

LINGUISTICS AND VIETNAMESE LINGUISTICS

PRAGMATIC MARKERS IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

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ABSTRACT: The art of using language pragmatically, specifically the use of personal pronouns as pragmatic markers to persuade the public, is a crucial skill for any politician. This skill allows them not only to express emotions and attitudes but also to assert their power and ideology. This area has garnered significant research interest in recent years. However, there is still a limited number of studies examining this topic in the context of U.S. presidential inaugural speeches. Notably, most existing research has only labeled these elements as “personal pronoun” without acknowledging them as “pragmatic markers”. This gap in the literature has motivated the researcher to pursue this study. Therefore, this research seeks to explore the use of pragmatic markers, specifically “I”, “we”, and “you” in President Abraham Lincoln’s inaugural speech to uncover how a president can effectively persuade the public through these markers in his inaugural address. Accordingly, the findings show that, by using personal pronouns, President Lincoln easily conveyed himself to the public and drew people in with his trustworthiness; in other words, ethos was the primary strategy used by this president.

KEY WORDS: political discourse; inaugural speeches; President; pragmatic markers; personal pronouns.

RECEIVED: March, 6th, 2025.

EDITED: June, 20th, 2025

1. Introduction

It is agreed that there are three factors which create the effectiveness of any public speaking; they are (1) ethos, (2) pathos and (3) logos (Aristotle, 2007). According to Durant and Lambrou (2009, as cited in Karaperjana, 2011), audience can be convinced when they believe in the fairness and honesty of the speaker; in other words, it is dependable mostly on “the personal character of the speaker (ethos)”; they can be persuaded on the “basis of the emotion aroused by what is said (pathos)” and “by the proof provided by the words (logos)”. That is the reason why any Presidents need to be prudent to select their language to convey their message in order to attract and persuade their audience successfully. This research attempts to discover whether the politician’s pronominal choice assists him in achieving his political goals or not.

Public speaking is a multifaceted skill that depends on three critical elements: ethos, pathos, and logos, as identified by Aristotle (2007). All of these factors work together to help a speaker effectively engage and persuade their audience. Ethos pertains to the speaker’s credibility and personality. According to Durant and Lambrou (2009, as cited in Karaperjana, 2011), audience can be convinced when they believe in the fairness and honesty of the speaker; in other words, it is dependable mostly on “the personal character of the speaker (ethos)”.

Conversely, pathos refers to the speech’s emotional appeal which is the speaker’s ability to evoke strong feelings in the audience. A speech’s emotional resonance has a big impact on how the audience reacts to and accepts the content.

Logos refers to the logical appeal, which requires presenting clear, logical arguments based on facts and figures. This rational component of persuasion ensures that the audience understands and finds the speaker’s arguments convincing.

The combination of these three attributes is essential for every public speaker, especially political leaders like Presidents. That is the reason why any President needs to be prudent in selecting their language to convey their message in order to attract and persuade their audience successfully. This research attempts to discover whether the politician’s pronominal choice assists him in achieving his political goals or not.

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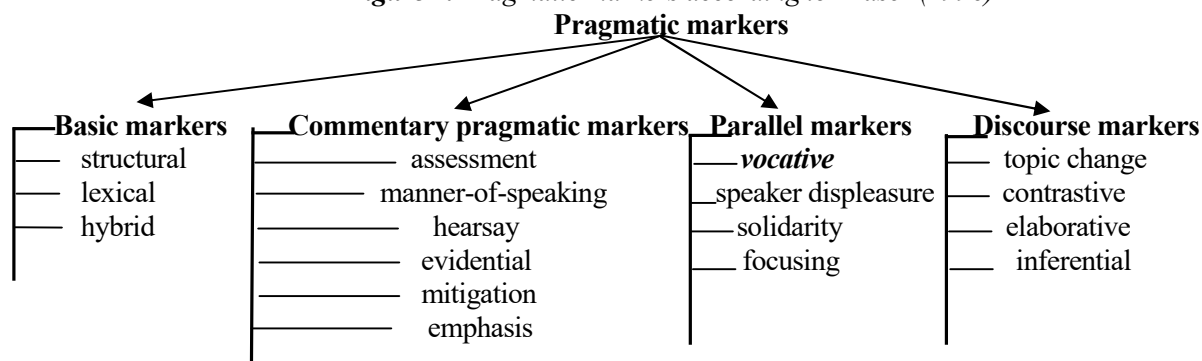
2. Theoretical background and Literature review

2.1. Pragmatic markers

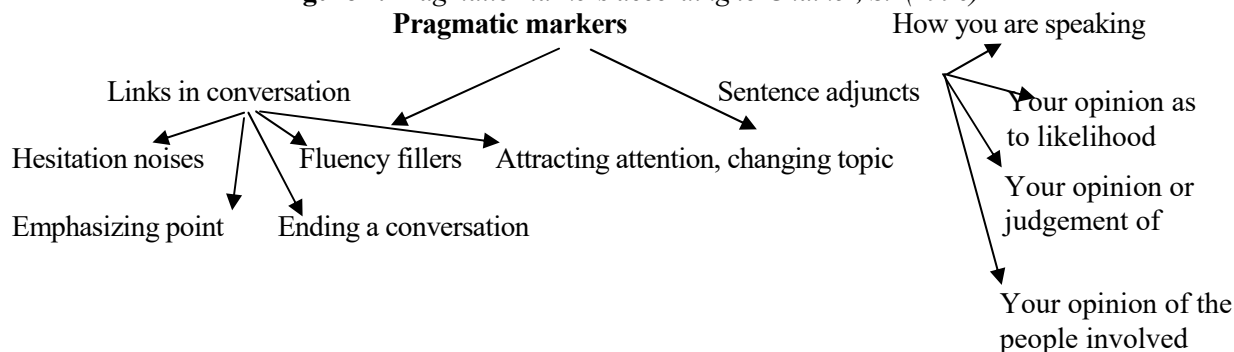
It can be confirmed that there is no consensus on what so-called “pragmatic markers” are and their definitions as well. In terms of definition, Levinson (1983) defines pragmatic markers as appearing in a variety of forms, including words or phrases that express the link between a sentence and its previous section. This definition tends to be similar to Fraser’s (1996) description of “discourse markers” as “an expression which signals the relationship of the basic message to the foregoing discourse”. In contrast, according to Fraser (1996, p. 323), pragmatic markers are “linguistically encoded clues that signal the speaker’s potential communicative intentions”. Similarly, Yule (2020, p155) states that pragmatic markers are employed to “mark a speaker’s attitude to the listener or to what is being said”. Based on the aim of this research, this is considered the working definition of pragmatic markers in this paper; in other words, pragmatic markers are basically the signs that inform the listener(s) about the speaker’s communicative goals. In connection with term, they have many other names such as “discourse particle” (Schourup, 1985), “pragmatic particle” (Ostman, 1981), “pragmatic expression” (Erman, 1987); “discourse connectives” (Blakemore 1987, 1992), “pragmatic connectives” (Van Dijk, 1979), “pragmatic operator” (Ariel, 1994), “discourse operator” (Redeker, 1990), “cue phrases” (Knott and Dale, 1994), “discourse signalling devices” (Polanyi and Scha, 1983), “phatic connectives” (Bazanella 1990), “conjuncts/disjuncts” (Quirks et al, 1985), “cohesive expressions” (Halliday and Hasan, 1985), “gambits” (Keller 1979) and “discourse markers” (Schiffrin, 1987). The different terms are based on the aims of the studies, approaches, analysis and categories, as well.

According to Fraser (1996), there are four main types of pragmatic markers including (1) basic markers, (2) commentary pragmatic markers, (3) parallel markers and (4) discourse markers (see Figure 1).

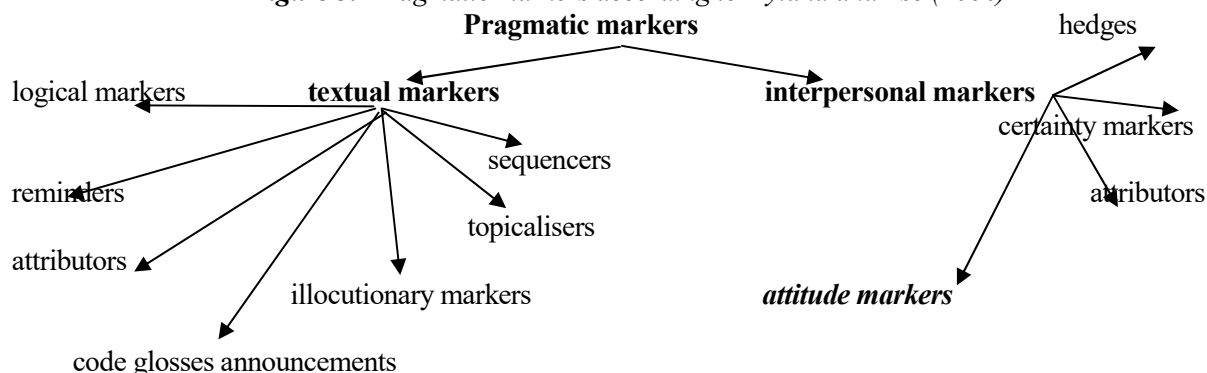
Figure 1. Pragmatic markers according to Fraser (1996)



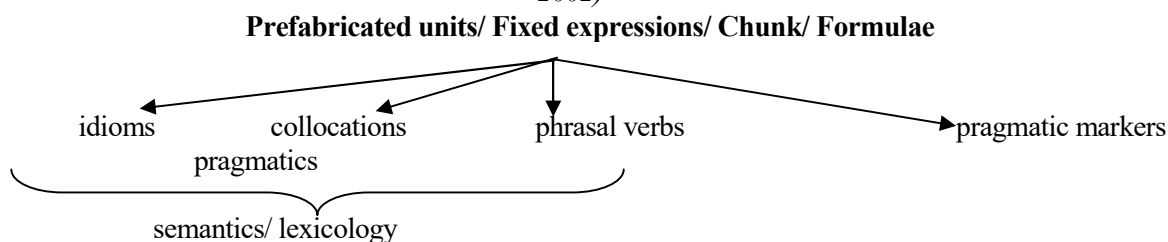
Chalker, S. (1996) showed pragmatic markers, which “help the listener or reader follow the discourse more easily”, in two main types: (1) links in conversation such as hesitation noises (*er, erm, yes, yeah,...*), fluency fillers (*I mean, you know, you see, ...*), attracting attention/ changing the topic (*right, okay, now, look, listen, ...*), emphasizing a point (*believe me, as you say, the point is, ...*), ending a conversation (*well, anyway*); and (2) sentence adjuncts such as how you are speaking (*personally, in my opinion, to be honest, ...*), your opinion as to likelihood (*of course, obviously, clearly, maybe, ...*), your opinion of judgement of something or somebody (*surprisingly, interestingly, luckily, sadly, ...*) (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. *Pragmatic markers according to Chalker, S. (1996)*

According to Hyland and Tse (2004), pragmatic marker categories are intrinsically and ultimately interpersonal, and one of their main aims is to persuade the reader. These authors divide pragmatic markers into two functional headings: (1) textual markers - refer to the organization of discourse such as logical markers (*and, but, finally, so,...*), sequencers (*firstly, secondly,...*), reminders (*as... said*), topicalisers (*now*), code glosses (*that is, in other words, for example,...*), illocutionary markers (*I hope to persuade, I back up this idea,...*), announcements (*next, then,...*); and (2) interpersonal markers - reflects the writer's standpoint towards both his/her information and potential reader(s) such as hedges (*may, might, perhaps, it is likely,...*), certainty markers (*undoubtedly, of course, you know,...*), attributors (*as ... indicated*), attitude markers (*must, surprisingly, impossible, I think, I believe, is this ...?, dear..., you, I, we, me, my feelings, ...*) (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. *Pragmatic markers according to Hyland and Tse (2004)*

It can be said that almost all English and American authors above agreed that English linguistics has huge prefabricated units which are classified into two main groups: (1) idioms, collocations, and phrasal verbs and (2) lexical phrases including pragmatic markers. In terms of lexicology, they are called *disjuncts* and *conjuncts* (Quirk et al., 1985). In terms of discourse analysis, they are called *discourse markers*, *discourse devices*, *discourse signals*, and *gambits* (normally used in conversations). In terms of syntax and pragmatics, they are called *connectors*. (Ngo Huu Hoang, 2002).

Figure 4. *A distinction between pragmatic markers and other prefabricated units (Ngo Huu Hoang, 2002)*

2. Personal pronouns as Pragmatic markers

The question here is why personal pronouns should be treated as pragmatic markers. First, these personal pronouns reflect the speaker's attitudes, perspectives, and communicative intentions in the discourse (Brown & Gilman, 1960; Maitland & Wilson, 1987; Wilson, 1990; Fraser, 1990). Second, they facilitate the formation and maintenance of social interactions (Brown & Wilson, 1987; Fairclough, 1989; Wilson, 1990; Pennycook, 1994). Last but not least, these address forms greatly improve conversation cohesiveness and coherence by providing interpretations and allowing interlocutors to communicate more effectively. This enables speakers to negotiate their connections with the audience while still asserting their authority as political leaders.

3. Previous studies of English pragmatic markers in political discourse

English pragmatic markers are highly valued in everyday communication because of their numerous roles, which include representing speakers' goals (e.g., politeness, persuasion, and appeal) and promoting smoother communication flow. Their importance in political speech is considerably greater since they communicate politicians' objectives to catch attention, persuade, and sway a large audience.

The first study to highlight here is Ismail's (2012) research, which is notable not only for being one of the earliest studies on pragmatic markers in political speeches but also for its contributions to subsequent research. Ismail utilizes Hyland and Tse's (2004) classification of discourse markers to examine their functions and identify the types used in two speeches by Obama (2010). The study draws several significant conclusions: firstly, logical and personal markers are crucial in constructing persuasive discourse; secondly, attitude markers reflect the speaker's ideas and influence the audience; and thirdly, specific markers can affect and/or enhance listeners' emotional responses.

Unlike Ismail (2012), Guo (2018) opted to classify markers based on Phillip's theory to explore the pragmatic effects of these items in the first 2016 U.S. presidential debate. Accordingly, Guo highlights the frequent use of additional markers like "and" and emphatic markers such as "very" in debates. Through this analysis, the researcher emphasizes the importance of discourse markers in organizing logical and coherent arguments, capturing the audience's attention, and indicating careful consideration. Bantawig (2019) draws on the theories of Halliday and Hasan (1976) and de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981b) to identify the forms, functions, and classifications of discourse cohesive markers used in 54 speeches delivered in English by selected Asian Presidents. The author argues that the use of pronominal substitution establishes a connection between the Asian Presidents and their citizens.

It is observed that the aforementioned studies primarily focus on describing discourse markers. Notably, Ismail (2012) identifies these markers as crucial elements in constructing persuasive discourse. Nevertheless, these studies do not explicitly elucidate how and why these linguistic elements contribute to persuasion.

4. Previous studies of persuasion in political discourse

Scholars do not agree on persuasive tactics in discourse, particularly political speeches. To begin, while both Kantorgorje et al. (2021) and Thanh (2023) use Halliday's theoretical framework to investigate persuasion in political situations, their study topics differ greatly. While the former investigates the use of epistemic modality in the inaugural speeches of four Ghanaian presidents, Thanh's research (2023) reveals some intriguing findings when studying the persuasive strategies (modality, vocatives, appraisal, transitivity system, theme-rheme relationship) of two politicians, Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton, during the 2016 presidential campaign. As a result, Kantorgorje et al. (2021) discovered that the use of epistemic modality seeks to depict presidents "as bold, confident, committed, and forthright in their utterances" whereas Thanh's conclusion suggests that politicians have distinct political opinions and ideologies on many issues and clarifies the actual societal situation in the United States at the time.

Jaradat (2022) and Veselá (2021) investigate persuasive strategies by comparing two leaders' speeches. While their methodologies differ, both highlight the multidimensional character of persuasive communication in politics. Jaradat's research focuses on a comparative analysis of the persuasive strategies used by Bill Clinton and Barack Obama during their respective presidential nomination speeches. Jaradat uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to identify a set of techniques, which range from inclusive language and pledges to emotional appeals and historical connections. The data show a subtle interplay of persuasive strategies, with both Clinton and Obama using different rhetorical devices to impact public opinion. However, the analysis reveals significant disparities in their tactics, with Clinton relying largely on terror invoking and historical narratives, whereas Obama excels at emotional appeals. Veselá's research, on the other hand, takes a larger approach, looking at the persuasive methods used by Barack Obama and Donald Trump during their political speeches. Veselá deconstructs components such as intertextual connections, metaphorical language, and direct appeals to the audience, providing insights into how ethos, logos, and pathos are used to resonate with voters. The research emphasizes the significance of personal tales in establishing trust and connection with voters, with Obama's speeches excelling in logos and ethos and Trump's rhetoric focusing on pathos.

Ngo Huu Hoang's (2021) study diverges from previous works by focusing on the effect of Donald Trump's slogan on American society since 2016. The scholar argues that "Make America Great Again" stands out as one of the most effective and controversial slogans, significantly contributing to Donald Trump's unexpected victory as the 45th U.S. President (Ngo Huu Hoang, 2021). By employing CDA, the author reveals how strategies such as hyperbole, ambiguity, and repetition (specifically with the words "great" and "again") resonate emotionally with Trump's supporters. Simultaneously, Ngo Huu Hoang (2021) raises critical questions about the slogan, such as "When was America last great?" and "Who caused it to lose its greatness?". Accordingly, it becomes evident that Trump's 2016 slogan may have deep division in the United States society.

Derki (2022) and Al-Khawaldeh et al. (2023) both investigate persuasive methods connected to Joe Biden, however the former compares him to another US president during presidential elections, whilst the latter only examine President Biden's inauguration speech. Both writers use rhetoric in persuasion as part of their analytical framework, but the Derki mixes it with Van Dijk's CDA and the Al-Khawaldeh et al. with Fairclough's CDA, resulting in differing interpretations. Both studies, however, admit that President Joe Biden has been able to readily clarify his views thanks to these persuasive tactics. Although Almahasees and Mahmoud's (2022) goal is to investigate persuading tactics, their research focuses on seven speeches by King Abdullah II of Jordan, and their theoretical framework is a blend of Fairclough's and Van Dijk's CDA, with little connection to rhetoric. King Abdullah II has effectively employed persuasive tactics to articulate his political worldview. To prevent personalizing, the King should use neutral terms such as "we", "our", "you", and "your" in his speeches.

The reviewed studies on persuasion in political discourse indicate that they have not fully focused on personal pronouns in this field. In other words, personal pronouns have only been a part of these authors' research, necessitating a deeper exploration.

5. Previous studies on personal pronouns as pragmatic markers in political speeches

Previous research has revealed a wide range of perspectives on personal pronoun use. First and foremost, Brown and Gilman's 1960 publication, "The pronouns of power and solidarity", must be mentioned here. These scholars assert a "covariation" between the pronouns used and the speaker's personality qualities. It means that a person's consistent use of pronouns reveals their identity and political viewpoint.

In agreement with and building upon this perspective, a series of studies related to this topic, employing various approaches, contexts, and research outcomes, have emerged, underscoring the undeniable significance of personal pronoun use with pragmatic intent. Due to the scope of this

paper, the researcher will only review studies from the past five years. Firstly, Krawrungruang and Yaoharee's (2018) study, which explored the use of personal pronouns "we" and "I" in the speeches of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton during the 2016 US Presidential Election Debates, demonstrated that the choice of different pronouns in varying contexts reflects the distinctive persuasive strategies and political ideologies of the two presidential candidates. However, this study lacks a clear research framework.

Subsequent studies employing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to compare pronoun choices among politicians have produced somewhat inconsistent results. For example, Ali and Behnam (2020) found that most pronouns exhibit characteristics of solidarity, which contradicts earlier studies like Bramley (2001). Bramley claims that pronouns are used to create multiple "selves" and "others" among politicians, a view echoed by Nguyen Hoa (2021) in analyzing Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump's representation through Obama's use of "us" and "them" (2016, as cited in Nguyen Hoa, 2021) despite using a different framework which combines Van Leeuwen's social actor representation framework (SAR) examining how social actors are represented in speech via classification and functionalization (Van Leeuwen, 2008) and Halliday's transitivity analysis focusing on how language represents experiences and actions via processes, participants, and circumstances (Halliday, 1994). Håkansson (2012) suggests that politicians use "they" to distance themselves from others, comparable to how Tun Dr. Mahathir used "them" and Donald Trump used "you" to address their opponents (Aiman & Noor, 2021). This contrasts with George Washington's use of "you" to attract the audience. Hence, Håkansson's (2012) claim that politicians' pronoun choices are not considerably different is not totally accurate.

Although Sadeghi's study (2022) also employs the CDA framework, it finds an intriguing distinction when investigating use of pronouns between males and females in the United States 115th Congress from January 2017 to January 2019. According to the data, men preferred "I" and "you" more than women while the latter employ "we" more often. However, the study does not provide a precise outline of its framework.

Unlike previous approaches, Aiman and Noor (2021) examine the issue from a cultural perspective. They find that despite coming from two different cultural backgrounds: the collectivistic Malaysian culture and the individualistic American culture, both speakers in their study use "we" and "us" to convey "inclusivity and solidarity". Using Hofstede's collectivism and individualism framework, Aiman and Noor (2021) illustrate that cultural perceptions of directness and indirectness significantly influence the decision to include or exclude the listeners.

Both Lodhi (2018) and Phạm Hồng Trang & Ngô Hữu Hoàng (2023) examine the use of personal pronouns in U.S. presidential inaugural speeches and employ a combination of Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Aristotle's rhetorical appeals in Presidents' inaugural speeches. However, their research focuses and subjects differ. Specifically, while Lodhi's study aims to identify linguistic features used in the inaugural speeches of George W. Bush and Barack Obama, Phạm Hồng Trang & Ngô Hữu Hoàng concentrate on comparing the use of pronouns "I", "we", and "you" in the inaugural speeches of George Washington and Ho Chi Minh.

Interestingly, both studies find that the pronouns used by these presidents tend to arouse and evoke the emotions of the audience. Nonetheless, it is important to note that Lodhi et al. (2018) cover a wider range of linguistic issues, including transitions, modal verbs, modality, and pronouns, and the research by Phạm Hồng Trang & Ngô Hữu Hoàng (2023) is limited to analyzing two inaugural speeches from two different cultures. This highlights the need for a more focused and detailed study that specifically examines the role of personal pronouns in US political inaugural addresses to better understand their pragmatic implications.

It is clear that there are multiple techniques for assessing pragmatic markers, persuasive strategies, and personal pronouns in political speeches, which leads to different interpretations of the

results. Even when using the same theoretical framework, contradictory data might occur, resulting in the research gap that drives the need for further investigation.

3. Methodology

3.1. The aim of the study and research questions

The aim of this study is to elucidate the power of language employed in President Abraham Lincoln's inaugural speech, particularly by addressing the following research questions: 1/ What is the frequency of "we", "I" and "you" in the selected speech?; 2/ To whom do the personal pronouns "we," "I," and "you" refer in the speech?; 3/ What are pragmatic functions of "we", "I" and "you" used in the speech?

3.2. Research method(s)

- *Data collection*: The US President's address from 1861 serves as the basis for the study. The data utilized for this study are publicly accessible on the Internet. President Abraham Lincoln's First Inaugural Address was sourced from <https://www.bartleby.com/lit-hub/inaugural-addresses-of-the-presidents-of-the-united-states/abraham-lincoln-first-inaugural-address/>. The dataset for this study comprises 3,709 words across 35 paragraphs.

- Data analysis

First stage: To address the first research question, quantitative method is employed in this stage: listing and counting all instances of the personal pronouns "I", "we", and "you" used in the speech using Microsoft Word's search function.

Second stage: Qualitative and quantitative methods are applied in this stage. Every use of the personal pronoun "I", "we", "you" is examined to determine the topic of each pronoun and the person to whom it refers. The second research question is addressed by applying the suggested framework of pragmatic meanings of "I", "we", and "you" (Pham Hong Trang & Ngo Huu Hoang, 2023) in political discourse. Microsoft Word is utilized to compile a list of all samples for each situation.

Third stage: In order to respond to the third study question, the pragmatic functions of certain personal pronouns employed by the President are clarified.

3.3. Findings and discussions

3.3.1. The occurrence of I, we, you in the selected speech

Table 1. Frequency of I, we, you in the selected speech (adapted from Kaewrungruang, K., & Yaoharee, O., 2018)

Topic	Paragraph	Pronoun			Total
		I	We	You	
Introduction	1, 2	2	0	2	3
Southern States' apprehension	3	6	0	1	7
Declaration of denouncing lawless invasion	4, 5	5	1	0	6
Delivering up of fugitives	6	1	0	0	1
The official oath	10, 11	3	0	0	3
The Union's endurance	12	1	0	0	1
The consideration for his duty	17, 18	6	0	0	6
His sentiments on those who (not) love the Union	20	3	0	0	3
Destruction of our national fabric	21	0	1	5	6
Constitution	22, 23, 26	3	1	1	5
Slavery	27, 28	1	2	4	7
Constitutional right of amending and revolutionary right	29	10	0	0	10

Taking time	33	0	0	3	3
Civil war	34	1	0	3	4
Closing	35	1	2	0	3
Frequency		43	7	19	69
%		62	10	28	100

Table 1 shows the frequency of the first personal pronouns “I” and “we” and the second personal pronoun “you” found in the selected discourse of the US President. According to table 1, the total number of selected pronouns used in the first inaugural speech delivered by Abraham Lincoln are 69. The first singular personal pronoun “I” is used the most frequently with 62%. In addition, it can be seen from the table that this pronoun occurs in almost every paragraph, especially in paragraph 29 with the topic “Constitutional right of amending and revolutionary right”, the President employed ten times with “I”. On the contrary, the first plural personal pronoun is the one the politician used least with only 7 “we”, accounting for 10% in total. It means that there are numerous topics Abraham Lincoln did not adopt “we”. Finally, the last selected pronoun “you” is used more than the first plural personal pronoun but much less than the first singular one with 28%. Like the first plural personal pronoun, the second appears only in some paragraphs.

3.3.2. The pronoun reference and its pragmatic functions

De Fina (1995) emphasizes the importance of understanding pronouns in their context to reveal the meanings they convey to the audience (as cited in Hakansson, 2012; Pham Hong Trang & Ngo Huu Hoang, 2023). As a result, it is critical to properly evaluate the discourse to identify the topic of each paragraph, which aids in detecting pronoun references in the speech (Pham Hong Trang & Ngo Huu Hoang, 2023). After careful examination, 17 topics were identified in 29 paragraphs (see Table 1).

3.3.2.1. Ethos

As referred earlier, pronoun “I” was used most frequently by the US President and it emerged in almost every topic. First and foremost, Abraham Lincoln adopted “I” when he would like to introduce himself and his speech to the hearers in paragraph 1 and 2:

(1) *“I appear before you to address you briefly”* (Abraham Lincoln, 1861)

(2) *I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement”* (Abraham Lincoln, 1861).

Then, he repeated six times of the first singular personal pronoun when he expressed his affirmation that “the people of the Southern States” did not need to worry because they had no “reasonable cause for such apprehension”. It means that it shows transparently the President’s personal involvement and commitment (Karapetjana, 2011 and De Fina, 1995) which is one of the inherent features each head of state must have and should have:

(3) . *“I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that—I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so”* (Abraham Lincoln, 1861).

The presenter’s personal character then reached the climax when he used the repetition of “I” ten times in paragraph 29 in which the US President shared his sentiments of the *constitutional* right of amending it and the *revolutionary* right:

(4) *“I cannot be ignorant ... While I make no recommendation of amendments, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people ...; and I should, under existing circumstances, favor rather than oppose a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. I will venture to add that.... I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution—which amendment, however, I have not seen—has passed Congress ... To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose.... I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable”* (Abraham Lincoln, 1861).

3.3.2.2. Logos

Abraham Lincoln employed a series of arguments to support his points of view. For instance, in paragraph 5 and 6, the US President provided his audience with further clarification of his stance on “lawless invasion” and “delivering up of fugitives”:

(5) *“I now reiterate these sentiments, and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of ... I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws.... The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions”* (Abraham Lincoln, 1861).

Moreover, the US President also strengthened his points when raising a number of rhetorical questions. For example, in paragraph 20 when he expressed his sentiments on those who love the Union and in paragraph 21 when mentioning to the destruction of the national fabric:

(6) *“That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events and are glad of any pretext to do it I will neither affirm nor deny; but if there be such, I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union may I not speak?”* (Abraham Lincoln, 1861).

(7) *“Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes, would it not be wise to ascertain precisely why **we** do it? Will **you** hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that any portion of the ills **you** fly from have no real existence? Will **you**, while the certain ills **you** fly to are greater than all the real ones **you** fly from, will **you** risk the commission of so fearful a mistake?”* (Abraham Lincoln, 1861).

In addition, it can be seen from example 7 that the first plural personal pronoun was employed here must be inclusive “we” which includes both speaker(s) and hearer(s) - all American countrymen when he mentioned to their nation. Accordingly, five second personal pronouns in this example referred to the same subject - all American countrymen when Abraham Lincoln was communicating and persuading them in not destroying their nation. It is not an exception either if he also wanted to refer to anyone (Bramley, 2001) when he raised critical questions.

3.3.2.3. Pathos

It is hard for us to deny the way Abraham Lincoln arouse the audience’s interest right at the beginning of his talk when he continuously adopted “you”:

(8) *“Fellow-Citizens of the United States: IN compliance with a custom as old as the Government itself, I appear before **you** to address **you** briefly and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President”* (Abraham Lincoln, 1861).

Apparently, the two “you” in example 8 referred to his “fellow citizens of the United States” which appeared right at the starting point.

Then, the presenter continued to attract the crowd’s attention when he mentioned to “the people of the Southern States” in paragraph 3 and another second personal pronoun:

(9) *“Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican Administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered... It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses **you**”*. (Abraham Lincoln, 1861).

“You” in example 9 might be all the audience; might be a part of it which is “the people of the Southern States”.

The addresser once again climaxed when he interpersonalized all people together with the first plural personal pronoun “we” in order to “denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory”. Hence, this “we” should be inclusive “we”:

(10) *“**we** denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes”* (Abraham Lincoln, 1861).

Another example also shows transparently about the connection between the US President and his audience is paragraph 28. In this example, he used two first plural personal pronouns and four second personal pronouns:

(11) *“Physically speaking, **we** cannot separate. **We** cannot remove our respective sections from each other nor build an impassable wall between them... Suppose **you** go to war, **you** cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides and no gain on either, **you** cease fighting, the identical old questions, as to terms of intercourse, are again upon **you**”* (Abraham Lincoln, 1861).

It can be confirmed that these two “we” referred to the US President himself and his countrymen; accordingly, four “you” mentioned to his American people when he would like to present his standpoint on separation and war.

Similarly, six second personal pronouns in paragraphs 33 and 34 were also used to replace his “countrymen” which was called at the beginning of the paragraph:

(12) *“My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of **you** in hot haste to a step which **you** would never take deliberately... If it were admitted that **you** who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute... The Government will not assail **you**. **You** can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. **You** have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government”* (Abraham Lincoln, 1861).

Finally, in order to end his speech, Abraham Lincoln stressed that:

(13) *“**We** are not enemies, but friends. **We** must not be enemies”* (Abraham Lincoln, 1861).

It is not difficult to recognize that the President wanted to forge a close bond between him and his American people. In other words, he wanted to create the involvement with his audience (Karapetjana, 2011).

Based on the pragmatic functions interpreted above, the frequency of the persuasive strategies has been summarized in the table below.

Table 2. Frequency of persuasive strategies used in the selected speech

	<i>I</i>	<i>We</i>	<i>You</i>	Frequency of strategies	%
Ethos	36	1	0	37	53.62
Logos	7	1	5	13	18.84
Pathos	0	5	14	19	27.54

According to table 2, ethos is the most frequently used strategy by President Abraham Lincoln in his 1861 inaugural speech, accounting for 53.62%. This is followed by pathos at 27.54%, and logos, which is the least used strategy, at 18.84%. This indicates that the most prominent persuasive strategy employed by Abraham Lincoln in his 1861 inaugural speech is ethos. This is similar to President Ho Chi Minh and President George Washington in their inaugural speeches (Phạm Hồng Trang & Ngô Hữu Hoàng, 2023), as well as one of the two prominent strategies used by Barack Obama in his presidential election speech (Veselá, 2021). These four leaders emphasized persuasion through personal credibility and expressing their viewpoints. However, the other prominent strategy used by Obama (logos) is the least used by Abraham Lincoln.

Additionally, the president in this study also aims to persuade the audience by evoking their emotions, similar to what Presidents Donald Trump and Joe Biden did during their 2020 presidential campaigns (Derki, 2022). Nevertheless, unlike this study, Derki's (2022) research only explores persuasive strategies through rhetorical devices such as metaphor, irony, victimization, actor description, comparison, and categorization, rather than through personal pronouns.

4. Conclusions and Recommendations

This paper employs Aristotle's persuasion appeals as an analytical framework to investigate the effectiveness of three personal pronouns *I we you* used by President Abraham Lincoln in his inaugural

speech. Like President George Washington, the distribution of these pronouns reflects Lincoln's rhetorical approach during a tumultuous period in American history. By focusing more on "I", Lincoln positions himself as the leader who is responsible for the nation's challenges and decisions, which is crucial during a time of national crisis like the Civil War. The less frequent use of "we" could imply a strategic choice to avoid assuming unity in a divided nation, while the use of "you" shows a selective engagement with the audience, likely to draw them into specific arguments or points he wanted to emphasize.

Overall, these pronoun frequencies suggest that Lincoln's speech was carefully crafted to assert his leadership while cautiously engaging with the audience. Accordingly, it is possible to conclude that pronouns play an important role in conveying political messages. It is the reason why President Abraham Lincoln selected them carefully in his speech to persuade the audience more successfully. In addition, the researcher acknowledges the necessity of integrating with additional theories to construct a more coherent and logical analytical framework that will be conducted in future studies.

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Dấu hiệu dụng học trong diễn ngôn chính trị

Tóm tắt: Có thể nói nghệ thuật sử dụng ngôn từ có dụng ý, hay cụ thể hơn là sử dụng đại từ nhân xưng như những dấu hiệu dụng học để thuyết phục công chúng là một kỹ năng đặc biệt quan trọng đối với bất kỳ chính trị gia nào bởi nó giúp họ không chỉ bày tỏ được cảm xúc, thái độ của người nói mà còn thể hiện được quyền lực, tư tưởng của mình. Điều này đã thu hút sự quan tâm của nhiều nghiên cứu liên quan đến lĩnh vực này trong những năm gần đây. Tuy nhiên, số lượng nghiên cứu về chủ đề này trong diễn văn nhậm chức của các tổng thống Mỹ vẫn còn hạn chế. Đặc biệt các công trình nghiên cứu đó mới chỉ dừng lại ở tên gọi “personal pronouns” chứ chưa tuyên bố “personal pronouns” cũng chính là các “pragmatic markers”. Sự thiếu sót này đã tạo ra một khoảng trống trong lĩnh vực nghiên cứu, thôi thúc tôi thực hiện công trình nghiên cứu của mình. Vì vậy, bài viết này nỗ lực khám phá ra việc sử dụng các dấu hiệu dụng học, cụ thể là “I”, “we”, “you” trong diễn văn nhậm chức của tổng thống Abraham Lincoln để xác định cách một tổng thống có thể thuyết phục công chúng qua việc sử dụng các dấu hiệu này trong diễn văn nhậm chức của mình. Kết quả là, thông qua các đại từ nhân xưng, Tổng thống Lincoln đã dễ dàng bày tỏ mình là ai trước công chúng và thu hút được người dân nhờ sự đáng tin cậy của mình; nói cách khác, chiến lược chủ yếu mà vị tổng thống này sử dụng là ethos.

Từ khóa: diễn ngôn chính trị; diễn văn nhậm chức; Tổng thống; dấu hiệu dụng học; đại từ nhân xưng.