aggression.

e) Contempt (photo E in Figure 2)

According to some cross-cultural research, the contempt smile is displayed when in-groups members violate the ethics of their own community. To display a contempt smile, one has to pull a unilateral lip corner and tighten the lip corner. This leads

researchers to consider the fact that contempt smiles are in reality “controlled half smiles”.

f) Fear

The characteristic of a fear smile is that the lips are pulled straight back. This type of smile plays an important part in the political world: it indicates submission and it is generally used during competitive contexts such as political debates.

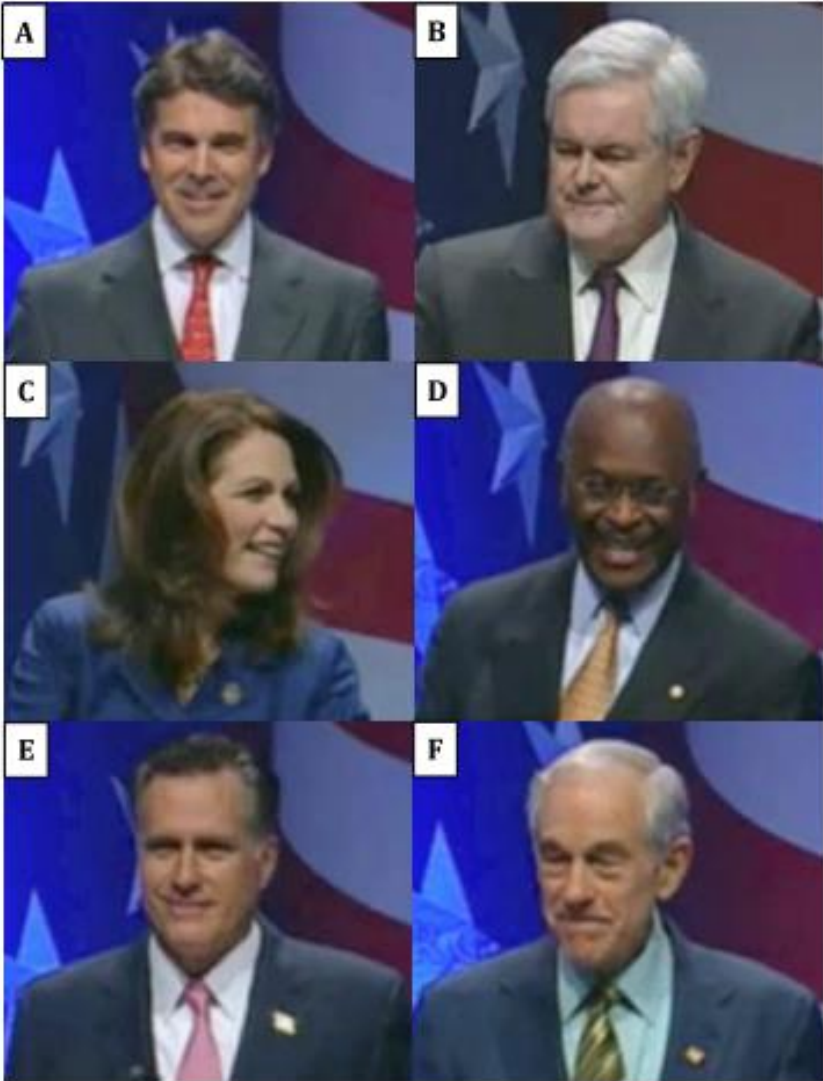


Figure 2. Different smiles by politicians based on Figure 1 in Stewart, Bucy and Mehu (2015 : 80).

1.2.2.2. *Facial expressions in politics*

In addition to Stewart, Bucy and Mehu (2015)'s study on smiles, Stewart and Dowe (2013) investigated Barack Obama's facial expressions of emotion by using the Facial Action Coding System (FACS) (Dumitrescu, 2016). Their findings showed that when one looks at politicians, one could accurately detect neutral, reassuring and threatening smiles but could have more difficulty in differentiating enjoyment from posed smiles. This can be explained by Stewart, Bucy and Mehu (2015)'s analysis of smiles, as it seems that there is barely any difference between both, except that in enjoyment smiles, the muscles surrounding the eyes are contracted.

Other studies on politicians' speeches scrutinized other facial expressions than smiles. Little, Burriss, Jones, and Roberts (2007) have for example demonstrated that unlike attractive faces, candidates' dominant and masculine faces had a strong impact on voters. Little, et al. (2007) confirmed this idea by showing that in wartime, people would rather choose a politician with a dominant and masculine face than with an attractive face (Tigue, Borak, O'Connor, Schandl & Feinberg, 2011).

This theory has been disproved by Dumitrescu (2016), who showed that the tendency to evaluate more positively better looking individuals - the halo effect - emerged from several studies. Voters who are not informed enough about potential candidates (either because they lack sophistication or because there is no information available) tend to vote for more attractive candidates. According to Dumitrescu (2016), voters could be influenced by nonverbal confidence that a candidate might show during debates or public appearances, regardless of the quality of the argument made. In a similar vein, German researchers have shown that if a politician uses an active nonverbal style during a debate, it might increase the politician's leadership ability or the audience's (as well as the debate host's) reaction (Dumitrescu, 2016). Taking this into account, Dumitrescu pointed out that it must not be forgotten that the effects of nonverbal communication on people also depend on the politicians' cultural context, their communication style or degree of expressivity as well as the quality of information they provide verbally and nonverbally.

1.3. Intonation and voice pitch

This section is entirely based on Anne Wichmann's book "Intonation in Text and Discourse"³. Most of the data found in her book was drawn from the Spoken English Corpus (Knowles, Williams and Taylor 1996) which is a corpus of 53 different texts representing six hours of speech.

Wichmann (2000) determined that during the act of speaking, a melody can be heard. This melody of speech, the intonation, consists of a more or less continuous pitch pattern which changes constantly. To be able to pronounce words, human beings need vocal folds which vibrate during the voiced parts of speech. Speech sounds do not consist of regular vibrations with the same frequency but of various ones at different frequencies. The repeated frequency of those combined vibrations is known as the fundamental frequency (F0) and is measured in Hertz (Hz) or cycles per second (cps). When the fundamental frequency (F0) changes, it is said that there is a modification of pitch. The term "fundamental frequency" is used when it comes to the production of sound whereas the pitch refers to the perception of sound.

According to Wichmann (2000), there are two main aspects in most current models of intonation: the pitch and the "phrases" into which spoken language is broken.

1.3.1. Pitch

Words are composed of one or more syllables. When a word is composed of more than one syllable, there is always a prominent syllable contoured by pitch movements. These pitch movements are characterized by different patterns of movement, frequently referred to as "tones" or "nuclear tones". Those patterns of movement can be simple: falling, rising and level; or can be complex: fall-rise and rise-fall. It is said that a tone is rising when there is a rise in the human voice, consequently making the pitch change. By contrast, when the tone is falling, there is accordingly a fall in the

³ WICHMANN, A. (2000). *Intonation in text and discourse: beginnings, middles, and ends*. Harlow: Longmann.

human voice and the pitch thus drops down. The level tone suggests that there is no rise or no fall in the tone. The complex pattern rise-fall implies that the pitch first rises and then falls whereas the complex pattern fall-rise implies the complete opposite.

1.3.2. Phrasing

The phrasing refers to the way utterances are broken down into smaller “phrases”, known as tone groups or “tone units” (Kendon, 2004). Every speaker organizes their speech into “chunks” of various length (Crystal, 1969). Those “chunks” are tone units, segments of sentences which are marked by the location of the nucleus and the pitch direction (rises, falls, rise-fall and fall-rise) (Crystal, 1969). As its name suggests, the tone group is made of at least one tone. The tone group boundaries generally occur when there is a pause in the speech but this does not mean that the tone group is systematically separated by pauses. Most of the time, the distinction of tone group boundaries between sentences is easy, since there are pauses, but it is trickier to distinguish them inside sentences because they are more varied in their realisation.

1.3.3. English and German pitch accent realization

Some cross-linguistic studies investigated the difference between the pitch accent realization in English and in German (Grabe, 1998; Mennen, Schaeffler & Docherty, 2012). Mennen et al. (2012) made a comparison of both English and German pitch realizations by studying the difference in their F0 range (“F0 range” refers to the “speaking fundamental frequency” or SFF) (Mennen & al, 2012 : 2250). The results showed that various F0 ranges are used by speakers of distinct languages and dialects but that the ranges are influenced by natural linguistic features. Differences in tones in the intonation contour and in “typical frequency of distributions of tones” have been highlighted (Mennen et al. 2012 : 2258).

Mennen et al. (2012)’s result supports Grabe (1998)’s conclusion on the realization of pitch accent in English and in German. According to him, a difference in the realization of the phrase-final rising and falling pitch accents exists. English tends to “compress”

(Grabe, 1998 : 130) rises and falls. This means that the rise and the fall of the tone are completed in a shorter time span by the compression of both contours. On the other hand, German “truncates”, which implies that “a falling contour merely ends earlier” (Grabe, 1998 : 130). There is nevertheless a similarity: rises are compressed and falls are truncated both in English and in German.

1.3.4. Implications of voice pitch in politics

Now that the notion of intonation has been clarified, it is interesting to see whether some studies have already examined the effect intonation could have on people when a political speech is being delivered.

One study has shown that the attractiveness of politicians’ voices influences people’s perception of candidates (Surawski & Ossoff, 2006, quoted in Tigue, et al., 2011). This attractiveness could come from men’s voice pitch, which makes them look more attractive and dominant when it is low rather than when it is high (Tigue, et al., 2011), while female voices may have a more negative effect on voters as their voice may be associated with negative aspects such as political disagreement or conflict makers (Strach et al., 2015, quoted in Dumitrescu, 2016). Klofstad, Anderson & Peters (2012) drew the same conclusions by suggesting that people would rather vote for female leaders with lower voices, probably because they are perceived as being more competent, stronger or trust-worthy, which are attributes usually correlated with leadership capacity. It has also been suggested that more acoustic energy concentrated at lower vocal frequencies help candidates win people over (Gregory and Gallagher, 2002, quoted in Tigue, et al., 2011).

With those previous studies in mind, Tigue, et al. investigated the role of voice pitch in voting-related perceptions. Their results showed that lower-pitched voices have a strong connection with favourable personality traits than higher-pitched voices have. They also suggested that the relationship between voice pitch and dominance is “relevant for a range of social situations that can alter fitness, including political decisions” (Tigue, et al., 2011 : 214).

Regarding the world of politics, their study pointed out that people would rather vote for politicians with lower-pitched voices than politicians with high-pitched voices in national election scenario as well as in a wartime scenario. In the national election scenario, lower voice pitch was highly associated with integrity and physical prowess, which made people claim that they would more likely vote for lower-pitched voices. However, in the wartime scenario, there were two different outcomes: either people would vote for lower-pitched voices because they perceive them as indicative of physical prowess, or they would rather vote for higher-pitched voices because they perceive lower-pitch voices as possessing more integrity. This suggests that perceptions of physical prowess influenced voting decisions more strongly than integrity in wartime scenario.

They came to the conclusion that politicians with lower-pitch voices may have the upper hand in political elections. The possibility of artificially lowering the voice-pitch in audio recordings cannot be ruled out. It might actually help the candidate to gain votes. During wartime, voters may opt more for a political leader with vocal cues of dominance because they connect dominance with strength.

2. Persuasion and politics

“Charismatic leaders such as Hitler, Mussolini, Roosevelt, and Churchill had demonstrated how entire societies could be powerfully manipulated through skillful persuasion...”
(Larson, 1992 : 81, quoted in Demirdöğen, 2010).

2.1. Introduction

Politics is often referred to as being the art of government (Demirdöğen, 2010). One may claim that politics is exciting because of the politicians’ recurrent disagreements (Demirdöğen, 2010). They disagree about who should have the power, what territory they should have, how they should live, what alliances they should make, etc (Heywood, 2002, quoted in Demirdöğen, 2010). As Miller (1991) suggested, politics is “a process whereby a group of people, whose opinions or interests are initially divergent, reach collective decisions which are generally accepted as binding on the group and enforced as common policy” (Miller, 1991, quoted in Demirdöğen, 2010 : 191). To reach a final decision in politics, elements of persuasion are most of the time involved in the political process. Persuasion is often presented as lying at the core of politics. Many scholars have discussed it and suggested theories and explanations about it throughout history (Demirdöğen, 2010). One of the first theories of persuasion that people are still aware of nowadays dates back to Ancient Greece, during which many philosophers were concerned with ethical means of persuasion (Demirdöğen, 2010). One famous philosopher known for his *Rhetoric*, in which he defined the principles of persuasion, is Aristotle. As Larson (1992) claims: “much of what he – Aristotle – said on the subject is as true and vital in today’s complex society as it was thousands of years ago” (Larson, 1992, quoted in Demirdöğen, 2010 : 191).

2.2. Branches of Oratory

Classical rhetoricians have determined three kinds of oratory: deliberative, forensic and epideictic (Charteris-Black, 2013). The two last kinds, representing respectively

speeches addressing legal assemblies or courts and speeches delivered to honour or commemorate a particular individual, will not be of any use in this dissertation. However, deliberative oratories are precisely what political speeches are and are mainly delivered to “a decision-making body with the general purpose of establishing the benefit or harm that may be expected from a certain course of action” (Charteris-Black, 2013 : 6). A deliberative oratory is distinguishable by its wide range of arguments orators put forward in order to win support for the action they are advocating. According to Aristotle, the core of the orator’s message is usually related to decisions about future actions and mainly concerns defence strategies, imports and exports and whether a country should go to war or make peace (Charteris-Black, 2013).

2.3. Aristotle’s rhetoric: Ethos – Pathos – Logos

In his rhetoric, Aristotle proposed artistic proofs which are created through oratory (Charteris-Black, 2013). Those three artistic proofs – ethos, pathos and logos – are means of persuasion orators must pay attention to if they wish to win their listeners’ support (Demirdöğen, 2010). According to Demirdöğen (2010), Aristotle’s theory of persuasion was based on an empirical observation of many persuaders in Athens, in the government and law courts. The following descriptions of ethos, pathos and logos are entirely based on Demirdöğen (2010)’s explanation of Aristotle’s artistic proofs.

Ethos, which means “character” in Greek, refers to the charisma and the credibility the speaker wishes to present to the audience. This suggests that the orator may persuade their listeners by delivering their speech so well that they become credible to their public’s eyes. It may be the most effective means of persuasion a speaker possesses. Not only does the character play a role in persuasion but the artistic proofs used by the speaker along with their reputation and image also shape the speaker’s ethos. Nonverbal language such as hand gestures, facial expressions or even physical appearance contributes to the persuader’s ethos to some degree.

Pathos is a more psychological appeal. It refers to the mood of the speech that calls on the audience’s will or passion. The speaker must in the first place assess the audience’s

emotional state. This is nowadays commonly known as empathy or emotional intelligence. Some virtues, such as generosity, courage, justice, gentleness or wisdom, were stated by Aristotle as being tied to emotional persuasion or pathos.

Logos simply refers to the argument advanced by the speaker which generally appeals to reason or intellect. The speaker needs to seek the audience's rational side and to assess their information-processing patterns in order to persuade them. To do so, Aristotle advised speakers to use arguments which were already mostly believed by the audience as people will more easily believe something they already consider as true than something entirely new to them.

2.4. Persuasion

The act of persuasion involves changing somebody's point of view about a specific topic with the help of persuasive arguments. As Charteris-Black (2013 : 99) stated in his book: "«being right» is central to persuasion" He suggested five rhetorical resources that may be used in a speech to make orators get their audience to believe what they are claiming: having the right intentions; thinking right; sounding right; telling the right story; and looking right. According to him, not all of these rhetorical resources can be found in a particular speech but an orator might rely on more than one of these methods (Charteris-Black, 2013).

2.5. Conclusion

Figure 3 summarizes Charteris-Black's rhetorical means of persuasion in political speeches. It also summarizes the theory that has been highlighted through this dissertation's first chapter. The circle in the middle, which has been called "persuasion" by Charteris-Black, represents the speech in itself, which must be persuasive to win people's support. The delivered speech involves Aristotle's three artistic proofs which can be determined by the words politicians use in their speeches. Those words, forming sentences, must be well chosen or be given more prominence

than others in order to attract and persuade politicians' public or opponents. Persuasion may also be processed by the use of mental representations, myths, frames and schemata, which this dissertation will not examine. The last rhetorical means of persuasion (appearance, hair, dress and gesture) stands for the nonverbal communication unwittingly influencing politicians' public.



Figure 3. Rhetorical means of persuasion in political speeches based on figure 4.5. in Charteris-Black (2013 : 100).

Chapter 2: Rise to power

As two politicians cannot be compared without an explanation on their historical, political and economic context, this chapter concentrates on relating both politicians' backgrounds. Hitler gained power in a post-war historical context and in a country crippled with debts. On the other hand, Trump seized power in a country with a fine economy and which was not suffering from a recent war. As both historical contexts differ drastically, it is important to understand how both politicians rose to power, how they were able to earn the people's trust and votes.

This chapter is divided in two sections: the first one focusses on Hitler while the second one focusses on Trump. For both sections, the personal background of each politician and the reason why they eventually decided to run for office are first discussed. Second, the focus is put on the means both politicians used to rise to power. Other studies' findings on how Hitler and Trump delivered their speeches are then discussed. Finally, a small comparison between both contexts and delivery of speeches is made.

1. From the Treaty of Versailles to the Third Reich

In the 1930's, Hitler, now considered as one of the most murderous people of all time, was to become the new chancellor – and the new President in 1934 – of Germany. Even though some people fled from Germany when they still had time, many people stayed in their country because they believed in their *Führer*. The *Führer*, a man who was later diagnosed of paranoia, narcissism and sadism (Coolidge & Segal., 2007), succeeded in gaining the faith and the power of a whole nation.

Born in 1889 in Austria, Adolf Hitler was the third child of a strict and violent father who did not want his son to become an artist. At sixteen years old, after his father died, Hitler applied for admission to the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna (Elson, 1979). After two unsuccessful attempts to enter the academy, he eventually gave up on his dream

of becoming an artist. As he did not want to become a simple worker among others, he lived on the street for a while, earning money from handmade drawings and postcards he managed to sell⁴. Although those years in Vienna were considered as the worst years of his life, they nevertheless played a crucial part in his ideological and political development (Bendersky, 2007). Hitler built his own philosophy of politics and history during that time. Moreover, he caught a glimpse of the masses' behaviour and instincts, which he would be able to skilfully exploit later on in his political career (Bendersky, 2007).

When World War I broke out, Hitler finally had the chance to escape his aimless and depressing existence (Bessel, 2004) and soon joined the Bavarian Army to fight for the country he considered his own: Germany (Elson, 1979). The war would bring a new start in life for Hitler, who was then aged 25 (Shirer, 2011). Millions of people would perish in four years, but Hitler was a serious, motivated and very lucky soldier: he ended the war with two decorations (the Iron Cross, Second Class and First Class) and a Black Wound Badge for temporary blindness due to a mustard gas attack – his only serious injury apart from a wound he got on his leg a few years before the end of the war (Elson, 1979).

After World War I, Hitler was outraged by the politicians' decision to accept the truce. He even put his rage into words in *Mein Kampf* (1929), an autobiography he wrote during his year of imprisonment after the missed Putsch of 1923:

“I could stand it no longer... So it had all been in vain. In vain all the sacrifices and privations [...] In vain the death of two millions who died [...] Had they died for this? [...] Did all this happen only so that a gang of wretched criminals could lay hands on the Fatherland? [...] Only fools, liars and criminals could hope for mercy from the enemy. In these

⁴ Retrieved from Histoire Interdite (2015). *Hitler: les secrets de l'ascension d'un monstre*. [Documentary].

nights hatred grew in me, hatred for those responsible for this deed [...] Miserable and degenerate criminals! The more I tried to achieve clarity on the monstrous event in this hour, the more the shame of indignation and disgrace burned my brow." (*Mein Kampf*, Hitler. Translation by Shirer, 2011 : 30).

Europe and Europe's allies – mainly France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Great Britain and the United States – blamed Germany for the damage caused during the war. The unpayable debt Germany was burdened with following the Versailles treaty of 1919 made the country live in misery, despair and hatred. Hitler was no exception: his feelings of hatred towards Europe, but mostly towards Jews, strongly increased. He believed that Jewish and Communist traitors were at the core of the loss of the war, the revolution against the Kaiser and the establishment of the Weimar Republic (Bendersky, 2007).

Hitler, who did not leave the army after the Great War, was asked to infiltrate the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (German Workers' Party - DAP) as an *Aufklärungskommando* of the *Reichswehr* (reconnaissance unit of the Realm Defence) because the party was suspected of subversive tendencies (Elson, 1979). Even though this nationalist and patriotic "back-room debating society" (Shirer, 2011 : 36) turned out to be an "absurd little organization" (Bendersky, 2007 : 16) for Hitler, he nevertheless soon became one of its prominent members and later on, its leader. Hitler did not only join the group because it shared the same racist ideas and allegiance to the Fatherland, but also because he saw in this unorganized group the possibility of creating the political group he had been thinking about for a few years (Bendersky, 2007).

War had undoubtedly changed Hitler's life: he had changed from being a pseudo-Bohemian with no life ambition to being an activist on the racist right of German politics (Bessel, 2004).

1.1. The growth of the NSDAP to the elections of 1932-1933

Before the 1930s, the Nazi party was not known at all and had little chance to become powerful. A Nazi seizure of power seemed implausible at that time even if Weimar was on the verge of collapsing (Bendersky, 2007). Hence, the party, chiefly Hitler, worked hard on propaganda to recruit as many members as possible (Shirer, 2011). Hitler started giving speeches – his best source of propaganda - more often. In his first public speech given in front of more or less a hundred people in February 1920, he enunciated the twenty-five points of the party's program which soon became the official program of the Nazi Party when, on 1st April 1920, the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* became the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (NSDAP)* (Shirer, 2011). The first point of the program concerned the union of all Germans in a Greater Germany (Shirer, 2011) while most of the other paragraphs were related to the wishes of the deprived lower classes. Ten years later, as soon as Hitler became Chancellor, he implemented points 2 and 25 of his program, namely the “abrogation of the treaty of Versailles and the treaty of St. Germain” and “the creation of a strong central power of the State” (Shirer, 2011 : 38).

Hitler had only been a member of the group for a year when the number of party membership expanded to over three thousand (Bendersky, 2007). But before this extraordinary growth, the party suffered from “years of struggle”, a period of time in which the group's survival was under highly unfavourable circumstances (Bendersky, 2007 : 49). The goal of the group was to overthrow the republic. However, as the group was too small, it had to ally itself with other political right-wing groups, antirepublicans and the Bavarian government which all shared the same antidemocratic and anti-Versailles political ideas (Bendersky, 2007).

In 1921, the Nazi party also founded the *Sturmabteilung* (also known as the Storm Troop or SA), a group of storm troopers who would defend the party against leftist attacks during Nazi meetings. The foundation of the Storm Troop was not only to defend the party, but also to recruit party members, to organize meetings for Hitler's

electoral campaigns, to distribute propaganda and to fight street battles with opponents (Bendersky, 2007). The SA was first mobilized in the Putsch of November 1923 in Munich, when Hitler decided to overthrow the government by using force (Bendersky, 2007). Hitler's "national revolution" was against the Weimar, which was, at that time, paralysed by the French occupation of the Ruhr, by the disastrous inflation and economic collapse and by the Communist uprisings that started on November 8, 1923 (Bendersky, 2007). The chaotic putsch, which led to the death of 14 demonstrators and 3 policemen, made Hitler become a national hero to the eyes of many Germans (Shirer, 2011). He had already understood how the media work: the most important thing is to make people talk about you, regardless of whether it was for good or bad reasons. Convicted of treason, Hitler spent 9 months behind bars, where he wrote the first volume of his autobiographical book *Mein Kampf* (Shirer, 2011).

When Hitler got out of jail on December 20, 1924, he realised the best way to seize power is finally not by using force but by legally winning the elections (Bendersky, 2007). Henceforth, the Nazi group would use the constitutional freedoms and democratic rights the Weimar Republic was granting them to rule Germany (Bendersky, 2007). The NSDAP mainly focused on a proworker and anticapitalistic strategic program which was strongly highlighted in propaganda and political campaigns. With less than five percent of the votes and fourteen seats in the parliament in the elections of 1924, the fascist party was far from popular (Bendersky, 2007). Adolf Hitler decided to develop even more Nazi propaganda and asked Josef Goebbels, one of the most cynical members of the party, to take care of it. Goebbels soon became the grand master of Nazi propaganda, as he gained most of the public attention with his newspaper articles, pamphlets and demonstrations inciting violence (Bendersky, 2007). However, Hitler knew that a national revolution would not occur with only publications and visual propaganda. According to him, masses could be much more motivated through speeches and the activism of party members (Benderksy, 2007). According to Bytwerk (2008), the Nazi Party claimed to having organized 34,000 meetings before September 1930 and over 50,000 before the presidential elections of

1932. The Party had held more political meetings than any other political party in some German areas.

In addition to propaganda, it was thought that the NSDAP needed an emblem, a symbol, a flag to appeal to the imagination of the masses (Shirer, 2011). After several attempts, Hitler eventually designed the future Nazi symbol: a black swastika imprinted on a white disk in the middle of a red background. In addition, Hitler established the "Heil", a mandatory greeting sign among the members of the extreme right-wing party (Shirer, 2011). This internal greeting sign soon became a symbolic gesture any one attending a Nazi meeting would use to show their support to the so-called "heroic" Hitler (Kershaw, 1987).

With the help of Goebbels's intensive propaganda and Adolf Hitler's numerous speeches, the previously unknown nationalist party grew very much in popularity in the early 1930's. In the legislative elections of 1930, the right-wing party considerably leapfrogged other parties in contrast to the elections of 1928. The NSDAP got hardly 2.6% of the votes and 12 seats in the Reichstag in 1928 whilst two years later, the party got 18.3% of the votes and 107 seats, becoming the second party of the Reichstag (Kershaw, 1987). This result was obviously unbelievable and exceeded all the party's expectations. Not only did they win the audience's votes but they also made a huge and indisputable publicity stunt for the party (Kershaw, 1987).

But the success of the Nazi group was not only the result of great propaganda, it was also, to the German people, one radical solution to the Great Depression of 1929 (Bendersky, 2007). When the New York stock market crisis broke out, the middle classes started panicking. They had lived through the Great Inflation of 1923, which considerably undermined their social and economic status (Bendersky, 2007), and were afraid they would have to undergo such a crisis again. Unfortunately for them – and fortunately for the NSDAP – the Great Depression was worse than the crisis of 1923. Millions of workers became unemployed in a few months, 20 million people out of 65 million were living on public assistance at the peak of the Great Depression (Bendersky, 2007).

In 1932, the Nazi leader started running for office against the old Hindenburg, president of the Reichstag since 1924 (Kershaw, 1987). Hitler, whose fame was increasing on a day-to-day basis, won more than 13 million votes in the second round of the presidential election (Kershaw, 1987). He certainly did not reduce his propaganda: using a plane (*Deutschlandflug*) to go from one city to another, he undoubtedly popularized his cult (Kershaw, 1987). Throughout his four airborne campaigns from April to November 1932, the candidate to presidency gave 148 speeches in front of more or less 20,000 to 30,000 people in both cities and the countryside (Kershaw, 1987).

This spectacular election campaign eventually led to a historic turning point: Adolf Hitler had failed to become the new president of Germany but would be named chancellor on January 30, 1933 by president Hindenburg and would become the most feared dictator of the 20th century.

1.2. From the New Reich Chancellor to Der Führer

The reasons for this radical change in German politics have been discussed by many scholars. Most of them agree that it is quite impossible to fully comprehend the public opinion of that time, as opinion polls did not exist (Kershaw, 1987). However, possible explanations generally come back in studies on this dark period: the common hatred German people had against the winners of World War I and more precisely the unfair Treaty of Versailles; a politics of revenge Hitler had particularly stressed; the ideological consensus Hitler embodied; and the upcoming fall of the Weimar system (Bessel, 2004 and Kershaw, 1987).

When Hitler became the new chancellor, his primary task was to ensure that his party would be the only one ruling over Germany. Hence, he had to ensure his power was complete by eliminating the other sources of authority he was sharing the power with: the president, the Army and the conservatives (Shirer, 2011). That is what he did, in a few months, by controlling the army; burning the Reichstag and accusing the

communists of it; and taking advantage of the old age of president Hindenburg to make him sign decrees in his favour (Shirer, 2011).

His final shot to take power legally was by passing the “Gesetz zur Behebung der Not von Volk und Reich” which means “Law for Removing the Distress of People and Reich”, commonly called the “Enabling Act” (Shirer, 2011). This would give Hitler exclusive legislative powers for four years. Constitutional functions would be turned over by the German Parliament to Hitler. However, a two-thirds majority was required to approve this new act, since it was a change in the constitution (Shirer, 2011). That is what he officially got on January 30, 1933.

From March 23, 1933, Hitler had most of the power over Germany even though Hindenburg was still president. He could not be restrained from the Parliament anymore and had control of most of the institutions. He eventually had the control of every institution, by using violence or not (Shirer, 2011).

In the middle of 1934, President Hindenburg’s health was getting worse. The question of whom would be his successor was raised (Shirer, 2011). Hitler suggested himself as he was the chancellor. But the point of view of the Army and the Navy differed from his (Shirer, 2011). Hitler required the authorization from them to become the new president, which he eventually did, by promising anything in their interest (Shirer, 2011). In August 1934, President Hindenburg passed away. A new poll to decide who would succeed him was required. Ninety percent of the German people voted for Hitler (Shirer, 2011). The German people had sealed their fate: Hitler, the *Führer*, had full power over Germany and was going to use it to cause the most atrocious and appalling crimes humans could think of.

1.3. Hitler's speeches – Deutschland, erwache!

The power which has always started the greatest religious and political avalanches in history rolling has from time immemorial been the magic power of the spoken word, and that alone.

– Hitler, Mein Kampf

As previously mentioned, Hitler gave many speeches during his decade of rise to power. This was an indispensable method of propaganda, a method that, as Nazis were aware, reached the masses and made them win power (Bytwerk, 2008). Even though he became one of the best speakers of the 20th century and the most effective orator in Germany (Shirer, 2011), he had not always been good at delivering speeches. His talent was in reality the result of years of training.

He first asked his friend Heinrich Hoffman to become his personal photographer. He then practiced his expressions of emotion with different gestures in a studio, under the flashes of Hoffman's camera (Elson, 1979). After photo shoots, the Nazi leader would study the pictures and correct each of his movements until he could find the desired effect. Figure 4 shows Hitler practising his oratory skills. Several emotions, such as misunderstanding, determination or triumph, are expressed but always in an exaggerated manner (Elson, 1979). This is because Hitler was not only giving a speech, he was acting. He wanted to be in the spotlight and aimed to have every eye staring at him.

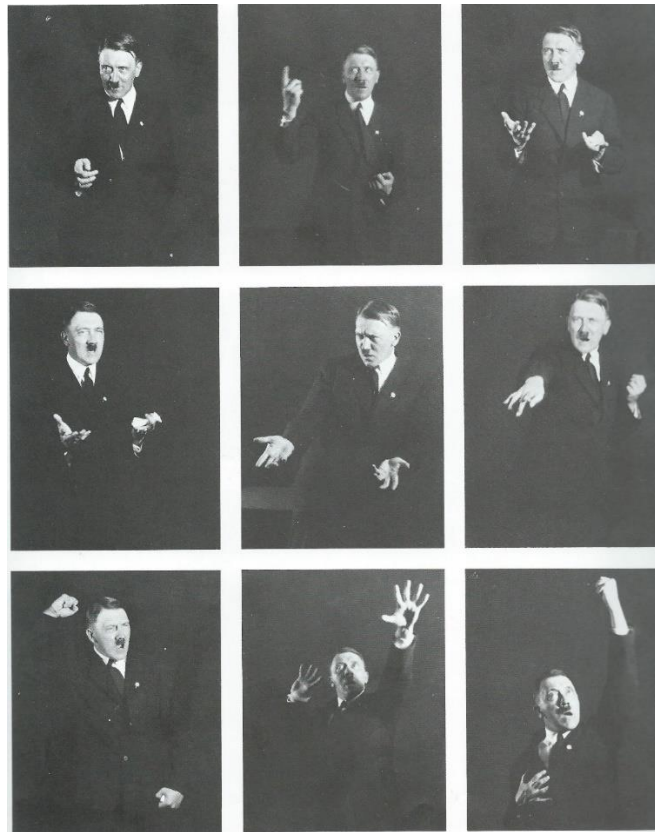


Figure 4. Hitler's emotions on photos based on Elson, R.T. (1979 : 111).

Hitler's speeches were considered as long and logical (Irving, 2002). According to Ullrich (2013/2016), Hitler had the habit of following a set pattern while delivering speeches. First, he started speaking calmly, with a hesitating voice. (Ullrich, 2013/2016 & Elson, 1979). When he was finally convinced that the audience was listening to him carefully, he started punctuating his statements with dramatic gestures such as "throwing his head back, extending his right arm and underlining particularly vivid sentences with his finger or hammering on the lectern with his fists" (Ullrich, 2013/2016 : 96). His gestures supported his speeches, potentially attracting more supporters (Elson, 1979). At the same time, his voice tone became more aggressive and his tempo and voice volume increased. The expressed vehemence and violence were infectious: his speeches always ended with the audience's cheers and applause (Ullrich, 2013/2016).

The *Führer's* compelling oratory skills were down to a precise talent: he could choose the right words in line with the state of mind of German people (mainly middle

classes), filled with hatred against the system. Hitler's speeches were written by no one else than Hitler himself (Kershaw, 1987). Public speaking was crucial to him and he never trusted anyone enough to write his words. To the *Führer*, passion, rather than rational argument, was the key to persuasion (Bytwerk, 2008).

Along with his talent to find the right words, Hitler had the faculty to connect with his audiences because of his charisma (Ress, 2012). According to Ress (2012), his charisma came from his ability to reinforce and heighten his audience's existing beliefs. To the eyes of many German people, Hitler was not a simple politician but rather their saviour. For instance, Ress interviewed a woman who attended one of Hitler's election rallies in 1932. She claimed that: "it was dead quiet, and then he started to speak extremely calmly, very calmly, he spoke slowly with a sonorous voice and ever so slowly got caught up in his own enthusiasm. He described how the German people could be helped, how they could be led out of this misery. And when the rally was over, I myself had the feeling that here was a man who did not think about himself and his own advantage, but solely about the good of the German people" Ress (2012 : 82) This interview supports Kershaw (1987)'s conclusion that Hitler embodied the nation and the national unity. This personification did not stop after Hitler's rise to power. On the contrary, Hitler intensified it even more before the outbreak of the war. For instance, one of his propaganda slogans of 1934 was: "Hitler for Germany – the whole Germany for Hitler" (Kershaw, 1987 : 68)

2. The unexpected American elections of 2016

In November 2016, Donald J. Trump was to become the 45th President of the United States of America despite virulent criticisms and animosity towards him. Some people described Donald Trump as authoritarian (Kivisto, 2017) while others, mostly mental health experts, affirmed he is subject to different personality disorders: narcissism and megalomania, paranoia, anti-social personality, sadism and impulsivity (Muckensturm, 2018⁵). Trump's popularity was not as high as Trump was stating in interviews, with 70% of negative views (Kivisto, 2017). Yet, this high number suggests that Trump won votes from some people who viewed him negatively. Considered as a central figure in the birth conspiracy theory against his predecessor Barack Obama, as an uncivic and disrespectful candidate against his Republican rivals or against his own people (he mocked a reporter with a physical disability), as a racist against Mexicans and Muslims (he demonized the former as being rapists, criminals and drug dealers while he called for a ban on the latter), as misogynous, dishonest, scum, liar, childish, etc., he still, despite those multitudinous negative names, was to lead the largest and most powerful democracy in the world (Kivisto, 2017).

The son of rich German parents and richer grandparents, Donald Trump was born on June 14, 1946 (Kivisto, 2017). Through his whole life, Trump has tried to become famous, especially as a successful businessman. A graduate of the Wharton School of Business in Pennsylvania, his first step in business was within the family company, whose boss was no other than the property developer Fred Trump, Trump's father (Ockrent, 2016). He was then the owner of several famous buildings, which all bear his name: Trump Towers (New York and Chicago), Trump Plaza Hotel (New York), the Trump International Hotel (Las Vegas), etc. (Ockrent, 2016). However, his journey as a businessman has not always been as successful as he claims in speeches and interviews. At the age of 18, Trump went bankrupt four times (Ockrent, 2016). His most expensive failure was probably his Trump Plaza Hotel in New York, which he

⁵ Retrieved from Muckensturm, B. *Donald Trump : est-il vraiment fou?* [Documentary].

bought for 400 million dollars, while he was launching the Trump Taj Mahal, his new project in New Jersey (Ockrent, 2016). Nevertheless, the core of Trump's business was to advertise himself as a gigantic successful businessman in order to get more licenses paid for the Trump brand (Wimberly, 2018). By buying any Trump goodies or apartments, people were buying the feeling of power, fame and wealth that lies in his name (Wimberly, 2018).

It is his quest for celebrity that provided him with a widespread name recognition (Kivisto, 2017). Trump gained fame by displaying his personal life in tabloids and on programs such as Howard Stern's shock jock radio show. Simultaneously, he wrote a dozen books such as *The Art of the Deal* (1987), *Trump: Surviving at the Top* (1990), *Trump: How to Get Rich* (2004), *Think Big: Make It Happen in Business and Life* (2009), etc., to expound on how to become as successful and rich as he was. He also made some cameo appearances in TV sitcoms or TV commercials, playing the role of a rich tycoon while in reality, his businesses were failing (Deery, 2018). Moreover, he was the host of the reality television program *The Apprentice*, which helped him gain national name recognition (Kivisto, 2017) with his famous catchphrase: "You're fired!" (Ockrent, 2016). Despite his attempts to be in the spotlight, Trump was not that well-known until he put himself forward as a candidate for Presidency in 2015. It has been speculated that Trump's political run was intended to enhance his media and brand exposure (Deery, 2018). Speculations or not, Donald Trump nevertheless became in 2016 the new President for the next four years to come.

2.1. The American political system and 2016 presidential election

Before relating what happened during the 2016 elections and how a businessman with so little political background was able to become the 45th President of the United States, one must understand how the American political system works. This section is largely based on the official website of the American government⁶.

⁶ <https://www.usa.gov/>. Last visited on July 5, 2019.

The first step of the presidential election process starts with *primary elections* and *caucuses*, two methods used to single out a potential presidential nominee. These votes are taken within each political party: a party nominates the most suitable party member to run for office. Even though there are several parties in the United States, the two main parties are the Democrats and the Republicans, which have been winning the elections for centuries. In primaries, the candidate is elected by party members who vote in a state election, while in the caucuses, party members gather in a meeting, discuss and vote for the candidate who will represent them in the general election. The primaries and caucuses occur from the summer prior to the year of the election through spring of the election year. For instance, when Donald Trump ran for office, the primaries and caucuses took place in summer 2015 until and including spring 2016.

From July to September of the election year, nominating conventions are held to choose the party's candidate. Those conventions are an opportunity for the party to promote its nominees. Televised, they mark the start of the presidential debates, taking place in the two months following the conventions. In these debates, candidates must outline their views and plans and dispute with candidates from other political parties. To be nominated as the official candidate for the party, nominees must win the total amount of delegates, divided by two, plus one (Daelman, 2016). In the 2016 presidential election, the amount of delegates was 1237. If none of the nominees reach this amount, the Republican National Convention would have to turn to a *contested convention* (Daelman, 2016). This means that delegates would have to vote for the candidate who won the primary or caucuses in their state during the first electoral round. After this round, if the nominee still has not reached the amount, some delegates will be able to vote for the candidate they want until the amount is reached (Daelman, 2016).

On the Tuesday following the first Monday of November, American citizens are asked to cast their votes; it is election day and the so-called popular election. One could be led to believe that a candidate who wins the most votes, wins the election and becomes

president. Nevertheless, it is not that simple. A candidate who wins the popular election might not become the new president of the United States. This is due to the Electoral College. It is the electoral college which officially elects the president and the vice president. The electoral college members are chosen first by the political parties in each state and then by the American people during the popular election of November. The number of electors per state depends on the amount of state members in the Congress (House and Senate). For instance, Texas has 38 members in the congress and therefore 38 electors. There are nowadays 538 electors and candidates must get 270 electors to win the presidential election.

A candidate might thus win the popular vote but lose the presidential election because the electoral college voted more for another candidate. This situation is rare, but not impossible. It has already happened three times: in the 1800s, in 2000 and in 2016 for Donald Trump's election.

In the end, Donald Trump did not win the popular votes, Hilary Clinton did. According to Johnson and Brown (2018), 55.4 percent of eligible American adults cast their votes and Hilary Clinton won 48.2 percent of them. She won nearly 2.9 million votes more than her opponent republican candidate. When commenting on this situation, Trump responded that he could have won those too but did not seek to do so (Kivisto, 2017). Although, the new President was certainly aware that there were 8% more "non-Trump votes" cast than "Trump votes" (Kivisto, 2017 : 39). The reason why the republican won is because Hilary Clinton only got 227 Electoral College votes while Donald Trump was awarded 304 votes, 34 more than the 270 votes needed to have the majority (cf. Figure 5). Only 78,000 votes out of the 138 million votes cast determined the difference between the two candidates, when Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin chose Trump over Clinton (Johnson and Brown, 2018).

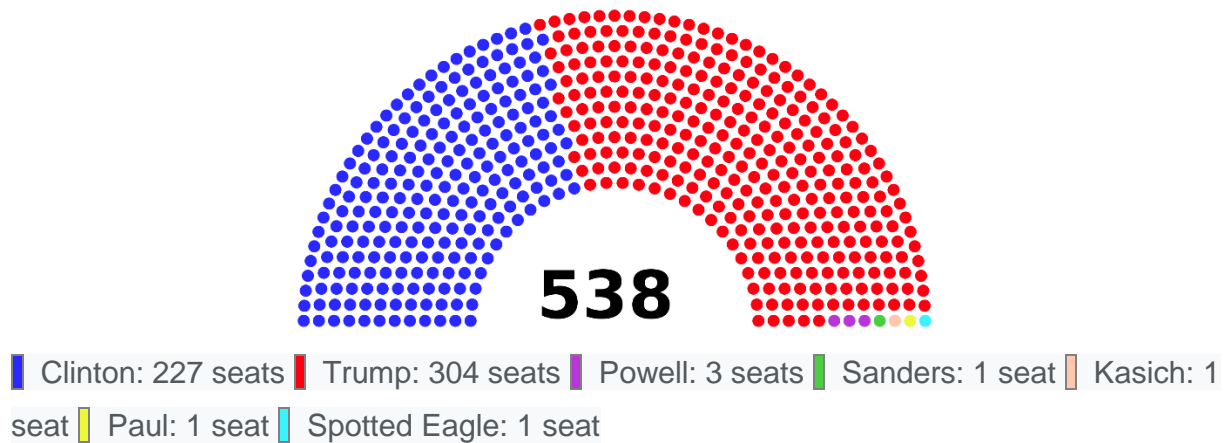


Figure 5. Composition of the Electoral College in the presidential election of 2016⁷

2.2. Why Trump?

“My use of social media is not Presidential – it’s MODERN DAY PRESIDENTIAL. Make America Great Again! -

Trump July 1, 2017

Donald Trump, known for his business ventures and his outspokenness, has long been seen as non-credible to the eyes of experts and journalists. For instance, the Huffington Post refused to write about Trump’s campaign in its political coverage: “we have decided we won’t report on Trump’s campaign as part of The Huffington Post’s political coverage. Instead, we will cover his campaign as part of our Entertainment section. Our reason is simple: Trump’s campaign is a sideshow. We won’t take the bait. If you are interested in what The Donald has to say, you’ll find it next to our stories on the Kardashians and The Bachelorette” (Huffington Post, quoted in Daelman, 2016 : 2). The Huffington put into words what many Americans and foreigners thought of the 2016 election: Trump had made of politics an entertainment or a reality show (Deery, 2018), but by no means was his campaign serious. However, Deery (2018) argues that politics had been turning to entertainment for some time before Trump’s candidacy, even though it has increased exponentially since then. According to him, Trump’s campaign was “a live show with unpredictable, suspenseful, up-to-the-

⁷ Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Electoral_College. Last visited on July 3, 2019.

minute revelations and interwoven multiple plots involving alliances, conspiracies, and betrayal” (Deery, 2018 : 20).

Trump certainly knew – and still knows – how to get media attention. By behaving like a TV reality participant (by being outrageous, mean, impetuous, etc.), he was seen as an honest, unfiltered, speak-his-mind person (Deery, 2018). He had advisors, but he preferred to say what he wanted, whatever came to his mind: “They [his opponents] pay these guys two hundred thousand dollars a month to tell them: ‘Don’t say this, don’t say that.’ No one tells me what to say” said Trump in an interview for the New York Times in June 2015 (Ockrent, 2016). In the end, Trump had created the impression that he was telling people “what he thinks” through his populist campaign messages, even when those had racist and sexist overtones (Benson & Sotirovic, 2018) or when Trump disregarded truth and decency (Flake, 2017, quoted in Knobel, 2018). This trait of his personality, only used to get attention, was considered as a good quality to many Americans and was one of the reasons why Trump won the election with 62,979,636 popular votes (Kivisto, 2017).

Kivisto (2017) discusses several other justifications for Trump’s victory. The first one is the indisputable rise of authoritarianism in the Republican party, which Trump particularly reinforced and embodied. Authoritarians put emphasis on control, order, obedience and conformity and are simplistic, rigid and exclusionary. For instance, they see the world as “black-and-white polarities” (Kivisto, 2017 : 53) which divide the world in two. MacWilliams (2016) argues that Trump, considered as a political outsider sharing an us-versus-them worldview, attracted voters because he was non-conventional, different from traditional candidates and that most of “Never-Trump” were in fact non-authoritarian. Trump mostly received support from the white working class, unsatisfied with Democratic policies which did not address their needs (Benson & Sotirovic, 2018), and individuals without college degrees (Wimberly, 2018). It is however important to stress that despite his constant hatred and vilification of immigrants and racial minorities, Trump received support from 29% of Latinos and

Asians and from 8% of African Americans. One can speculate that those voters, for whom religion trumps race, were influenced by Protestant churches (Kivisto, 2017). However, authoritarianism cannot account for the almost 23 million votes Trump won. Another reason why Americans probably voted for Trump was their opposition to Hilary Clinton, his Democratic opponent. They were particularly against her legacy and her tendency to perpetuate most of Obama's redistributive policies (Kivisto, 2017). Some Americans believed that Hilary Clinton would take them closer to a nuclear war with Russia or they were simply against Democrats in general (Kivisto, 2017). Clinton was calling for a new impetus to the country, based on her experience and on the heritage of her predecessor Barack Obama (Ockrent, 2016). But many Americans did not want Obama's policies to be in force. For instance, many were those who considered Obamacare – the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act⁸ –, a help coverage introduced by Obama during his tenure, as a failure (Kivisto, 2017). In his program, Trump promised he would abolish Obamacare as soon as he became president. Furthermore, according to Kivisto (2017), Americans were interested in Trump's election because it would ensure that the nation would have conservative laws such as the prohibition of abortion, enforcement against immigration, etc. Trump also attracted many voters due to his business skills. Many of them thought that as a successful businessman, Trump was good at making deals and persuading people, skills beneficial to making America great again (Kivisto, 2017). While some people believed that Trump could revive the American dream, others were not that enthusiastic when it came to voting for the Republican outsider. Being against the political system, Obama, Hilary and her blue party, some Americans cast votes for Trump as though it were their only option (Kivisto, 2017). According to postelection polls, almost a quarter of voters supported the new White House occupant despite stating that he was unqualified or was lacking the temperament to be president (Fitzduff, 2017).

⁸ Retrieved from <https://www.hhs.gov/healthcare/about-the-aca/index.html>. Last visited on July 7, 2019.

In a “mediatized and visually oriented twenty-first-century” (Hall, Goldstein & Ingram, 2016 : 75), one cannot disregard the use of media and propaganda when discussing Trump’s campaign. Good or bad publicity, anything helping him make the headlines was worth it. This ability to capture media attention was undoubtedly improved by his numerous business dealings (Wimberly, 2018). The role of the media was significant, whether it was misinformation amplified through social media or failures in the traditional news media (Pickard, 2017, quoted in Pickard, 2018). The extensive media coverage strongly exposed Trump and “popularized” him (Pickard, 2018), which played a significant role in spreading and amplifying Trump’s political brand through his whole campaign (Davis & Sinnreich, 2019). However, Trump has always been offensive towards mainstream media. Less than five months after he announced his candidacy, by September 2015, Trump had already attacked the news media 43 times (Calderone & Robinson, 2015, quoted in Hayes, 2018). The benefit was obviously mutual: Trump’s attacks against the press by calling journalists “enemies of the American people” (Trump, 2017, quoted in Turcotte, 2018) or by characterizing it as “Fake news!” helped the news organizations covering Trump gain vast amounts of money (Pickard, 2018). It was shown that Trump’s coverage in the media lasted 327 minutes while Clinton received only 121 minutes of broadcast (Tyndall, 2015, quoted in Pickard, 2018).

Benson and Sotirovic (2018) argue that Trump’s tough talk used to express his thoughts contributed to his nomination as well. His messages, frequently posted in 140 characters on Twitter, his favourite social medium, were and still are controversial. Not only did Twitter become his prominent means of communication, he also used this networking service to express his thoughts without any filter and to insult hundreds of people, including his own party members. This modern means of communication was significant through the campaign as Trump gave the impression that he was close to his people and was covered by mainstream media. Scholars showed that tweeting during presidential debates could help candidates gain more favourable attitudes or influence viewers’ perceptions of political debates (Brown &

Khoo, 2018). The mainstream media quoting Trump's words incessantly offered a peculiar kind of validation to his messages as though it was "deemed worthy of coverage in the public mind" (Benson and Sotivoric, 2018 in Hayes, 2018 : 52). In the end, Twitter, especially Trump's tweets, was a "new source for journalistic content" (Conway, Kenski & Wang, 2015 : 364, quoted in Brown & Khoo, 2018)

2.3. Donald Trump's speeches – Make America Great Again!

Many studies have already been carried out on Trump's speeches. Some of them focus on the lexis and grammar (Sclafani, 2018; Javadi & Mohammadi, 2017; Ahmadian, Azarshahi, Paulhus, 2017) while others highlight the 2016 Presidential election candidate's gesture and body language (Hall, Goldstein & Ingram, 2016). Findings from studies will be useful for the following chapters of this dissertation. It is therefore interesting to point out some of the results found.

With respect to the lexis Trump uses in his speeches, especially in his campaign debates, Sclafani (2018) argues that Trump's use of the turn-initial discourse marker "well" is very poor while his turn-medial discourse marker "by the way" is very frequent. The lack of use of the discourse marker "well" could be correlated with the "straightforward" and "decisive" Trump's manner of speaking that people perceive. Sclafani (2018) highlights that the absence of that discourse marker could be interpreted as a face-threatening act (Brown & Levinson, 1987) against the moderator of the debate, while the use of that marker by his opponents could function as a politeness strategy towards the addressee's positive face. This is due to the function of "well", seen as an "explicit acknowledgment" (Sclafani, 2018 : 31) that politicians will fully answer the moderator's questions. By contrast, Trump employs the turn-medial discourse marker "by the way" a great deal because it arguably has an interesting function: it can allow him to change topics whenever he wishes to and, consequently, prevent him from answering the moderator's questions.

Sclafani (2018) also discusses the recurrent use of the phrase "believe me", which creates audience involvement in Trump's speeches. This phrase may function as an

encouragement to audience participation in monologues and as a structuration of the speech. Political monologues are generally punctuated by interactional engagements such as audience applause, laughing, chanting, etc. Discourse markers could thus be used as repetitive units to “signal discourse structure or invite audience interaction” (Sclafani, 2018 : 36). Sclafani (2018) showed that Trump used the phrase “believe me” 30 times in debates while his Republican opponents only used it 3 times and his Democrat opponents never made use of it.

As far as grammar is concerned, both Sclafani (2018) and Javadi & Mohammadi (2017) agree that Trump’s sentences are quite short compared to those of his opponents. Sclafani (2018) claims that this may be due to the ideology of Trump preferring less talk and more action. Excessive talk could be perceived as an alternative to action, which Trump may be trying to avoid with his economy of words. On several occasions, he even distinguished himself from other opponents by claiming that they are “all talk, no action” (Sclafani, 2018 : 31). Trump’s short, emphatic and declarative sentences generally follow the same pattern: subject-verb-object (action process), subject-verb (events process) or subject-verb-complement (attribution process). Javadi & Mohammadi (2017 : 5) argue that those patterns help Trump «point to the cause and responsible for the “action” (or Clinton’s policy), the “participant” including the “agent” (Clinton) and the “patients” (Americans)». Trump’s sentences are also frequently connected by the conjunctions “but” and “and”.

According to Javadi & Mohammadi (2017), Trump’s words are very simple, his language is everyday language and his vocabulary is comprehensible by all. Moreover, his language is also described as informal (Ahmadian, Azarshahi & Paulhus, 2017). Muckensturm⁹ determined that Trump adapts his vocabulary depending on the person or the group of persons he is referring to. For instance, Trump uses three different adjectives to mean “fantastic”. When he talks about people in general, he uses the adjective “amazing”, while he uses “incredible” when he speaks

⁹ Retrieved from Muckensturm, B. *Donald Trump : est-il vraiment fou?* [Documentary].

of the police and the adjective “tremendous” when he is mentioning an impact. He also uses three distinct negative adjectives: “bad” is for people, “stupid” stands for affairs or business and “horrible” is associated with concepts (like Obamacare).

This simple and informal language can be seen to narrow the gap between the candidate and his audience (Javadi & Mohammadi, 2017). Trump also expressed relational, expressive and experiential values by showing himself as being a sympathetic and a responsible person. He wanted to show his “friends, delegates and fellow Americans” (Javadi & Mohammadi, 2017 : 9) that he knew what people go through, what difficulties they are in. In other words, during his campaign, Trump tried to make American people feel he was close to them.

Ahmadian, Azarshahi & Paulhus (2017 : 51) scrutinized different speeches by Trump and concluded that his speeches, in addition to their informality, are the “highest in grandiosity” and are very dynamic. These observations are in line with Javadi & Mohammadi’s conclusion on the very frequent use of the pronouns “I” and “We” (Javadi & Mohammadi, 2017). Trump uses those two pronouns to provide a feeling of unity, to once again minimize the distance between him and the American people. On the other hand, he uses the pronouns “She” and “They” with negative connotations to create an image of fear and negativity. His recurrent use of “I” functions as a way of introducing himself as the only saviour and therefore, the only leader the nation needs (Javadi & Mohammadi, 2017).

One of Trump’s major features of communication styles is unquestionably his idiosyncratic body language, including both his gestures and his facial expressions (Sclafani, 2018). Hall, et al. (2016) suggested that the connection between Trump’s gestures and his state for entertainment is very strong. His “gestural spectacles” (Hall, et al., 2016 : 92) during his campaign did not have much impact on potential future supporters but made him rather gain more adversaries. However, Trump’s New York vernacular style, which is both an asset and a hindrance, maintained both positive and negative media coverage (Hall, et al., 2016). In their research, Hall, et al. (2016) viewed Trump’s gestural repertoire as a “comedic political style” that is unusual for US

presidential candidates. His gestures accompanied or even intensified his statements, no matter how false they were (Trump asserting that terrorists equal Muslims, that Mexicans are all rapists, etc.) in order to entertain and hold the attention of the public. In the end, Trump made people laugh, whether they laughed with him or at him (Hall, et al., 2016).

One famous entertainment gesture, which actually comes from his former TV reality show *The Apprentice* - when he was firing unworthy contestants -, is his “Pistol hand gesture”. This consists of raising his finger and making the shape of a gun.



Figure 6.a. “Trump’s Pistol Hand Gesture (start)” (Hall, et al., 2016 : 77)



Figure 6.b. “Trump’s Pistol Hand Gesture (finish)” (Hall, et al., 2016 : 78)

Trump's speeches were and are still seen as entertainment because of his performances, full of excessive gestures and insults to boost his comedic effect:

“Trump's material is based on strong image projection (“Make America great again”; “Be a winner”), comedic gesture (mimetic enactments, histrionic facial expressions, rolling eyes, torso shrugs), sarcasm (“yeah, right”), repetition of packaged comedic routines (planes flying overhead at campaign rallies used as props to joke about military opponents), adversarial stance (anti-political correctness), staged rituals of masculinity and femininity (competitive one-upmanship involving braggadocio and beauty), and the bullying of opponents (“Look at that face”; “Jeb is a boring guy, basically a loser”)” (Hall, et al., 2016 : 79).

Trump's supporters interpreted his speeches as spontaneous, real, unlike the other politicians' scripted addresses. In contrast, to his opponents, his gestures were nothing else than vulgarity or offense, revealing the spontaneity of a buffoon (Hall, et al., 2016).

3. Comparison and conclusion

During Donald Trump's campaign in 2015, Barack Obama addressed American people in a question & answer session before the Economic Club of Chicago¹⁰. He warned his fellow Americans to "pay attention and vote" after relating what happened less than a century ago: " We have to tend to this garden of democracy or else. Things could fall apart quickly. That's what happened in Germany in the 1930s, which despite the democracy of the Weimar Republic and centuries of high-level cultural and scientific achievements, Adolf Hitler rose to dominate. Sixty million people died" (Barack Obama quoted in Hinz, 2017).

Despite the slight similarities between both politicians, one cannot assume that Hitler and Trump are alike. It is possible to draw some parallels, however. Firstly, both politicians are reported to be narcissistic, proclaiming themselves as the only saviour of their own nation, as being the only hope to the people's despair and need for change. Even though post-war Germany was in a worse economic shape than the America of Donald Trump's era, a need for change was a crucial common point in both periods: German people suffered greatly from World War I and even more from the unfair and accusing Treaty of Versailles whereas many American people wanted a change from Obama's policies and democracy.

Secondly, they both targeted a religious community or a foreign nation to incite fear and hatred in order to gain power for themselves. Hitler undeniably persecuted Jews, who were, according to him, the source of all the problems in Germany. Trump, however, pointed the finger at Muslims and Mexicans. When aggravated acts of violence increased because of Trump's hateful words, he just ignored them (Hart, 2017). Hitler was nevertheless more direct: he encouraged his people to bully Jews, to make them feel like rats, vermin.

¹⁰ Retrieved from <https://www.chicagobusiness.com/article/20171206/BLOGS02/171209933/barack-obama-invokes-nazi-germany-in-economic-club-remarks>. Last visited on July 9, 2019.

Thirdly, both politicians used a great deal of propaganda and employed all the modern technologies available to them to address their people. Hitler used the television, radio, newspapers and planes, which were all rather new at his time, while Trump used mainstream news media and social media (which are becoming inevitable in this Internet era that is the 21st century). The media were crucial in both rises to power: Trump and Hitler used them to talk about them in positive or negative ways to simply make the headlines and thus get more exposure and publicity.

Admittedly their historical and political contexts differ in many ways, but they were both able to address the people of their time and attract them to their way of thinking. Hitler mostly utilised passion, violence and fervour in his speeches, while Trump built his speeches on comedy and entertainment. Self-representation was central to both campaigns, since voters are influenced by the candidate's performance and candidates rely on people's votes (Meeks, 2016, quoted in Brown & Khoo, 2018). According to Meeks (quoted in Brown & Khoo, in Hayes, 2018 : 263), "appearance, body language and verbal rhetoric on political issues and character traits" are therefore decisive to "construct their [politicians'] image and self-presentation". Even though the way both politicians delivered their speeches has already been addressed, it is interesting to explore whether there is any similarity in the words and intonation they used and to scrutinize any similarity in their body language.

Chapter 3 : Data and method

This chapter is divided into two different main sections. The first one mainly concentrates on the research questions and the data. A small recontextualization of the analysed data is given to understand the selection made. The second section discusses the quantitative and qualitative method used to analyse the data.

1. Research Questions and data

This study aims to answer three different questions, which will ultimately help to answer the main research question: Is there any similarity in the delivery of the speeches by Adolf Hitler and Donald Trump during their rise to power? The following three research questions focus on some of the most important aspects of their speeches: the words used, the intonation and prominence some words were given, and the body language supporting their speeches:

- 1) Which words recur in the political speeches under study?
- 2) What intonation do both politicians use and which words are given special prominence?
- 3) Which elements of body language are used recurrently during the delivery of the speeches?

In order to carry out this study, six speeches, three for each president, were chosen regarding their importance in history and the similarity they exhibit (cf. Table 1, column "Reason"). To have the most complete data possible, either a video or a record of the delivery of the speech was found for each presidential speech. Hitler's speech on the Enabling Act, which was a response to Otto Wels, was the only speech for which the video file could not be found.

Politi- cian	Speech	Date	Where	Source	Dura- tion	Wor- ds	Reason
Adolf Hitler	First speech as Chancellor	Feb. 10, 1933	Berlin	Video	30'33"	4,132	Importance in History + // Trump's Inauguration Speech
Adolf Hitler	Enabling Act – debate with Otto Wels	Mar. 23, 1933	Berlin	Record	21'34"	1,798	Importance in History + // Trump's first presidential debate with Hilary Clinton
Adolf Hitler	Speech addressed to the future Hitler youth	Sept. 8, 1934	Nurem- berg	Video	3'56"	299	// Trump's Speech addressed to the American Scouts
Donald J. Trump	First presidential debate with Hilary Clinton	Sept. 26, 2016	New York	Video	45'03" ¹¹	8,425	// Hitler's debate with Otto Wels
Donald J. Trump	Inauguration Speech	Jan. 20, 2017	Washin- gton	Video	16'20"	1,454	Importance in History + // Hitler's first speech as Chancellor
Donald J. Trump	Speech addressed to the American Scouts	July 24, 2017	West Virginia	Video	38'06"	4,186	// Hitler's speech addressed to the future Hitler youth

Table 1. Description of the speeches used in this dissertation

¹¹ According to Jessie Hellmann. Retrieved from <https://thehill.com/blogs/ballot-box/presidential-races/301957-clinton-surpasses-trump-in-speaking-time-at-final-debate>. Last visited on July 13, 2019.

For each speech, different extracts were chosen depending on their relevance for either body language or intonation. Tables 2 to 7 below include information on which extracts were chosen, how much time those extracts last and how many words they contain.

The first address analysed in this dissertation was Hitler’s first speech as the new Chancellor of Germany. This speech was given on February 10, 1933, after he had been proclaimed Chancellor on 30th January 1933, marking the Nazi capture of and consolidation to power. This day was and still is referred to as *Der Tag der Machtergreifung*, which means “The Day of the Seizure of Power” (Fergusson 1964). His entrance to the Reich Chancellery opened the door to a future brutal racist dictatorship (Bessel 2004), which would later lead to one of the two biggest wars of the 20th century. This famous speech was relevant to the present study because it illustrates the language, the intonation and the body language Hitler was using when he finally became a chancellor but was nonetheless not entirely in power. On 30th January 1933, Hitler was the new Chancellor but did not have full power; this happened a few months later with the Enabling Act.

The speech is the longest speech examined in this dissertation with a duration of 30min33s and a total of 4,132 words. Eight extracts varying between 19 seconds and almost 2 minutes were chosen depending on the images that could be seen in regard to Hitler’s body language and depending on the quality of the sound for the analysis of the intonation and word prominence (cf. Table 2). In total, the extracts last 8min18 and contain 578 words.

Hitler: First Speech as Chancellor, February 10, 1933			
	Time in Video	Duration	Number of Words
Full Speech	00:05:16 → 00:35:49	30'33''	4,132
Extract 1 (Start)	00:05:16 → 00:07:11	1'55''	43
Extract 2	00:08:31 → 00:09:06	0'35''	55
Extract 3	00:11:14 → 00:11:44	0'30''	167
Extract 4	00:16:19 → 00:18:19	2'00''	29
Extract 5	00:22:24 → 00:23:47	1'23''	100
Extract 6	00:28:00 → 00:28:56	0'56''	75

Extract 7	00:33:21 → 00:33:40	0'19''	43
Extract 8 (End)	00:35:09 → 00:35:49	0'40''	66
Total Extract		8'18''	578

Table 2. Extracts chosen for Hitler - First Speech as Chancellor, February 10, 1933

Less than two months later, on 23rd March 1933, Hitler became the undisputed leader he wanted to be. It happened during the debate on the *Ermächtigungsgesetz* ("Enabling Act") in the Kroll Opera House. The Chancellor was debating against his opponent Otto Wels and clearly stated that his aim was to "no longer govern by emergency decrees [...] but to return to normal Reichstag legislation" (Fergusson 1964), which intentionally meant that he would have the ability to rule the country without being obliged to consult the Reichstag or Reichstrat (Fergusson 1964). He eventually won the debate and the law was passed. The second speech by Adolf Hitler investigated in this dissertation was his answer to Otto Wels during the debate.

His answer lasted 21min34s and contains 1,798 words (cf. Table 3). Overall, nine segments of the speech were selected, mainly depending on the intonation as no video file was found. Altogether, the extracts last a few seconds less than his first speech as Chancellor (8min6s) but has almost a hundred words more (675 words).

Hitler: Response to Otto Wels, March 23, 1933			
	Time in Video	Duration	Number of Words
Full Speech	00:07:25 → 00:28:59	21'34''	1,798
Extract 1 (Start)	00:07:25 → 00:09:02	1'37''	83
Extract 2	00:09:51 → 00:10:17	0'26''	46
Extract 3	00:11:53 → 00:12:40	0'47''	77
Extract 4	00:14:04 → 00:15:28	1'24''	115
Extract 5	00:16:11 → 00:17:12	1'01''	95
Extract 6	00:20:01 → 00:20:28	0'27''	31
Extract 7	00:22:23 → 00:22:57	0'34''	53
Extract 8	00:25:29 → 00:25:48	0'19''	28
Extract 9 (End)	00:27:28 → 00:28:59	1'31''	147
Total Extract		8'06''	675

Table 3. Extracts chosen for Hitler - Response to Otto Wels, March 23, 1933

The third speech by Hitler was chosen in order to investigate how Hitler was addressing the *Hitler Jugend* before the break out of the second world war and how powerful he became after only one year of full power over Germany. The video of the speech was retrieved from “Triumph des Willens”, a movie directed by Hitler as propaganda for his Nazi party (Kershaw, 1987). The movie aimed to demonstrate the strength and the unity of Germany. It particularly targeted the youth and aimed to establish a national consciousness. It is important to bear in mind that on September 8, 1934, Hitler was already the new President of Germany as his predecessor Paul von Hindenburg passed away in August of the same year (Shirer, 2011). This speech was also relevant because of its similarity with Trump’s speech addressed to the young scouts of the National Scouts Jamboree, one year after his presidential election. As his address to the Hitler Youth only lasted 3min56s with 299 words (cf. Table 4), the whole speech was analysed. The speech was nevertheless divided into different segments to be able to refer to particular moments more easily in the results and discussion section.

Hitler: Speech in Nuremberg addressing Hitler Youth, Sept. 8, 1934			
	Time in Video	Duration	Number of Words
Full Speech	00:03:58 → 00:07:54	3’56’’	299
Extract 1 (Start)	00:03:58 → 00:04:34	0’36’’	53
Extract 2	00:04:34 → 00:05:19	0’45’’	79
Extract 3	00:05:19 → 00:06:42	1’23’’	89
Extract 4	00:06:42 → 00:07:54	1’12’’	78
Total Extract		3’56’’	299

Table 4. Extracts chosen for Hitler - Speech in Nuremberg addressing Hitler Youth

All of Trump’s speeches are longer than Hitler’s. For the sake of comparison, it was decided that the total time of all the extracts had to be similar. A little more than twenty minutes were therefore investigated for both politicians. The data for Hitler lasted 20min20 whereas Trump’s lasted 20min35 (cf. Table 8).

For Trump’s speech addressed to the young scouts, nine small extracts were chosen. Altogether, they last 8min57 and contain 878 words (cf. Table 5).

Trump : National Scout Jamboree Speech, July 24, 2017.			
	Time in Video	Duration	Number of Words
Full Speech	00:00:54 → 00:39:00	38'06"	4,186
Extract 1 (Start)	00:00:20 → 00:02:14	1'54"	167
Extract 2	00:04:10 → 00:04:52	0'42"	57
Extract 3	00:09:00 → 00:09:18	0'18"	37
Extract 4	00:09:40 → 00:10:09	0'29"	62
Extract 5	00:10:45 → 00:11:05	0'20"	30
Extract 6	00:12:40 → 00:13:22	0'42"	44
Extract 7	00:14:02 → 00:14:54	0'52"	92
Extract 8	00:24:42 → 00:25:42	1'00"	136
Extract 9 (End)	00:36:20 → 00:39:00	2'40"	253
Total Extract		8'57"	878

Table 5. Extracts chosen for Trump - National Scout Jamboree Speech, July 24, 2017.

Parallels can also be drawn between Hitler's first speech as the new Chancellor of Germany and Trump's inauguration speech as the new president of the United States. It is in fact interesting to see which hopes both new leaders had for their people and what promises were made to them. The analysis of the recurrent words was therefore particularly relevant for both of these speeches. Trump's inaugural address, given on 20th January 2017 in Washington after he had won the electoral elections against Hilary Clinton, counted 1,454 words and lasted 16min20 (cf. Table 6). Only five extracts were selected, but their duration is slightly longer than the other extracts.

Trump : Inaugural Speech, Jan. 20, 2017.			
	Time in Video	Duration	Number of Words
Full Speech	00:00:36 → 00:16:56	16'20"	1,454
Extract 1 (Start)	00:00:36 → 00:03:39	3'03"	272
Extract 2	00:06:34 → 00:09:07	2'33"	233
Extract 3	00:10:11 → 00:10:24	0'13"	25
Extract 4	00:13:29 → 00:14:03	0'34"	50
Extract 5 (End)	00:16:12 → 00:16:56	0'44"	70
Total Extract		7'07"	650

Table 6. Extracts chosen for Trump - Inaugural Speech, Jan. 20, 2017.

To win votes from American citizens in order to become the new president, Donald Trump had to compete against different opponents. One of them was Hilary Clinton,

with whom he had several televised debates. This study also focused on one of Trump's debates against his female democrat opponent, which can be seen as similar to Hitler's debate against Otto Wels on the *Ermächtigungsgesetz*. The chosen debate, which took place on 26th September 2016, is the first debate held for the 2016 U.S. presidential general election. The whole encounter lasted 1h35'25'' and as Table 1 shows, Trump spoke 45min03s¹². As Lester Holt, the anchor of NBC Nightly News, stated: the discussion is fragmented into six segments of 15 minutes long¹³. Hilary and Trump were asked the same question at the start of each segment and both had up to two minutes to answer.

Segments were once again chosen regarding the intonation. Even though it was possible to analyse most of Trump's body language within the video, some extracts were not relevant to the body language analysis as the cameraman focused on the participants' face rather than on their entire body. Some of Trump's hand gestures were therefore off-camera.

Trump : First Presidential Debate, September 26, 2016.			
	Time in Video	Duration	Number of Words
Full Debate	00:03:10 → 01:38:35	1h35'25''	
Trump speaking		45'03''	8,425
Extract 1	00:08:05 → 00:08:35	0'30''	92
Extract 2	00:09:56 → 00:10:14	0'18''	53
Extract 3	00:14:48 → 00:14:56	0'08''	24
Extract 4	00:22:57 → 00:23:57	1'00''	184
Extract 5	00:27:48 → 00:28:07	0'19''	18
Extract 6	00:29:49 → 00:30:08	0'19''	42
Extract 7	00:40:16 → 00:40:18	0'02''	0
Extract 8	00:49:51 → 00:50:13	0'22''	54
Extract 9	01:01:12 → 01:01:21	0'09''	40
Extract 10	01:17:41 → 01:18:30	0'49''	170
Extract 11	01:21:24 → 01:21:32	0'08''	29
Extract 12	01:32:44 → 01:33:01	0'17''	51
Extract 13	01:35:23 → 01:35:33	0'10''	14
Total Extract		4'31''	771

Table 7. Extracts chosen for Trump - First Presidential Debate, September 26, 2016.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ See video at 0min25s on DVD attached to the dissertation (Appendix 7)

Table 8 includes an overview of the data gathered for the dissertation: first, the duration of each speech with its amount of words; and second, the duration of each selected extract and its respective amount of words.

Speech	Politician	Full Speech Duration	Full Speech Word amount	Extract Duration	Extract word amount
First Speech as Chancellor, February 10, 1933	Hitler	30'33"	4,132	8'18"	578
Response to Otto Wels, March 23, 1933	Hitler	21'34"	1,798	8'06"	675
Speech in Nuremberg addressing Hitler Youth, Sept. 8, 1934	Hitler	3'56"	299	3'56"	299
TOTAL HITLER		56'03"	6,229	20'20"	1,552
Inaugural Speech, Jan. 20, 2017.	Trump	16'20"	1,454	7'07"	650
First Presidential Debate, September 26, 2016.	Trump	1h35'25" +/- 43'00"	8,425	4'31"	771
National Scout Jamboree Speech, July 24, 2017.	Trump	38'06"	4,186	8'57"	878
TOTAL TRUMP		1h37'26"	14,065	20'35"	2,299

Table 8. Overview of the data for all the speeches

2. Method

As mentioned above, this study aims to answer three different research questions. Each question was answered with a quantitative and qualitative method, depending on the studied data.

2.1. First research question

In order to answer the question *Which words recur in the political speeches under study*, it was necessary to find the transcription¹⁴ of each speech in its original language and the translations of the German transcripts¹⁵. Every transcription was found on different websites on the Internet and their reliability was verified against the recordings. The English transcriptions of Donald Trump's speeches were verified by myself whereas the German transcriptions and translations were checked by two different people: a German native speaker with English as a second language and a French speaking student studying German and English.

After the verification, each transcription was fed into the Sketch Engine¹⁶ in order to create frequency lists. Two different tools of the Sketch Engine were used: the Wordlist tool to provide an exhaustive list of all the words occurring at least five times in the speeches and the N-gram tool to have an indication of which words usually recur as contiguous sequences of words at least two times in Hitler's speeches and three times in Trump's speeches.

The frequency lists of the *Führer's* speeches were created with the data in German. The translations of the transcripts were useful to understand the speeches and when there was a vocabulary problem which could not be solved with the help of an online dictionary.

Only the first 100 words occurring the most frequently in the speeches were scrutinised. Those 100 words were then sorted depending on their word class: content

¹⁴ See Appendix 2

¹⁵ See Appendix 3

¹⁶ <https://www.sketchengine.eu/>

(lexical) words (nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs) or function (grammatical) words (pronouns/determiners) and negative function words. For each speech, a table¹⁷ was created to summarize the frequency lists and the word class of each word (see Table 9). A table which summarises the results of each speech analysis was made for both politicians. The tables of Hitler’s speeches were then compared with those of Trump considered as similar for comparison. For instance, Table 9 below was compared with the speech of Trump addressing the scouts of the National Scouts Jamboree as they were both chosen as data in view of their similarity.

Hitler - Speech in Nuremberg addressing Hitler Youth (299 words)												
Lexical Words												
	Noun	Freq	%	Verb	Freq	%	Adjective	Freq	%	Adverb	Freq	%
1	Deutschland	7	2,34	Müsst	6	2,01	Deutsche	3	1,00	Einst	6	2,01
2	Volk	5	1,67	Wollen	6	2,01	Weiss	2	0,67	Heute	3	1,00
3	Jugend	3	1,00	Wird	3	1,00	Friedfertig	2	0,67	Hier	3	1,00
4	Kolonnen	2	0,67	Kann	3	1,00	Gehorsam	2	0,67	Anders	2	0,67
5	Blut	2	0,67	Ist	2	0,67				Dann	2	0,67
6	Fleisch	2	0,67	Sehen	2	0,67				Auch	2	0,67
7				Warden	2	0,67				Dafür	2	0,67
8										Schon	2	0,67
Grammatical Words												
	Pronoun/determiner	Freq	%	Negation	Freq	%						
1	Ihr	14	4,68	Nicht	4	1,34						
2	Wir	13	4,35	Nichts	2	0,67						
3	Euch	9	3,01									
4	Uns	8	2,68									
5	Dieses	4	1,34									
6	Was	4	1,34									
7	Die	3	1,00									
8	Das	3	1,00									
9	Ich	3	1,00									
10	Unserem	2	0,67									
11	Euren	2	0,67									
12	Dem	2	0,67									
13	Meine	2	0,67									

Table 9. Frequency list of Hitler - Speech in Nuremberg addressing the Hitler Youth

¹⁷ See Appendix 4

2.2. Second research question

In order to answer the question *What intonation do both politicians use and which words are given prominence*, the transcripts of each speech were annotated¹⁸. Tone units were at the basis of this analysis as this dissertation followed Kendon (2004)'s idea that tone units are related to body language. It was therefore important to consider tone units for the intonation. Firstly, the pauses, which were considered as the tone units boundaries, were marked with a vertical dash symbol (|) when they appeared within sentences and with two vertical dash symbols (||) when they appeared at the end of sentences. Secondly, pitch rises, falls, rise-falls and fall-rises were annotated with simple arrows. Pitch rises were represented by arrows going up, pitch falls by arrows going down and both arrows going up or down for rise-falls and fall-rises (cf. Figure 7). This annotation follows the transcription conventions of the International Phonetic Alphabet¹⁹, using arrows going up for global rises and arrows going down for global falls.

Extract 2	00:08:31	Reich und Arm, Stadt und Land, Gebildete, Wissende und
	→ 00:09:06	Unwissende sie sind da, Aufgabe der Politik kann es nun nicht sein deshalb sie getrennt zu organisieren um sie niemals wieder zusammenkommen zu lassen sondern Aufgabe der politischen Führung muß es sein diese natürlichen Trennungen nun durch ein größeres Ideal durch eine größere Erkenntnis zu überwinden

Figure 7. Example of Pitch variations annotation

When the intonation was analysed for all the speeches, some significant sentences were then fed into Praat²⁰, a computer software tool used for speech analysis. The software was essential to illustrate the pitch rises and falls with more than simple handwritten annotations (cf. Figure 8).

¹⁸ See annotations in Appendix 5

¹⁹ <http://www.internationalphoneticalphabet.org/ipa-charts/tones-and-accents/>. Last visited on July 29, 2019.

²⁰ <http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/>

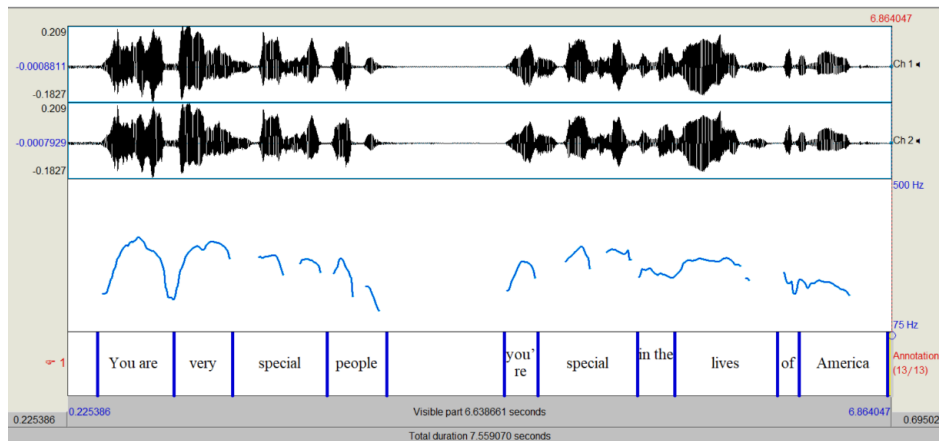


Figure 8. Example of a pitch analysis in Praat

Moreover, every prominent word was circled on the transcript while listening to the videos. They were then included in a table, in order to see which words are prominent more than once in the speeches. In the end, three tables²¹ were created: two tables summarizing each speech of both politicians and one table comparing the results for each politician (cf. Table 10). Only the prominent words occurring more than once within the speeches were taken into consideration.

Hitler – All speeches		Trump - All speeches	
prominent words	amount	prominent words	amount
ih	12	our	14
Deutschland	11	you	10
volk	7	people	6
uns	4	not	5
wollen	4	we	5
alles	4	make America	5
millionen	4	their	5
verboten	4	jobs	4
die	3	power	4
ein	3	one	4
reich	3	bring back	4
deutsche	3	all	3
wehrlos	3	proud	3
reden	3	president	3
nicht	3	your	3
nichts	2	millions	3

Table 10. Part of the “Prominent words summary” table

²¹ See Appendix 6

2.3. Third research question

The last question concerning the body language both speakers adopt during the delivery of their speeches was answered on the basis of annotations in the transcripts²². Trump's three speeches were analysed but some of the body language used in his debate against Hilary Clinton could not be analysed as half his gestures were off-camera due to the focus on his face by the cameraman. Only two videos were analysed for Hitler as a video of the speech given on March 23, 1933 could not be found on the internet. Even though some of the parts of the other videos focused on the audience rather than on Hitler, there were enough data to be able to make a comparison between both politicians.

After the viewing of all the speeches, three recurrent hand gestures were identified. The tone units associated with the hand gestures were underlined with a particular colour (cf. Figure 9). Each colour represents one of the three recurrent hand gestures both politicians used²³. The three recurrent hand gestures as well as the entrances of both politicians were then compared and contrasted. Illustrations of each gesture were provided by the means of screenshots of the videos.

Extract 5	00:22:24 → 00:23:47	<p>Sie haben vernichtet, was sie vernichten konnten in vierzehnjähriger Arbeit, in der sie von niemandem gestört worden sind. Heute ist dieses Elend vielleicht durch einen einzigen Vergleich zu illustrieren. Ein Land, Thüringen. Die Gesamteinnahmen seiner Kommunen betragen 26 Millionen Mark. Davon soll bestritten werden ihre Verwaltung, die Erhaltung ihrer öffentlichen Gebäude, bestritten werden alles was sie ausgeben für Schulen für Bildungszwecke, bestritten werden alles was sie ausgeben für Wohlfahrtszwecke. 26 Millionen insgesamt Einnahmen. Und für Wohlfahrtsunterstützungen allein sind 45 Millionen nötig. So sieht es heute in Deutschland aus unter dem Regimen dieser Parteien, die 14 Jahre lang unser Volk ruinierten!</p>
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Figure 9. Annotation of the recurrent gestures

²² See Appendix 5

²³ See legend of Appendix 5

2.4. Difficulties

Some major limitations regarding the data need to be discussed at this stage. Firstly, as previously mentioned, not all the speeches by Hitler could be found in video files on the internet. One video of his speeches is missing: the response to Otto Wels given on March 23, 1933. This is mostly due to the fact that speeches, unlike today, did not use to be televised in the 1930s. The only solution to this problem was to find an audio recording of the speech to be able to at least analyse Hitler's intonation and to uncover the prominent words.

Secondly, even though many studies focused on body language in general (Kendon, 2004; Streeck, 2009; Burgoon, Guerrero & Floyd, 2010), studies on politicians' body language are not that common. One study was found on Trump's hand gestures (Hall et al., 2016) but no study focussing on Hitler's hand gestures could be found. It was therefore difficult to interpret gestures without much theoretical background.

Thirdly, German is not a language that I have studied. The chosen transcripts had to be verified by external people and were thus at first based on trust. I was then able to follow the transcripts and their videos, which helped me see which speech fragment was not in the video and vice versa. Moreover, most of the analyses made on the frequency of the words rely on online dictionaries. German grammar is also very different from English Grammar. It was thus challenging to sort German words into categories based on their word class.

Chapter 4: Results and discussion

Three different qualitative and quantitative analyses were carried out in order to answer the three research questions (*Which words recur in the political speeches under study?*, *What intonation do both politicians use and which words are given special prominence?* and *Which elements of body language are used recurrently during the delivery of the speeches?*) The results provided by each analysis are examined and critically discussed in the following sections. Each section is devoted to one research question: the first section focuses on the lexical analysis; the second one addresses the intonation and word prominence analysis; the third section concentrates on the analysis of both politicians' body language; and the last section aims to answer the main research question: *Is there any similarity in the delivery of the speeches by Adolf Hitler and Donald Trump during their rise to power?*

1. Which words recur in the political speeches under study?

This section aims to answer the research question *Which words recur in the political speeches under study* by comparing the most recurrent words occurring in both Hitler's and Trump's speeches. Various frequency lists were made by means of the Sketch Engine (the wordlist tool and N-gram tool). Firstly, each speech by Hitler and Trump was scanned, providing a frequency list for each of them. Secondly, a frequency list was made for all their speeches together. Finally, the words provided by the Sketch Engine were sorted in two categories and their respective subcategories: lexical words (nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs) and grammatical words (pronouns/determiners and negative function words). Except for pronouns/determiners and negative function words such as *not*, *no* or *n't*, the rest of the function words (articles, conjunctions, etc.) were not examined in this analysis. Furthermore, determiners and pronouns were considered as one single subcategory because some words (such as *that*, *this* and *their*

German equivalents *die, das, dieser, etc.*) can be part of the two word classes, depending on the sentence in which they occur.

The analysis showed that despite the different historical, political and economic contexts of each politician, some words recur repeatedly in their speeches. In general, the most recurrent words are nouns (lexical words), verbs (lexical words) and pronouns (grammatical words). By contrast, the use of adjectives and adverbs differs completely. For instance, in the first one hundred recurrent words, only two adjectives were found for Hitler and three were found for Trump (cf. Table 11). As the table below shows: none of the most recurrent adjectives occurring in both politicians' speeches are similar.

Comparison of frequent words : Adjectives						
Hitler – All speeches (6,229 words)				Trump – All speeches (14,065 words)		
	Adjective	Freq	%	Adjective	Freq	%
1	Deutsche (German)	29	0.47	Great	51	0.36
2	Eigene (own/separate/peculiar)	11	0.18	Good	34	0.24
3				New	30	0.21

Table 11. All speeches summary – most recurrent adjectives

1.1. Nouns (lexical word)

Table 12 below presents the results of the Sketch Engine regarding the recurrent nouns occurring in all Hitler's and Trump's speeches. If applicable, only the first 15 nouns, which were part of the first one hundred recurrent words generated by the Sketch Engine, were taken into account. As Trump's speeches have a much larger amount of words, it was necessary to calculate the percentage of the words frequency. For instance, Hitler used the word *Volk* 51 times whereas Trump used the word *people* 78 times. One could interpret this result by stating that Trump repeated the word *people* more times than Hitler. However, due to the calculation of the percentage, it can be seen that the word *Volk* recurred more in Hitler's speeches (0.82%) than in Trump's speeches (0.55%).

Comparison of frequent words : Nouns (1)						
	Hitler – All speeches (6,229 words)			Trump – All speeches (14,065 words)		
	Noun	Freq	%	Noun	Freq	%
1	Volk (people)	51	0.82	People	78	0.55
2	Deutschen	32	0.51	Country	74	0.53
3	Deutschland (Germany)	29	0.47	Way	28	0.27
4	Jahre (year(s))	21	0.34	America	34	0.24
5	Zeit (time)	19	0.31	Years	34	0.24
6	Millionen	18	0.29	Secretary	31	0.22
7	Volkes (people)	14	0.22	Scouts	29	0.21
8	Lebens	11	0.18	Boy	29	0.21
9	Abgeordneter	9	0.14	Things	27	0.19
10	Herr	9	0.14	President	26	0.18
11				Lot	26	0.18
12				Time	26	0.18
13				Thing	25	0.18
14				Money	24	0.17
15				Jobs	24	0.17

Table 12. All speeches summary – first 15 recurrent nouns

The analysis showed that among the words both politicians repeated at least five times in their speeches, four words are the same for both politicians: *people*, *America/Germany*, *years* and *time* (cf Table 12). Hitler employed the words *Volk/Volkes* and *Deutschland* twice as much as Trump did, with respectively 1.04% and 0.47% compared to 0.55% and 0.24%. As Table 13 shows, both words appear in almost all the analysed speeches. Table 13 summarizes the first ten most recurrent nouns occurring in each individual speech. It reveals that the noun *people* is the only noun used frequently in each politicians' speech. Regarding the name of their own country, Hitler repeats several times the word *Deutschland* (ranked at the first place in his response to Otto Wels and his address to the Hitler Youth) and uses recurrently the adjective *Deutsche* (German) as it can be seen in Table 11. By contrast, the noun *America* is not even in the nouns top ten of Trump's first presidential debate.

Comparison of frequent words : Nouns (2)									
	Hitler – First speech as chancellor (4,132 words)			Hitler – Response to Otto Wels (1,798 words)			Hitler – Hitler Youth (299 words)		
	Nouns	Freq	%	Nouns	Freq	%	Nouns	Freq	%
1	Volk	34	0.82	Deutschland	14	0.78	Deutschland	7	2.34
2	Deutschen	23	0.56	Volk	12	0.67	Volk	5	1.67
3	Millionen	18	0.44	Deutschen	9	0.50	Jugend	3	1.00
4	Jahre	13	0.31	Zeit	9	0.50	Kolonnen	2	0.67
5	Volkes	12	0.29	Abgeordneter	9	0.50	Blut	2	0.67
6	zeit	10	0.24	Herr	9	0.50	Fleisch	2	0.67
7	Lebens	10	0.24	Jahre	8	0.44			
8	Deutschland	8	0.19	Herren	6	0.33			
9	Nation	7	0.17	Reden	6	0.33			
10	Vergangenheit	7	0.17	Sozialismus	5	0.28			
	Trump – Inaugural speech (1,454 words)			Trump – first presidential debate (8,425 words)			Hitler – National Scouts Jamboree (4,186 words)		
	Nouns	Freq	%	Nouns	Freq	%	Nouns	Freq	%
1	America	18	1.24	Country	53	0.63	People	31	0.74
2	People	10	0.69	People	37	0.44	Scouts	29	0.69
3	Country	9	0.62	Secretary	26	0.31	Boy	28	0.67
4	Nation	6	0.41	Years	23	0.27	Scout	17	0.41
5	World	6	0.41	Clinton	21	0.25	Way	16	0.38
6	Dreams	5	0.34	Things	21	0.25	Life	14	0.33
7	President	5	0.34	Thing	21	0.25	America	14	0.33
8				Way	20	0.24	Work (noun/verb)	13	0.31
9				Companies	20	0.24	Country	12	0.29
10				Other	19	0.23	Lot	11	0.26

Table 13. First 10 recurrent nouns of each political speech

Furthermore, the word *country* tends to recur several times in Trump's speeches (being top one in his first presidential debate) whereas it does not even appear once in the nouns top ten of Hitler's speeches. Due to the N-gram analysis (cf. Table 14), it can be pointed out that Trump used on several occasions the groups of words *our country* (37 times in total) to refer to America. Moreover, the noun *nation* is not included in the table of the first 15 recurrent nouns (cf. Table 12), but it is interesting to note that it

recurs several times in Hitler’s first speech as Chancellor and Trump’s inaugural speech (cf. Table 13). Trump used it 6 times (0.41%) and Hitler 7 times (0.17%).

Trump – All speeches: N-gram		
	Item	Freq
1	and i	62
2	going to	61
3	have to	55
4	we have	53
5	of the	51
6	do n't	39
7	to be	37
8	our country	37
9	and we	36
10	You have	32

Table 14. The first 10 N-grams of Trump’s speeches

By repeating the names of their own nation (Deutschland and America) or referring to it by using other words such as *our country* or *our nation*, Trump and Hitler arguably tried to convey the feeling of belonging to one nation and that that nation, which needs their help, is the best of all. In his debate against Hilary Clinton, Trump claimed: “I want to make **America** great again. We are a **nation** that is seriously troubled. We’re losing our jobs, people are pouring into **our country**” and in his inaugural speech, he affirmed that : “We, the citizens of **America**, are now joined in a great **national** effort to rebuild **our country** and restore its promise for all of **our people**”. Those segments, which represent many of Trump’s, are strongly nationalist and patriotic. They can easily be compared to those of Hitler’s in his response to Otto Wels: “We will take criticism from anyone who loves **Germany**. But we will take no criticism from anyone who worships the Internationale!”; “that you may never misunderstand me on this point: I extend my hand to everyone who commits himself to **Germany**”. In his first speech as chancellor, Hitler also said: “When I fight for the future of **Germany**, I must fight for **German** soil and I must fight for the **German** peasant.”

As stated above, the analysis showed two additional words recurring in both politicians' speeches: *years/Jahre* and *time/Zeit*. Both words recur more in Hitler's speeches (0.34% for *Jahre* and 0.31% for *Zeit*) than in Trump's (0.24% for *years* and 0.18% for *time*). The comparison of the recurrent nouns in each of their speeches (cf. Table 13) showed that *Jahre* and *Zeit* are frequently used by Hitler – they both appear in the nouns top ten of two speeches – while the noun *years* only appears once in the nouns top ten of Trump's speeches and the noun *time* does not even appear in the ranking.

The words *years* and *time* were mostly used in sentences to condemn the fact that before their arrival to power, both politicians' countries were in great suffering. For Hitler, Germany had been suffering for years because of the outcome of the first world war. In his response to Otto Wels, he pointed the finger at the Socialist party which, according to him, had not made any improvement in the last 14 years: "*Perhaps these realisations, put to practice **years ago**, would have made the complaints you have today superfluous [...] Here, too, it was your responsibility, you who were in power **for fourteen years**, to ensure that this German Volk had set an example of honour to the world*". For Trump, most of the problems America were suffering from were economical. According to him, Americans were losing their jobs and companies were not making enough profit. As for Hitler, Trump mostly pointed the finger at Hilary during the presidential debate: "*They [Secretary Clinton and other politicians] should have been doing this **for years**. What's happened to our jobs and our country and our economy generally is -- look, we owe \$20 trillion [...] And, Hillary, I'd just ask you this. You've been doing this **for 30 years**. Why are you just thinking about these solutions right now? **For 30 years**, you've been doing it, and now you're just starting to think of solutions*".

By reporting all the problems their country was facing and by blaming their opponents for them, Hitler and Trump arguably wanted to be seen as saviours. They wanted their people to believe that they had been living in decay for years and that only they would be able to find the solution to their "misery".

1.2. Verbs (lexical word)

With regard to verbs, many of them recur in both politicians' speeches. Table 15, which lists the first 15 recurrent verbs in both politicians' speeches, shows that six verbs recurring in Trump's speeches also recur in Hitler's. It is clear that most recurrent verbs are auxiliary verbs, conjugated in the present or past tense. For both politicians, the most recurrent verb is the auxiliary verb *to have*, occurring 25 times in Hitler's speeches (0.40%) in contrast to 186 times in Trump's (1.32%) (cf. Table 15). Nevertheless, Hitler also used the verb *habe* 13 times, which is the verb *to have* conjugated with the first singular pronoun *I*. In total, even though it is still less frequent than Trump, Hitler used the verb *to have* in the present tense 38 times.

The only verb recurring in both politicians' speeches, which is not part of the auxiliary verbs (to be, to have and to do) and the modal verbs (can, might and will), is *to say*. This verb takes place 15 times in Hitler's speeches (0.24%) and 50 times in the past participle form (said) in Trump's speeches (0.36%).

Comparison of frequent words : verbs						
	Hitler – All speeches (6,229 words)			Trump – All speeches (14,065 words)		
	Verbs	Freq	%	Verbs	Freq	%
1	Haben (we/they have + pp)	25	0.40	Have	186	1.32
2	Werden (become)	24	0.39	Is	148	1.05
3	Ist (is)	23	0.37	Do	126	0.90
4	Sind (are)	23	0.37	Was	106	0.75
5	Wollen (we/they want + pp)	19	0.31	Are	103	0.73
6	Kann (can)	19	0.31	Will	98	0.70
7	War (was)	18	0.29	Be	98	0.70
8	Wird (will)	17	0.27	Going	76	0.54
9	Sagen (say)	15	0.24	Been (pp)	50	0.36
10	Habe (I have)	13	0.21	Said (pp)	50	0.36
11	Hätten (we/they had)	12	0.19	Know	48	0.34
12	Muß (must)	12	0.19	Doing	48	0.34
13	Kommt (coming)	10	0.16	Did	46	0.33
14	Hat (he/she/it has)	10	0.16	Think	46	0.33
15	Will (I want)	10	0.16	Look	46	0.33

Table 15. All speeches summary – first 15 recurrent verbs

The use of the verb *to say* could imply that both Hitler and Trump referred to what other people said before them. It could then be interpreted as a means to give their own opinion and oppose it to what other people claimed. For instance, in his response to Otto Wels, Hitler used the group of words *Sie sagen* (“you say”) nine times to oppose his statements to his opponent’s (cf. Table 16).

Hitler’s response to Otto Wels, March 23, 1933: N-gram		
	Item	Freq
1	sie sagen	9
2	in der	9
3	herr abgeordneter	9
4	meine herren	6
5	die macht	6
6	daß sie	6
7	und sie	5
8	vierzehn jahre	4
9	verboten und	4
10	und sie hätten	4

Table 16. Hitler’s first 10 N-grams in his response to Otto Wels

As the following example illustrates, the words were actually introducing each new statement Hitler wanted to make: *“Sie sagen: Gleiches Recht! So wie wir es nach außen wünschen, so auch nach innen. [...] Sie sagen, man solle nicht einen Besiegten für vogelfrei erklären. Nun, Herr Abgeordneter, vogelfrei sind wir gewesen, solange Sie die Macht hatten”* (“*You say: equal rights! Just as we desire it abroad, we also desire it at home. [...] You say that the vanquished should not be labelled outlaws. Well, Mr. Deputy, we were outlaws as long as you were in power*”). This introduction probably had a strong impact on the audience as every time Hitler started with the words “*Sie sagen*”, he was right away disparaging his opponent.

On the other hand, the N-gram analysis of Trump revealed that he mostly used the verb *to say* in the past participle to refer to what he had said before. As Table 17 illustrates, Trump used the verb *to say* with the pronoun *I* more than 20 times (23 times)

while he only used it with the pronoun *they* 6 times. The verb's function was therefore different for both politicians.

Trump – All speeches N-gram		
	Item	Freq
1	I said	23
2	He said	7
3	They said	6

Table 17. Trump's use of the verb *to say*

1.3. Pronouns (grammatical word)

With respect to the use of pronouns, the analysis was more challenging as there are many more pronouns in German than in English. For instance, the pronoun *you* has several different forms (“*du*”, “*ihr*” and “*sie*”) depending on its grammatical case (nominative, accusative or dative)²⁴. The reading of the translation of the transcripts was therefore useful to have an indication of what the meaning of the pronoun was.

The analysis showed that the pronoun which recurs the most in Trump's speeches is the pronoun *you* (occurring 445 times in all his speeches combined) whereas Hitler's first most recurrent pronoun is *sie* (cf. Table 18). The difficulty with the pronoun *sie* is that it has different meanings and it can represent *you* as much as *they*, *she* or *them*. Furthermore, it is challenging to determine how many times Hitler used the pronoun *you*, as it can also be translated by two other pronouns which have different meanings: *ihr* (occurring 24 times) and *ihnen* (taking place 23 times).

The frequent use of the pronoun *you* could be seen as a means to convey a sense of unity within a group. Hitler used that pronoun many times to refer to the Hitler Youth, which he considered as a whole group whose members must be united – to later follow him into the war. By referring to them as a group, Hitler was also creating a sense of unity between the young people. This can be seen in the following extract,

²⁴ Retrieved from <http://www.learn-german-language-online.com/german-pronouns.html>, last visited on July 28, 2019.

representing most of Hitler’s speech: “*But in **you**, Germany will live on. And when there is nothing left of us, **you** must bear the flag in **your** hand – a flag which we once raised from nothing. **You** must therefore stand confident on the soil of **your** country, and **you** must be strong so that this flag will never be taken from **you**”*

Comparison of frequent words : Pronouns*						
Hitler – All speeches (6,229 words)				Trump – All speeches (14,065 words)		
	Pronouns	Freq	%	Pronouns	Freq	%
1	Sie (she/you/they/them)	115	1.85	You	445	3.16
2	Ich (I)	65	1.04	I	375	2.67
3	Wir (we)	63	1.01	We	270	1.92
4	Uns (us)	55	0.88	It	256	1.82
5	Es (it)	45	0.72	They	160	1.14
6	Sich**	25	0.40	He	74	0.53
7	Ihr (you/your/her/their)	24	0.39	Me	53	0.38
8	Was	24	0.39	She	50	0.36
9	Ihnen (to you/ to them)	23	0.37	Them	47	0.33
10	Man**	22	0.35	One	37	0.26

Table 18. All speeches summary – first 10 recurrent pronouns without potential determiners

*Pronouns such as *that, this* and their German equivalents (*die, das, dieser*, etc.) were not included in this summary table as they can have other grammatical functions than pronouns.

***Sich* and *man* have many different meanings (them, her, himself, each other, etc.) and cannot be translated without the contextual sentence in which they occur.

The analysis also revealed that for both politicians, the pronoun *I* tends to be the second most recurrent pronoun. Hitler used the pronoun *I* only 65 times in 6,229 words while Trump used it 375 times in 14,065 words, that is to say, 1.63% more than Hitler (cf. Table 18). The frequent use of this pronoun could be interpreted as a means for both politicians to show themselves as saviours, as the only person who can prevent the country from falling into decay even more than it already has. For instance, in his response to Otto Wels, Hitler attacked his opponent by saying that Germany will not be saved by him, thus implying that only he will be able to help German people: “*and I can only say to you: I do not even want you to vote for it! Germany will be liberated, but **not by you!**”*. The same happens in Trump’s first presidential debate, where he declares

that he will bring back jobs whereas Hilary Clinton will not be able to do so: “*I will bring back jobs. You can’t bring back jobs*”.

However, it is important to note that for Trump’s inaugural speech, the pronoun *I* does not appear in the list of the recurrent words provided by the Sketch Engine. This means that it occurs less than five times in his entire speech. On the other hand, Table 19 shows that Trump mostly used the pronoun *we*. With a frequency of 3.51%, it is the most recurrent pronoun, well ahead of the other pronouns. This tendency to favour the pronoun *we* to the pronoun *I* can also be found in Hitler’s first speech as chancellor. In his speech, Hitler repeated the pronoun *we* 26 times while he only used the first singular pronoun seven times (cf. Table 20).

Trump – Inaugural Speech. Jan. 20. 2017. (1.454 words)												
Grammatical Words												
	Pronoun/determiner	Freq	%	Negation	Freq	%						
1	We	51	3.51	Not	11	0.76						
2	You	13	0.89	No	6	0.41						
3	It	11	0.76									
4	That	10	0.69									
5	This	10	0.69									
6	One	8	0.55									
7	They	5	0.34									

Table 19. Trump’s pronouns/determiners in his inaugural speech

Hitler - First Speech as Chancellor. February 10. 1933 (4.132 words)												
Grammatical words												
	Pronoun/determiner	Freq	%	Negation	Freq	%						
1	Die	119	2.88	Nicht	35	0.85						
2	Ich	40	0.97									
3	Sie	39	0.94									
4	Das	32	0.77									
5	Den	30	0.73									
6	Es	29	0.70									
7	Wir	26	0.63									
8	Uns	20	0.48									
9	Diese	18	0.44									
10	Sich	17	0.41									
11	Dieser	16	0.39									
12	Dieses	16	0.39									
13	Dem	14	0.34									
14	Selbst	14	0.34									

15	Unseres	12	0.29									
16	Man	12	0.29									
17	Unserer	11	0.27									
18	Was	11	0.27									
19	Alles	9	0.22									
20	Diesen	9	0.22									
21	Mich	9	0.22									
22	Einer	8	0.19									
23	Mir	8	0.19									
24	Ihr	7	0.17									

Table 20. Hitler’s pronouns/determiners in his first speech as chancellor

In addition, Table 18 also shows that the pronoun *we* is the third most recurrent pronoun for both politicians, occurring 63 times in Hitler’s speeches (1.01%) and 270 times in Trump’s speeches (1.92%). Moreover, Hitler frequently used the pronoun *uns* (us) as it occurred almost as much as the pronoun *we* (58 times) (cf. Table 18). The recurrent use of the pronoun *we* strongly suggests the nationalist ideology already discussed in section 1.1. It is no coincidence that both politicians used that pronoun as it creates a feeling of closeness and oneness with the audience. It is also important to note that the determiner *one* frequently accompanies the pronoun *we*. By using the pronoun *we* and the determiner *one* in the same sentences, both politicians arguably may have conveyed feelings of unity, of belonging to one nation. This assumption is strongly present in Hitler’s speech addressing the Hitler Youth, when Hitler claimed: *“We want to be **one nation**, and you, my youth, shall now become this nation. [...] We want to see **one Reich**, and you must even now train yourselves for this in **one organization**. We want **our folk** to be loyal, and you must learn this loyalty. We want **our folk** to be obedient, and you must practice obedience.”*

As outlined above, Trump chose to favour the pronoun *we* in his inaugural speech. That may be interpreted as a wise choice, as if on the day Trump became President, the whole country had to be united, to be as one. The following example, which is representative of many segments of the speech, illustrates the sense of unity Trump arguably tried to convey: *“We are **one nation**, and their pain is **our pain**. Their dreams are **our dreams**, and their success will be **our success**. We share **one heart**, **one home** and **one glorious destiny**.”*

1.4. Conclusion

The lexical analysis helped determine that some words recur in both politicians' speeches. Most of the recurrent words are nouns (*Deutschland/America, people, years and time*), verbs (mostly auxiliary verbs and the verb *to say*) and pronouns (*you, I, we* and *they*). The analysis also showed that Hitler tends to use many more adjectives than Roosevelt but that their adjectives (and adverbs) differ completely. One reasonable explanation for the frequent use of the same nouns (*Deutschland/America, people, nation* and *country*) and pronouns (*we* and *you*) is that they underlined both politicians' nationalism and helped them reinforce the audience's sense of unity. It could also be suggested that by frequently using the pronoun *I*, both politicians wanted to convey the idea that they were the only one able to save their country.

2. What intonation do both politicians use and which words are given prominence?

This section is divided in two parts: intonation and word prominence. Both parts focus on the results provided by the analysis that will help to answer the research question *What intonation do both politicians use and which words are given prominence?* The first part, intonation, focuses on the intonation both politicians used to deliver their speeches. As already mentioned, the data was annotated following the International Phonetic Alphabet's transcription conventions, namely upwards arrows for global rises and downwards arrows for global falls. The second part, word prominence, gives the results of the word prominence analysis and critically discusses them. Each word given prominence was circled in the annotations and then included in different tables: one table of Hitler's speeches; one of Trump's speeches; and a comparative table of both politicians' speeches

2.1. Intonation

As already discussed in this dissertation, intonation and pitch vary depending on the language and the dialect of the speaker. There is a considerable difference between German and English, as German tone contours differ from those in English. It is therefore important to highlight that the way Hitler and Trump speak is strongly related to their native language. Nevertheless, the thorough analysis of their pitch variation showed that, regardless of their mother tongue features, they both delivered their speeches with a different intonation.

The analysis mainly focused on the pitch variations that occur at the end of tone units, typically prior to short and long pauses. As previously suggested in the Theoretical Framework (cf. Chapter 1 – 1.3.2. Phrasing), when one speaks, one separates one's sentences into "chunks" or "segments". Those segments, called tone units, tend to be limited by pauses. Even though not only pauses should be considered as tone unit

boundaries (Crystal, 1969), only those were considered as such in this dissertation as other ways of identifying tone unit boundaries require specialist knowledge.

Politicians tend to pause frequently in their clauses, which was considerable help in the analysis of tone units. The analysis revealed that Trump tends to have more falling tones than Hitler, although both politicians primarily end their tone units with a falling pitch (cf. Tables 21 and 22, where the maximum amounts are in red). The average fall pitch in Trump’s speeches is 60.9% while Hitler’s downwards tones only occur in 50.6% of his tone groups (cf. Table 23).

The different intonation between both politicians is even more striking when rising pitch tendencies are taken into consideration. In most of his speeches, Hitler’s upward pitch movements vary between 40.5% and 43% (cf. Table 21) whereas Trump’s rising tones in the three speeches vary between 30% and 33.9% (cf. Table 22). However, there is no significant difference between Hitler’s and Trump’s number of rise-fall or fall-rise pitch. Only a small number of rise-fall and fall-rise tendencies were identified in their speeches and they are roughly the same: 5.1% rise-fall pitch for Hitler compared to 4.3% for Trump and slightly more than 2% of fall-rise pitch for both of them (cf. Table 23).

	First Speech as Chancellor, February 10, 1933		Response to Otto Wels, March 23, 1933		Speech in Nuremberg addressing Hitler Youth	
Identified tone units	178	100%	183	100%	94	100%
Rise	76	42.7%	79	43%	38	40.5%
Fall	90	50.6%	90	49.1%	49	52.1%
Rise-Fall	12	6.7%	8	4.4%	4	4.3%
Fall-Rise	0	0%	6	3.3%	3	3.2%

Table 21. Hitler’s pitch variations

	Inaugural Speech, Jan. 20, 2017.		First Presidential Debate, September 26, 2016.		National Scout Jamboree Speech, July 24, 2017.	
Identified tone units	220	100%	183	100%	254	100%
Rise	66	30%	62	33.9%	86	33.9%
Fall	150	68.2%	102	55.7%	149	58.7%
Rise-Fall	4	1.8%	13	7.1%	10	3.9%
Fall-Rise	0	0%	6	3.3%	9	3.5%

Table 22. Trump’s pitch variations

	Hitler’s speeches	Trump’s speeches
Rise	42.1%	32.6%
Fall	50.6%	60.9%
Rise-Fall	5.1%	4.3%
Fall-Rise	2.2%	2.3%

Table 23. Percentage of Hitler’s and Trump’s pitch variations

It can be argued that, on the one hand, Trump delivered his speeches in a more calm, relaxed tone. On the other hand, Hitler raised his voice on several occasions in order to convey his anger and hatred. Trump did not fly into a rage in his speeches and only raised his voice a couple of times in the presidential debate against Hilary Clinton. For instance, in Figures 10.a. and 10.b., Trump raises his voice considerably while insisting on the fact that Hillary Clinton will increase regulations and make the situation worse as President. He stresses the word “worse” at the end of the sentence, which makes the pitch rise to 304.7Hz (cf. Figure 10.a.). Moreover, he stresses the word “big” (330.3Hz), which is a significant word in his comment as it emphasises his wish for important change (cf. Figure 10.b.).

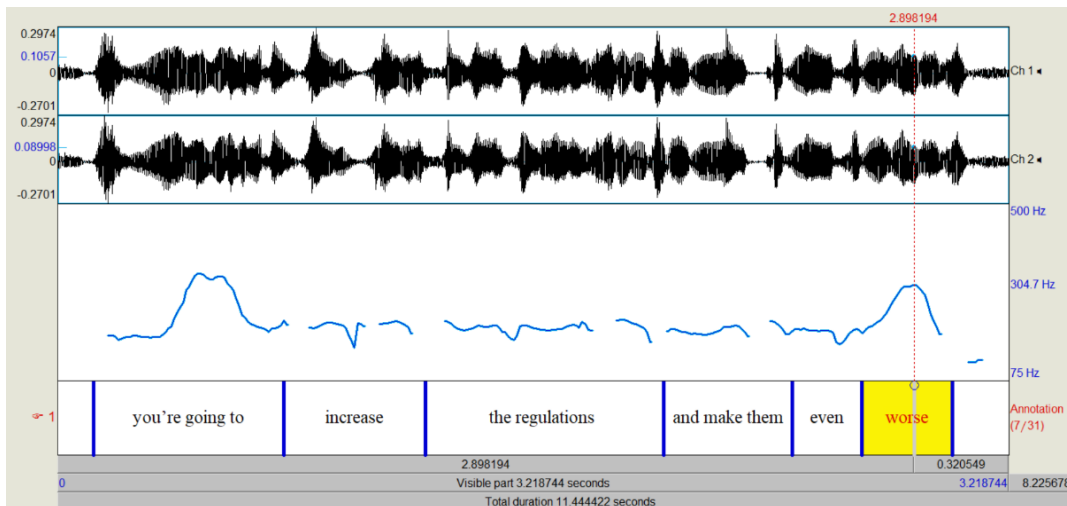


Figure 10.a. Trump, first presidential debate – Raise of voice, pitch rise

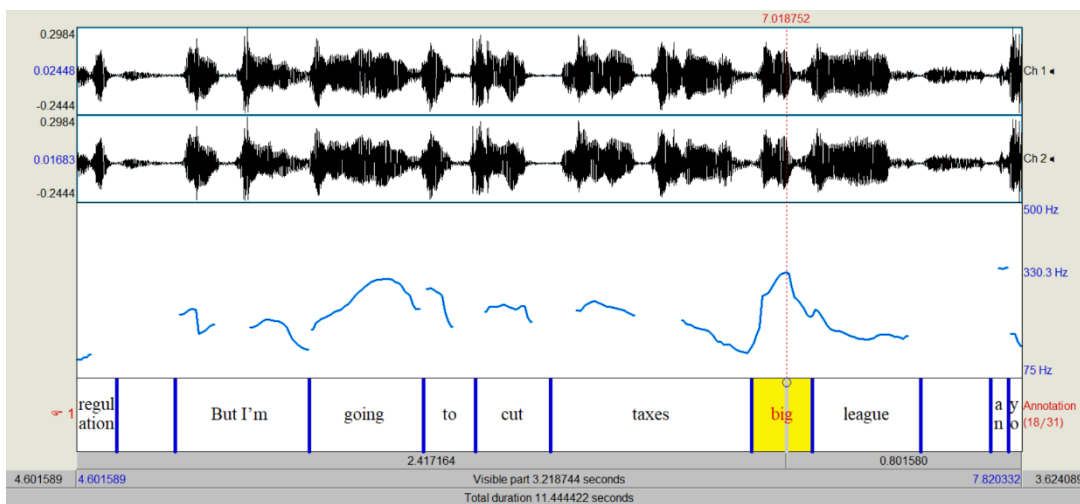


Figure 10.b. Trump, first presidential debate – Stress on big, pitch rise

Despite the few instances where Trump raises his voice against Hilary Clinton, his intonation pitch mostly rises at times when people tend to use the rising intonation pattern, that is to say in questions or lists²⁵. In Figure 11.a., Trump interrupts the debate host when he was himself trying to interrupt Trump and making him change from subject. This interesting sentence helps to easily spot the difference between rising and falling pitch due to the same word “question”. The first instance “You ask me a question” is declarative and has therefore a falling pitch whereas the other instance “Did you ask me a question?” is interrogative and induces a rise of pitch.

²⁵ Retrieved from Rising and Falling Intonation, <https://englishpronunciationroadmap.com/rising-and-falling-intonation/>. Last visited on July 15, 2019.

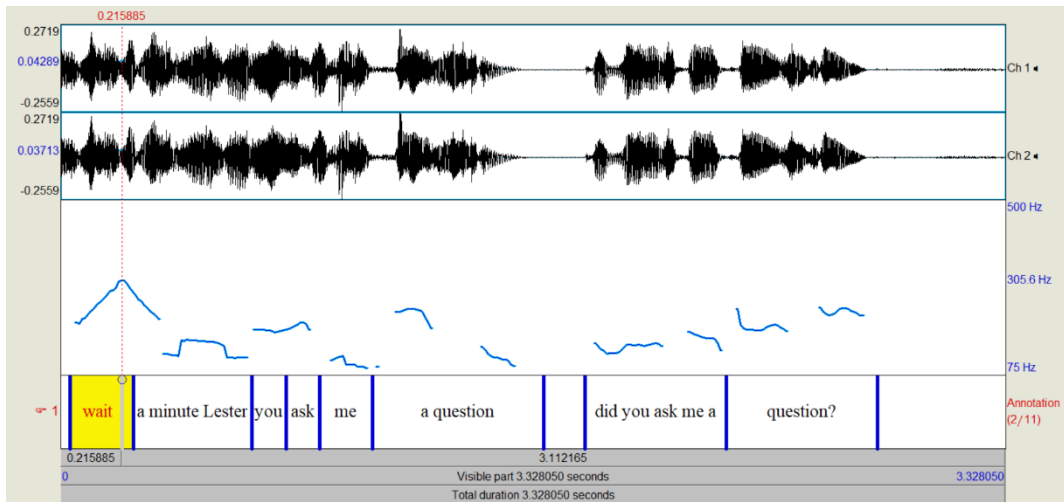


Figure 11.a. Trump, first presidential debate – Question

The same rising intonation can be found for Hitler, when he asks Otto Wels the following question: “where was this fight at the time you had the power in Germany?” (cf. Figure 11.b.).

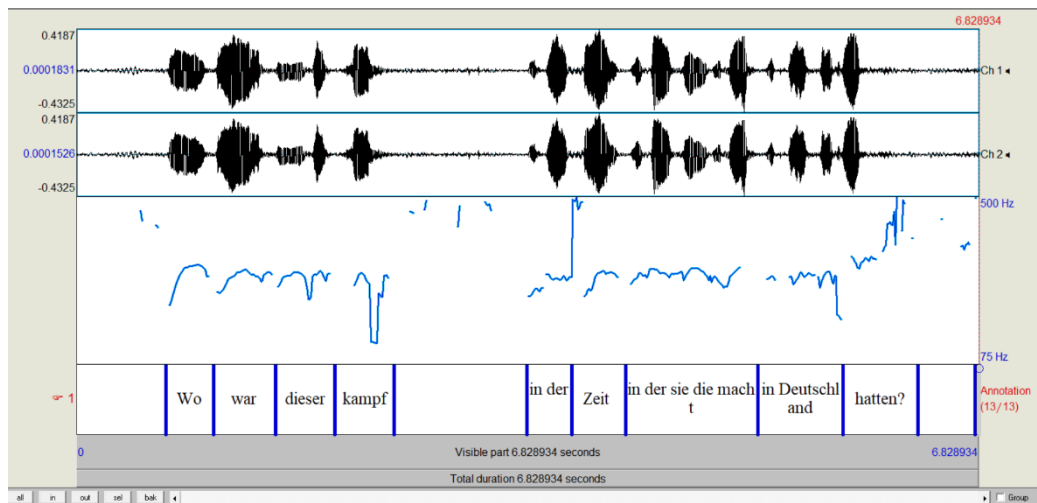


Figure 11.b. Hitler's response to Otto Wels – Question

In his speech at the National Scout Jamboree, Trump complimented the Scouts for being scouts on several occasions. Most of the time, Trump stressed the word “you” to give it a certain importance. Moreover, his pitch rose on the adjectives he used to characterise the scouts. This can be seen in Figure 12 where the pitch rises on the two “you” and stays high on the words “very special” and “special in the lives”. It then falls on the last word of each segment: “people” and “America”.

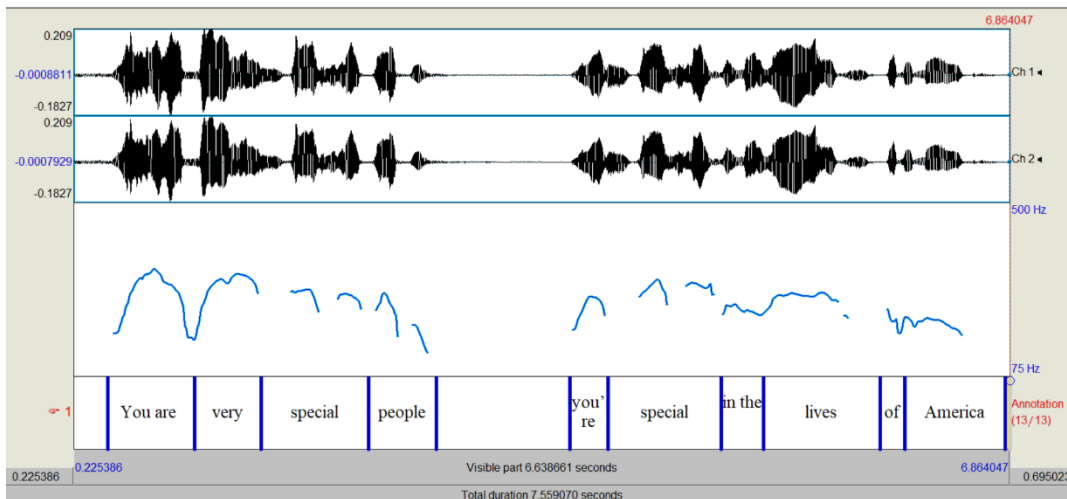


Figure 12. Trump, National Scout Jamboree – complimenting Scouts

Trump’s calm voice is characterised by the numerous falling tones. The analysis of falling and rising pitch demonstrates that Trump delivered his inaugural speech of 2016 more calmly (with 68.2% of falling tones compared to 30% of rising tones) than the two other speeches (with respectively 55.7% and 58.7% of falling tones) (cf. Table 22). Figure 13 represents most of Trump’s intonation in his speech delivery by illustrating an entire paragraph from his inaugural speech with a large amount of falling pitch rather than rising pitch.

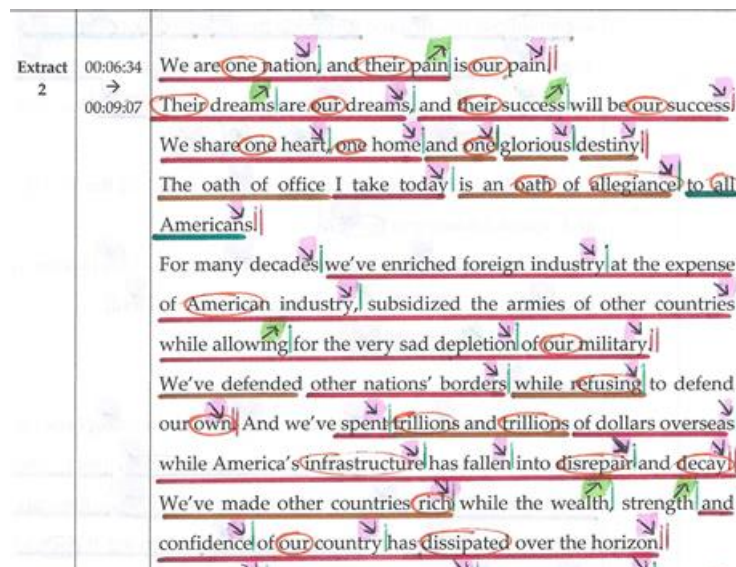


Figure 13. Annotation of Trump’s pitch variation

Trump’s intonation mainly contrasts with Hitler’s due to his constant falling inflections at the end of his sentences. By putting more fervour and energy into his speeches, Hitler used a great deal of rising tones. When he became fiery and passionate, he finished his sentences with rising inflections and spoke very quickly, without hardly any break. Figures 14.a. and 14.b. illustrate the rising pitch of Hitler when he claimed that there is a decline in the German culture and art, and that millions of German people participate in art coming from a foreign culture rather than theirs. In the whole segment at a high pitch range, the stress is put on the two important words “Volk” (people) and “Kunst” (art), which makes the pitch rise to 413.7Hz for the former and 404.5Hz for the latter. The waveform of the sound shows the lack of pauses between words, compared to when Hitler spoke in a more calm way (cf. Figure 15.a.).

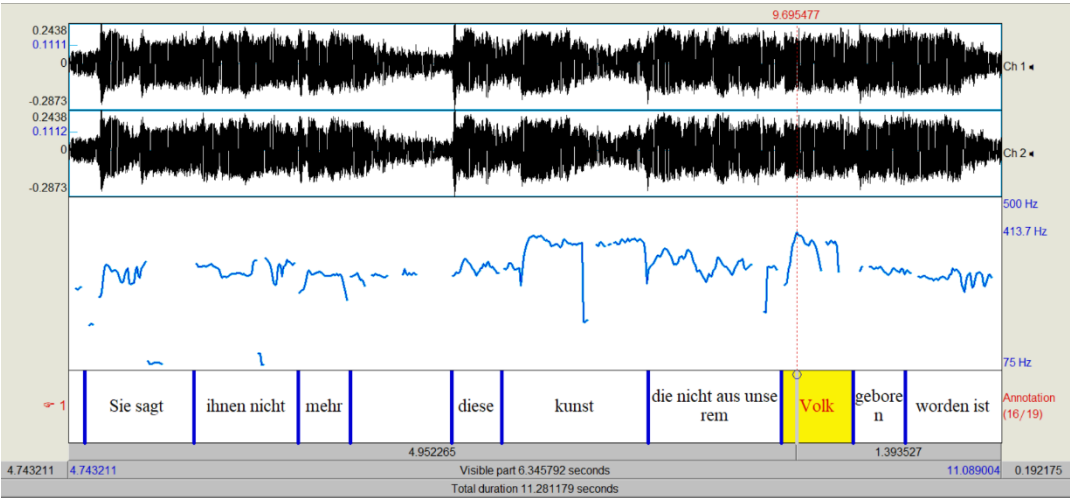


Figure 14.a. Hitler, First speech as Chancellor – High rise pitch and stress on “Volk”

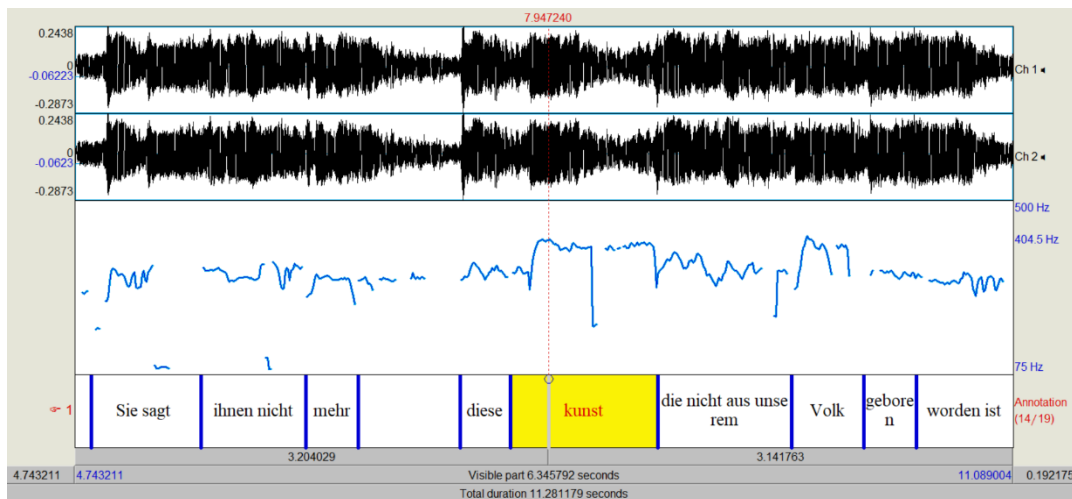


Figure 14.b. Hitler, First speech as Chancellor – High rise pitch and stress on “kunst”

There is a sharp distinction between the intonation Hitler uses repeatedly in his speeches (cf. Figure 14.a.) and the exceptionally angry intonation found in Trump’s debate against Clinton (cf. Figure 10.a.). While the most important word in Trump’s speech reaches 304.7Hz, Hitler’s reaches approximately 100Hz more, with 413.7Hz. It is also essential to note that the pitch in Hitler’s speeches is generally higher than in Trump’s speeches, most certainly because the former raises his voice much more than the latter.

Nevertheless, Hitler did not always use an angry and energetic intonation. He sometimes spoke with a very calm and low intonation (cf. Figure 15.a.), but constantly ended his sentences by raising his voice and therefore raising his pitch range (cf. Figures 15.b. and 15.c.). This could be interpreted as a strategy to give a certain rhythm to his speeches and to avoid a monotonous intonation which could easily make the listener stop paying attention.

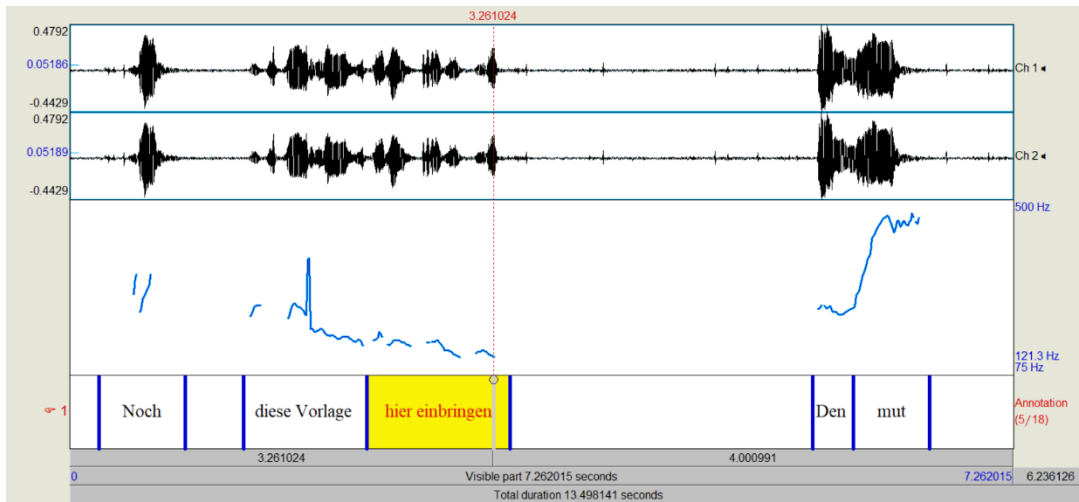


Figure 15.a. Hitler's response to Otto Wels – low intonation

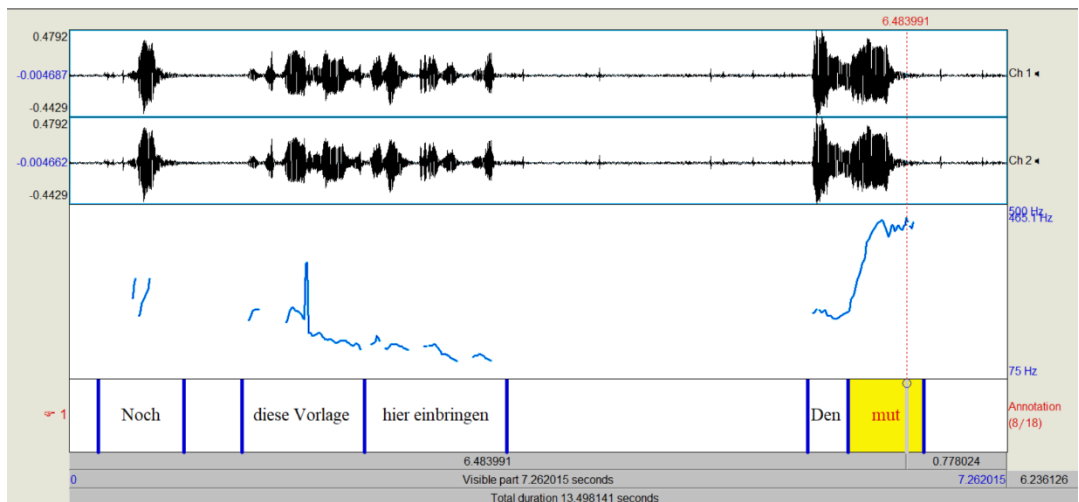


Figure 15.b. Hitler's response to Otto Wels – Stress on last tone unit "den Mut" (465.1 Hz)

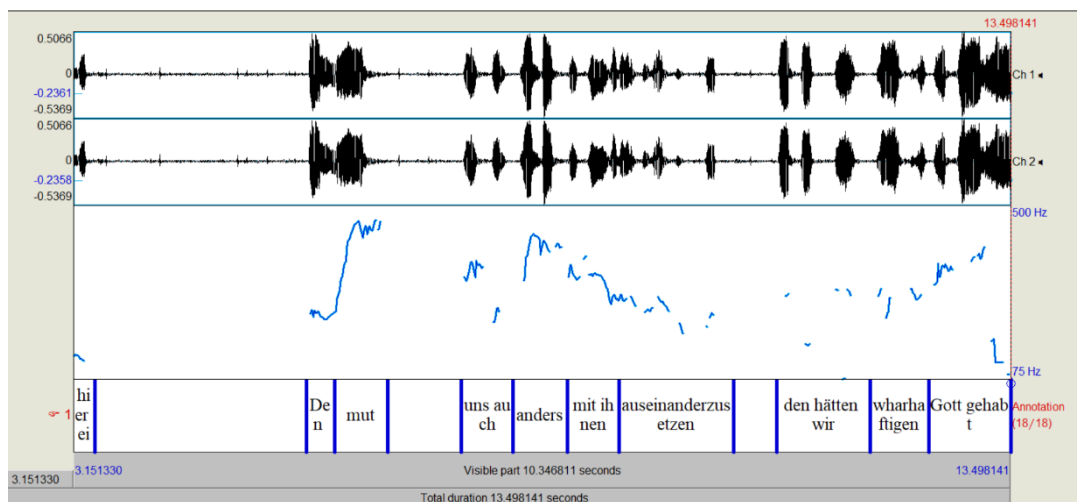


Figure 15.c. Hitler's response to Otto Wels – Pitch rising until the end of the utterance

2.2. Word prominence

The analysis of word prominence focussed on the stress put on words in order to see whether some words are given prominence several times in Hitler's and Trump's speeches. Table 24 lists the most prominent words which are stressed at least three times in all the speeches combined. There are five words which are frequently given prominence and that can be found in both politicians' speeches: *you*, *Deutschland/America*, *people*, *one* and *not*. It is important to note that most of those words were also part of the top ten of the most recurrent words in both politicians' speeches. For instance, both politicians stressed the pronoun *you* (12 times for Hitler compared to 10 times for Trump), which was also one of the ten most recurrent pronouns for both politicians (the most recurrent one for Trump). Even though *ihr* can have different meanings in English (you, your, her and their), the reading of the transcripts determined that Hitler mostly used that pronoun to mean "you". This gives an arguably importance to the word, as though *you* – the audience – had a major role. Table 25 shows that Hitler stressed the pronoun *ihr* only in his speech addressed to the Hitler Youth, which confirms Hitler's emphasis on the role of the audience.

	Hitler – All speeches		Trump - All speeches	
	Prominent words	Amount	Prominent words	Amount
1	Ihr (you/your/her/their)	12	Our	14
2	Deutschland (Germany)	11	You	10
3	Volk (people)	7	People	6
4	Uns (us)	4	not	5
5	Wollen (want)	4	We	5
6	Alles (everything)	4	Make America	5
7	Millionen (million)	4	Their	5
8	Verboten (forbidden)	4	Jobs	4
9	Die (that/this)	3	Power	4
10	Ein (one)	3	One	4
11	Reich	3	Bring back	4
12	Deutsche (American)	3	All	3
13	Wehrlos (defenceless)	3	Proud	3
14	Reden (speech)	3	President	3
15	Nicht (not)	3	Your	3

16			Millions	3
17			First	3
18			Many	3
19			Very	3
20			Politicians	3
21			Fake	3
22			Better	3
23			America	3
24			Stamina	3

Table 24. Prominent words in both politicians' speeches

Two other words, which were part of the ten most recurrent nouns for each politician as well, turn out to be part of the most prominent words: *Deutschland/America* and *people* (cf. Table 24). Hitler stressed the word *Deutschland* 11 times while Trump stressed its English equivalent 8 times (five times in the group of words “make America” and three times alone). The analysis of the most recurrent words showed that both words recurred in all the speeches (except for *America* which did not appear in Trump’s presidential debate). Nevertheless, Tables 25 and 26 show that even though both words recur in almost all the speeches, they are not necessarily emphasized in all of them. For instance, *Volk* is only given prominence in Hitler’s first speech as chancellor (five times) and in his speech addressed to the Hitler Youth (twice) (cf. Table 25) whereas Trump emphasized the word *people* three times in his inaugural speech and three times in his presidential debate. Moreover, Hitler did not give prominence to the word *Deutschland* in his first speech as chancellor while Trump stressed the word *America* only in his inaugural speech.

	Hitler - Speech addressing the Hitler Youth, Sept. 8, 1933		Hitler – First speech as Chancellor, Feb. 10, 1933		Hitler – Response to Otto Wels, March 23, 1933	
	Pominent words	amount	prominent words	amount	Pominent words	amount
1	ihr	12	volk	5	Deutschlan d	5
2	Deutschland	5	alles	4	verboten	4
3	wollen	3	millionen	4	wehrlos	3
4	ein	2	deutsche	3	reden	3
5	Volk	2	reich	2	uns	3
6	friedfertig	2	verrat	2	nicht	3
7	einst	2	kultur	2	daß sie	2
8	euren	2	kunst	2	ehrlos	2
9	kann/könnt nicht	2	immer	2	jahrelang	2
10	Fleisch	2	kraft	2	heilsam	2
11	blut	2			presse	2
12					die	2
13					noch	2
14					stern	2
15					hand	2

Table 25. Hitler – prominent words

	Trump – National Scout Jamboree Speech, July 24, 2017		Trump -Inaugural Speech, Jan. 20, 2017		Trump – First Presidential Debate, Sept. 26, 2016	
	Pominent words	amount	Pominent words	amount	Pominent words	amount
1	you	3	our	12	you	5
2	fake	3	we	5	stamina	3
3	better	3	make America	5	people	3
4	values	2	their	5	fight	2
5	exporter	2	power	4	stop	2
6	president	2	one	4	companies	2
7			bring back	4	have to	2
8			america	3	big	2
9			jobs	3	biggest	2
10			people	3	tremendous	2
11			not	3	cut	2
12			many	2	taxes	2

13			you	2	not	2
14			long	2	bad	2
15			politicians	2	very	2
16			factories	2	nothing	2
17			your	2	terror	2
18			all	2		
19			now	2		
20			trillions	2		
21			millions	2		
22			only	2		
23			first	2		
24			dreams	2		
25			together	2		

Table 26. Trump – prominent words

Another similar word which is given prominence is the determiner *one*. According to Table 24, Hitler stressed it three times. Table 25 shows that he stressed it twice in his speech addressing the Hitler Youth. By contrast, Table 26 shows that Trump only gave it prominence four times in his inaugural speech. The fact that they both stressed this determiner is relevant: they both arguably wanted to insist on the oneness, on the union of one people. This message of union was particularly emphasized in Hitler’s speech to the Hitler Youth (in order to motivate the young people to follow their *Führer* as a faithful people should do) whereas it was more present in Trump’s inaugural speech, as though Trump wanted to make the people feel like they were part of one united nation, now that he was their President.

2.3. Conclusion

The analysis of the intonation determined that both politicians used a different intonation. Hitler’s intonation was most of the time at a high pitch range, suggesting that he was mostly raising his voice. He could also speak with a low voice and stay calm, but as soon as he became more passionate or wanted to show how outraged he was, he started speaking vigorously. By contrast, Trump barely never raised his voice,

his tone stayed low during most of his speeches. This only time he raised his voice was against Hilary Clinton.

The analysis of the word prominence showed that most of the words, which were given prominence several times in Hitler's and Trump's speeches, were also the most recurrent words occurring in both politicians' speeches. Some words are similar (such as *you*, *people*, *America/Deutschland* and *not*) but in general, both politicians were stressing the words which needed emphasizing depending on the sentences. Therefore, despite the few similar words, most of the words which were given prominence differ for both politicians.

3. Which elements of body language are used recurrently during the delivery of the speeches?

This section aims to analyse the body language of both politicians during the delivery of their speeches. The data of Trump's body language was more complete than Hitler's as it was possible to collect the entire videos of the three chosen speeches. However, the data of Hitler's gestures is more limited. As explained above, only two of his speeches were found in video format and some parts of the videos show the audience rather than the *Führer* as it was aimed for propaganda. It was nevertheless possible to collect enough data and consequently compare the two politicians.

3.1. Entrances

Before investigating recurrent gestures, both politicians' entrances and start positions were scrutinized. Trump's debate against Clinton was not taken into account as Trump was already on stage and did not make any entrance. However, in the other two speeches (namely the Inauguration speech and the National Scout Jamboree speech), Trump made a different entrance. At the inauguration, Trump moved to the microphone, raised his right thumb up to the public for a few seconds, smiled (cf. Figure 16) and then mimed the words "thank you" with his lips. As can be seen in Figure 16, his smile looks half controlled as the lip corner is tightened, suggesting that he was performing a "contempt smile" (Burgoon, Guerrero & Floyd, 2010).



Figure 16. Trump – Thumbs up and smile at his public on Inauguration Day

At the National Scout Jamboree, Trump’s entrance was much more theatrical. His entrance lasted approximately one minute. While Trump was walking from the left side to the right side of the stage, he was clapping with both hands and miming the words “thank you” with his lips. He then stopped applauding twice to a) clench his fists and pump them (Figures 17.a. and 17.b.) and to b) pump only his right fist up and down to cheer with his public (Figures 17.c. and 17.d.). Both gestures were encouragement to his public to cheer either himself or the USA in unison.



Figure 17.a.
Trump – Cheering and encouraging gesture (fists close to the chest)



Figure 17.b.
Trump – Cheering and encouraging gesture (fists away from the chest)



Figure 17.c.
Trump – Cheering U-S-A (fist in the air before moving downward)



Figure 17.d.
Trump – Cheering U-S-A (fist going downward before going upward again)

By contrast, Hitler’s entrances were more “serious” and “formal”. It must be borne in mind that this in line with his political context, which was much more formal than today’s. Hitler barely used any gesture, except for the famous greeting sign “Heil” symbolizing the Nazi Party, which consists in extending one entire arm up in front of

the chest. At Nuremberg as well as in Berlin on February 10th, Hitler adopted a straight posture and an emotionless face. He was staring at the audience, waiting for it to stop applauding and to start listening to him (cf. Figures 18.a. and 18.b.). He never thanked them before starting his speech, as if it was only natural that they all came to see him.



Figure 18.a.
Hitler – Feb. 10, 1933, waiting for the
applause to stop, straight and
emotionless



Figure 18.b.
Hitler – Speech to the Hitler Youth,
Nuremberg, waiting for the applause
to stop

3.2. Recurrent hand gestures

The analysis of recurrent gestures that can be found in both politicians' speeches followed Kendon (2004) assertion, that there is a strong relation between movement realization and pronunciation. According to him, the principal organization feature is "the stroke [nucleus] of the gesture phrase" that "is performed in close temporal proximity to that part of associated tone unit that expresses something that can be regarded as semantically coherent with it" (Kendon, 2004 : 124). This implies that the "gesture phrase" of the speaker is punctuated by its pronunciation, especially by tone units. Tone units and gestures are therefore employed together and create a sort of rhythm within the speech.

Three important and recurrent gestures were identified in both politicians' speeches. None of them convey any meaning in themselves, but they arguably all do support their statements and add dynamism to the speeches. Moreover, most of them are

related to tone units as Kendon (2004) suggested. Only one of Hitler's recurrent gestures was not related to pronunciation but was rather tied with the words he was saying, with the idea he wanted to convey.

This recurrent gesture is the pointing finger. Pointing gestures are usually used to indicate an object, a direction or a location (Kendon, 2004). However, in this case, Hitler was not pointing at something specific but he was stressing important words. Figure 19.a. illustrates the "Index Finger Extended Prone (palm down)" (Kendon, 2004 : 209) Hitler used to stress the words "dieser bewegung" ("this movement") in his sentence "Just as I myself have now worked for fourteen years, untiringly and without ever wavering, to build **this Movement**; and just as I have succeeded in turning seven men into a force of twelve million, in the same way I want and we all want to build and work on giving new heart to our German Volk" (retrieved from his speech on February 10, 1933). Every time Hitler used this pointing finger gesture, he ended up closing his finger and forming a fist, which he slowly lowered (cf. Figures 19.b. and 19.c.).



Figure 19.a.
Hitler – Index Finger
Extended Prone on "*dieser
bewegung*"

Figure 19.b.
Hitler – forming a
clenched fist after the
pointing finger

Figure 19.c.
Hitler – lowering his arm
keeping his clenched fist

In his speeches, Trump used the pointing finger gesture as well. Nonetheless, he never used it to stress important words as Hitler did. He usually used its basic function, mainly pointing at something or someone (Kendon, 2004). For instance, during the debate against Hilary Clinton, Trump pointed several times at Hilary Clinton when he talked about her. In his speech to the National Scouts Jamboree, Trump pointed the

finger at the cameramen to ask them to turn the cameras towards the public in order to show how many people were present.

The other two gestures Hitler used are gestures closely related to tone units. It seems that they were used to stress each word or syllable and to mark the rhythm (tempo) of the sentence. On the one hand, he used his fist, which he lowered or raised, depending on the sentence he wanted to stress. For instance, in his speech addressed to the future Hitler Youth (Figures 20.a., 20.b. and 20.c.), Hitler raised his fist while he claimed “Wir wollen einst | ‘ein | ‘Reich sehen” (“We want to see one Reich”). The stress was put on both “ein” and “Reich” and was even more emphasized by his fist, which he first raised on “ein” and then raised even higher on “Reich”.

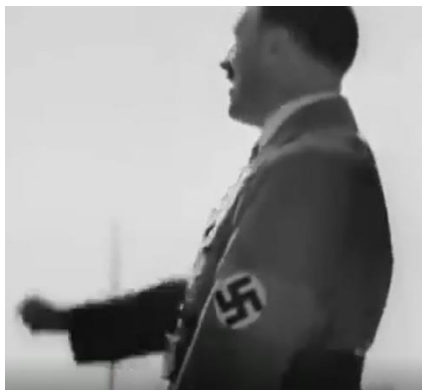


Figure 20.a.
Hitler – Preparing his fist on
“Wir wollen einst”

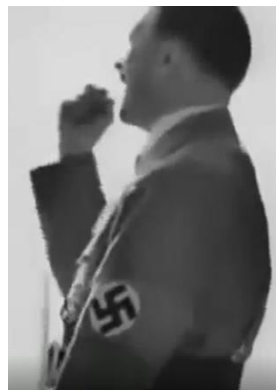


Figure 20.b.
Hitler – Raising fist
on *“ein”*



Figure 20.c.
Hitler – Raising fist on
“Reich”

On the other hand, Hitler used both hands, moving them upwards and downwards, depending on which word he wanted to put the stress on. Most of the time, his hands rose in front of his chest (Figure 21.a.), then rose higher to the level of his neck (Figure 21.b.) and finally went down again to their initial position (Figure 21.c.). Nevertheless, it sometimes happened that his hands went lower than his chest and higher than his neck. This suggests that the more emphasis Hitler wanted to put on sentences, the greater his movements were.

This gesture was repeated as much as needed, which implies that it sometimes occurred once in a sentence while it also appeared more than once in another sentence.

The stress was not always put on an entire word, but was occasionally put on the syllable of a word. In the example below retrieved from Hitler's first speech as chancellor, Hitler pronounces the sentence "Davon soll bestritten werden ihre Verwaltung | die Erhaltung ihrer öffentlichen Gebäude | bestritten werden | alles was sie ausgeben | für | Schulen | für Bildungszwecke | bestritten werden alles | was sie ausgeben | für Wohlfahrtszwecke" ("From this shall be denied their administration, the preservation of their public buildings, denied everything they spend for schools, for educational purposes, denied everything they spend for welfare purposes"). Each hand gesture stresses the words and tone units of the sentence. Hence, the same hand gesture is produced several times within the whole sentence.



Figure 21.a.
Hitler – lowers his hands on
“ausgeben”

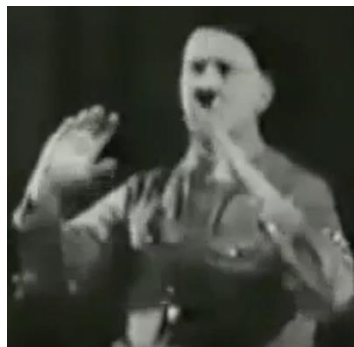


Figure 21.b.
Hitler – raises his hands on
“für” then pauses



Figure 21.c.
Hitler – lowers his hand on
“Schulen”

Hitler made use of various different gestures. However, he used them at the appropriate time to emphasize words that needed to be highlighted. When Hitler did not need to stress any word gesturally, he stood straight with his arms folded as though only the power of words was sufficient. By contrast, Trump has many distinct gestures and he uses them much more frequently than Hitler. Trump barely stays put as Hitler did, and as he uses many gestures, it seems like every word is important when it might actually not be the case. Nevertheless, the analysis helped determine three different gestures that emphasize the words that Trump uses. Therefore, for Trump as for Hitler, gestures accompany tone units.

Trump's first recurrent hand gesture, the *R-hand shape* gesture (Kendon, 2004), is formed with the tips of the thumb and the index of the hand which are "brought into contact so that the two digits together outline a more or less circular space" (Kendon, 2004 : 238). The second one is the *open hand oblique (palm oblique)* and *open hand vertical (palm vertical)* (Kendon, 2004). In this gesture, the hand is open and the palm of the hand is either oblique or vertical (cf. Figures 22.a.²⁶ and 22.b.²⁷). Usually, when Trump used this hand gesture, he moved his hand away from his body, going to the right if he used his right arm or going to the left if he used the left one. When he employed this gesture alone - without the preceding R-hand shape - the hand generally moved from left to right or right to left on each tone unit and stopped moving when a pause was made.



Figure 22.a.
Open hand oblique



Figure 22.b.
Open hand vertical

In most cases, Trump made use of the two different hand gestures (the R-hand shape and the open hand oblique/vertical) within the same sentence, although he sometimes used only one as well. The former – the R-hand shape – helped to mark every emphasized word in the sentence while the latter – the open hand vertical - was done at the same time as the very last tone unit was pronounced. Figures 23 (a,b,c,d & e) illustrate the sentence "You are | very | special | people" (National Scout Jamboree Speech) in which Trump stressed the words "are", "very" and "special" with the R-

²⁶ Figure 22.a. based on Kendon (2004 : 206)

²⁷ Figure 22.b. based on Kendon (2004 : 206)

hand shape by raising his hand before pronouncing the words and by lowering it when he pronounced them. He then ended his sentence with the word “people” on which he opened his hand and produced the open hand vertical.



Figure 23.a.
Trump – Preparing the R-hand shape before the word “You”



Figure 23.b.
Trump - R-hand shape lowered on “are”



Figure 23.c.
Trump – R-hand shape raised on “VEry”. This process was repeated 3 times.



Figure 23.d.
Trump – opens his R-hand shape before the word “people” to form an open hand vertical



Figure 23.e.
Trump – open hand vertical (palm vertical) on the last word “people” and moves it to the right

The third gesture used frequently in Trump’s speeches has the same purpose than the open hand vertical/oblique gesture with the difference that the palm is not open except for the index. This could be the so-called pointing finger, except that the index is never horizontal (as it was for Hitler) but always vertical. To distinguish between both, the latter will be called the “index gesture”. The index gesture is obviously not used to

point at anything but is rather useful to stress words as with the open hand vertical/oblique or R-hand shape.

In the sentence “But that is the past | and now | we are looking | only | to the future”, retrieved from Trump’s Inauguration Speech, there is an alternation between the index gesture and the R-hand shape on each tone unit. The first tone unit (“But that is the past”) starts with the index gesture that goes up on “but that is” (cf. Figure 24.a.) and down on “the past” (cf. Figure 24.b.); the second one (“and now”) is stressed by the R-hand shape (Figure 24.c.); the index gesture is again used for the third one (“we are looking”) (Figures 24.d. and 24.e.); the word “only” is accompanied with the R-hand



Figure 24.a.
Trump – “But that is”



Figure 24.b.
Trump – “the past”



Figure 24.c.
Trump – “and now”



Figure 24.d.
Trump – “we are”



Figure 24.e.
Trump – “looking”



Figure 24.f.
Trump – “ONly”



Figure 24.g.
Trump – “onLY”



Figure 24.h.
Trump – “to the future”

shape (Figures 24.f. and 24.g.); and finally, “to the future” comes with the index gesture (cf. Figure 24.h.)

The examples above also demonstrate that Trump positions his hand depending on the intonation he is using. At each beginning of the tone unit, where the intonation is generally rising, his hand is positioned higher than at the end of the tone unit, where the pitch is falling. Trump’s gestures are therefore not only related to the tone units, but they are also related to the intonation of those tone units. This contrasts with Hitler, whose gestures’ position is not higher or lower depending on the intonation.

Throughout all his speeches, Trump alternates these three recurrent hand gestures time and again. There are some other less frequent gestures occurring from time to time. For instance, parallels can be drawn between a hand gesture that Trump uses in his speech addressed to the National Scout Jamboree (Figures 25.a. and 25.b.) and Hitler’s recurrent two-hands gesture (Figures 21.a., 21.b. and 21.c.). In Figures 25.a. and 25.b., Trump stresses the words “America first” in his sentence “The scouts believe in putting America first” by raising and lowering his two hands on each important word. Even though he is not enumerating elements as Hitler is in Figures 21. (a, b and c), he is nevertheless emphasizing each word with his two hands as Hitler does.



Figure 25.a.
Trump – “*America first*”



Figure 25.b.
Trump – “*America first*”

3.3. Facial expressions

With regard to facial expressions, this dissertation only focussed on the presence or absence of any type of smiles. The results of the analysis of each politician's speeches showed that there is a sharp contrast between Hitler's and Trump's facial expressions. In the three analysed speeches by Hitler, no smile was found. His face is always stern or emotionless (which suggests that he was very focused) and never lets the audience glimpse an ounce of amusement or relaxation. Figures 26.a. and 26.b. illustrate facial expressions at two different moments in his speech addressed to the Hitler Youth which are representative of all his facial expressions in the two speeches analysed.

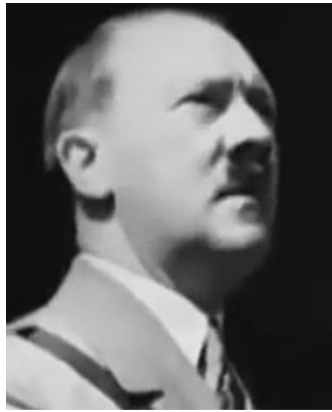


Figure 26.a.
Hitler – *facial expression 1*

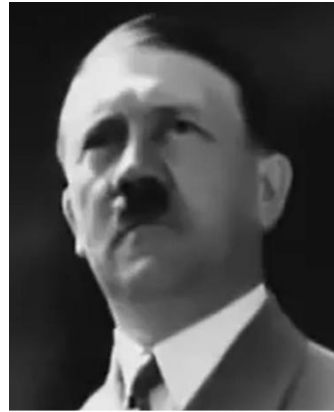


Figure 26.b.
Hitler – *Facial expression 2*

By contrast, in addition to the contempt smile mentioned in the “entrances” section, some other smiles – and laughs - were spotted in the three analysed speeches by Trump. However, Trump does not smile that often: seven smiles and one laugh were found in all the extracts analysed. Only one smile was found in the debate against Hilary Clinton while all the other smiles occurred in his speech to the National Scout Jamboree. One could assume that Trump is smiling more often in his speech addressed to young people to come across as friendly or because the context of the speech was more relaxed. By contrast, Hitler did not let down his serious and authoritarian face in front of children and young adults, probably to reinforce his imperious character.

Figures 27.a. and 27.b. show two different kinds of smiles that Trump produces in his speech to the National Scout Jamboree. According to the classification of smiles by

Burgoon, Guerrero & Floyd (2010), Figure 27.a. represents a contempt smile (half controlled) and gives an impression of pride. Figure 27.b., however, represents an amusement smile as the mouth is relaxed and open.



Figure 27.a.
Trump – *Contempt smile*



Figure 27.b.
Trump – *Amusement smile*

3.4. Conclusion

In conclusion, the body language of both politicians is rather different. Firstly, their entrances differ completely: Hitler stood still, waiting for the applause to stop while Trump moved from one side of the stage to the other, cheering with his audience. Secondly, both politicians' facial expressions diverge: Trump smiled and laughed several times whereas no smile could be identified in Hitler's speeches. Hitler was much more serious and formal compared to Trump who was more relaxed. Thirdly, both politicians' recurrent gestures are different: Hitler opted for a raised fist, a pointing finger or both his hands positioned parallel to each other, while Trump mostly used the R-hand shape, the index gesture and the open hand vertical/oblique. Nevertheless, it was proved that their recurrent hand gestures were strongly related to the intonation. Most of those gestures were used to stress the words which, according to them, needed emphasizing.

4. General discussion

The three previous sections focused on critically discussing the findings of each data analysis in order to answer three research questions, namely: *Which words recur in the political speeches under study?*, *What intonation do both politicians use and which words are given special prominence?* and *Which elements of body language are used recurrently during the delivery of the speeches?* As each research question was considered, it is now possible to answer the main research question of this dissertation: *Is there any similarity in the delivery of the speeches by Adolf Hitler and Donald Trump during their rise to power?* This section concentrates on answering the main research question by using the results provided for each research question in the previous sections.

The findings showed that the results of the three research questions are intrinsically linked for both politicians. Both word recurrence and body language are strongly related to intonation. When words are given prominence, they are, most of the time, emphasised by hand gestures as well. In addition, many words occurring recurrently in the speeches are also given prominence. This could be interpreted as a strategy both politicians adopted to draw the audience's attention to the words they considered as significant in their speeches. Nevertheless, as discussed in section 4.3., Trump used hand gestures constantly, which could potentially mitigate the impact words could have on the audience. By contrast, Hitler stayed put when words did not need to be stressed and used hand gestures when he arguably wanted to insist on important words.

Some similarities between the delivery of speech of both politicians were found despite their different historical, economic and political contexts. Most similarities were found in their lexis and in their body language.

First, Hitler and Trump frequently employed terms referring to nationalism: nouns such as *Deutschland (Deutschen)/America, nation, country, people* or pronouns such as *we, our, you*. This is nevertheless no surprise as both politicians never concealed their wish to put their country first or their rejection of the international community. For instance, as already mentioned, Hitler changed the name of his party into the

Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (Shirer, 2011). His intentions were therefore rather clear.

As covered in section 4.1.3., the pronoun *we* was generally used in both politicians' speeches to convey a feeling of unity. This theory supports Kershaw (1987)'s assumptions that Hitler was seen as a leader having the ability to unite people. This could be seen in Hitler's propaganda film *Triumph des Willens*, in which, as Kershaw (1987) stated, Hitler's speech addressing the Hitler Youth aimed to reinforce the image of a strong and united people. His speech particularly demonstrated the cohesion of the Hitler Youth and their allegiance to the *Führer*. The aim of uniting people was also part of Javadi & Mohammadi's (2007) study on Trump's use of the pronoun *we*. According to them, Trump mostly used the pronoun *we* to make his audience feel close to him.

Second, Hitler and Trump let people believe that they were the only ones who could help and save them. This was determined by the frequent use of the pronoun *I* and the noun *years* (mostly used to report what had been happening before their arrival to power and what will never happen again after their election). It can be argued that they paid particular attention to their image, especially an image of saviour. This hypothesis of a strong "saviour" image supports other studies' findings mentioned in chapter 2., sections 1.3. and 2.3. With regard to Hitler, parallels can be drawn with Kershaw (1987)'s conclusion that during his whole rise to power and beyond, Hitler cultivated his image of saviour through propaganda and speeches. With regard to Trump, the findings are in line with Javadi & Mohammadi (2017)'s suggestions that Trump frequently uses the pronoun *I* to show himself as a saviour. Javadi & Mohammadi (2017) even went further in their analysis by pointing out that when Trump used pronouns to refer to other people (such as *he/she* or *they*), he frequently associated them with negative connotations. This could be illustrated in Trump's debate against Hilary Clinton, where he diminished his democratic opponent on several occasions: "*And she was involved. But just like she can't bring back jobs, she can't produce*"; "*I have better judgment than she does, there's no question about that. I also have a*

much better temperament than she has, you know?". It could be suggested that Hitler belittled his opponent in his response to Otto Wels several times as well: "I believe that you [addressing the Social Democrats] are not voting for this bill for the reason that you, in your innermost mentality, are incapable of comprehending the purpose which thereby imbues us".

Third, as mentioned in section 4.3., both politicians' body language is closely associated with their intonation, even though their intonation significantly contrasts. Hitler mostly raised his voice, and consequently increased his pitch range, much more than Trump did. One could interpret this vehemence as a demonstration of passion. By contrast, Trump did not seem to manifest any sign of passion in his speeches. Furthermore, both leaders had three recurrent gestures which generally accompanied their statements. Trump mainly used the R-hand shape, the index gesture and the vertical/oblique hand gesture whereas Hitler made use of the pointing finger, the clenched fist and his two hands in parallel. For both politicians, the act of punctuating words with gestures echoes the views of other researchers (Ullrich, 2013/2016 for Hitler and Javadi & Mohammadi, 2017 for Trump). It is nevertheless important to point out that Ullrich (2013/2016) suggested that Hitler followed a pattern of three steps in every speech: (1) calm and hesitating voice; (2) dramatic gestures supporting his statements; (3) increase of tempo and voice volume and more aggressivity. While it can be agreed that Hitler generally started his speeches with a calm voice, the analysis of the speeches did not reveal that Hitler had a hesitating voice. The analysis showed rather that Hitler gave a rhythm to his speeches by starting in a calm tone and ending his statements in fury. Nevertheless, it supports the second and third steps of Ullrich's pattern.

Conclusion

The overall aim of this dissertation was to determine whether there is any similarity between Hitler's and Trump's delivery of speech. The three separate analysis showed that some similarities exist in the delivery of speech by Hitler and Trump. First, the analysis of recurrent words brought evidence of an indisputable sense of nationalism and patriotism in both politicians' speeches. It also supported that Hitler and Trump considered themselves as their country's saviours. Second, they both tended to give prominence to words by stressing them and by emphasizing them with hand gestures. Consequently, intonation and body language were closely linked: hand gestures were mainly dependent on intonation. Third, despite the numerous hand gestures used, only three main recurrent hand gestures were identified for each politician. None of them being the same for both politicians.

It should be noted that this dissertation mainly focused on the similarities between both politicians. Only similarities were highlighted while many disparities were found. Moreover, the study mainly focused on the delivery of speech, in other words, on the form rather than on the content of the speeches. The most recurrent words were obviously considered but the arguments put forward were not scrutinized. Therefore, while the delivery of speech mostly contrasts – despite the few similarities found –, perhaps the arguments put forward by both politicians are alike. It might be interesting that other researches focus on both politicians' political arguments rather than on their speech delivery.

Some limitations to the case study should be taken into consideration. First, both politicians have a large amount of speeches. It was thus necessary to select only a few speeches to fully analyse them. Therefore, further studies should consider a larger corpus for each politician as many other similarities could potentially be identified. Second, after World War II, the fear of letting Nazism rise to power again was so prevalent that many speeches and documents were destroyed or concealed from the public eye. Nowadays, there is still restricted access to Hitler's speeches. Moreover, as

already mentioned above, speeches did not use to be televised in the 1930s, unlike today. The selection of the speeches was thus very limited, as only a few speeches could be found on the Internet or in multimedia libraries. Third, the analysis of body language was limited as only the recurrent gestures of both politicians were considered in this dissertation while many other gestures were used. Politicians' body language is a complex field of study and deserves a deeper analysis carried out by more specialised researchers.

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“Trump’s full speech to the National Scout Jamboree” – *Youtube*, uploaded by
Washington Post, 25 July 2017,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dhTCNLLsvss&t=2070s>

Appendices

Cf. attached documents

The documents have been provided on two USB keys and the videos of the speeches have been copied on two CD's . The documents have been uploaded alongside this dissertation on *DIAL.mem*.

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