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Utilization of the Us versus Them Dichotomy in 2020 Campaign Speeches of Joe Biden and Donald Trump

Využití dichotomie My versus Oni v předvolebních projevech Joe Bidena a Donalda Trumpa z roku 2020

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Declaration

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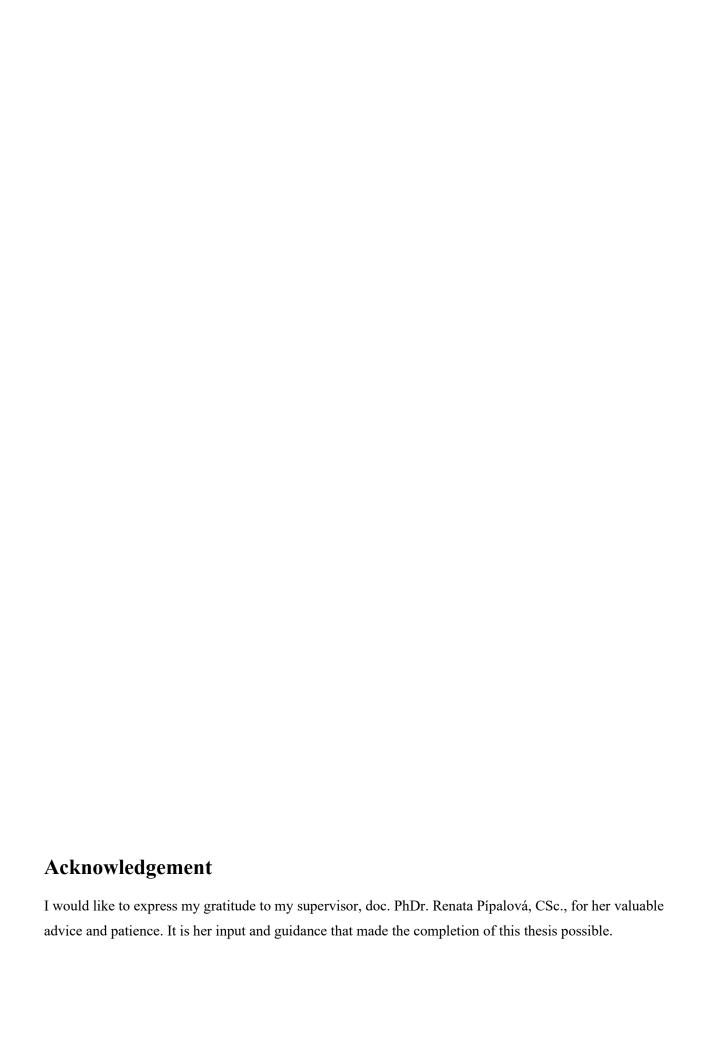
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Abstract

This thesis aims to analyze the camping speeches of the two major candidates running for President of the Unites States in the 2020 general election and to inspect the ways in which both the candidates utilize the Us versus Them dichotomy. In doing so, the thesis provides a critique of the texts produced by the candidates and seeks to unveil their ideological motivation. As categorizing entities has a profound effect on the audience and their perception of reality, the goal is not only to unveil what entities the candidates discuss, but also to determine how they classify these entities. In addition, the strategies used by both the candidates to achieve entity evaluation are compared in order to contrast their rhetorical styles. The theoretical part of the thesis overviews concepts related to the construction of group identities and other ways of reproducing ideology in discourse. Furthermore, Hasan's approach to text analysis, which is employed in the analytical part, is introduced. A brief biography of both the candidates and a description of the US presidential election system are included as well. The analytical part is composed of Critical Discourse Analyses of selected topical segments from campaign speeches of Donald Trump and Joe Biden. Special focus is dedicated to the strategies the candidates use to evaluate individual entities. Three speeches of each of the candidates from three distinct states are explored. In the final part, the results are presented and conclusions are drawn.

Keywords

Abstrakt

Táto práce se věnuje rozboru předvolebních projevů dvou hlavních kandidátů na prezidenta Spojených států amerických ve volbách z roku 2020. Záměrem je prozkoumat jakým způsobem oba kandidáti využívají dichotomie My versus Oni. V důsledku tak probíhá kritika vyprodukovaných textů a je odhalováno jejich ideologické zaměření. Jelikož kategorizace entit má na publikum a jejich percepci reality značný dopad, práce si klade za cíl nejen prozkoumat to, o jakých entitách je mluveno, ale také to, jak jsou tyto entity hodnoceny. Strategie užívané oběma kandidáty k dosažení daného hodnocení jsou taktéž porovnány a na jejich základě jsou rozlišeny řečnické styly kandidátů. Teoretickou část tvoří přehled teorií zabývajících se konstrukcí skupinových identit a dalších prostředků manifestace ideologie v diskurzu. Dále je představena metoda analýzy textu od autorky Hasanové, která je využita v praktické části práce. Zahrnuto je i stručné představení obou kandidátů a popis procesu amerických prezidentských voleb. Praktická část

sestává z dílčích kriticky zaměřených analýz diskurzu vybraných tematických segmentů předvolebních projevů Donalda Trumpa a Joe Bidena. Zvláštní pozornost je věnována strategiím, které kandidáti využívají k hodnocení entit. Analyzovány jsou tři projevy obou kandidátu z tří rozdílných států. V závěrečné části práce jsou prezentovány výsledky výzkumu a vyvozené závěry.

Klíčová slova

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Introduction

Every four years in early November, millions of Americans set out to cast their vote for President of the United States. Since the United States is an economic and a military superpower with strong political and business ties to many other counties, unions and international organizations, the outcome of this election does not only determine who claims the highest office in the executive branch of USA, but has considerable repercussions for international politics as well. The effect of this election thus ripples through the entire world. While on the election day the eyes of the whole world are, unsurprisingly, fixed on the USA, the long and often hard-fought campaigns preceding the general election receive much less coverage in international media. Even though clashes over internal policies and locally relevant issues are of little interest to most people outside of the USA, they provide an excellent insight into the mindset and ethos of the candidates and by extension of the entire country they seek to represent. Consequently, the contest for the White House is often closely scrutinized by political analysts and linguists alike.

Perhaps nothing illustrates the heterogeneity of American society better than the presidential election season. While the post-election period is often the time to bring the country back together and reconcile differences, the American political divide takes center stage during primary season and the following run up to the election day. The 2016 presidential election is a perfect example – even though chants and unflattering nicknames directed at his opponent, such as "lock her up" and "crooked Hillary", were characteristic of Donald Trump's campaign, his victory speech as president-elect painted a very different picture of his opponent in an attempt to heal the nation. "Hillary has worked very long and very hard over a long period of time, and we owe her a major debt of gratitude for her service to our country. I mean that very sincerely. Now it's time for America to bind the wounds of division; have to get together." ("Transcript") Hillary Clinton herself did not go easy on Donald Trump, saying in Tampa in September 2016: "When it comes to protecting our country against natural disasters and the threat of climate change, once again Donald Trump is totally unfit and unqualified to be our president." (Keith)

As is apparent from the excerpts above, neither of the candidates shied away from confrontation, even if their attacks and jabs at each other were of different styles. The 2020 presidential election promises to be similar in this respect and therefore presents another unique opportunity to inspect the contemporary American ethos. Since each of the candidates represents a party on contrasting

ends of American political spectrum, difference in political ideology is not only expected, but to a certain degree enforced by the nominating process. What is often divergent, however, is the way the candidates express themselves and the strategies they utilize to unveil their ideological background. This thesis thus aims to examine the conflict infused rhetoric of the election campaigns and compare the two major candidates for president as to the strategies they employ to propagate the 'Us' versus 'Them' dichotomy.

The 'Us' versus 'Them' dichotomy is one of the most recognizable manifestations of ideological underpinning in discourse. In order to fully describe the concept, one must look at the relationship between language and ideology in general terms first. The theoretical part provides an overview of fundamental theories concerned with the connection of language and ideology before moving on to more specific works dealing with the 'Us' versus 'Them' dichotomy and the strategies commonly associated with the display of this phenomenon in discourse. This part of the thesis thus mainly draws upon the works of critical discourse analysts, such as Ruth Wodak, Teun van Dijk, and Norman Fairclough. A brief overview of the American presidential election system as well as a concise introduction of the two major candidates are also included.

Theoretical Part

1. The Presidential Election System of the United States and the 2020 Candidates

The system by which the President of the United States is elected is quite unique. It has received a significant amount of controversy in recent years due to several defeated presidential candidates receiving a bigger share of the popular vote than the elected candidate. The following chapter briefly introduces the nominating process of major political parties in the United States of America and the mechanism of electoral college which determines who claims the White House.

1.1. Election Timeline, Candidate Requirements and Nominating Process

In order to be able to run for president, candidate must be a natural born citizen of the United States, a US resident for a minimum of 14 years and at least 35 years of age (National Archives, "The Constitution: A Transcription"). When it comes to the age qualification, the constitution does not state when exactly the candidate must turn 35 in order to run. Nevertheless, the 20th amendment clearly states that if the president-elect does not meet the basic qualifications at the time of their inauguration, vice president-elect shall become acting president until president-elect meets the criteria. ("Amendments 11-27")

Even though no legally binding timeline is set for the primary season, the nominating process of major political parties in the US usually starts early in the election year with Iowa caucuses and continues until party conventions are held, most commonly in June, July or August. During the election season, candidates participate in debates and tour the entire country, holding campaign events and rallies in order to gain supporters and financial aid. Contest for party delegates (party-appointed individuals who formally select the party nominee during the national convention) are held on state level and the number of delegates at stake is determined by parties holding these contests. Delegate count per state varies but is most commonly a reflection of the total population of the state and the strategic importance party officials believe the state to hold, which is based on previous election results (GOP 15-17; Perez 9). After the votes are counted in state party-elections (collectively known as primaries), delegates are allocated to candidates either at a 'winner takes all' basis, proportionally, or by a combination of the two approaches. For a proportional allocation, certain percentual threshold of votes needed to receive delegates is established.

The contests take on either the form of a caucus or that of a primary. During caucuses, "participants divide themselves into groups according to the candidate they support. Undecided voters form their own group. Each group gives speeches supporting its candidate and tries to get others to join its group. At the end, the number of voters in each group determines how many delegates each candidate has won." ("Presidential Election Process") Primaries are secret ballot based preliminary elections.

After the nominating process takes place and party candidates are selected at the national convention (either by roll calls or by acclamation in case of an uncontested election), the general election moves to a stage in which the candidates no longer compete against other candidates from their own party but rather focus on contrasting their party's ideology from the ideology of the other major party and its candidate. During this stage, there is a shift in topics which receive the most prominence and in the way candidates present their stance on various issues shaping the election, as candidates with extremist views usually have a lower chance of being elected. (Hall 32) Previous results do not matter and the election starts anew, with usually three presidential debates and one vice-presidential debate taking place before the general election in November.

1.2. General Election and the Electoral College

In election year, the election takes place on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November ("Statutes at Large"). The election is an indirect one, as despite the widespread belief people do not vote for one of the candidates, but rather for a set of electors who then select the president when electoral college convenes (in some states, however, only the names of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates appear on the ballot). After the votes are counted, electors are awarded on the 'winner takes all' basis to candidates on individual state levels, the exception being Nebraska and Maine, who award 2 electors to the winner of the popular vote and one elector to the winner of each of their congressional districts.

The number of electors per state equals the number of seats the state has in Congress, Washington D.C. receives the same amount of electoral votes as the state with the least seats in Congress (Belenky 22, 131). The aim of this arrangement is to balance out the disparity between large and smaller states when electing the president – even though the number of representatives reflects the population of individual states and is based on data from the last census, the number of senators is fixed at two per state (Belenky 11). This mechanism is what allows outcomes in which the winner

of the popular vote eventually loses the election, as in California, for example, the two electoral votes corresponding to two seats in the senate represent a population of roughly 40 million people, whereas in Wyoming, the same two votes in electoral college represent a population of less than 600 thousand people ("Quick Facts: Wyoming"). One more interesting fact about the electoral college is that the electors are in fact (in a majority of states) not bound to vote (or penalized for not voting) for the person on whose account they were appointed (Belenky 29).

The electoral college meets and votes "on the first Monday after the second Wednesday in December of the election year" (Belenky 29). The following January, the votes are certified by the Congress of the United States of America and finally, on January 20th, the President and Vice President are inaugurated ("The Constitution: A Transcription").

1.3. The Two Major Candidates in the 2020 Presidential Election

The following chapter presents a brief introduction of both major party candidates for the office of President of the United States. The incumbent president and republican nominee, Donald Trump, is introduced first, followed by a short overview of the life and career of the Democratic nominee, Joseph R. Biden Jr.

1.3.1. Donald Trump

Donald John Trump was born to a wealthy family in New York City on June 14, 1946. His father, Fred Trump, was a real estate developer who built numerous family houses and apartment complexes in the New York area, mainly in Queens and Brooklyn. It has been proved, however, that his father misused federal loan guarantees provided by the government to stimulate development of affordable housing while building up his fortune. He was investigated by the US Senate and disqualified from obtaining more government and state guarantees for his residential projects. The Trump family consisted of five children, out of which Donald Trump is the second youngest – he had an older brother, two older sisters and one younger brother. (Duignan)

After studying at the Fordham University and graduating from the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce at the University of Pennsylvania with a bachelor's degree from economics, Donald Trump followed in his father's footsteps and joined the family business. (Duignan) In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Trump family business faced lawsuits by the US Department of Justice for violation of the Fair Housing Act of 1968. Supposedly, African Americans were discriminated

against based on their race, but the dispute was settled "under an agreement that did not require the Trumps to admit guilt." (Duignan) During the 1970s, Donald Trump became the president of his father's company and greatly expanded the family business in the following years. His new ventures included mainly hotels, casinos and golf resorts. The expansion and media attention led Trump to turning his family name into a brand and licensing it to products and buildings around the world.

Nevertheless, Trump was hit by a recession in the early 1990s and was forced "to take out second or third mortgages on nearly all of his properties and to reduce his ownership stakes in them; and to commit himself to living on a personal budget of $450,000 a year." (Duignan) Over the following years, various Trump businesses declared bankruptcy while others (The Trump University) faced class-action lawsuits for defrauding customers. On the other hand, Trump was able to partner with NBC television network to successfully launch his own reality show *The Apprentice* (later *The Celebrity Apprentice*), which helped to develop Trump's image as a successful and cunning businessman. (Duignan)

As far as the president's personal life is concerned, he is no stranger to scandal and tabloid scrutinization. His three marriages and two divorces received a broad media coverage, as did numerous sexual misconduct allegations against him and his participation in the 'Birther' movement, which demanded the then-president Barrack Obama to release his birth certificate. (Mindock) Donald Trump has three children from his first marriage to Ivana Zelníčková, and one child from each of his following marriages to Marla Maples and Melania Knauss. (Duignan)

When it comes to political views, Donald Trump has changed his party affiliation multiple times. In the 2016 election, he ran as a republican on a conservative platform. The key promises of the campaign were bringing back manufacturing jobs and companies that were leaving the American territory and imposing sanctions on companies that do so, withdrawing the USA from the Paris Accords, imposing an immigration ban on Muslins, building a wall on the Southern border of the US to prevent illegal immigration from Mexico and South America, repealing Obamacare, renegotiating trade deals to secure conditions more favorable to the USA, and "draining the swamp" – meaning eliminating the influence lobbyists have on elected officials. (Duignan)

In December 2019, Trump became the third President in the history of the US to be impeached by the House of Representatives. He was impeached on charges of abuse of power and obstruction of

Congress. The charges resulted from a whistleblower drawing attention to the president's call with the president of Ukraine in July 2019, during which Trump suggested that Ukraine launch investigations into his political rivals (Joe Biden and his family) in exchange for Trump not withholding financial aid to Ukraine. Trump was acquitted by the Senate on all accounts in February 2020. (Herb)

Regarding the rhetoric style of the president, he is known for his confrontational and combative style and frequent insults. He uses rather simple and plain language. He is also said to be 'unfiltered' and to be quite sensitive to criticism, which causes him to retaliate often. He has regularly labeled negative information about him as fake news, while many of his own statements were proved to be misleading or untrue by media outlets. (Duignan)

1.3.2. Joe Biden

Joseph Robinette Biden Jr. was born in Scranton, Pennsylvania, on 20 November 1942 to a working-class family. After his father lost his job and failed to secure a steady income for the family in Scranton, the family moved to Delaware into a tract house in which the three Biden siblings shared a bedroom with their uncle.

Joe Biden received his bachelor's degree from the University of Delaware where he double majored in political science and history. He also holds a law degree from the Syracuse University. (Stanton and Muller) Before beginning his career in public service, Biden worked in various law firms and as a public defender in Delaware. Aged 29, he became the fifth youngest person ever to be elected to the US Senate in 1972. He was reelected six more times, serving a total of 36 years in the Senate. The 2020 presidential campaign is Biden's third – he first ran in 1978, but dropped out from the race after being accused of plagiarizing a part of his speech. His second bid for the presidency came in 2008. Seven months after he ended his campaign as he finished in fifth place in the Iowa caucuses, he was selected by the then senator and the Democratic nominee Barrack Obama to be his running mate. The Obama-Biden ticket won a landslide victory in 2008 and were reelected in 2012 for a second term. (Stanton and Muller, Sherman)

The beginning of his career in elected office, however, was marked by a personal tragedy. Shortly after being elected to the Senate, Biden, his wife and their three children were hit by a tractor while driving in their car. The crash resulted in the death of Biden's wife and infant daughter, as well as

serious injuries of both of his sons. Biden was sworn into office in the hospital room of his son Beau. To spend more time with his family, Biden commuted to Washington, DC every day using Amtrak train. He continued this commute for more than 30 years. (Stanton and Muller) In 1977, Biden married his second wife Jill Jacobs with whom he has a daughter. His wife Jill is the only second lady in the history of US to keep her full-time job. (Connley) In 2015, Biden's son Beau died of brain cancer. (Haltiwanger and Zeballos-Roig)

Biden his known for his tactile style of politics, giving out handshakes, hugs and initiating other forms of physical contact whilst trying to connect with voters (Stolberg and Ember). In recent years, several women came forward with allegations of sexual misconduct. Even though most of the women (the exception being Tara Reade) felt the behavior did not amount to sexual assault, they reported that he touched them in a way that made them feel uncomfortable or invaded their personal space. (Relman and Sheth)

Politically, Biden is considered to be a moderate liberal. While some of the bills he sponsored and initiatives he spearheaded in the Senate are still praised, such as the 1994 Violence Against Women Act (Sherman), some of his work in the Senate did not stand the test of time. His opposition to busing as means of anti-segregation (Gajanan and Abrams), vote for the authorization of use of military force in Iraq and his presiding over the Judiciary Committee during the Supreme Court confirmation hearings of Clarence Thomas draw criticism from younger Democratic colleagues. As Vice President, he oversaw the economic stimulus of nearly eight hundred billion dollars amid the 2008 financial crisis. (Sherman) In 2020, he ran on a center-left platform and opposition to Donald Trump's policies. The key issues of his campaign included the protection and expansion of Obamacare, rejoining of the Paris Accords, vast investments in clean energy technologies, continuous fossil fuels abandonment, and a criminal justice reform to eliminate institutional racism. (Haltiwanger and Zeballos-Roig)

Regarding his rhetoric, Biden is "known on Capitol Hill for his long-winded, rambling speeches and off-the-cuff remarks." (Stanton and Muller) It has also been proved that he greatly exaggerated some of his statements recounting past experiences. (Stanton and Muller)

2. Ideology and Language

In the first section of this chapter, general interconnection of language and ideology is discussed, while further sections are dedicated to specific strategies most commonly utilized to construct identities in discourse and works of authors from the field of critical discourse analysis.

2.1. Ideology and Language from a Broad Perspective

An overview of different understandings of the term 'ideology' and its connection to language are offered by Nöth. In his article, readers are introduced to a pejorative understanding of the term, dating back to Napoleonian times and empiricism. This view of ideology was adopted by Marx and Engels who defined ideology as a set of false ideas used by the ruling class to dominate others and solidify their power. Ideology in this sense is thus an instrument of deceit and manipulation. To those who accept this perception of the concept, their own comprehension of the world cannot itself be considered an ideology, as ideology is false by definition.

In contrast, there is also a sense of the word ideology which is purely descriptive and does not give any kind of evaluation to what the term ideology is being used to describe. Such an outlook on ideology allows the term to be used to describe any set of values, norms, and beliefs about the order of one's environment which governs or influences socio-political actions of certain groups of individuals. In this way, ideology becomes conceptually quite close to culture and can be defined as a system of values common to all members of a given society. Bakhtin, Medvedev and Voloshinov, all members of a school known as "Bakhtin's circle", lean towards the descriptive understanding of ideology. To them, ideology is ever-present and pervades all human activity and its products. Members of this school believe that to study signs and sign systems is to study ideology itself, as all signs carry an ideological underpinning. Language, being a sign system, can therefore be said to have an ideological dimension since it reflects how its speakers understand and refer to the world around them. Consequently, ideology is not viewed as a political conviction, but as an overall mindset. (Nöth 2-4).

This outlook on the interconnectedness of language and a general mindset, stemming from the works of Sapir and Whorf, was adopted by Hodge and Kress, co-authors who substantially contributed to the field of social semiotics. They argue that there is "an intrinsic connection between language and ideology, between the system of a specific language as encoded in its

grammar and rules of use, and social meanings and functions of dominant and dominated groups." (Hodge and Kress, *Semiotics* 81) Their theory is further expanded and explored in their later publications in which numerous grammatical categories are discussed as to their potential to manifest ideology (Hodge and Kress, *Ideology*).

Another group of authors distinguishes between non-ideological discourse and discourse seeking to push forward a certain ideological agenda. According to these authors, a discourse with this kind of agenda is to be subdued to criticism. Ruth Wodak, for example, who is a prominent contemporary author in the field of discourse criticism, understands ideology as political conviction and one's belief system. Ideology in this sense is something one is aware of, rather than an unconscious phenomenon. Nevertheless, the term is not assigned any negative connotation. These belief systems and political convictions "create and propagate a secondary reality which one either has to believe in (totalitarian systems) or may believe in (democratic systems)." (Wodak, *Languag* 137-141) The secondary reality is then manifested through its own typical language and manifestations of that language can be found on all levels of linguistic analysis: "in the lexicon, in syntax, on the text and discourse level and even in the phonology." (Wodak, *Language* 141) As a result, a jargon helping to define the political territory of a given group with its specific ideology is created.

Even though the language code a specific group of people uses and the ideology of that group (as understood by Bakhtin – an unconscious set of norms, values and ideas) are certainly interconnected, it is not the goal of this thesis to explore this connection. Instead, the aim of this work is to unveil and describe practices and techniques authors use to influence their audience to adopt their way of thinking. Ideology here is therefore considered a consciously adopted or developed system of values and beliefs that authors deliberately manifest and utilize in their texts to achieve ideologically motivated goals. Nevertheless, it is fair to point out that "the critique of ideology is necessarily partial, fragmentary, incomplete. It can never be conducted from a position outside of the history and the society to which we belong." (Thompson 188)

2.2. The Construction of Identities in Discourse as a Way of Displaying Ideology

Ruth Wodak and Theo van Leeuwen view discourse as a social practice – both believe that there is a dialectical relationship between discourse and social reality. Social context shapes discourse, but social and political realities themselves are considerably influenced by discourse. "Through discourse, social actors constitute knowledge, situations, social roles as well as identities and interpersonal relations between various interacting social groups." (Leeuwen and Wodak 92) As is supported by the preceding quote, van Leeuwen and Wodak consider identity construction one of the main discursive strategies, which they define as "plans of action with various degrees of elaborateness, the realization of which can range from automatic to conscious and which are located on different levels of our mental organization." (92) Altogether, co-authors recognizes four main types of strategies: constructive strategies, strategies of justification and perpetuation used to justify and reproduce *status quo*, strategies of transformation aimed at changing the *status quo*, and destructive strategies, the goal of which is to completely destroy the *status quo*. As far as the constructive strategies are concerned, the authors assess that they "constitute a 'we' group and a 'they' group through particular acts of reference (…). Components of constructive strategies are all linguistic events that invite identification and solidarity with the 'we' group, which, however, at the same time implies distanciation from and marginalization of the 'they' group." (Leeuwen and Wodak 92-93)

Norman Fairclough also stresses the importance of discourse in identity construction processes. Even though the majority of Fairclough's work revolves around interactive discourse settings, his findings and theories apply to monologues as well. He claims that "the ways in which societies categorize and build identities for their members is a fundamental aspect of how they work, how power relations are imposed and exercised, how societies are reproduced and changed." (Fairclough 168) Fairclough also believes that the goal of critical discourse analysis should not be only to identify individual participants, but mainly to describe how their identities and relations are constructed in different contexts.

Should one adopt the ideas put forward that identities and interpersonal relations are constructed through discourse and that the techniques utilized to construct identities and their relations are a great source of information about individual societies in which the discourses are produced, it is

of crucial importance to analyze these processes of identity construction. The need for analysis becomes even more pressing when the discourse in question seeks to polarize the society into 'Us' and 'Them' groups, which is signaling ideological factors are at play. (van Dijk, "Opinions and Ideologies" 25) The following chapters therefore overview theories dealing with identity construction in discourse and the techniques most commonly employed in the construction processes.

2.3. 'Us' versus 'Them': The Ideological Underpinning and Manifestations in Discourse

Schneiderová labels the 'Us' and 'Them' groups as a standardized relational pair. According to her, one of the most direct ways to unveil the ideological motivation of a text is conducting a group memberships analysis. The publication claims that categorizing entities by labeling them in a specific way (effectively assigning them to 'Us' or to 'Them' group) has a significant effect on the reader and their perception of the entities around which the text revolves. "To the public, social categories are primary sources of information about the discussed participants and govern the understanding of the text." (Havlík qtd. in Schneiderová 67, as translated by Jaroslav Pýcha)

Assigning entities to a certain category can be achieved both directly and indirectly. Each category has certain predicates and activities connected to them in a specific context. An entity being linked to activities symptomatic of one of the given categories can also support assigning the entity in question to the category from which such an activity is expected. The authors further assert that the 'Us' and 'Them' groups are not predefined, but rather time and context bound. Who is considered an ally and who an enemy evolves over time and so do the strategies used to talk about entities identified as one of the counterparts.

2.3.1. Legitimization and Delegitimization

The 'Us' and 'Them' dichotomy and its utilization is of interest to many scholars, one of whom is Adam Hodges. Hodges' publications focus primarily on practices used to divide the society in times of war and armed conflict, but the strategies he describes can also be observed in ideological discourse related to conflict which does not resort to the use of force. The conflict itself, in fact, is necessary for ideology to even be formed, van Dijk believes. He claims social conflict and struggle,

which pose two different groups with divergent interests against each other, is the decisive factor in groups forming an ideology.

"Another criterion, maybe a decisive one, for the definition of the social group basis of ideologies, is social conflict, struggle or any other kind of interest-based opposition between groups, whether over material or over symbolic resources. (…) In such cases the dominant groups will tend to develop an ideology that serves the reproduction of its domination, and the dominated groups may develop an ideology as a basis for its attitudes, opinions, practices and discourses of resistance or opposition." (van Dijk, "Opinions and Ideologies" 145)

Hodges claims that in order to mobilize the public and gain its support, it is necessary to construct group identities that are later used to justify a given conflict or specific actions executed over the course of it. "In general terms, a large aspect of the effectiveness of war discourse involves the cultivation of a shared identity of an in-group that is positioned as wholly other to an out-group." (Hodges 1)

Complementary to justifying and giving legitimacy to actions of one's in-group ('Us') is therefore the delegitimization of the enemy ('Them'). The 'Us' group is always either explicitly or implicitly identified as superior and is assigned a better position on the evaluation scale. This superiority is then justified and defended by specific attributes of the group, which are perceived as giving the group a certain high ground in a specific material, intellectual, or moral conflict. (van Dijk, *Ideology* 160-161) Quite often, the enemy is presented as posing a security threat and a threat to the group's way of life. 'Collective understanding of history' and values derived from it are then most frequently used to justify an action against the hostile group. (Hodges 2) Any and all actions targeting the enemy are consequently seen as morally and legally justifiable, deserved, and necessary. (van Dijk, *Ideology* 256)

Another concept closely connected to the construction of 'Us' and 'Them' identities is the deictic identity described by Robert Hodge, who calls "'identity' an especially convenient form for ideological use." (6) Deictic identity is assigned to individuals or groups from the outside and is often used as an instrument of control in times of crisis or turmoil. This external identity strives to remove all differences among individual group members and promotes the ideas of sameness and unity. "It has only such unity as is maintained by the identifying agency, which commonly seeks to remove all differences that complicate their control. Within any category, 'sameness' sometimes

corresponds to recognised similarities, but it often masks relationships of complementarity or antagonism." (Hodge 5-6)

2.3.2. Positive Self-presentation and Negative Other-presentation

In her article *Blaming and Denying: Pragmatics,* Wodak identifies the two eponymous practices as "constructive features of conflict talk" (59). As far as the strategic use of these practices is concerned, Wodak claims that "political debates and persuasive discourses, in which blaming and denying, by serving to promote one group and to debase or attack the opposition, are carefully and strategically planned and serve positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation." ("Blaming and Denying" 59). Blaming and denying, along with utilizing the perceived sameness and disparity as described by Hodges, are closely connected to the concept of ideological square formulated by van Dijk, which is further described in the following chapter.

Wodak goes on to describe several strategies which discourse participants can use to deny their guilt and blame other individuals or groups. Context and genre play quite an important role when selecting from the repertoire of available strategies – in informal settings where the presumed anonymity level is quite high, one can encounter both discrimination and derogatory terms. In formal settings, on the other hand, certain sentence constituents appear which aim to relieve the author of responsibility, "after which, the 'other' is attacked, often by a projection of guilt or by a turning of the tables". ("Blaming and Denying" 60) Similar connection of propositions during which 'Us' and 'Them' are put in a direct clash within a certain context are also discussed by van Dijk. The disclaimers aiming to introduce a negative statement by a clause relieving the author of responsibility or by a positive statement about self are, according to van Dijk, an essential instrument of "positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation which is so typical for ideological discourse." (*Ideology* 270)

2.3.3. The Ideological Square: Presence and Absence of Information

When a text targeting a group-based audience with a specific ideology is being built, not all available information and viewpoints related to the given topic are included. To include all available information about a certain topic is of course impossible and counter-productive, therefore a selection of information takes place. However, it is during this selection, van Dijk claims, ideological control of the text and talk takes place. "Here we encounter two important

principles of ideological reproduction in discourse, namely, the presence or absence of information in semantic representation derived from event models, and the function of expression or suppression of information in the interests of the speaker/writer." (van Dijk, *Ideology* 267)

As far as reproducing ideology in discourse using the presence and absence of information is concerned, van Dijk identifies four main moves that together constitute the 'ideological square':

1 Express/emphasize information that is positive about Us.

2 Express/emphasize information that is negative about Them.

3 Suppress/de-emphasize information that is positive about Them.

4 Suppress/de-emphasize information that is negative about Us.

(*Ideology* 267; "Opinions and Ideologies" 33)

These moves are utilized to achieve positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. Positive self-presentation is not focused on an individual or the author, but rather emphasizes the social aspect and strives to praise the group of which the author perceives himself as a member.

Van Dijk also notes that positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation is realized on multiple levels of discourse. One of these levels is lexicalization, which includes nominalizations, mitigation and euphemisms. Other levels include the detail with which propositions are expressed, explicitness and implicitness of individual propositions, and the way propositions are connected (local coherence), which is crucial in constructing narratives (see chapter 2.3.1.). Certain tendencies on each of the levels generate the style of the text, which can either be adhering to or deviating from what is considered the norm for a given context. According to van Dijk, "lexical and grammatical style is one of the most obvious means speakers have to explicitly express or subtly signal their ideological opinions about events, people and participants. The same is also true for syntactic structures and their possible variation. Sentences may be expressed in an active or passive voice, and agents and patients of actions being described by such sentences may in this way be made more or less prominent or completely left implicit, (…)." (van Dijk, *Ideology* 272)

2.3.4. Cohesive Chains Analysis as a Tool for Unveiling the Ideological Orientation of a Text

As is apparent from the preceding chapters, when analyzing who is classified as 'Us' and who as 'Them' in a text (be it a text delivered in a written form, spoken form or the combination of the two), it is crucial to identify not only the entities talked about but also how they are evaluated by other syntactic constituents. In *Language, Context and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective* (1985), Hasan explores the concept of texture of a text and introduces the notions of cohesive ties and interacting cohesive chains, the analysis of which can be employed to achieve both.

Cohesive tie is a semantic link between two linguistic units. These linked linguistic units can either refer to the same thing, be a part of the same class with each unit of the tie referring to a different member of the class, or both can "refer to something within the same general field of meaning" (Halliday and Hasan 74). Hasan calls these relations between individual elements of a tie co-referentiality, co-classification and co-extension, respectively. When two units are linked, a cohesive tie is formed. When more units of a text are linked together, however, the ties create a cohesive chain. Depending on the semantic relation between individual ties, either identity or similarity chains are constructed. While the relation of co-reference creates identity chains, which help us and navigate the entities talked about, as all units of a given chain refer to the same entity, relations of co-classification and co-extension form similarity chains, which can be extremely helpful in identifying what kind of activities and attributes are most commonly associated with individual actors. "The items in a similarity chain belong to the same general field of meaning, referring to (related/similar) actions, events, and objects and their attributes. The lexical items in a general field of meaning form a semantic grouping that represents the potential for formation of similarity chains." (Halliday and Hasan 85)

Identity and similarity chain analysis can thus reveal who is being talked about and what the general field of discourse is. Apart from aforementioned nominalizations that contribute to the buildup of identity chains, it is not helpful, though, in unveiling how individual entities are evaluated and consequently sorted into the 'Us' and 'Them' groups. In order to do so, one must incorporate chain interaction into the analysis. Hasan notes that "It is important to recall here that in constructing chains, we are concerned with components of messages. (…) On the other hand, it

is only message as message that has any textual viability; and it is only at the rank of clause and above that a lexico-grammatical unit is contextually viable: it is only at this rank-or above-that a linguistic unit can encode a complete message." (91) Local coherence talked about by van Dijk, which Hasan calls organic relations, therefore gains importance as well.

In order for chain interaction to occur, according to Hasan, "at least two members of one chain should stand in the same relation to two members of another chain." (91) Hasan further distinguishes five relations that can occur between interacting units of different chains. These relations can be the following:

Actor – Action

Action – Acted upon

Action/Actor – Location

Saying – Text

Attribute – Attribuand (Halliday and Hasan 93)

Analyzing cohesive chains and their interaction within a given text can therefore be used to identify not only the entities talked about but also the actions associated with individual entities and the evaluation assigned to them through the use of attributes. As is mentioned in chapter 2.3., associated actions alone can also support the classification of an entity as being part of either 'Us' or 'Them', should the action itself include implicit evaluation through the use of euphemisms, dysphemisms, or verbs with negative/positive connotation. Consequently, Hasan's analytical tool allows one to inspect how group identities are constructed and relations between them formed – it is thus utilized in this thesis to analyze the collected data.

Analytical Part

3. Methodology

The present section outlines the goals of the analysis, describes the applied method, the data selection process, and the procedure of the analysis. Technical aspects of result presentation are included as well.

3.1. The Goals and Research Questions

The aim of the thesis is to examine and define the disparity in composition of the 'Us' versus 'Them' dichotomy between the two major presidential candidates running in the 2020 United States presidential election and comparing the strategies both candidates utilize to construct these group identities. In order to do so, the following research questions and related hypotheses have been set.

Research Questions:
1. What are the entities that play the most significant part in individual speech segments of both candidates and how are they evaluated?
2. How is this evaluation achieved?
3. What are the strategies/moves employed in selected speech segments of both candidates?
4. Is there a disproportion of space each topic is granted?

   Hypothesis 4a: On average, Trump dedicates significantly less space to racial justice than Biden.

   Hypothesis 4b: On average, Biden dedicates significantly less space to economy than Trump.
5. Do the geographical and temporal variables affect the entities that are talked about in the analyzed segments and their evaluation?

3.2. Method

By setting out to investigate whom the speakers classify as 'Us' and whom as 'They' and how this classification is achieved, the thesis effectively seeks to explore how the speakers persuade their audiences to assign an evaluation to specific social actors and therefore how they reproduce or break power structures. As a result, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is performed, as the aims

of CDA and of this thesis are aligned. – van Dijk ("CDA" 352) defines CDA as "a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context."

As only language code of the amassed data is examined, Hasan's theory related to the texture of a text is employed to identify what entities contribute to the buildup of individual texts and how other text constituents contribute to the evaluation of these entities. A cohesive chain analysis is thus conducted and relations formed between chains are inspected.

3.3. Data

The data is comprised of transcripts of rally and campaign event speeches of the candidates. The transcripts were obtained from Rev.com, which in an enterprise specializing in professional transcription services but publishes selected political transcripts free of charge. As a result, transcripts of all speeches of both Biden and Trump related to their presidential campaigns were made available to the public for free.

Period for data collection was set to begin with August 28th – the day after the Republican National Convention (the Democratic National Convention was held a week earlier), which formally concluded the nomination process and officially established Donald Trump as Biden's opponent in the election. November 2nd, the day before the election day, was selected as the end of the data collection period.

In order to gain an overview of the strategies the candidates use to construct the 'Us' and 'Them' group identities and the entities these groups are composed of that would be more representative of the entire USA, only speeches delivered in battleground states were included in the data collection, as battleground states are considered to be more voter heterogenous with a higher percentage of undecided voters. Accordingly, the candidates tend to reach out to voters outside of their base and utilize strategies they ordinarily might not. The battleground states were identified based on their voting record and election polls. The selection was hence confined to states that have voted for both Democratic and Republican candidates in the last 3 presidential elections and in which the polls regularly suggested a less than 5% difference between the candidates over the course of the data collection period. The states that met the criteria are Florida, Iowa, Michigan, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.

During the data collection period, Biden delivered 26 speeches in the 7 states, while Trump delivered 44. The aim was to select speeches both candidates delivered within a 3-day period in the same state (to ensure the same temporal and geographical context of the speeches). Consequently, a total of 3 speeches from 3 different states were selected for each of the candidates. The following speeches thus constitute the data for analysis:

Trump		Biden	
Location:	Date:	Location:	Date:
Freeland, Michigan	10. 9. 2020	Warren, Michigan	9. 9. 2020
Sanford, Florida	12. 10. 2020	Miramar, Florida	13. 10. 2020
Butler, Pennsylvania	31. 10. 2020	Pittsburg, Pennsylvania	2. 11. 2020

Table 1: Research Data

3.4. Procedure

There was a substantial difference between the two candidates related to the length of their speeches. Most of Trump's speeches surpassed 10,000 words, Biden's average word count was approximately a third of that – slightly below the 3,500 mark. As a result, Trump tended to cover a wider range of topics, while Biden restricted himself to a small amount of principal topics in all his speeches. To reconcile these differences, only segments dealing with 3 topics were included in the analysis. The topics pre-selected based on their relevance to the 2020 election are Covid-19, economy, and racial justice.

Firstly, the material for analysis was cleared of any intrusive elements, such as transcripts of audience cheers, identification of the speaker, and any opening or introductory remarks by other speakers. Once the data was cleansed, the total amount of words was calculated. Secondly, speech segments dedicated to relevant topics were identified, extracted and assigned a unique identifier code composed of initials of the speaker, the state postal code, and initial letters of the topic name (e.g. Donald Trump's economy segment from his Florida speech is marked as DT-FL-E). The candidates sometimes pivoted and then circled back to specific topics, which complicated the extraction of thematic segments. As a result, only text units longer than 15 sentences dealing with the same topic were made part of the analyzed segments. The word count of these extractions was computed as well and their word share in relation to the entire speech was determined.

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The segments were divided in a way that a paragraph separator was added at each sentence mark and the sentences were numbered, so that they are clearly identifiable in combination with the segment's identifier code. The data was then transferred to Microsoft Excel with every row of the spreadsheet dedicated to one sentence and every column dedicated to one word.

That	was	so	easy.				
That	was	so	easy.				
You	wouldn't	have	been	making	cars.		
You	would've	been	buying	cars	from	foreign	lands.

Table 2: Example of text segmentation in Microsoft Excel (taken form DT-MI-E: 90-93)

The chain analysis followed – tokens of the same chain were formatted in a unique way, cells of these tokens were replaced (based on the formatting) with codes assigned to the identified chains and counted using the COUNTIF function. The result was a graphic representation of chains spreading through the text and a sum of tokens entering each of these chains. A detailed analysis of tokens of individual chains (paradigmatic level of analysis) and relations these chains form with each other (syntagmatic level of analysis) ensued. Special attention was given to expressive text components with the potential to prompt evaluation on the side of the audience, their potential integration in chains representing entities the speakers talk about (direct evaluation), or relations these expressive components most commonly formed with tokens of different chains (indirect evaluation).

Presentation of the results is based on geographical and temporal variables of the analyzed texts. Abstractions from the speeches, such as labels for discussed cohesive chains and lists of their constituents that appear in multiple grammatical forms (e.g. present and past tense of verbs), are indicated by single quotation marks. On the other hand, double quotation marks are used to mark expressions quoted exactly as they appear in the original text. Furthermore, excerpts from the speeches are provided to illustrate the described means of evaluation. In these excerpts, sentence components are highlighted based on their relation to other sentence elements – actors and acted-upon of sentences are marked in bold, actions are underlined, and attributes (along with locations) are indicated in italics. For the sake of clarity, only sentence constituents relevant to the evaluation described in a given chapter are highlighted. In the last section of the thesis, the data gained from the analyses are synthetized and interpreted in order to answer the research questions.

4. Michigan Speeches

Joe Biden's speech selected for analysis was delivered on September 9th in the city of Warren, a suburb of the Detroit metropolitan area, three weeks after Biden accepted his party's nomination for president. Donald Trump spoke in Freeland one day later, on September 10th, two weeks after he officially accepted the nomination for president at the Republican National Convention.

4.1. Remarks on Covid-19 in Michigan Speeches

Comparing the two candidates, Joe Biden dedicated a larger share of his speech to the topic of Covid-19 and the related pandemic. Biden's Covid-19 segment is composed of 260 words out of 3725 words of the entire speech, which equals 6.98% word share. The corresponding segment in Donald Trump's speech contains 479 words. As his whole speech amounts to 10531 words, the word share of the Covid-19 segment is only 4.55%. For Joe Biden, Covid-19 is the first topic discussed after his opening remarks. For Donald Trump, the topic is preceded by remarks on the economy, the military and foreign policy.

4.1.1. Covid-19 in the Michigan speech of Joe Biden

In his remarks related to Covid-19, Joe Biden assigns evaluation to two subjects. The first one to appear is Michigan governor Gretchen Whitmer. The 'Gretchen Whitmer' identity chain consists of 6 tokens, all of which are represented by non-expressive nouns ('governor' and 'executive') or personal pronouns. The other evaluated entity is Donald Trump, whose identity chain is composed of 14 tokens. He is first mentioned by the proper noun (1 token) and later referred to through pronouns (12 tokens) and once through the Office of the President. All expressions contributing to the build-up of the identity chain are thus non-expressive as well. One more identity chain appears, but it is not assigned any evaluation, as in the majority of instances it is the acted-upon of actions performed by Gretchen Whitmer or Donald Trump, and no attributes modify individual tokens of this chain. This identity chain refers to the general public and consists of expressions 'people' (5 tokens), 'lives' (2 tokens) and a third-person plural personal pronoun. Furthermore, Covid-19 itself is referred to as "Covid-19" and "illness", the identity chain of the virus interacts 4 times with a similarity chain formed by attributes 'dangerous' and 'deadly'.

As far as Gretchen Whitmer is concerned, she is positively evaluated by attributes 'rock solid' and 'incredible'. The 'incredible' attribute is not in an attribute – attribuand relationship with an

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expression referring to Whitmer directly, but rather with the acted-upon element of an action of which Whitmer is the actor. Furthermore, Whitmer is designated as equivalent to an 'executive leadership' that is attributed with being 'strong' and 'responsible'. It thus appears that Biden is trying to promote Whitmer and her actions.

> And if you're wondering what *responsible strong* **executive leadership** looks like in COVID-19, just look at **this executive** right here.
>
> **Governor**, **you**'ve done an *incredible* **job** steering the people of Michigan through a turbulent time. (JB-MI-C:1-2)

The same cannot be said of Donald Trump. The 'Donald Trump' identity chain interacts with three similarity chains formed by actions that when combined do not cast a positive light on Trump. The first similarity chain is formed by verbs of 'knowing' (5 interactions), the second one of verbs of 'lying' (3 interactions) and the third one is formed by expressions connected to 'failing' (2 interactions). As the actions of 'knowing' and 'lying' are related, their tokens can be subsumed under a 'misleading' similarity chain on a higher level of analysis. Furthermore, the word "betrayal" is one of the tokens in a chain formed by expressions referring to Trump's actions. It is thus clear that Biden is trying to emphasize negative information about his opponent, as he criticizes him for not telling the public about the virus sooner, which Biden believes had a negative effect on the public.

> **He** knew and purposely played it down.
>
> Worse, **he** lied to the American people.
>
> **He** knowingly and willingly lied about the threaded pose to the country for months.
>
> **He** had **the information**. (JB-MI-C:9-12)
>
> Now, while this deadly disease ripped through our nation, **he** failed to do his job on purpose.
>
> **It** was a life and death **betrayal** of the American people. (JB-MI-C:14-15)

4.1.2. Covid-19 in the Michigan speech of Donald Trump

The entities, references to which form identity chains with most tokens in this segment of Donald Trump's speech, are Trump's administration and Joe Biden. The 'Trump Administration' chain (20 tokens) is composed mostly of first-person plural personal pronouns (16 tokens). 'Joe Biden' identity chain (11 tokens) is formed by mentions of his name (4 tokens which appear in all

variations – first name only, last name only, and full name) and personal pronouns (7 tokens). Covid-19 itself is never referred to by its official name but rather as 'the China plague' and 'the China virus'.

In the first part of the segment, Trump focuses on Biden, as all mentions of Biden occur in the first seven sentences (out of a total of 33 sentences of the segment). Over the course of these sentences, 'Joe Biden' identity chain establishes a contact with a similarity chain of 'harm' (formed by verbs 'hurt', 'die' and 'sacrifice (others)') – Biden is the actor of these actions on two occasions. Even though in the second sentence of the segment the public is the actor of the 'dying' action, this state of affairs is contingent on Biden leading the nation, as the subordinate clause is a conditional one. One of the tokens in 'Joe Biden' identity chain is a possessive pronoun modifying the word 'theories' – these theories are attributed with qualities of being 'dangerous', 'anti-vaccine' and 'conspiracy', which further supports a negative evaluation of Biden. No other linguistic elements contribute to Biden's assessment of any kind.

> **Biden** was willing to <u>sacrifice</u> American lives on the altar of open borders.
> And now **Joe Biden** is once again <u>hurting</u> innocent people with **his** *dangerous anti-vaccine conspiracy* **theories**, putting millions of lives around the world at risk. (DT-MI-C:3-4)

The focus then shifts to the Trump Administration, which is evaluated positively. There is a similarity chain formed by positive attributes such as 'fantastic' (2 tokens), 'very well', 'the right way' (2 tokens), 'best', and colloquial 'like nobody', which interacts with the 'Trump administration' identity chain. Even though the positive attributes do not modify tokens of the identity chain directly, they modify the results (the acted-upon) of the actions of the administration, which still reflects positively on the entity. Furthermore, 3 specific members (or rather constituents) of the 'Trump administration' are singled out and attributed with being 'great'. The similarity chain of 'positive attributes' thus interacts with the 'Trump Administration' identity chain on 10 occasions – either directly by forming the attribute – attribuand relation with tokens of the identity chain or indirectly by forming the same relation with results of actions of the administration.

> No, **we** did **it** the *right* way and **we**<u>'ve done </u> a **job** *like nobody*.
> All of those *great* **generals**, all of those *great* **admirals**, **our** *great* **vice president**, **Mike Pence**, **they** <u>did</u> a *fantastic* **job**. (DT-MI-C:30-31)

4.2. Remarks on Economy in Michigan Speeches

As far as economy is concerned, there is a substantial disparity between the two candidates. Not only does Joe Biden devote more words to the topic, the word share of his economy segment triples that of Donald Trump, as Biden's speech is considerably shorter. Joe Biden's economy segment presents 67.87% of his speech, as the speech is 3725 words long and the segment spans over 2529 words. The word share of the corresponding segment in Donald Trump's address is 22.32% – the segment is composed of 2351 words (the total of the speech being 10531 words). Nevertheless, economy is the first major topic discussed in Trump's speech, while for Biden the topic is preceded by remarks on Covid-19.

On a general level, there is no predefined set of actions related to economy that can be said to be universally positive or universally negative (or to have a positive or negative connotation) and evoke a corresponding evaluation of the entity that serves as the actor of that particular action. Evaluation of policies and actions related to economy always depend on the context – be it the current state of economic system or the intended audience and their political ideology. For example, under certain circumstances cutting taxes can support a positive evaluation of an entity even from the point of view of a left-wing voter, as the 2020 pandemic has shown. Analysis of the actor – action relation between chains of identity and similarity chains of economic actions (especially routine ones) is thus of little use for this segment and would result in an over-complex matrix that would bring little conclusive information relevant to the task at hand, unless of course the verbs used to describe these actions are expressive, suggestive, or unusual in any way.

4.2.1. Economy in the Michigan Speech of Joe Biden

Joe Biden's economy segment is composed of two parts that are intercepted by a brief chapter dedicated to military service. In the first part of his economy segment, Joe Biden concentrates on Donald Trump. The 'Donald Trump' identity chain contains 52 tokens in this first part (comparatively Biden refers to himself only 4 times), none of which are expressive – Trump is referred to either by his last name, or by personal and possessive pronouns. There are four major similarity chains that further unveil the focus of this part of Biden's speech. The similarity chains connect phenomena related to 'promises' (17 tokens), 'jobs' (13 tokens), 'offshoring' (19 tokens) and 'large businesses' (15 tokens). It is therefore evident that Biden uses this portion of his speech

to reflect on Trump's 2016 pledges (the majority of sentences refer to the past) to stop corporations from offshoring jobs. In doing so, however, he uses formal language and very few lexical means to assign any evaluation to Trump. Nevertheless, there is a number of moments and employed strategies that encourage a negative evaluation by the audience.

Firstly, there are 2 possessive pronouns and 2 instances of Trump's last name appearing in possessive case that modify a noun which is further modified by negative attributes. These attribute – attribuand collocations are "wild claims", "reckless and chaotic trade policy", "failed response", and "empty promises". Furthermore, on another occasion, a token of 'promises' similarity chain is anaphorically referred to by pronoun 'it' in the clause "It has nothing to do with reality" and also substituted by the idiomatic expression "hot air" in the following sentence.

> Even before President **Trump's** *failed* **response** to COVID-19 crashed through our economy, **his** *reckless* and *chaotic* trade **policy** had thrown American manufacturing into recession. (JB-MI-E:21)
>
> When the GM transmission plant here in Warren close last year, I bet the workers around weren't all that comforted by **Trump's** *empty* **promises**. (JB-MI-E:24)

Secondly, when referring to Trump's lowering of taxes, Biden does not use neutral expressions but rather employs informal language and refers to it as 'slashing taxes'. Moreover, he calls Trump's tax cuts "giveaways".

> **Giveaways** that reward offshoring.
>
> If you offshore, you get more tax breaks.
>
> **His** 2017 **tax bill** slashed **taxes** on companies that sent production and jobs overseas. (JB-MI-E:44-46)

Last but not least, this part of Biden's economy segment can be divided further into smaller sections. While the first section summarizes Trump's past promises, the second, third and fourth section discuss some of the key promises in more detail. The third and fourth section, dealing with offshoring of jobs and awarding government contracts to domestic companies, are both opened by an adjacency pair of rhetorical question followed by a negative answer, thus signaling that Donald Trump broke the promises he made in 2016. In addition, this interpretation is supported by the fact that in the last sentences of this part of the economy segment, Donald Trump is positioned as the actor of 'failing' action three times.

Has Trump delivered on stopping companies from shipping jobs overseas, American jobs?

You already know the answer.

Of course not. (JB-MI-E:27-29)

And what about Trump's commitment to buy American?

Like the rest of **President Trump's promise**, **it** *has nothing to do with reality*.

It's all *a bunch of hot air*. (JB-MI-E:56-58)

And **he**'s failed.

He's failed our economy and our country (JB-MI-E:64-65)

The second part of Joe Biden's economy segment shifts the focus to Biden and his potential administration. As a result, most significant identity chains are 'Joe Biden' – 41 tokens, with 40 tokens taking on the form of first-person singular personal and possessive pronouns; and the 'Biden-Harris Administration' – 29 tokens, first-person plural personal and possessive pronouns and the term "the Biden Harris Administration". The first-person plural personal pronoun is used 5 times to refer to the Obama-Biden administration at the beginning of this part as well. Donald Trump is mentioned only 9 times. The second part is composed of 94 sentences, out of which only the first 16 sentences refer to the past, summarizing Biden and Obama's actions related to the economy crisis of 2008. As a result, the second part of the economy segment can be split into two sections – the first one focusing on the past and the second one on the future.

There is a similarity chain comprising adverbs 'here' and geographical names referring to places in an around Michigan (19 tokens in total) spreading through the entire second part of the economy segment. In the first section, however, tokens of this similarity chain appear more frequently (11 tokens in 16 sentences versus 8 tokens in 78 sentences for the second section) and form the action – location relation with actions performed either by Biden or by the Obama-Biden administration on 7 occasions. It thus appears Biden is trying to ingratiate himself to his audience not only by dedicating the majority of his speech to the topic most important to voters in Michigan ("Exit Poll results"), but also by stressing the involvement of Obama-Biden administration in the region during the financial crisis of 2008.

I spent a lot of **time** *here in Michigan* and *Detroit*, working with you and Senator Stabenow, and thinking every single day about the folks on the factory line, busting their necks, just trying to put food on the table. (JB-MI-E:71)

When *Detroit* declared bankruptcy, **I** was *right here* working alongside the city leaders to get the lights turned back on, to revitalize the future of *Detroit*. (JB-MI-E:79)

As is the case in the preceding part of the economy segment, Biden does not rely on emotive language and suggestive expressions to convey his message but rather delivers a grounded and unemotional account of his agenda. There are no significant patterns or regularly employed strategies of persuasion, only scattered linguistic data supporting Biden's positive evaluation of himself. Among those is the actor – action relation between identity chains 'Joe Biden' and the 'Obama-Biden administration', and the similarity chain comprised of expressions related to 'delivering on promises' (6 tokens). Furthermore, the expression "the best, most friendly union president in history of the United States of America" is cataphorically identified as referring to Joe Biden in the very last sentence of the economy segment.

So when **we** promise to stand with the American auto industry, **we** delivered.

We didn't do **it** to help **wealthy investors** or pad bonus checks for CEOs, **we** did **it** to save an iconic **American industry**, a testament to the skills and ingenuity of American manufacturing. (JB-MI-E:76-77)

You're going to have *the best, most friendly union president in history of the United States of America*, when **I**'m *in the White House*. (JB-MI-E:159)

4.2.2. Economy in the Michigan Speech of Donald Trump

The economy segment in Donald Trump's speech comprises three parts intercepted by remarks on football, suburban areas, Covid-19, endorsements of other republicans running for office in Michigan, and Hunter Biden. The most significant identity chains going through the segment are 'Donald Trump' (79 tokens), 'Joe Biden' (39 tokens) 'Trump Administration' (35 tokens), 'Democrats' (27 tokens) and 'China' (24 tokens). Even though the 'Trump Administration' identity chain is almost entirely composed of the first-person plural personal pronouns, tokens of these pronouns also enter the identity chain of 'general public' and on numerous occasions it is ambiguous which entity Donald Trump is referring to. To resolve the ambiguity, only instances in which these pronouns take on the actor role of an action that can only be performed by the administration are counted (actions the public cannot perform due to the lack of mandate and power are excluded).

It is evident from the analysis that Donald Trump employs a completely different strategy of persuasion than Joe Biden, at least as far as economy is concerned. Regarding the expressions involved in the build-up of individual identity chains, various emotive items appear. For the 'Joe Biden' identity chain, the nickname 'Sleepy Joe' appears 3 times. Additionally, he is called 'Joe Hiden' and 'this guy'. As for the 'Democrats' identity chain, expressions 'people' and 'super lips' are involved in its build-up. Prominent party members, such as Hillary Clinton, Bernie Sanders, and Chuck Schumer, are mentioned by name - Trump frequently refers to these party representatives in a highly informal way, by their first name only. Furthermore, tokens of both 'Joe Biden' and 'Democrats' chains form an attribute – attribuand relation with negative attributes. These attribute – attribuand combinations include "the worst presidential candidate", "the worst candidate" ('Joe Biden'), and "the radical left people", "Crazy Bernie" ('Democrats'). Biden is also assigned the attribute 'bad' through the use of copular verb. In the same way, he is attributed with being "a beauty" 3 times.

You have **sleepy Joe** and you have Trump.

Sleepy Joe, **he**'s *a beauty*.

He's *a beauty*. (DT-MI-E:15-17)

I watched them up there and **he** was *so bad*. (DT-MI-E:20)

It's your *radical left* **people**.

It's **AOC**[1] plus three.

It's all these people.

Bernie.

It's **Bernie**. (DT-MI-E:34-38)

Moreover, expressive verbs are used to describe Biden's actions. Regarding taxation, for example, tokens of 'Joe Biden' identity chain serve as actors for actions of 'quadrupling' and 'imposing' taxes. The potential tax increases are called 'tax hikes' and 'massive increases'. Concerning the second amendment rights, Trump designates Biden the actor of 'confiscating' guns, with the action also being labeled a 'total assault'.

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Again, **he** <u>took</u> **the manifesto** drawn up by **Bernie** and the **super lips** and **that**'s what **he**<u>'s</u> <u>going by</u>, including a *massive* **increase** in your taxes and a *total* **assault** on your second amendment. (DT-MI-E:46)

Michigan will decide whether we will quickly return to record prosperity, or whether we'll allow **Sleepy Joe** to <u>impose</u> $4 trillion in **tax hikes**, ban American energy, <u>confiscate</u> **your guns**, shut down the economy, and tell your governor to open up your state. (DT-MI-E:82)

In addition, negative evaluation of Joe Biden is achieved by modifying results or objects of his actions with unflattering adjectives. To use Hasan's linguistic terminology, the acted-upon related to actions, of which tokens of 'Joe Biden' identity chain are actors, form attribute – attribuand relations with negative attributes. This results in collocations "horrible damage", "disastrous Trans-Pacific Partnership", "horrendous South Korea deal", "outrageous standards", "cold-hearted globalist standards", and "the worst trade deal". Biden's actions are also referred to as "death sentence" and "bad votes" (through the use of copular sentences). Furthermore, the aforementioned objects of Biden's actions serve as actors of other actions for which highly expressive verb phrases are used, including 'hammer' and 'wipe out'.

Joe Biden <u>supported</u> the *disastrous* **Trans-Pacific Partnership**, which would have been a *death sentence* for American auto jobs. (DT-MI-E:87)

Biden <u>supported</u> the *horrendous* **South Korea deal that** <u>would've wiped out</u> US production of the pickup truck, which is the most profitable thing the auto industry makes. (DT-MI-E:94)

Biden <u>supported</u> the *outrageous* **fuel economy standards that** <u>have hammered</u> the auto industry, and I reversed that rule. (DT-MI-E:109)

As far as China is concerned, it is attributed with being "big, powerful economic power" through the use of copular verb. Nevertheless, China's evaluation is negative, as it is designated as the acted-upon of 'being beaten like a drum' action performed by the US. Furthermore, two possessive pronouns enter the 'China' identity chain and both modify either an action or an object which carry a negative connotation.

But, if you look at the numbers just before the plague, now, the numbers are different, we were going up, up, up, **we** <u>were beating</u> **them** *like a drum*. (DT-MI-E:155)

I also took the toughest ever action to stand up to **China's** *rampant* **theft** of Michigan jobs.

Biden has vowed to remove these tariffs and allow **China** to resume **its pillaging**. (DT-MI-E:179-180)

Trump uses all of the above mentioned techniques to facilitate a positive evaluation of himself and his administration as well. Positive attributes are thus used to modify either the acted-upon of actions performed by Trump and his administration, the actions themselves or tokens of the Trump administration chain.

> **We** <u>rebuilt</u> the *awesome* **power** of the US military.
>
> **We** obliterated the ISIS caliphate and <u>built</u> *the greatest* **economy** in the history of the world.
>
> Now, **we** <u>are doing</u> **it** again *bigger* and *better* than ever before. (DT-MI-E:2-4)
>
> But we're keeping those small trucks, and **we**<u>'re keeping</u> our whole **industry** *good*.
>
> And we're expanding our autos now, our cars, and **we**<u>'re doing</u> a *great* **job** of it, and I want to thank everybody.
>
> <u>Doing</u> a *great* **job**. (DT-MI-E:105-107)

The use of attributes in economy segment of Donald Trump's Michigan speech:			
Positive evaluation:			
	Modified entity:	Donald Trump	Trump Administration
Modified component:	Actor	0	3
	Action	0	2
	Acted-upon	2	7
Negative evaluation:			
	Modified entity:	Joe Biden	Democrats
Modified component:	Actor	7	2
	Action	4	0
	Acted-upon	9	0

Table 3: Overview of attribute use in Donald Trump's economy segment of his Michigan speech

4.3. Remarks on Racial Justice in Michigan Speeches

While Donald Trump delivers a brief passage on the topic of racial justice and the related unrest across the US in 2020, Joe Biden does not include this topic in his speech at all. It is fair to point out, however, that Trump's remarks do not deal with systemic racism, racial justice reform or inequality, but only with the protests and unrest that were induced on by the killing of George Floyd. The racial justice segment of Trump's speech is composed of 593 words, which equals 5.36% word share of the entire speech.

4.3.1. Racial Justice in the Michigan Speech of Donald Trump

The cohesive chains that run through the entire segment are 'Donald Trump' (14 tokens), 'Trump Administration' (17 tokens), 'Joe Biden' (12 tokens), 'Democrats' (7 tokens), 'Protesters' (11 tokens), and 'Law Enforcement' (20 tokens).

The tokens of 'Joe Biden' identity chain are composed of mentions of Biden's last name, personal pronouns, and possessive pronouns. One of the possessive pronouns modifies a noun that is at the same time modified by a negative attribute and this noun phrase serves as an actor of an action that carries a negative connotation in the context of racial justice. Furthermore, the acted-upon of one of his actions is also modified by a negative attribute, evoking an unfavorable evaluation of Biden.

> **Biden** says he wants to protect Black lives, but **his** *radical* **platform** <u>will cut short</u> **the lives of thousands of young African American citizens**.
> Thousands.
> **The murder rate** in ***Democrat*-*run* **cities** like Chicago, Baltimore, New York, so many others is *higher* than in Afghanistan, yet **Biden** <u>supports imposing</u> these *failed* **policies** nationwide. (DT-MI-RJ:41-43)

The entities with least flattering evaluation assigned to them are 'Democrats' and 'Protesters'. In this segment, one of the tokens included in the build-up of the 'Democrats' identity chain is "far left lunatics". Moreover, Trump pushes certain cities out of the deictic center and relates the unrest to these cities exclusively. The cities are attributed with being "democrat-run" and on one occasion with being "failed" as well. Trump thus clearly aims to associate the unrests with the 'Democrats'. In contrast, cities designated as being "Republican-run" are also said to be doing "very well".

Additionally, the unfavorable view of 'Democrats' is supported by their association with another negatively evaluated entity - the 'Protesters'. Terms entering 'Protesters' chain carry a negative connotation – "rioters", "vandals", "extremists", and "domestic terrorists" all appear as tokens of the chain. Moreover, these constituents are also positioned as actors of an action with negative connotation – 'rampaging'.

> **Biden** and **his party** tried to lock law-abiding Americans into their homes while **they** <u>encourage</u> **rioters** and **vandals** <u>rampaging</u> through, in all cases, **Democrat**-*run* **cities**.
> **Republican**-*run* **cities** <u>are doing</u> *very well*. (DT-MI-RJ:1-2)
> If Joe Biden is elected, **far left lunatics** won't just be running *failed* **Democrat city**, they'll be running the Department of Justice, the Department of Homeland Security, and the United States Supreme Court, and we can't let that happen. (DT-MI-RJ:51)

As 'Democrats' are associated with the 'Protesters', identity chain 'Trump Administration' is affiliated with the chain of 'Law Enforcement'. Tokens of both these chains are positioned as actors of 'intervening' action (17 tokens, expressions entering the similarity chain are 'go in', 'come in', 'get (the killer)', 'take care', 'solve' and pronouns referring to these actions), which is attributed with being "amazing". Based on these interactions, it appears that Trump aims to persuade the audience that actions performed by his administration resolved the unrests across the US with law enforcement interventions, which (from Trump's point of view) deserves appraisal. Positive evaluation of the 'Law Enforcement' entity is also supported by the fact that it appears as the acted-upon of 'love' and 'thank' actions initiated by either Trump or the 'Trump Administration'. Furthermore, one of the tokens forming the 'Law Enforcement' chain is "heroes" and members of the chain are attributed with being "fantastic" through the use of a copular sentence.

> But **we** were all <u>set to go</u> in there, heard **we** <u>were going in</u>, we informed them **we**'<u>re going in</u>, and **they** <u>sent</u> **their police** to do it, and **we** <u>never</u> even <u>had to go in</u>.
> But **we** <u>can solve</u> **those problems** in a matter of literally minutes.
> As president, **I** will always <u>support</u> the **heroes** *of law enforcement* (DT-MI-RJ:15-17)
> **You people** <u>are</u> *fantastic*, and **we** <u>love</u> **you**. (DT-MI-RJ:36)

5. Florida Speeches

The analyzed speeches were delivered in person in front of gathered supporters one day apart from each other – while Donald Trump held a rally in Sanford on October 12th, Joe Biden spoke in Miramar one day later, on October 13th. For Donald Trump, this was one of the first public appearances and the first rally he held after testing positive for Covid-19 on October 2nd. It should also be mentioned that prior to the 2020 election, Florida became Donald Trump's home state as he declared residency in his Mar-A-Lago resort complex. Both speeches were delivered after the widely criticized 1st presidential debate, which was held on September 30th. Another debate was scheduled to take place shortly after the speeches were delivered, but it was cancelled as Donald Trump refused to take part in an online event. Regarding the length of the speeches, Donald Trump again delivered a much longer speech – 9194 words as against Biden's 2905 words.

5.1. Remarks on Covid-19 in Florida Speeches

Both speeches contain significant passages devoted to the Covid-19 pandemic. Out of the two, Joe Biden dedicates a larger share of his speech to this topic – 459 words are analyzed as belonging to the Covid-19 segment, equaling 15.8%. Donald Trump devotes a noticeably smaller share of words to the issue – 1019, amounting to only 11.08%. While Covid-19 is the first major topic in the speech of Joe Biden, the corresponding segment is preceded by remarks on several other issues, namely economy and the then-recent Supreme Court nomination of Amy Coney Barett in Donald Trump's speech. Not only are the respective shares of speeches in accord with van Dijk's ideological square, but the positioning of the topic also suggests that while Biden builds his speech around the Covid-19 pandemic, Trump aims to steer the focus elsewhere.

5.1.1. Covid-19 in the Florida speech of Donald Trump

The assembled data suggest that Donald Trump relies heavily on the unwavering support of his hard-core voters and fans, as he puts himself in the center of this segment. The Covid-19 segment of his speech thus aims to promote himself and his personal actions pertaining to the pandemic, rather than to debase his opponents or praise his associates. This presents a major shift from the comparable segment in his Michigan speech, in which he focused mainly on the actions of his administration, not on himself. A significant part of the segment is specifically designed to

celebrate Trump's medical condition after his hospitalization with Covid-19 and is most certainly meant to reassure his supporters that his abilities are in no way diminished.

The 'Donald Trump' identity chain consists of 52 tokens, out of which 45 tokens take on the form of first-person singular personal pronouns. Donald Trump's full name and third-person singular personal pronouns, which are used when Donald Trump quotes others, form the remaining 6 tokes of this identity chain. Conversely, Joe Biden is mostly absent from this segment of Donald Trump's speech. The 'Joe Biden' identity chain comprises only 15 tokens. He is referred to either by his name (3 tokens) or by personal pronouns (12 tokens).

As far as chain interaction is concerned, 'Donald Trump' identity chain frequently interacts with a similarity chain formed by positive attributes linked to each other by co-extension over the course of the segment. At the beginning of the segment, the attribute – attribuand relationship is realized mainly by the personal pronouns Trump uses to refer to himself and attributes aimed to portray him as strong and unaffected, or even positively affected, by his recent infection (attributes are provided using copular sentences). Attributes repeated multiple times are 'young', 'in great shape', and 'immune'. Additionally, later in the segment, Trump characterizes himself as 'right' and 'fast' when speaking about his reaction to the pandemic. Trump's rapid recovery and good condition are also to be illustrated by Trump's proposed action of going into the audience and giving everybody a "big, fat kiss". The 'interaction with audience' similarity chain is in actor – action relation with 'Donald Trump' identity chain a total of 5 times.

> See, fortunately, **I**'m *not an old* **person**
> **I**'m *very young* and **I**'m in *such perfect* **shape**.
> **I**'m in *such great* **shape**. (DT-FL-C:8-10)
> Now they say **I**'m *immune*.
> **I** feel *so powerful*.
> **I** <u>will walk</u> into **that audience**.
> **I**'<u>ll walk </u>in there, **I**'<u>ll kiss </u>**everyone** in that audience. (DT-FL-C:27-30)

Furthermore, it is of benefit to inspect the treatment of the 'lockdown' similarity chain, as it interacts with both 'Trump' and 'Biden' identity chains. At the beginning of the segment, the lockdown is mentioned among other actions with clearly negative connotation (which Biden is the subject of), which furthers unfavorable evaluation of the lockdown. Trump then repeatedly

positions 'Biden' as the actor of the 'lockdown' action which evokes a negative evaluation of Biden, who presumably wants to impose a lockdown on the entire country. Beginning with sentence 34 of the segment, however, Trump rejects being put in the action – acted-upon relation with the 'lockdown' similarity chain, presumably referring to Biden's less active approach to the presidential campaign and his own large-scale public events. Nevertheless, Trump later positions himself as the actor of the 'lockdown' action as well, with 'China' and 'Europe' being the acted-upon. Trump then utilizes a point of view shift and associates locking down China and Europe with 'xenophobic' and 'terrible' attributes from Biden's point of view. Ultimately, Trump is attributed with being 'right' regarding the international lockdown, again from Biden's point of view, effectively rejecting the previous evaluation. The treatment of the 'lockdown' similarity chain is thus in accord with Trump's "America first" policy, as internal US lockdown, allegedly sought by Biden, is portrayed negatively, while imposing restrictions on other countries, as Trump did, is promoted.

That's what **he** <u>wants to do</u>, <u>lock</u> it <u>down</u>.

<u>Lock</u> it <u>down</u>, everybody. (DT-FL-C:3-4)

I <u>don't have to be</u> *locked up* in my basement, and **I** <u>wouldn't allow</u> **that** to happen anyway. (DT-FL-C:34)

But when **I** <u>locked down</u> **China**, **he** thought **it** was a *terrible* **thing**.

He <u>called</u> **me** *xenophobic* when **I** <u>locked down</u> **China**, which was in January, months earlier than what he said.

Then ultimately, <u>admitted</u> **I**'m *right*, but then he said, "Oh, he should have acted faster." (DT-FL-C:67-69)

5.1.2. Covid-19 in the Florida speech of Joe Biden

Joe Biden utilizes a different strategy and seeks to attack Donald Trump rather than to present his plans and agenda, much like in his Michigan speech. While he refers to himself only once using a personal pronoun, the 'Donald Trump' identity chain consists of 32 tokens. Out of the 32 tokens, Donald Trump's full name or last name represent 6 tokens, personal pronouns constitute 21 tokens and the Office of the President makes up 4 tokens. On one occasion, Donald Trump is referred to in a colloquial way as 'this guy', which (given his position) is highly informal, signals Biden's disregard of Trump and foreshadows the evaluation assigned to Trump by other linguistic means

over the course of the speech. Given the fact that the segment is comprised of 26 sentences and Donald Trump is directly referred to in 19 of them, he and his conduct are evidently the focus of this section of Biden's speech.

Biden's message in this segment is rather clear and mirrors the message of his Michigan speech. The 'Trump' identity chain and the 'misleading/withholding information' similarity chain interact on multiple occasions – a total of 14 times. The 'misleading' similarity chain once again consists mainly of verbs of 'knowing' and at the same time 'not telling' or 'lying'. On all occasions, Trump is the actor of the 'misleading' action, and the public appears as the acted-upon. Consequently, Trump is portrayed as having erred by not telling the public about the dangers of the coronavirus when he first learned about it. Donald Trump's negative evaluation is further supported by expressive attributes with negative connotation, such as "reckless" and "unconscionable", which modify tokens of the 'Donald Trump' chain or the acted-upon of Trump's actions.

> Folks, what bothers me the most about **this guy**, in his own words, **the president** <u>knew</u> back in January, when **he** <u>was briefed</u> in detail, after <u>lying</u> about **it**, saying **he** <u>never read</u> the intelligence community's warnings about how dangerous this was, what did he do?
> **He** <u>learned</u> in January, the end of January, and in fact, that in fact this was a virulent virus, that it was passed on easily, that it was airborne.
> But **he** <u>didn't tell</u> anybody. (JB-FL-C:5-7)
> Americans have faced every problem that has ever confronted us, and **his** *reckless* personal **conduct** since the diagnosis <u>has been</u> *unconscionable*.
> The longer **Donald Trump** remains president, the more *reckless* **he** <u>becomes</u>. (JB-FL-C:16-17)
> Yet, the **Trump campaign** deliberately <u>lied</u>, <u>making it as sound</u> as if Fauci was talking about **Trump**. (JB-FL-C:25)

5.2. Remarks on Economy in Florida Speeches

Concerning the economy segments, there is a significant difference between the two speakers. While Donald Trump dedicates 9.2% of his speech to the topic (846 words), there is no significant part of Joe Biden's speech dealing solely with economy. In Trump's speech, the economy segment is split into two parts interspersed with comments on the Supreme Court and general delegitimization of the democratic campaign. In Biden's speech, economy-related phenomena are mentioned in relation to other topics, but there is no comprehensive account of Biden's plan,

previous successes, or his views on the matter. When putting the scattered pieces of information on economy together, the remarks consists of three parts equaling 6.68% of the entire speech (194 words). The longest part is a string of 7 sentences, out of which two sentences are repetitions of the cheer "None!". As such a brief passage does not fulfill the criteria needed to be considered a segment and hence it is left out from the analysis.

5.2.1. Economy in the Florida Speech of Donald Trump

While Trump speaks mainly about himself in relation to Covid-19, he utilizes the first-person plural pronoun 'we' (referring to his administration) as far as the economy is concerned. Achievements related to the economy are thus presented as a group effort, rather than Trump's personal achievement. The 'Trump Administration' identity chain contains 41 tokens, the 'Donald Trump' identity chain only contains 19 tokens.

The 'Trump Administration' chain is attributed with numerous achievements that are presumed to appeal to the right-wing voter, such as lowering of taxes and deregulation. In line with expectations for the economy segment, other entities (and their identity chains) are credited with (potential) economic actions that are in direct contrast with the actions presumed to be appealing to right-wing voters (namely raising taxes), supporting their integration into the out-group. A vast majority of used verbs, however, is not expressive.

Nevertheless, analysis of cohesive chains reveals several other entities that are relevant to the build-up of this text. These entities include 'Hispanic Americans', 'Democrats', 'China', and of course 'Joe Biden'. 'Hispanic Americans' chain is composed of 7 tokens. The entity is positively evaluated by the use of attribute 'incredible' and also by being the acted-upon of 'thanking' action initiated by Donald Trump 3 times.

> And **I** <u>want to thank</u> the **Hispanic Americans** down in Florida.
> **You** <u>have been</u> *so incredible* to Trump. (DT-FL-E:26-27)
> That's why we just got the Bay of Pigs award from the **Cuban Americans**, <u>thank</u> **you** very much. (DT-FL-E:38)

On the other hand, 'China', whose identity chain contains 8 tokens, serves as the acted-upon of actions 'beat' and 'teach' (in colloquial sense). The actor of these actions (which form a 'defeat' similarity chain) is always a token of the 'we' pronoun, which puts China in a direct clash with the

'Us' in-group. Furthermore, 'China' is designated as the actor of 'spying' action, which bears a negative connotation in any context. As a result, 'China' is portrayed as one of the enemies and is evidently intended to be classified as a member of the out-group by the audience.

> **We**'ve been beating **China**.
>
> We've been beating everybody.
>
> Until the plague came in, **we** were teaching **China** like they've never been taught before and they know it. (DT-FL-E:15-17)

Regarding the 'Joe Biden' identity chain, apart from personal pronouns and his last name (8 out of 9 tokens), he is referred to as "Sleepy Joe". This alone entails negative evaluation, since Trump is known for giving nicknames mainly to his opponents. In addition, the 'Joe Biden' identity chain interacts with similarity chain of 'destruction' on 3 occasions, the members of which (e.g. 'annihilate', 'decimate' and 'terminate') carry a clearly negative connotation, especially when considering that the acted-upon are economy-related phenomena.

> **Sleepy Joe** wants to quadruple **your taxes**. (DT-FL-E:8)
>
> **Biden** would terminate **our recovery**.
>
> Delay the vaccine, prolong the pandemic and annihilate **Florida's economy** with a draconian unscientific lockdown. (DT-FL-E:73-74)

Another entity which is referred to multiple times is 'Democrats' (4 tokens). Similarly to the 'Joe Biden' identity chain, negative evaluation is achieved by both naming and chain interaction. Even though the term 'Democrats' does not appear, the entity is yet again (as in the Michigan speech) referred to as "the radical left". In the context of politics, the word 'radical' evokes notions of extremism and has the potential to induce fear. This is further facilitated by actions this entity is associated with – it also interacts with the similarity chain of 'destruction', being the actor of actions such as 'expunge' and 'ruin', with various aspects of the US being the acted-upon. Donald Trump positions himself in opposition with this entity, in an even more direct way than he does with Joe Biden, as he claims 'The Radical Left' is the entity he is fighting to save the country from. Another crucial moment in this segment comes when Donald Trump converts the traditional metaphor of 'American dream' into a 'socialist nightmare' – 'The Radical Left' is designated as the entity responsible for this conversion. The fact that both 'nightmare' and 'socialist' carry a negative connotation (for the word 'socialist' this might only be true in the context of the US) and

that the expression is used as an antonym of a widely accepted American ideal certainly support unfavorable view of the entity. Furthermore, "the radical left" is named the actor of 'turn into' action, with "America" being the direct object and "communist Cuba" and "socialist Venezuela" serving as object complements. As a result, "the radical left" is again in an obvious way associated with socialism and communism, which are ideologies rejected by the intended audience and the majority of the US.

> Right now I'm fighting to make sure we eradicate the virus, rebuild the economy and <u>save</u> **our country** from **the radical left**. (DT-FL-E:1)
>
> **They** want to punish the middle-class, <u>expunge</u> every last trace of **traditional values** and <u>replace</u> the *American* **dream** with a *socialist* **nightmare**, and that's what it is.
>
> **They** want to <u>turn</u> **America** into *communist* **Cuba** or *socialist* **Venezuela**, and <u>ruin</u> **the lives** of **Hispanic Americans** and **all Americans.** (DT-FL-E:24-25)

The economy segment of this speech is notable for its decreased utilization of attributes to achieve entity evaluation. In the analyzed segment, only positive attributes are used to facilitate favorable evaluation of Trump or his administration.

> **We**<u>'re hitting</u> *record* stock market **numbers**, *record* **401Ks**, *record* **stocks**, *record* **job numbers**. (DT-FL-E:2)
>
> With your vote **I** <u>will finish building</u> the *strongest* **economy** the world has ever seen and we were there. (DT-FL-E:54)

The use of attributes in economy segment of Donald Trump's Florida speech:			
Positive evaluations:			
	Modified entity:	Donald Trump	Trump Administration
Modified component:	Actor	0	0
	Action	0	1
	Acted-upon	1	8

Table 4: Overview of attribute use in Donald Trump's economy segment of his Florida speech

5.3. Remarks on Racial Justice in Florida Speeches

The topic of racial justice and the related 2020 unrest across the US is disproportionately represented in the Florida speeches of the two candidates. Joe Biden delivers a clearly identifiable segment on the subject which spans 422 words, or 14.53% of the speech in terms of word share. Donald Trump, on the other hand, does not directly speak about racial justice at all. In a larger segment dealing with crime, however, he expresses his thoughts on the protests in Minneapolis and Portland, which were sparked by the death of George Floyd and were among the most covered demonstrations in the country. Trump's remarks on the topic comprise 339 words, which correspond only to 3.69% of the speech.

5.3.1. Racial Justice in the Florida Speech of Donald Trump

Donald Trump builds his segment around 4 major entities – 'Donald Trump' (11 tokens), 'Trump Administration' (13 tokens), 'Law Enforcement' (10 tokens) and 'Democrats' (5 tokens). All tokens entering in any of the chains are either non-expressive nouns or pronouns, with the exception of 'Democrats' chain, in which the word 'craziness' is used as equivalent to the democratic philosophy.

The message from Trump's Michigan speech is largely mirrored in this one, as tokens of the 'Trump Administration' chain once more serve as actors of 'intervene' action (11 relations, expressions 'send in', 'come in', 'let in', and 'solve'). Furthermore, for the 'intervene' similarity chain, tokens of the 'Law Enforcement' identity chain appears 4 times in the acted-upon role (for 'send in' action). It thus appears that Trump again seeks to persuade the audience that his personal involvement prompted actions by his administration which resolved the issues in Minneapolis by deploying more law enforcement units.

> Oregon, **we** have to <u>send in</u> **the troops**.
> **We** <u>will solve</u> **that problem** in 30 minutes.
> **We** <u>sent in</u> **the U.S. Marshals**. (DT-FL-RJ:18-20)

Even though Joe Biden is not mentioned at all in this segment of Trump's speech, there is an entity that is vilified and blamed – the 'Democrats'. In the very first sentence of the segment, Trump again marginalizes "Democrat states and cities" by excluding them from the deictic center ("this country"), which is presented as having no issues. Furthermore, on one occasion, the states and

cities attributed with being "Democrat" are also modified by a negative attribute. By excluding certain states and cities solely because they are run by representatives of the Democratic Party, Trump clearly intends to place the blame on these representatives and their party. This notion is reinforced by the last sentence of the segment, in which Trump identifies the protests as reason for not voting for the Democratic Party.

> And *outside of poorly run* **Democrat states** and **cities**, you <u>don't have</u> **crime** in *this country*. **Our country** <u>is doing</u> *fantastically*. (DT-FL-RJ:1-2)
>
> This is why you cannot have the **Democrats** and **that whole philosophy**, **that whole craziness**, you can not have **them** involved in running your country. (DT-FL-RJ:27)

5.3.2. Racial Justice in the Florida Speech of Joe Biden

There are several major entities that recur over the course of the segment in Joe Biden's Speech. The 'Joe Biden' identity chain contains 10 tokens, all of which take on the form of the first-person singular personal pronoun. The first-person plural personal pronoun appears as well, a total of 15 times. 10 of the occurrences are included in a chain that is utilized to appeal to the audience's collective identity as citizens of the US and outline actions that are deemed universally beneficial. This identity chain can be again called 'General Public' and contains 12 tokens in total (the other expressions entering the chain are 'everyone' and 'their'). The remaining 5 occurrences enter the 'Communities of Color' chain as Biden quotes victims of racial injustice. The 'Communities of Color' chain has 10 tokens in total. The other expressions entering the chain are "communities of color" and the second-person personal pronouns, which are used when Biden speaks directly to minority communities. America as a country forms its own identity chain as well. The chain is conmposed of 10 tokens and the expressions included in its build-up are "America", "this country" and "the nation". There are also several victims of racial injustice, or their surviving family members, mentioned by name. Mentions of none of these individuals form a significant identity chain on their own, but together they form a similarity chain consisting of 14 tokens that can be called 'Victims and Family Members'. Donald Trump is completely absent from this segment.

As far as chain interaction is concerned, on 3 occasions the 'Communities of Color' identity chain tokens serve as the acted-upon of an 'attack' similarity chain. The expressions forming the 'attack' similarity chain all describe actions with negative connotation – 'kill', 'shoot', and 'hang'. In all the cases, the actors are unidentified. Being the target of these negative actions is presumably

intended to evoke compassion with communities of color. Moreover, the 'Communities of Color' chain interacts with a similarity chain comprising verbs of economic injustice, further illustrating the discrimination towards minorities.

> For example, for **communities of color** in South Florida and all across this country, the question is how do **we** break **the cycle** where in good times **you** lag behind, and in bad times **you** get hit *first* and the *hardest*, and when recovery comes, **you**'re *the last* **ones** to bounce back? (JB-FL-RJ:3)
>
> "**We**'re the ones getting killed.
>
> **We**'re the ones getting shot.
>
> **We**'ve been hung." (JB-FL-RJ:13-15)

'Communities of Color' and 'America' identity chains also form relations with the 'love' similarity chain and alternate between being the actor and the acted-upon of the 'love' action, with one entity being the actor and the other entity the acted-upon within the same sentence on all but one occasion. While 'Communities of Color' serve as the actor of the love action twice, 'America' takes on the actor role once. On this occasion, however, the 'love' action is negated, which supports the notion of systemic racism in the US and illustrates the inequality communities of color face in their everyday life.

> "It's amazing why **we** keep loving **this country**, when **this country** does not love **us** back."
>
> Think about that.
>
> Think about what it takes for a **black person** to love **America**. (JB-FL-RJ:16-18)

A similar contact occurs between the identity chain 'Joe Biden' and the similarity chain 'Victims and Family Members'. Both chains repeatedly come into contact with 'interaction' similarity chain, which is composed of verbs of communication and interaction ('look', 'meet', know', 'say'). Once again, 'Joe Biden' and 'Victims and Family Members' alternate between being the actor and the acted-upon. By demonstrating his ongoing engagement with the victims of injustice, Biden presents himself as the candidate of reconciliation and atonement. He then uses the 'General Public' identity chain to outline society-wide actions that are, according to him, needed to achieve racial justice and equality in the US. Since the 'General Public' chain is text exhaustive and contains the top number of tokens out of all identity chains, this segment can be interpreted as presenting Biden's agenda for the American society, rather than placing blame or marginalizing

any entity. Even though identity chains of 'Law Enforcement' and 'Extremist Groups', which were the two most commonly discussed (and blamed) entities in connection to the 2020 protests, appear (4 tokens each), much more space in this segment is devoted to the victims of injustice and to collective action needed to be performed by the society in order to heal the nation and deal with systemic racism.

There have been powerful voices for justice in recent weeks and months, **I** <u>spent time</u> with **George Floyd's family**, **his** six year old **daughter**, **Gianna**, when **I** <u>met</u> with **her**, **I** <u>knelt down</u> to say hi to **her** and **she** <u>looked</u> at **me** and <u>said</u>, "**Daddy** changed the world." (JB-FL-RJ:10)

6. Pennsylvania Speeches

Donald Trump's speech in Pennsylvania was delivered on 31st October in Butler, which is a small city north of Pittsburgh. Joe Biden spoke in Pittsburgh 2 days later, on November 2nd. Both speeches occurred after the second and final presidential debate, which was held on October 22nd. It is evident that Pennsylvania was considered a key battleground state by both campaigns, as Donald Trump held a total of 5 rallies there between the last day of October and the election day, and Joe Biden held 3 within the same time period.

Donald Trump's speech contained a video presentation. The transcript of the video is not included in the analysis and was removed from the data.

6.1. Remarks on Covid-19 in Pennsylvania Speeches

For Donald Trump, the Covid-19 segment contains 574 words out of total 7407 analyzed words which corresponds to 7.75% of the speech. Joe Biden dedicates a larger share of his speech to the topic – 19.01% corresponding to 660 out of 3471 words. While Joe Biden's Covid-19 segment is the first major topic discussed in his speech after opening statements, Donald Trump's Covid-19 segment is preceded by a portion of his economy segment.

6.1.1. Covid-19 in the Pennsylvania Speech of Donald Trump

In his speech, Donald Trump refers to himself 18 times, which is the same number of times Joe Biden is referred to. The 'Donald Trump' identity chain comprises pronouns, Trump's last name, and the address "Sir". Tokens of the 'Joe Biden' identity chain are also pronouns and Biden's last name on all but one occasion, when he is referred to highly informally as "Jimmy", signaling Trump's belittlement of Biden. Other significant entities discussed in the segment are Barron Trump and the 'Trump Administration'. The 'Barron Trump' identity chain contains 13 tokens, but none of the expressions contributing to the build-up of the chain or the actions associated with Baron Trump suggest any evaluation of him. There are only two attributes ("strong" and "tough") supporting a positive evaluation of him. The 'Trump Administration' chain contains 12 tokens and is made up entirely of first-person plural personal pronouns.

Biden's last name is used as an attribute 3 times. On each occasion, it modifies a phenomenon with a negative connotation, including 'lockdown' on 2 occasions. The phenomenon is once further

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modified by a negative attribute "deadly". Trump thus seems to be suggesting that Biden is (or would be) responsible for these negative states of affairs, especially a lockdown of the United States. Moreover, in the same context, Trump uses his own last name to modify a phenomenon with positive connotation, drawing a clear distinction between himself and his opponent. As far as the lockdown is concerned, Trump intends to further support a negative evaluation of Biden by designating him the actor of 'lockdown' action and by declaring the lockdown the acted-upon of Biden's other action. Furthermore, aside from the 'lockdown' action, tokens of the 'Joe Biden' identity chain serve as actors of other actions with negative connotations, namely 'imprison' and 'impose'. Last but not least, "Biden lockdown" is said to be directly responsible for various causes of death.

> This election is a choice between a **Biden depression**, which is what will happen, or a **Trump boom**.
> There's going to be a **boom**.
> It's a choice between a *deadly* **Biden lockdown**. (DT-PA-C:1-3)
> **Biden** will delay the vaccine and <u>impose</u> a crushing **lockdown** on all America.
> **Jimmy** wants to <u>lock</u> **it** <u>down</u>. (DT-PA-C:22-23)
> The **Biden lockdown** will <u>result in</u> countless **deaths** from **suicide**, **drug overdose, deferred medical care, all sorts of abuse, all sorts of problems**. (DT-PA-C:79)

In contrast to Biden's connection to the 'lockdown' action, there is a similarity chain of 'ending the lockdown' running through the segment, which is associated with tokens of the 'Donald Trump' and the 'Trump Administration' chains, again stressing the discord between the two candidates. The 'ending the lockdown' similarity chain is composed of actions 'end', 'open up', 'get back', and the expression "normal". The chain has 14 tokens – 5 tokens are the acted-upon of actions by the 'Trump Administration'. On 8 more occasions, tokens of the chain appear as imperatives by Donald Trump, aimed either at the governor of Pennsylvania or not aimed at anyone specifically.

> And by the way, Governor, <u>open up</u> **the state** of Pennsylvania.
> <u>Open</u> **them** <u>up</u>.
> <u>Open up</u> **those schools**, <u>open</u> **it** <u>up</u>. (DT-PA-C:4-6)
> That's why **I** say, <u>get</u> **the kids** <u>back</u> to school.

Get **them** <u>back</u>.

Get <u>them</u> **back** to school. (DT-PA-C:43-45)

6.1.2. Covid-19 in the Pennsylvania Speech of Joe Biden

There are 3 major entities mentioned repeatedly over the course of the segment on Covid-19. These are 'Joe Biden' (12 tokens; all personal pronouns), 'Donald Trump' (35 tokens; personal pronouns, the Office of the President, Trump's full name and last name), and 'Frontline Workers' (12 tokens; personal pronouns, "doctors", "nurses", "folks", "frontline healthcare workers"). None of the tokens referring to either entity is expressive in any way.

Part of Biden's segment on Covid-19 again stresses the same information about Donald Trump – the fact that he knew about the possible repercussions of the virus but did not act. 'Donald Trump' identity chain interacts with the 'misleading/withholding information' similarity chain 13 times. Furthermore, Donald Trump is accused of 'having the gall' to doubt the first responders. The action 'having the gall' has negative implications on its own, but it also puts the 'Donald Trump' identity chain in opposition to the 'Frontline Workers' chain in this context. Tokens of the 'Donald Trump' identity chain serve as actors of the 'doubt' action on 4 occasions (expressions entering the 'doubt' similarity chain are 'question' and 'suggest'). Donald Trump's actions towards the frontline workers are also collectively called "a flat disgrace", supporting a negative evaluation of Trump. Moreover, Biden uses the "white flag of surrender" metaphor in one of the final sentences of the segment to illustrate Donald Trump's response to the pandemic (the "white flag of surrender" is the acted-upon of Donald Trump's action). On the other hand, constituents of the 'Frontline Workers' chain serve as actors of actions that have positive connotations and incite compassion, especially when considering the context of the pandemic: 'save lives', 'suffer', and 'sacrifice'. The fact that Biden seeks to incur compassion with frontline workers on the side of the audience signals his intention to have the entity positively evaluated by the audience.

He <u>hid</u> **it** from the American people.

He <u>knew</u> **it** was worse than the flu.

He <u>lied</u> to the American people. (JB-PA-C:20-22)

And just Friday, this past Friday, <u>had the gall to suggest</u> that the American **doctors** and **nurses**, who are literally <u>risking</u> **their lives** <u>to save</u> **lives** on the front line of this crisis for nine months, that **he** <u>suggested</u> that **these folks**, know what **he** <u>said</u> **they**<u>'re doing</u>? (JB-PA-C:26)

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Folks, look the **people** of this nation have <u>suffered</u> and <u>sacrificed</u> for nine months, none more so than our **doctors** and our **frontline healthcare workers**.

And it's the **President** <u>questioning</u> **their character**, and **their integrity**, **their commitment** to his fellow Americans, the **President** <u>questioning</u> **that**?

It's a *flat disgrace.* (JB-PA-C:31-33)

6.2. Remarks on Economy in Pennsylvania Speeches

In the analyzed Pennsylvania speeches, Joe Biden dedicated more space to economy. His segment on the topic consisted of 632 words, equaling 18.21% of the speech. Donald Trump dedicated 958 words to economy, which corresponds to 12.93% of his speech. In speeches of both of the candidates, the segments run uninterrupted. While economy is the first major topic discussed by Trump, Covid-19 takes precedence in Biden's speech.

6.2.1. Economy in the Pennsylvania Speech of Donald Trump

There are 5 major entities in Donald Trumps' economy segment. 'Joe Biden' identity chain contains 15 tokens – personal pronouns, all variations of Biden's name (first name only, last name only and full name) and the nickname "Sleepy Joe". 'Donald Trump' identity chain consists of 12 tokens, all personal pronouns. 'China' identity chain comprises 19 tokens, all tokens being either the name of the country or personal pronouns. Furthermore, two rather generic chains appear. The 'They' chain is not directly identified in the analyzed segment but is linked to the word "maniacs" and representatives of the Democratic party discussed before the beginning of the economy segment in the opening statements. In line with economy segments from other Trump's speeches, the 'They' chain is thus considered to be representing the 'Democrats'. The chain is composed of 12 tokens. As far as the 'We' chain is concerned, it is again difficult to distinguish on which occasions Trump speaks about his administration and on which occasions about the general public, as some of the actions were ordered/initiated by the administration but were carried out by individual entities composing the general public, e.g. 'closing up' the economy. This ambiguity alone supports positive evaluation of Trump's administration, as it is in line with Hodge's concept of deictic identity – Trump apparently seeks to remove any perceived difference between himself, his administration and the public and reinforce the notion of sameness, unity and interconnectedness of his administration and the society as a whole.

Similar to the Florida speech, Biden's negative evaluation is achieved by positioning tokens of the 'Joe Biden' identity chain as actors of the 'destruction' similarity chain, which is formed by verbs with negative connotation ('ban', 'destroy', 'cancel', 'annihilate', 'terminate', and 'decimate'). The chains interact on 7 occasions. Moreover, Biden is attributed with being a "Washington vulture", "totally shot", with having "no clue" and ironically with otherwise being "not bad". In addition, the acted-upon of Biden's actions are also assigned negative attributes ("disastrous sellout trade deal" and "worst trade deal"). The 'Democrats' are attributed with 'having no idea' on 2 occasions. Regarding China, no attributes or actions that would facilitate a negative evaluation of the entity are linked to it. It is still presented as a competitor though – it once again appears as the acted-upon of 'beating' action performed by the US.

> If **Joe Biden** is elected, **he** will <u>cancel</u> our… And you know that, **he**'s going to <u>terminate</u>, frankly, a better word, <u>terminate</u> your energy industry and every job because they want to go to wind. (DT-PA-E:19-20)
>
> **He** <u>has</u> *no clue*.
>
> **He** <u>is</u> *totally shot*, okay? (DT-PA-E:17-18)
>
> **Biden** <u>is</u> a *Washington vulture* who <u>decimated</u> your steel mills, <u>annihilated</u> your coal jobs, that's for sure.
>
> And <u>supported</u> every *disastrous sellout* **trade deal** for a half a century.
>
> **Biden** <u>was</u> a **cheerleader for NAFTA**, the *worst* **trade deal** ever made. (DT-PA-E:54-56)

Nevertheless, as is the case with the Florida speech, Trump utilizes mainly positive attributes to paint his tenure in a positive light and prompt the audience to evaluate him positively. In this segment on economy, however, positive attributes are not used to modify tokens of the 'Donald Trump' identity chain or the 'Trump Administration' chain, they are used exclusively to modify economy related phenomena. On 5 occasions, these phenomena are presented as direct results/the acted-upon of actions performed by the 'Trump Administration' chain. On 8 more occasions, the positive attributes are used to modify "numbers" related to economy, but as the economy and its strength is presented as the achievement of the in-group, these attributes also contribute to the positive evaluation of Trump and his allies.

> **We**'<u>ve built</u> such a *strong* **foundation**, **we** <u>had</u> *the greatest* **economy** in the history of our country, and we had the plague. (DT-PA-E:33)

And that's why, I don't know if you saw auto production, housing production, the **numbers** <u>are</u> *through the roof*.

Many of the **numbers** are *bigger* and *better*.

Did you know this, Mike Kelly?

The **numbers** are *bigger* and *better* than they were before the plague came in. (DT-PA-E:37-40)

The use of attributes in economy segment of Donald Trump's Pennsylvania speech:			
Positive evaluations:			
	Modified entity:	Donald Trump	'We'
Modified component:	Actor	0	0
	Action	0	0
	Acted-upon	0	13
Negative evaluations:			
	Modified entity:	Joe Biden	Democrats
Modified component:	Actor	4	2
	Action	0	0
	Acted-upon	3	0

Table 5: overview of attribute use in Donald Trump's economy segment of his Pennsylvania speech

6.2.2. Economy in the Pennsylvania Speech of Joe Biden

The main entities discussed in Joe Biden's economy segment are 'Donald Trump' (30 tokens), 'Joe Biden' (19 tokens), 'The Wealthy' (10 tokens), 'Communities and Businesses of Color' (6 tokens) and 'The Working Class' (8 tokens). Trump is again referred to in a non-expressive way by his full name and last name, personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, and the Office of the President. To refer to himself, Biden uses personal pronouns exclusively, but when quoting others, the phrase "the poorest man in Congress" and his full name enter the 'Joe Biden' identity chain as

well. 'The Wealthy' similarity chain is comprised of expressions that often include attributes denoting size and wealth (sometimes in superlative form) or converted adjectives and superlatives, such as "the wealthiest", "the biggest corporations", "the super wealthy", and "wealthy friends". Tokens of this chain also include metonymical reference "Wall Street" and expression "the Mar-a-Lago crowd", which illustrates the president's connection to this segment of the society. Personal pronouns and the word "billionaires" are also included in the build-up of this chain. Tokens of the 'The Working Class' chain are expressions that also include attributes pointing to their social standing and size, such as "the middle class", "the working people" and "small businesses". Exemplifications ("a nurse", "a steelworker", "an educator" and "a firefighter") are also included in the build-up of the chain. For the 'Communities and Businesses of Color' similarity chain, attributes signaling their connection to minorities appear ("black businesses", "minority businesses", "business communities of color", "black-owned businesses", "black unemployment"). Tokens of the 'The Working class' and the 'Communities and Businesses of Color' can be subsumed into a larger chain, as these segments of the society are put on the same level and in a direct opposition to the 'The Wealthy' chain and corresponding segment of the society.

Regarding the content of the segment, Biden once again uses inexpressive language and standard vocabulary to describe Trump's and his own actions and plans. There is, however, an opposition created between two sets of entities – Joe Biden with 'The Working Class' against Donald Trump and 'The Wealthy'. On a linguistic level, Trump' s association with 'The Wealthy' is established through a possessive pronoun belonging to the 'Donald Trump' identity chain that modifies a token of the 'The Wealthy' chain and through a token of the same chain refer to Trump's Mar-a-Lago estate (which is discussed in the preceding paragraph). Furthermore, the disparity between the two opposing sides is illustrated by metaphors of the perspective. While Donald Trump is depicted as seeing the world from a Park Avenue (which is one of the most prestigious and expensive streets in New York City) perspective, Biden claims he sees the world from the perspective of Scranton, which (aside from being his birth town) is a small industrial city in Pennsylvania. Conversely, Biden distances himself from 'The Wealthy' by including a quote calling him "the poorest man in Congress" in the segment. On a proposition level, Trump's actions are said to have resulted in 'The Working Class' not receiving the needed help and the money going to 'The Wealthy'. Moreover, 'The Working Class' rather than 'The Wealthy' is credited with 'building the country'.

> **Minority businesses, small businesses, they** <u>didn't get</u> **the help**.
>
> **It** <u>went</u> to the *Mar-a-Lago* **crowd**.
>
> Not a joke, **his wealthy friends**. (JB-PA-C:13-15)
>
> He sees the world from Park Avenue.
>
> I have seen it from Scranton. (JB-PA-C:18-19)
>
> **Wall Street** <u>didn't build</u> **this country**, **working people** <u>built</u> **this country**. (JB-PA-C:22)
>
> **I** had the dubious distinction of <u>being listed</u> as "*the poorest man in Congress"* for 36 years. (JB-PA-C:35)

Last but not least, as taxes are heavily discussed in the segment, Donald Trump's negative evaluation is supported by the fact that he is said not to have been paying taxes. Additionally, the 'Donald Trump' identity chain interacts with a 'secret' similarity chain 3 times in the context of taxes, further suggesting that Donald Trump is not honest about his financial situation and tax payments.

> And by the way, why should **you** <u>pay more</u> **taxes** than **Donald Trump**? (JB-PA-C:33)
>
> Well, look, here's my point, **Trump** and the only taxes that we've been able to find out through the New York Times in the one year **he** <u>has</u>, **he** <u>paid</u> **$750 in taxes**. (JB-PA-C:39)
>
> Every time **he** <u>starts talking</u> about **corruption**, I say, "Release your tax return.
>
> What in the hell <u>are</u> **you** <u>hiding</u>?" (JB-PA-C:43-44)

6.3. Remarks on Racial Justice in Pennsylvania Speeches

Racial justice spans over 441 words, or 12.71%, of Joe Biden's Pennsylvania speech. The corresponding segment in Donald Trump's speech is shorter in both relative and absolute terms – it is composed of 393 words, equaling 5.31% of Trump's speech. Racial justice is the last topic before closing statements in Joe Biden's speech. In Donald Trump's speech, the segment is placed in the middle of the speech and is followed by several other major topics, such as immigration and foreign policy. Furthermore, a brief section is removed from Trump's segment on racial justice, as it is rather a comment on CNN and their practices than a continuation of Trump's remarks on racial justice.

6.3.1. Racial Justice in the Pennsylvania Speech of Donald Trump

5 entities contribute in a significant way to the build-up of this segment in Trump's Pennsylvania speech. 'Donald Trump' identity chain is constituted by 9 tokens, all being personal pronouns. 'Joe Biden' identity chain consists of 14 tokens – all tokens are either personal pronouns or Biden's full name. Personal pronouns 'we' and 'us' (11 tokens in total) are utilized to form the 'Trump Administration' identity chain. 'Law Enforcement' similarity chain connects expressions "police", "sheriffs", "law enforcement" and personal pronouns referring to these entities. It contains 14 tokens. 'Communities of Color' similarity chain has only 6 tokens and is composed of expressions "Black Americans", "African Americans", "Hispanic Americans", "Back community", "Hispanic Community", and a personal pronoun. No evaluation is thus attempted to be achieved on the paradigmatic level.

While Trump again associates himself with the 'Law Enforcement' chain, the association is not achieved via shared interaction with the 'intervene' action in the Pennsylvania speech. In fact, in contrast to the Michigan and Florida speeches, the 'intervene' action is only mentioned twice in this segment. Trump uses the 'endorsement' similarity chain to convey the message that 'Law Enforcement' is on his side, as tokens of the 'Law Enforcement' chain serve as actors of the 'endorsement' action on three occasions, with the 'Trump Administration' being the acted-upon twice.

> We have so many endorsements from so many, but **we** <u>have</u> almost every **law enforcement group** <u>is endorsing</u> **us**. (DT-PA-RJ:1)
> **The sheriffs**, **Florida, Oklahoma, Texas, Louisiana, New York's finest** <u>endorsed</u>, first time they've ever <u>endorsed</u> **a presidential candidate**, so it's been a great. (DT-PA-RJ:7)

In this segment, Trump allocates more effort to the negative evaluation of Joe Biden. Firstly, Biden is attributed with not being a "good person" twice (using copular sentences). Secondly, the Actor-Location (temporal location) chain interaction type is utilized to convince the audience that Biden is no longer in his "prime time", which is asserted 3 times. Last but not least, Trump aims to create a discord between 'Joe Biden' and the 'Communities of Color'. Trump states Biden used the term "super predators" to refer to Black Americans (the term appears as an object complement to a token of the 'Communities of Color' chain) and also positions Biden as the actor of multiple action

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with negative connotations, for which 'Communities of Color' are the acted-upon – 'betray', 'insult', 'jail', and 'attack'. Moreover, the propagated discord between 'Joe Biden' and 'Communities of Color' is countered by Trump's claimed positive relationship with the entity – tokens of the 'Communities of Color' chain serve as actors of the 'support' action for which tokens of the 'Donald Trump' chain are the acted-upon.

> For 47 years, **Joe Biden** betrayed, insulted, jailed and attacked **Black Americans**.
> **He** called **them super predators**.
> **He** used **the term super predators**.
> **He**'s not a *good person*, that I can tell you.
> You know, because some people knew **him** in *prime time*.
> **This** is no longer *prime time*, now **he**'s *shot*. (DT-PA-RJ:16-21)
> **We**'ve had tremendous **support** from the **Black community**, from the **Hispanic community**.
> (DT-PA-RJ:35)

6.3.2. Racial Justice in the Pennsylvania Speech of Joe Biden

Similar to Biden's segment on racial justice in his Florida speech, 'Victims and Family Members' similarity chain and 'Joe Biden' identity chain appear. In addition, 'Donald Trump' identity chain contributes to the build-up of the text in a major way as well. Other discussed entities include 'Communities of Color' and 'Proud Boys'. 'Joe Biden' identity chain (12 tokens) is comprised of personal pronouns and a reference to the Office of the Vice-President. Similar to the Florida speech, 'Victims and Family Members' chain (18 tokens) consists of mentions of victims of racial injustice or police brutality, their family members and the word "daddy", which is used when Biden quotes George Floyd's daughter. The 'Communities of Color' chain (7 tokens) connects expressions "African-American community", "black America", "black Americans" and "black lives". 'Proud Boys' (5 tokens) are, apart from the group's name and a personal pronoun, labeled as "white supremacists" and "that racist group". The group is also made equivalent to white supremacy itself. Being linked to racism and white supremacy supports a negative evaluation on its own and becomes even more evaluative when considering the social context of the US. Tokens of the 'Donald Trump' chain (a total of 24 tokens appear) include his full name, personal pronouns, and label "the man", which is the relativized element of 2 adnominal relative clauses. He is also mockingly called "Abraham Lincoln" and "Abe", referring to Trump's claim from the final

presidential debate that no other president since Lincoln has done as much as him for African Americans, which signals a negative evaluation of Trump.

> I was standing next to "**Abraham Lincoln**".
>
> **He** said, "Not since Abraham Lincoln has anyone done as much for the African American community as **I** have."
>
> I turned to **him** and asked **him**, "**Abe**," **he** got offended. (JB-PA-RJ:17-19)

Donald Trump's negative evaluation is not supported by naming only. His measuring himself against Abraham Lincoln is called "malarkey". The term "malarkey", while unconventional, is widely used by Biden (and his campaign) to mark things or actions he believes to be nonsense. It is thus evident that by mockingly calling Trump "Abe" and by labeling his statements "a bunch of malarkey", Biden demonstrates his disdain for Trump and positions him in opposition to himself and the chains he associates himself with (the association of Biden and the 'Victims and Family Members' chain is achieved the same way as in the Florida speech – by tokens of both chains alternating between being actors and the acted-upon of the same 'interaction' process). Furthermore, Trump is said to be the actor of 'harm' action, for which the 'Communities of Color' are the acted-upon. Moreover, Trump is indirectly associated with the Proud Boys in this segment, since he refused to denounce them, as Biden claims.

> Pittsburgh, honk if you think **it**'<u>s</u> *a bunch of malarkey*, **his lying**.
>
> You got it.
>
> Look, the truth is, **Donald Trump** <u>has done more harm</u> **black America** than any president in modern history. (JB-PA-RJ:25-27)
>
> And remember on stage with him when I asked about the **Proud Boys**, **that racist group** of **white supremacists**.
>
> I said, "Would you deny them?"
>
> He turned and he said, "I'm going to tell them to stand down and stand by."
>
> When in God's name did you ever expect an **American president** to say, who <u>refused to denounce</u> **white supremacy**, <u>doesn't believe</u> **systemic racism** <u>is</u> **a problem** and <u>won't even say</u> **black lives** <u>matter</u>. (JB-PA-RJ:31-34)

7. Discussion

As far as the entities discussed in individual segments of the candidates' speeches are concerned, both Donald Trump and Joe Biden manifest tendencies to focus on the same entities in segments dealing with the same topic across the three speeches analyzed for each of them. When comparing one candidate with another, however, there is a difference in the entities discussed, especially in relation to economy and racial justice.

For Covid-19, both candidates focus mainly on themselves or on their opponent. In case of Trump, the 'Trump Administration' chain is also present in his Michigan and Pennsylvania speeches and serves as an extension of Trump himself. Furthermore, Baron Trump is mentioned in his Pennsylvania speech. Joe Biden focuses mainly on Trump in his Covid-19 segments but includes Gretchen Whitmer in his Michigan speech and frontline workers in his Pennsylvania speech. The striking difference is that while Joe Biden leaves himself out in passages dealing with Covid-19, Trumps puts himself and his administration in the center of the corresponding passages in his own speeches. Even though mentions of Biden form significant chains in all Trump's Covid-19 segments, chains pointing to himself and his associates always comprise more tokens than chains denoting Biden. Biden is therefore clearly more opponent-centric in these passages than Trump. As a result, all Covid-19 segments can be said to be predominantly occupied with Trump's actions, even if the evaluation of these actions adopted by Trump and Biden differs greatly.

Regarding economy, Donald Trump is very consistent in the entities that contribute to the buildup of the segments dealing with this topic. He himself and his administration, Joe Biden, Democrats, and China recur in all his speeches. In his Florida speech, Hispanic Americans are also briefly mentioned. In contrast, Joe Biden talks about different entities in his Michigan and Pennsylvania speeches. While he, his potential administration and Trump are the principal focus of the Michigan segment on economy, the working class and the wealthy, in combination with Trump and Biden, are the entities around which the Pennsylvania economy segment is centered. Once again, prominence is given to the president himself and his administration in Trump's remarks on the economy. Democrats and China stand on the other end of the scale, with democrats being the least mentioned entity in both Florida and Pennsylvania speeches of the president. As far as Joe Biden is concerned, his economy segment in the Michigan speech is the only analyzed passage in which he clearly focuses on himself and the potential actions of his future administration – his Covid-19

segments are always Trump-centric and his remarks on racial justice tend to steer the attention rather to the oppressed than to either one of the candidates in the election. Nevertheless, in the economy passage delivered in Pennsylvania, most space is again dedicated to Trump. Biden does not discuss the other entities which appear in Trump's remarks on economy (Democrats and China) at all. He also seems to focus on Trump personally, as he never refers to his administration.

Concerning racial justice, law enforcement and Trump with his administration appear in all Trump's segments. In addition, Democrats, Joe Biden, and the protesters are discussed in his Michigan speech. Democrats are mentioned by Trump in Florida as well. The racial justice passage in Trump's Florida speech is notable for being the only analyzed segment in which Joe Biden does not appear at all. Furthermore, even though Democrats are absent from the Pennsylvania speech, Trump talks about Joe Biden and the communities of color. Biden, on the other hand, centers both of his racial justice segments around the survivors and family members of racial injustice and police brutality, communities of color, and himself. Additionally, Trump and Proud Boys are included in the buildup of the Pennsylvania speech. A clear disparity between the candidates can thus be observed – Biden looks at racial justice from the point of view of minorities and the oppressed, while Trump distances himself from dealing with racial issues and rather comments on the events that have resulted from them than the underlying issues causing them. The term 'race' does not even appear in Trump's segments on racial justice – it is only mentioned once in his closing statements of the Michigan speech. Furthermore, the Pennsylvania passages on racial justice are the only sections in which both candidates talk about the same entity other than themselves within the corresponding segments of their speeches delivered in the same state and evaluate the entity in an identical way. The evaluation is positive and it is assigned to communities of color. The candidates then proceed to blame each other for the misfortunes that this segment of the society has encountered.

In contrast to expectations, China is not talked about in the Covid-19 segments of Donald Trump's (or Biden's) speeches - it is only discussed as an acting entity in Trump's economy segments. Nevertheless, "China" is used as an adjective in various unofficial names Trump gives to the virus (e.g. "the China plaque") in all of his speeches, not just within the parts dealing with the pandemic. This alone is a blaming technique clearly signaling Trump's position on China and his desire to blame the pandemic on the country. The evaluation of China in scope of the economy is also

negative. In contrast, Biden does not include China as an entity at all; it is mentioned as a location only. Furthermore, Biden does not mention the Republicans either, even though Trump dedicates a substantial amount of space to the criticism of Biden's party in the passages dealing with the economy and racial justice. As far as other evaluations are concerned, both the candidates always evaluate their opponent negatively and themselves (along with their administrations) positively. In Biden's case, however, the self-evaluation is considerably more restrained and refined.

In Covid-19 segments, Biden promotes a positive evaluation of frontline workers and Gretchen Whitmer. No entity other than Donald Trump is evaluated negatively. Trump focuses on Biden, himself and his administration only. In relation to the economy, Trump furthers negative evaluation of Biden, Democrats, and China. On the other hand, apart from himself and his administration, he grants a positive evaluation to Hispanic Americans. Biden is rather straight-forward in his economy segment from Michigan, as the entities talked about are only himself, the potential Biden administration and Donald Trump. In the Pennsylvania passage, however, Biden includes the wealthy and the working class in the text buildup as well. The entities are pitted against each other with the working class receiving the positive evaluation. Regarding the evaluations in racial justice segments, Biden is again more implicit than Trump, especially when speaking about the survivors of racial injustice and their family members. Biden attempts to suggest that a strong bond exists between himself and members of this group, supporting the inclusion of the entity in Biden's in-group, which is always, at the very least in an implicit way, evaluated positively. In contrast, Trump focuses on promoting law enforcement workers and debasing Biden, protesters, and Democrats.

Both candidates combine multiple means and chain interaction types to evaluate entities within individual segments. For both candidates, the widest range of strategies and chain interaction types are employed when they speak about their opponent. Looking at the range of utilized strategies and chain interaction types from the topical perspective, Biden uses the widest range of evaluation means in his economy and Covid-19 passages, while Trump in his remarks devoted to racial justice. It is also evident that Trump employs naming and attribute – attribuand chain interaction type with higher frequency than Biden, who utilizes principally the actor – action and the action – acted-upon chain interaction types to assign evaluation to particular entities. In fact, the attribute – attribuand chain interaction type is the most frequently utilized evaluation strategy for Trump.

He uses attributes mainly in his passages on the economy, where he focuses on painting his tenure in a positive light. As a result, attributes are wielded to praise himself and his administration in the majority of cases. Biden, who uses attributes to assign evaluation scarcely, always positions Donald Trump as the attribuand. As is suggested above, the actor – action and the action – acted-upon chain interaction types are Biden's most frequently utilized means of evaluation. The chain interaction types that contribute to evaluation prevailing in speeches of both candidates signal that Biden focuses mostly on speaking about actions of social actors through which indirect evaluation is achieved, while Trump does not shy away from direct confrontation and assessment. The rhetorical styles of both candidates are therefore clearly different and suggest what kind of audiences (or rather demographic groups) the candidates aim to impress.

Based on the entities discussed in individual segments, the number of tokens that enter their chains, and the evaluation assigned to them, it is possible to deduce which moves related to van Dijk's ideological square the speakers utilize the most. The gathered information suggest that Biden, in most cases, stresses negative information about 'Them', while Trump aims to emphasize positive information about himself and his administration – 'Us'. Both candidates obviously aim to de-emphasize or completely leave out negative information about their in-group and positive information about the out-group. Considering that Biden is the candidate who is seeking (in the context of the speeches) to defeat a sitting president and hence change the *status quo*, his utilization of the 'Express/emphasize information that is negative about Them' move can be said to be in line with expectations. This is most evident in Biden's Covid-19 segments, especially the Florida one, the sole purpose of which is to criticize Trump. In other segments of both the candidates, all moves are used to complement each other, but some are employed more frequently. More detailed information can be found in the tables below, which summarize:

- the entities discussed in particular segments of individual speeches
- the number of tokens that enter the chain of these entities
- the evaluation that is assigned to these entities
- which means/chain interaction types are used to achieve the evaluation
- whether positive information about 'Us' or negative information about 'Them' is emphasized

Michigan								
Covid-19								
Donald Trump					Joe Biden			
Entity:	Tokens:	Evaluation:	Means:		Entity:	Tokens:	Evaluation:	Means:
Biden	11	NEG	ORG, ATT, ACR-ACT		Trump	14	NEG	ACR-ACT
TA[2]	20	POS	ATT		GW[3]	6	POS	ATT
Predominant move:			POS-US		Predominant move:			NEG-THEM
Economy								
Donald Trump					Joe Biden			
Entity:	Tokens:	Evaluation:	Means:		Entity:	Tokens:	Evaluation:	Means:
Trump	79	POS	ATT		Trump	61	NEG	ORG, ATT, ACR-ACT
Biden	39	NEG	NM, ATT, ACR-ACT		Biden	45	POS	ORG, ACR-LCN
TA	35	POS	ATT		BA[4]	29	NEU	
CH[5]	24	NEG	ATT, ACT-ACP					
D[6]	27	NEG	NM, ATT					
Predominant move:			POS-US		Predominant move:			POS-US
Racial Justice								
Donald Trump								
Entity:	Tokens:	Evaluation:	Means:					
Trump	14	NEU						
Biden	12	NEG	ATT, ACR-ACT					
TA	17	POS	ATT,					

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[2] Trump Administration
[3] Gretchen Whitmer
[4] Biden Administration
[5] China
[6] Democrats

			ACR-ACT
D	7	NEG	NM, ATT, ACT-LCN
LE[7]	20	POS	NM, ATT, ACR-ACT, ACT-ACP
PR[8]	11	NEG	NM, ACR-ACT
Predominant move:			POS-US

Table 6: Overview of entities and their evaluation in Michigan speeches

<table>
<tr><td colspan="9" align="center">Florida</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="9" align="center">Covid-19</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4" align="center">Donald Trump</td><td></td><td colspan="4" align="center">Joe Biden</td></tr>
<tr><td>Entity:</td><td>Tokens:</td><td>Evaluation:</td><td>Means:</td><td></td><td>Entity:</td><td>Tokens:</td><td>Evaluation:</td><td>Means:</td></tr>
<tr><td>Biden</td><td>15</td><td>NEG</td><td>ACR-ACT</td><td></td><td>Trump</td><td>32</td><td>NEG</td><td>NM, ATT, ACR-ACT</td></tr>
<tr><td>Trump</td><td>52</td><td>POS</td><td>ATT, ACR-ACT</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Predominant move:</td><td></td><td></td><td>POS-US</td><td></td><td>Predominant move:</td><td></td><td></td><td>NEG-THEM</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="9" align="center">Economy</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4" align="center">Donald Trump</td><td></td><td colspan="4" align="center">Joe Biden</td></tr>
<tr><td>Entity:</td><td>Tokens:</td><td>Evaluation:</td><td>Means:</td><td></td><td colspan="4"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Trump</td><td>19</td><td>POS</td><td>ATT</td><td></td><td colspan="4"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Biden</td><td>9</td><td>NEG</td><td>NM, ACR-ACT</td><td></td><td colspan="4"></td></tr>
<tr><td>TA</td><td>41</td><td>POS</td><td>ATT</td><td></td><td colspan="4"></td></tr>
<tr><td>CH</td><td>8</td><td>NEG</td><td>ACR-ACT,</td><td></td><td colspan="4"></td></tr>
</table>

[7] Law enforcement
[8] Protesters

Entity:	Tokens:	Evaluation:	Means:		Joe Biden			
			ACT-ACP					
HA[9]	7	POS	ATT, ACT-ACP					
D	4	NEG	NM, ACR-ACT					
Predominant move:			POS-US					

Racial Justice								
Donald Trump					Joe Biden			
Entity:	Tokens:	Evaluation:	Means:		Biden	10	NEU/POS	ACR-ACT, ACT-ACP
Trump	11	NEU/POS	ACR-ACT, ACT-ACP		CoC[10]	10	POS	ACR-ACT, ACT-ACP
TA	13	POS	ACR-ACT		VFM[11]	14	NEU/POS	ACR-ACT, ACT-ACP
D	5	NEG	NM, ATT, ACT-LCN		Am[12]	10	NEG	ACR-ACT
LE	20	NEU/POS	ACR-ACT, ACT-ACP					
Predominant move:			POS-US		Predominant move:			POS-US

Table 7: Overview of entities and their evaluation in Florida speeches

Pennsylvania								
Covid-19								
Donald Trump					Joe Biden			
Entity:	Tokens:	Evaluation:	Means:		Entity:	Tokens:	Evaluation:	Means:
Biden	18	NEG	NM, ATT, ACR-ACT		Biden	12	NEU	
Trump	18	POS	ATT,		Trump	35	NEG	ACR-ACT

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[9] Hispanic Americans
[10] Communities of Color
[11] Victims and family members
[12] America

Entity:	Tokens:	Evaluation:	Means:	Entity:	Tokens:	Evaluation:	Means:
			ACR-ACT				
TA	12	POS	ACR-ACT	FW[13]	12	POS	ACR-ACT
BT[14]	13	NEU/POS	ATT				
Predominant move:			POS-US	Predominant move:			NEG-THEM

Economy

Donald Trump				Joe Biden			
Entity:	Tokens:	Evaluation:	Means:	Entity:	Tokens:	Evaluation:	Means:
Trump	12	POS	ATT	Trump	30	NEG	ACR-ACT
Biden	15	NEG	NM, ATT, ACR-ACT	Biden	19	NEU	
TA	33	POS	ATT	TW[15]	10	NEG	ACR-ACT
CH	19	NEG	ACT-ACP	WC[16]	14	POS	ACR-ACT
D	12	NEG	ATT				
Predominant move:			NG-THEM	Predominant move:			NEG-THEM

Racial Justice

Donald Trump				Joe Biden			
Entity:	Tokens:	Evaluation:	Means:	Entity:	Tokens:	Evaluation:	Means:
Trump	9	NEU/POS	ACR-ACT, ACT-ACP	Trump	24	NEG	NM, ACR-ACT,
Biden	14	NEG	ATT, ACR-ACT ACR-LCN	Biden	12	NEU/POS	ACR-ACT, ACT-ACP
TA	11	POS	ACT-ACP	VFM	18	NEU/POS	ACR-ACT, ACT-ACP
LE	14	NEU/POS	ACR-ACT, ACT-ACP	PB[17]	5	NEG	NM, ACR-ACT
CoC	6	POS	ACT-ACP	CoC	7	POS	ACT-ACP

[13] Frontline workers
[14] Baron Trump
[15] The wealthy
[16] Working class
[17] Proud Boys

Predominant move:	POS-US		Predominant move:	POS-US

Table 8: Overview of entities and their evaluation in Pennsylvania speeches

As far as the hypotheses related to research question 4 are concerned, the analysis confirms hypothesis 4a. On average, Biden dedicates 9.08% of his speeches to racial justice. Trump devotes only 4.79% of his speeches to the topic. On the other hand, the data refute hypothesis 4b, as the average word share of Biden's economy segment is 28.69% to Trump's 14.82%. Nevertheless, Biden is quite inconsistent, as he leaves out economy in one speech, but devotes a vast majority of another one to it. It is important to mention, however, that Trump gives economy prominence in another way – it is the first major topic discussed in all his speeches, while in Biden's speeches, remarks on Covid-19 always take precedence.

Regarding temporal and geographical variables, Trump's hospitalization seems to impact his treatment of the Covid-19 topic, as he focuses mainly on himself and his health in his Florida speech, which was delivered immediately after his release from the hospital. Another geographical specificity occurs in Biden's Florida speech – he completely leaves out the topic of the economy. This can be viewed as being in line with van Dijk's ideological square, as before the election Economy was considered to be one of Trump's strengths and Biden's weaknesses among experts and in public opinion as well. Since there is presumably little positive information to emphasize about the in-group and little negative information to emphasize about the out-group, especially in the context of Florida (which is Trump's home state and was doing very well before the pandemic) Biden minimizes the space devoted to the topic to focus on other issues that may bring a more favorable evaluation to his in-group.

Furthermore, Biden includes a local government official in his Covid-19 segment in Michigan, which he does not do in speeches delivered in other states. Moreover, in his economy segment from the same speech, Biden utilizes the actor – location interaction type to ingratiate himself to Michigan voters. This is presumably due to Hillary Clinton's failure to win the state in 2016, despite it being considered a state with solid Democratic-voting record at the time, which apparently prompted the Biden campaign to give the state more attention and employ a more personalized approach to local voters (hence the unusually long economy segment in Michigan) in order to win the state back. Nevertheless, it is fair to point out that Trump usually includes an entire passage devoted to talking about local government officials in all his speeches. Last but not

least, Trump singles out and praises Hispanic Americans in his economy segment of the Florida speech, as Hispanic voters were considered to be the key to winning the state. Even though geographical and temporal specificities appear to some degree, the main messages of the analyzed speech sections and the entities appearing in them are mostly consistent across the three speeches for both candidates. Geographical or temporal customization of speeches can thus be said to be limited.

Conclusion

This thesis set out to explore the way in which candidates running for President of the United States in the 2020 election utilized and constructed the 'Us' versus 'Them' dichotomy. In the theoretical part, key concepts and theories related to cultivation of group identities and potential ideological motivations of practices related to identity construction in discourse were discussed. The linguistic theory forming the basis for analysis of the examined texts was also introduced. The empirical part described the method selected for research, the data selection process, and the applied procedure. Furthermore, results were presented in the empirical part as well.

As the candidates represent two parties on opposite ends of the political spectrum in the US, it was expected that the constituents of their respective in-group and out-group constructed in individual texts would be divergent and in many cases contrastive. These expectations were confirmed only partially. Even though both candidates frequently included their opponent in their out-group ('Them'), other constituents of their in-group and out-group did not regularly appear as members of the opposing group in speeches of their opponent. In segments dealing with racial justice, for example, the fact that Donald Trump included law enforcement workers in his in-group had no prediction value for the way the group was treated in the corresponding segments of Biden's speeches. In fact, the candidates often focused on entirely different entities in their topical segments and apart from the way they constructed each other's identities, the portrayal of no entity in speeches of one candidate directly clashed with that entity's portrayal in speeches of the other candidate.

Given the fact that Donald Trump's rhetoric has been heavily scrutinized since he entered US politics and that it was labeled as unconventional, it was also expected that the evaluation techniques and employed strategies of identity construction would be different between the two opponents, as Biden was seen as the 'establishment' candidate. These assumptions were confirmed, as it was found out that Trump employed naming and expressive or emotional attributes more often than Biden. While Trump used both positive attributes to reinforce a positive evaluation of himself and negative attributes to tarnish his opponents, Biden used mainly negative attributes when talking about Trump. Nevertheless, he assigned these attributes exclusively to phenomena related to Trump, not to Trump directly. Trump, on the other hand, utilized copular sentences to directly evaluate Biden multiple times. In contrast to Trump, Biden most frequently employed the

actor – action and the action – acted-upon chain interaction types when seeking to evaluate an entity. As a result, it was concluded that Biden was more indirect and reserved in his evaluations and focused largely on actions of entities he was talking about.

The result presentation also provided detailed overview of entities included in the buildup of individual texts, their evaluation and employed evaluation techniques. Furthermore, based on the data, it was determined whether positive information about 'Us' or negative information about 'Them' constituted the majority of analyzed segments. Biden was established as the candidate who was more negative, in the sense that he dedicated more space to debasing his opponent than to promoting himself, even if his evaluations were not as direct as Trump's. In addition, Biden also completely left out one of the analyzed topics from two of his speeches, while Trump always provided remarks on all of the issues selected for analysis. This signaled a higher level of speech customization on Biden's side, as he presumably dedicated more space to topics crucial to voters in particular states at the expense of topics that were not as important to them. Moreover, in one of his speeches, Biden inserted a larger than usual amount of geographical and locally relevant references into his segments. On the other hand, Trump's geographical customization occurred outside individual segments – entire passages of his speeches were dedicated to speaking about the state and local representatives, but these passages were outside the scope of this research.

All in all, while the candidates proved to be rather consistent across the three analyzed speeches for each of them, great dissimilarities arose when comparing one candidate to another. The main difference appeared to be Trump's rhetorical style and the use of evaluative attributes, which could be considered excessive, given the context of the speeches and the tradition bound to presidential elections in the US. He gave priority to emotive statements over factual discussion, which was preferred by Biden in the majority of segments. This was evidenced by the chain interaction types both candidates most commonly utilized to assign an evaluation to any entity. Furthermore, apart from differentiating themselves from their opponent, the candidates did not focus on the same entities in the analyzed segments, which illustrated their fundamentally different views on issues central to the election. These ideological clashes were most clearly recognizable in passages dealing with racial justice, in which Biden expressed his support to the oppressed communities, while Trump chose to ignore the underlying issues and only voiced his support to law enforcement, which he viewed as part of the solution, not part of the problem.

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List of Attachments

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Attachment 2 – Donald Trump's Covid-19 Segment from his Michigan Speech (DT-MI-C)

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List of Abbreviations

ACR-ACT: Actor – Action chain interaction type

ACT-ACP: Action – Acted-upon chain interaction type

ACR-LCN: Actor – Location chain interaction type

ORG: Organic relations

ATT: Attribute – Attribuand chain interaction type

NM: Naming

POS: Positive evaluation

NEG: Negative evaluation

NEU: Neutral evaluation