



SEÇÃO: ARTIGOS

A Fairclough-based Analysis of Persuasive Strategies in Trump and Biden's Speeches

Uma análise baseada em Fairclough das estratégias persuasivas nos discursos de Trump e Biden

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Abstract: This study investigates the inaugural speeches delivered by Trump and Biden in terms of Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional method of CDA. It highlights the link between micro and macro analysis of discourse by considering repetition, creativity, and intertextuality as the main persuasive strategies employed by both political leaders to make their audience believe in their ideas. The study also clarifies to what extent Trump and Biden vary in the use of these persuasive strategies in association with power distribution and ideological stands. The results show how Trump's pronoun usage and thematization of "people" create a certain kind of unity marked by devotion and allegiance. Trump is successful in portraying the United States as a nation afflicted by an increase in crime and a decline in the economy through his metaphors and negative expressions. Furthermore, by solely using quotes from the bible, Trump frames himself as only being constrained by God rather than reverently honoring the past. In contrast, Biden's liberal philosophy is evident in his frequent use of pronouns and his vision of unity that groups all people as citizens of the country. He is very skilled at portraying an optimistic view of America's future through his use of light metaphors and his positive rhetoric. Biden accentuates the idea that disagreement is part of democracy. However, disagreements should not lead to disunion. Biden tends to use more intertextuality in his speech than Trump as his ideology depends on accepting the other regardless of his political attitude.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, repetition, creativity, intertextuality.

Resumo: Este estudo investiga os discursos inaugurais proferidos por Trump e Biden em termos do método tridimensional de CDA de Fairclough (1995). Ele destaca a ligação entre a análise micro e macro do discurso, considerando a repetição, a criatividade e a intertextualidade como as principais estratégias persuasivas empregadas por ambos os líderes políticos para fazer com que seu público acredite em suas ideias. O estudo também esclarece em que medida Trump e Biden variam no uso dessas estratégias persuasivas em associação com a distribuição de poder e as posições ideológicas. Os resultados mostram como o uso de pronomes por Trump e a tematização do "povo" criam um certo tipo de unidade marcada por devoção e lealdade. Trump consegue retratar os Estados Unidos como uma nação afligida por um aumento da criminalidade e uma queda na economia por meio de suas metáforas e expressões negativas. Além disso, ao usar apenas citações da Bíblia, Trump se apresenta como sendo restrito apenas por Deus, em vez de reverenciar o passado. Em contraste, a filosofia liberal de Biden é evidente em seu uso frequente de pronomes e sua visão de unidade que agrupa todas as pessoas como cidadãos do país. Ele é muito habilidoso em retratar uma visão otimista do futuro da América por meio de suas metáforas de luz e sua retórica positiva. Biden enfatiza a ideia de que o desacordo faz parte da democracia. No entanto, o desacordo não deve levar à desunião. Biden tende a usar mais intertextualidade em seu discurso do que Trump, já que sua ideologia depende de aceitar o outro, independentemente de sua atitude política.

Palavras-chave: análise crítica do discurso, repetição, criatividade, intertextualidade.



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I. Introduction

American politics is de facto characterized by a bipartisan system in which the real competition is between the two major political parties: the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. These two American parties have been the rulers of the country for over two centuries and currently share almost all the political power in the United States. These parties and their respective supporters (American liberals and conservatives) are divided by contrasting ideologies, which are grounded in different forms of morality and diverging sets of psychologically rooted values (Grossmann & Hopkins, 2016). Trump and Biden (like any US president) belong to one of the two political parties. Trump is Republican, and thus he reflects the conservative ideological stands, which contrast with the liberals in various stands. Being conservative has to do with holding traditional values, and thus conservatives mostly care for their national interests. Alexander (2015) identifies the key ideas of conservatism, such as pragmatism tradition, hierarchy, authority, and human imperfection. Accordingly, Conservatives believe in experiences and history. They put authority first, and they value social status. Conservatives also do not like social change. In contrast to liberals, conservatives pursue the path of power and force to maintain their social practice and protect their national interests.

On the other hand, Biden comes from the Democratic Party, which believes that authority cannot be legal without the consent of the people. Moreover, all people are equal in opportunities irrespective of their social status. Liberals believe that countries may change their political stands for global stability. They also believe in cooperative efforts to solve problems with their opponents. Liberals are more likely to employ the path of debate and argument in solving problems rather than confrontation (Alexander, 2015). They adopt the path of diplomacy and peace with their opponents.

The 2020 Us presidential election was the most divisive in living memory with Trump's defiance of his election loss to Biden, riots on the streets, allegations of insurrection, and the long-running coronavirus that killed hundreds of thousands of Americans in 2020 while shutting down large parts

of society and the economy. Since 1992, Trump is the only American president to lose a re-election bid (Goethals, 2017). Moreover, Biden becomes the first presidential candidate in US history to get more than 80 million votes despite Trump's persistent accusations of rampant voting fraud. The year was nightmarish at times and it felt at times like America could be on the brink of a civil war (Cook, 2021). It all came to a climax on 6 January 2021, with the storming of the Capitol building.

An American inaugural speech is a ceremonial event that marks the beginning of a new, four-year term for the US president. It is usually on January 20th at the Capitol Building. It belongs to the category of public discourse that is political. Language is a salient tool in politics as it can "represent or misrepresent realities" (Fairclough, 2006). Moreover, political leaders use language in terms of persuasion as it reflects one's ideology, power, cultural background, and other different domains. Ideology, according to Ghazani (2016), pervades all political actions, such as political campaigns, demonstrations, and elections. Accordingly, those who are in power use language to not only deliver their ideological stands and persuade their audience to believe in their ideas but also to (re) create ideologies (Van Dijk, 2013). Politicians use their different persuasive strategies to present these ideologies trying to instill their thoughts and ideas in the minds of society and persuading people to believe in whatever they wish. Accordingly, they always present a bias in their discourse. Of course, this bias is found in all three stages of CDA.

Since the inaugural address represents a type of political speech that is based on a specific event, namely the formal transition of power from one administration to the next, the analysis will consider how this situational context is described in each of the speeches by concentrating on the use of distinctive discursive strategies and rhetorical devices. The inaugural address is also a traditional, formal occasion for establishing a presidential image and for making an agreement with the electorate in terms of political principles and ideals inspiring one's presidency (Campbell & Jamieson, 1990). In light of this, the analysis will also illustrate the range of values that inform Trump and Biden's visions of the nation under

their respective leaderships. This study analyzes their respective inaugural addresses as a specimen of their rhetoric and a representation of underlying ideologies and moral values.

Theoretical Background

Critical Discourse Analysis

Over the last four centuries, Critical discourse analysis (CDA) has gained substantial attention from many researchers in the fields of Linguistics, Literary Studies, and Applied Linguistics among many other related areas. CDA is an approach to discourse analysis that analyzes and studies sources of power, dominance, inequality, and bias through text and talk, in political and social contexts. What makes CDA different and distinctive from other approaches to discourse analysis is its critical nature. The notion of 'critical' here implies revealing the hidden connections and causes behind the production and reception of a discourse. Accordingly, CDA is a tool that allows the researcher to examine a discourse through several disciplinary lenses. Wodak (2011) defines CDA as "a(n) interdisciplinary research program, subsuming a variety of approaches, each with different theoretical models, research methods and agendas" (p. 38). Consequently, CDA aims to consider language use as a social practice,

which means that the users of language use it in agreement with social and mental structure; especially for the practice of persuasion.

The main development of CDA as a theory is attributed mainly to Fairclough (1992), Gee (2010), Van Dijk (2008), and Wodak (2011), who focused their research on the relationship between texts themselves on the one hand and texts and power, on the other hand, assuming that there is a relationship between texts and (social) events. Many social and personal elements participate in producing, interpreting, or analyzing any discourse, and thus the scope of CDA. These elements are represented by beliefs, attitudes, cultures, ideologies, etc. Consequently, the main object of CDA is the relationship between language, ideology, and power (Van Dijk, 2008).

Fairclough's Three-Dimension Model

Fairclough (1995) sketches a three-dimensional framework for conceiving and analyzing discourse forming a kind of ascending scale (small units to bigger ones). The analysis of Fairclough (1995) has gone beyond the 'whatness' of the text description towards the 'howness' and 'whyness' of the text interpretation and explanation. For him, a piece of discourse is found at different stages as illustrated in the following diagram:

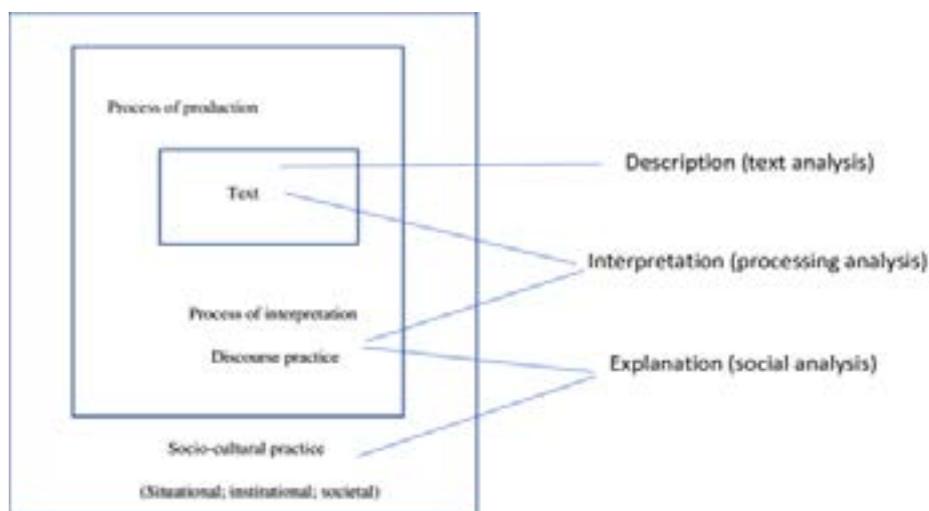


Figure 1 – A Diagrammatic Representation of the CDA Approach

Note: From Critical Discourse Analysis (2nd ed., p. 133), by N. Fairclough, 2010, Longman. Copyright 2010 by Longman Group Limited.

As the diagram shows: these stages are: **1) The Description stage:** includes a linguistic description of the language text. **2) The Interpretation stage:** deals with the interpretation of the relationship between the (the productive and interpretive) discursive process and the text. **3) The Explanation stage:** deals with the explanation of the relationship between interaction and the social context.

Fairclough (1995) illustrates that the first stage "cover(s) traditional forms of linguistic analysis" (p. 57) concerns, for example, the grammatical (e.g. modality and transitivity) and lexical choices of the writer (e.g. metaphors and synonyms). Richardson (2007) argues that these linguistic forms should uncover their role in "reproducing or resisting the systems of ideology and social power" (p. 39). At the interpretation stage, the discourse involves considering a group of similar texts as a point of comparison. Particularly, speech acts, coherence, presupposition, and intertextuality, are important at this stage because they link a text to its context. Regarding intertextuality, Fairclough (1995) classifies it into "manifest" and "constitutive" intertextuality. The former entails the presence of other specific texts in a new text; quotation marks or allusion could mark these. The latter, however, refers to mixed genres. It is closely related to orders of discourse and social change where many values are integrated to exceed the textual level and make the receiver seek hidden discourses (Blommaert & Mesthrie, 2005). The explanation stage is referred to as the stage of social or socio-cultural practices it is concerned with hegemonic relations, orders of discourse, and ideological and political effects of discourse (Fairclough, 1995). However, it is imperative to link all these stages together so as to reveal identities, ideologies, power distribution, and the relations embedded in any piece of discourse.

This may generate dilemmas about in which stage the ideological stands reside. In this sense, Fairclough (1992) elucidates that ideology can be found in all these stages. Therefore, it resides in the text, the interaction, and the social conditions. Accordingly, it is imperative to consider all these stages when doing CDA. Notably, CDA is often referred to as the glasses that look closely into the text and tend to

reveal the hidden ideologies and values that lay under the language. It is imperative to link all these stages together to reveal identities, ideologies, power distribution, and the relations embedded in any piece of discourse (Richardson, 2007). Discourse is therefore not only what is said, but also how something is said within a certain structure.

Methodology

The study adopts a qualitative and quantitative approach in analyzing the inaugural speeches of Trump and Biden in light of Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional method of CDA to point out the three persuasive strategies (repetition, creativity, and intertextuality) employed by both political leaders as well as their ideological and political positions. Regarding the quantitative analysis, it is conducted in terms of calculating the repetition of particular words in one speech compared to the other one to support the qualitative analysis. This repetition is highlighted in terms of different aspects, namely modality, pronouns, and thematization. Concerning creativity, the study highlights different rhetorical devices. Metaphors as well as positive and negative rhetorical devices are investigated in the two speeches under investigation. Moreover, the ideologies of both political leaders as well as power distribution are considered. The way both political leaders employ rhetorical devices in their speeches reveals many of their liberal and conservative ideologies. Furthermore, the study investigates intertextuality and highlights its effect in shaping and reproducing the 'order of discourse'.

Significance and Questions of the Study

The significance of the study stems from the fact that it investigates Trump and Biden's inaugural speeches from different angles following Fairclough's three-dimensional approach. It focuses on the tactics they use to capture the ears and minds of many. The study encodes their persuasion strategies through their linguistic features. It also unveils the evidence of possible underlying motives and the social features that attributed to the effective discourse established by both presidents. In doing so, the study seeks to answer

the following questions:

1. What are the ideologies enacted in the speeches of Trump and Biden?
2. To what extent do Trump and Biden differ in employing persuasive strategies in their speeches?
3. To what extent did conservatism and liberalism contribute to shaping the speeches of Trump and Biden?

Data Collection

Both political leaders have presented many speeches on different occasions. However, the sample of this study consists of Trump and Biden's inaugural speeches, respectively delivered in January 2017 and January 2021. Furthermore, the speeches under investigation are collected through the official website of the White House in two forms: The video and the script retrieved from Trump (2017) and Biden (2021).

Data Analysis and Discussion

This section is focused on unveiling the embedded ideologies and power distribution of both of the political leaders as well as the effect of liberalism and conservatism in shaping the speeches under investigation within the framework of Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional method of CDA. These strategies are repetition, Creativity, and intertextuality. Within these strategies, the link between the text and the social practice is to be highlighted. That is to say, modality, pronouns, thematization, metaphor, positive rhetorical devices, negative rhetorical devices, and intertextuality are somehow linked to the social conditions that help shape the speeches under investigation. These strategies guide the interpretation of the audiences toward specific ideas in the wider sense.

Repetition

Repetition is a salient strategy used in convincing audiences as well as analyzing discourse. It is a very powerful tool by which the speaker can highlight and accentuate certain issues. Tannen (2007) argues that frequent words link the ideas

presented in the discourse, and proceed to the production of language in an efficient way that shows the speaker's attitude. The recurrence and re-contextualization of words and phrases in discourse help create the interpretation of discourse, and thus it helps to convince the audience of certain ideas.

Trump and Biden agree on most issues of concern, but they differ in their understanding of them. However, different aspects in the two texts under investigation are highlighted in terms of repetition, such as modality, pronouns, and thematization. In so doing, the ideologies and power distribution associated with the most frequent words of modality, pronouns, and thematization are investigated.

Modality

Modality is a very salient tool in discourse analysis used to show the speaker's attitude toward a proposition in terms of different degrees between the positive and negative (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2010). Most political leaders use modality in terms of persuasion. According to Fairclough (1992), modality is a major dimension of discourse and more central and persuasive than it has traditionally been taken to be. He argues "the affinity one expresses with a proposition depends upon the relations of power" (p. 160). He adds that "low affinity with a proposition may express lack of power rather than lack of conviction or knowledge" (p. 160). In this sense, modality reflects the social conditions and links them to the text where it resides. These modal verbs vary in the degrees of certainty about the validity of the proposition (Thompson, 2014), and thereby vary in the degrees of power that they reflect. Halliday (2008) identifies three basic values to formalize the modal judgment (high, median, and low).

The issues associated with these modal verbs in the two speeches reflect the speaker's attitude toward them. Modals like '*can*', '*may*', '*could*', and '*might*' indicate a high degree of uncertainty, which is uncharacteristic of a president in office. The modals '*will*', '*would*', and '*should*' reflect medium politeness, as the degree of certainty

and uncertainty are comparable. The use of *'must'*, *'have to'*, and *'ought to'* implies strong certainty since there is little room for doubt, as anticipated by a sitting president. As a result, examining the frequency of these modal verbs as well as the issues linked with them exposes the speaker's authority, attitude, and ideological positions.

TABLE 1 – Frequency of these modal verbs in Trump and Biden's inaugural

Modal verb	Frequency in Trump's inaugural speech	Frequency in Biden's inaugural speech
Will	42	28
Can	2	22
Should	1	1
Must	3	8
Have to	0	5
Be going to	1	3
May	none	5
Might	none	1

As shown in Table 1, the modal verbs *'will'*, *'can'* have the most striking impact in terms of frequency. Thus, they are the only ones to be considered to reach a reasonable analysis. It is worth noting that both presidents are inclined to use a middle modality that can forecast the future and show the resolution. For example, *'will'* is used 42 times in Trump's inaugural. Trump intentionally uses the modal *'will'* to suggest a future perspective in a way that everyone in the audience can understand. He uses the phrase "we will" to emphasize the necessity for teamwork as he seeks to make his goals plain to the Americans. He demonstrates that he is concerned about the Americans rather than just himself. In fact, the middle modality keeps the content neutral and avoids controversy or argument. The use of *'will'* in some instances implies that Trump is in control of uncertain events. (Huddleston & Pullum, 2005). Trump is promising results that he can only hope to achieve, dissimulating his intentions and beliefs

as future facts under his administration. In this way, he builds great confidence in order to excite audiences' passions. Trump, on the other hand, uses the modal *'must'* only three times. Trump's use of *'must'* implies his charisma and authority. He utilizes it in association with certain issues such as guarding territory, defending rights, and providing work. Trump tends to reduce the use of this high-value modal to narrow the gap between him and the audience. He realizes that the overuse of *'must'* may have adverse effects.

The dominant modal verbs used in Biden's inaugural speech are *'will'* and *'can'* respectively. Biden's use of the medium-value modal *'will'* not only indicates his willingness but his determination to overcome all the problems that faced the Americans. This matter renders his speech more powerful and convincing. In order to inspire individuals to take action and become the finest version of the country they can be, the modal *'can'* is repeated 22 times. He asserts that Americans should be proud of the nation they rebuilt and developed from chaos. Furthermore, Biden utilizes the high-value modals *'must'* and *'have to'* in association with certain issues, such as encountering uncivil war, terrorism, and disunion (i.e. the roots of the problem), focusing on leaving their differences aside to fix the urgent and lasting problems of the nation.

Pronouns

Politicians utilize pronouns to reveal many of their embedded ideologies and create different identities. They create personal and collective identities as well as self and another identity. Bramley (2001, p. 11) states

Politicians seek to represent their different 'selves' mid 'others' in such a way as to construct a reality that positions themselves and the groups to which they belong in a positive light as well as positioning the 'other' in a way that reflects the type of relationship that they have with the 'other'. (p. 11)

Furthermore. Using certain pronouns in a frequent style entails a persuasive technique, and highlights how political leaders utilize and manifest certain core issues.

TABLE 2 – The most frequent pronouns in the inaugural of Trump and Biden

Pronoun	Frequency in Trump's speech	Frequency in Biden's speech
We (us-our)	100	154
They (them-their)	16	19
You (your)	19	12
I (me-my)	4	33

As shown in Table 2, it is overtly noticed that the most frequent pronoun in Trump's speech is 'we' and its related forms (*us, our*) with 100 frequencies, followed by the pronoun 'they' and its related forms (*them, their*) with 19 frequencies. Likewise, the most frequent pronoun in Biden's speech is 'we' and its derivatives (*us, our*) with 154 frequencies, followed by the Pronoun 'I' and its derivatives (*me, my*) with 75 frequencies. Therefore. The study focuses on the pronouns (*we, They, I*), and their related forms as they are the most frequent pronouns in the speeches under investigation.

At first glance, Trump appears to utilize the plural pronoun, 'we' to indicate collectivity. He begins his inaugural by, "We, the citizens of America, are now joined in a tremendous national endeavor" (Trump, 2017, para. 2). This opening paragraph of his inaugural creates a sense that all Americans are the addressees developing an intimate relationship between themselves and the audience. Nevertheless, he immediately switches from the pronoun 'we' to the less inclusive pronoun 'you' in the same sentence saying, "but we are transferring authority from Washington, D.C. and bringing it back to you, the American People" (Trump, 2017, para. 6). This creates a gap between Trump and the American people. According to Sigelman (1996), the plural pronoun 'we' connote mutuality and community, while 'you,' 'they,' and 'I' pronouns establish "verbal walls" (p. 86). In his inaugural address, Trump even gestures to the camera whenever he utters 'you', implying that he is not a member of the people. This quick mid-sentence change from 'we' to 'you' implies distinct understanding of 'we'. Simply said, the referent of 'we' is completely different from that of 'you'. Thus, Trump does not include all Americans when he

uses the pronoun 'we'. To deepen his narrative of division, Trump employs particular pronouns. He immediately presents a history of the past based on an exclusive use of 'you'. He claims:

The establishment protected itself, but not the citizens of our country. Their victories have not been your victories; their triumphs have not been your triumphs; and while they celebrated in our nation's Capital, there was little to celebrate for struggling families all across our land. (Trump, 2017, para. 10)

He degrades members of Congress as well as other presidents and administrations by describing them as "a small group in our nation's Capital" "Washington," "politicians," and "the establishment" (Trump, 2017). He intentionally excludes himself from both categories by using the third-person plural word 'they'. Trump positions himself rhetorically as neither a politician nor a member of the public. He does use the pronoun 'our', but this is inconsistent with his frequent usage of 'they' and 'you'. The referents of 'you' and 'our' must be different. Whenever he says 'our', he is excluding the American people. In fact, Trump has organized his speech to make it clear that he is a distinct personality from other leaders and ordinary citizens.

Trump uses the first singular personal pronoun 'I' only three times. The usage of 'I' serves as a self-reference to his conviction rather than a substitute for the speaker's name (Hakansson, 2012). Trump utilizes it to make a commitment to the American people about developing the country. The following extracts demonstrate this "I will fight for you with every breath in my body, and I will never, ever let you down" (Trump, 2017, para. 41). This seeming fellowship with the people is created by avoiding the overuse of the personal pronoun 'I'. Trump tries

to downplay any criticism of his haughtiness. As a result, Trump's 2017 inaugural speech efficiently succeeds in persuading US citizens to identify with the new president. It shows that Trump has excellent persuasive skills.

On the other hand, Biden utilizes the pronoun 'we' and its forms differently from Trump. With the high frequency of the plural personal pronoun, Biden maps the road and establishes a common talk with his audience irrespective of their country, culture, religion, language, race, and social status. Biden (2021) says:

We can see each other not as adversaries but as neighbors. We can treat each other with dignity and respect. We can do great things. Important things. We can right wrongs. We can put people to work in good jobs. We can teach our children in safe schools. (para. 71)

In fact, the first personal pronoun 'we' makes everything natural and acceptable. In this way, he manages to include everyone as a whole, which generates empathy and identification with the audience. The high frequency of 'we' entails a highly strong persuasive technique as it guides the audience to think like a group facilitating the formation of political identification. It fosters a sense of community among voters and candidates, creating mutual trust and familiarity (Chung & Park, 2010). Biden aims to show that he is part of "We the People" that must work together to create a united America. The use of this pronoun highlights Biden's identity as an American, showing that he is an American citizen first, and a president second. This makes him seem humble and approachable. It also helps to highlight the central topic of unity.

Biden's inaugural address frequently uses the first-person singular pronoun ten times more than Trump's inaugural. Biden specifically utilizes the first-person pronoun 'I' 33 times. According to Ghani and Hussain (2021), the use of "I" indicates the speaker's dominance over the audience. Particularly of note is that Biden's use of the pronoun 'I' is highly accompanied by the verbs of conviction and believe as in "I know", "I believe", "I understand", "I'm sure", "I promise", "I guarantee", "I pledge", and "I give you my word". This leads us to

think that he intends to deliver an inclusive speech. Despite his desire to make unique declarations in recognition of his authority as a newly elected president, Biden conveys a sense of inclusivity and solidarity along with the main theme of his speech.

In this respect, Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional method of CDA arises. The issues that Biden mentions in his speech need a collective response. Biden seems to welcome all Americans in its collective work to confront all the challenges as well as save those who suffer from poverty and injustice. This reflects the social practice. However, this collective response is represented in the text by the pronoun 'we'. He employs a more frequent 'we' and a less frequent 'they' than Trump. The interpretation level arises from this point as Biden guides the interpretation of the audience toward this collective response by using this plural pronoun frequently. With this tactic, he can grab the audience's attention and infuse his speech with a sense of inclusivity that ties into the greater theme of unity and cooperation. In fact, liberalism is highlighted from this perspective, as liberals believe that all people are equal in opportunities irrespective of their social status. The collective identity in Biden's speech seems to some extent to be wider than that in Trump's speech. On the other hand, Trump seems to be more selective in terms of who can join the collective identity in his speech. He adopts a more frequent 'they' than Biden. The collective identity of Trump excludes many groups such as politicians, the establishment, and Congress. This comes from the ideology of conservatives who value social status. The interpretation stage arises from this perspective. Trump uses the pronouns (*we*, *they*) in a way that guides the interpretation of the audience toward joining this exclusive identity.

Thematization

People always consider the subject of a sentence into consideration. Gee (2010) argues that the subject of a sentence is always the center of interest and attention. Therefore, thematization contributes to the interpretation of discourse. When thematizing certain information, it is considered as

a "launching off" point (Gee, 2010). Both political leaders thematize certain items in their speeches and systematically repeat them. In so doing, they attract the attention of the audience towards these items and thus make them a center of interest.

Trump and Biden attempt to create a vision of unity that actually includes all individuals as citizens of the country. Accordingly, 'people', as a theme, is highlighted in the two political speeches and repeated frequently in terms of this interest. It is noted that Trump mentions people 10 times, while Biden mentions it 9 times. Trump's conception of unity, though, is only restricted to "the forgotten men and women." Not everyone is included. Trump portrays Congress as a bunch of opportunistic individuals who are always looking out for themselves and directly benefiting from the suffering of Americans. Trump tries to create a new group from *the people*' while widening the gap between the public and Congress saying, "January 20th, 2017, will be remembered as the day the people became the rulers of this nation again. The forgotten men and women of our country will be forgotten no longer" (Trump, 2017, para. 17). These phrases also imply that *the people*' who would run the country are "the forgotten men and women." Trump's narrative again elaborates on dividing the Americans into two groups: "the forgotten men and women", and everyone else.

Additionally, when declaring, "the oath of office I take today is an oath of allegiance to all Americans", Trump (2017, para. 27) places loyalty ahead of unity. Later, he supports this vision by saying,

at the bedrock of our politics will be a total allegiance to the United States of America, and through our loyalty to our country, we will rediscover our loyalty to each other. When you open your heart to patriotism, there is no room for prejudice. (Trump, 2017, para. 50)

Actually, Trump's idea of unity differs greatly from the one Biden advocates throughout his inaugural address. The meanings of loyalty and unity are fundamentally different. Despite being a sort of unity, loyalty is more dependent on a leader and is usually associated with force (Allen, 2004). Unity, in

contrast, may not always entail punishment if one fails to unify. Additionally, loyalty eliminates the possibility of disagreement. In contrast, the idea of unity holds that individuals come together as a group because of their diversity and draw strength from their differences.

Though both of the political leaders agree on 'people' as a theme to seek unity, they differ in terms of the ideological stands associated with this thematization. For Biden (2021), disagreement is part of democracy as everybody has a right to have his opinion. However, disagreements should not lead to disunion. Unity would help "restore the soul" and "secure the future of America" (para. 37). Biden's advocacy for a united nation with a sense of shared values reflects his liberal ideological positions. Trump, on the other hand, does not allow for indifference. A person must comply with his principles to become an American.

Furthermore, Trump (2017) mentions items that indicate the history and experience in his speech such as "For many decades" and "For too long". Thus, he makes it a center of interest to the audience. Though conservatives believe in experience and history, Trump has no regard for the past. He does not praise their deeds or cite the words of previous presidents. Instead, he condemns the policies of the politicians and degrades them by saying "a small group". Trump creates a narrative in which the United States is wrecked and brought down by politicians' self-serving behavior.

On the other hand, the use of 'today' in Biden's speech shows how he employs thematization to accentuate the current time. Biden thematizes 'today' three times to strike an optimistic tone. He celebrates his victory and describes it as a victory of democracy. He calls for a fresh start and unity that help lift America above all the challenges facing it. This idea of 'present' has a positive effect on the addressee's consciousness. For Biden, America is considered the country of today's time and therefore, Americans should set aside their political differences. Biden's concentration on the present is a call for tolerance and hope.

Creativity

Creativity is a highly strong technique that speakers use to attract the attention of their audience and make them impressed with the ideas presented. Creativity has to do with the charisma of the speaker. It makes the audience feel the potential skills and mastery of discourse that the speaker has. It reflects the speaker's identity and shows his/her cultural, social, linguistic, and educational background. By using creative language, the audience is hardly distracted. According to Carter and McCarthy (2004), creativity depends on the intention and the interpretation of the participants. Therefore, people use creative language for many purposes, such as offering new content, warning, inviting, informing, and advising. All of which contribute to the persuasive aspect that creativity reflects. There are many rhetorical devices the speaker can use to make his/her language creative in line with Carter and McCarthy (2004). Metaphors as well as positive and negative rhetorical devices are highlighted in this study in terms of creativity due to their striking use in the speeches under investigation.

Metaphor

Metaphors are a common persuasive tool in political speeches. Kovecses (2010) defines metaphor in a cognitive linguistic view, as "understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain" (p. 4). A comparison is often made between "the literal and the figurative meaning of an expression" (Schmid & Ungerer, 2013, p. 115). Since politicians are particularly concerned with manipulating public opinion and shaping the audience's positive attitude toward this or that phenomenon or event, they appeal to metaphors, as the most effective method, to communicate their political message. Political discourse is therefore built on consistent communication skills. As metaphors frequently generate unconscious emotional associations with the ideals shared in communities of mutual cultural and historical background, they provide a means for the speaker to influence the addressee (Charteris-Black, 2018, p. 160). Both presidents are skilled at utilizing

metaphors to map the road to their audiences and make them thirsty for more. In Trump's inaugural address, the number of different types of metaphors is much more even than in Biden's. Trump presents his opinions in specific language concerning the severe conditions that the American public is experiencing and his compassion for the common people. The choice of the verb '*reaped*' in has an ideological connotation:

For too long, a small group in our nation's capital has **reaped** the rewards of government while the people have borne the cost. Washington **flourished**, but the people did not share in its wealth. Politicians **prospered**, but the jobs left and the factories closed. (Trump, 2017, para. 7)

Trump portrays the previous government or '*the establishment*' as the ones who steal the wealth of the common American people. These "*small groups*" *flourished*" and "*prospered*" while the American people lost their money and their jobs. As the verb '*reap*' is related to death and chopping something down, Trump widens the gap between the government and the American people in this way. The rich helped only a few whereas the masses suffered. This metaphor is intended to portray congress politicians in a bad light and for Trump to portray himself as a savior for America.

Another example of Trump's metaphor is his speech about poverty. Trump makes fun of the politicians whom he claimed had stolen the nation's riches and showed his anger at the empty-headed politicians who always complain without ever doing anything to help others. Words like '*trapped*' and '*tombstones*' in "But for too many of our citizens, a different reality exists: mothers and children **trapped** in poverty in our inner cities, **rusted out** factories scattered like **tombstones** across the landscape of our nation" (Trump, 2017, para. 24) are somehow modest but lively terminologies. In these two examples, Trump emphasizes the severe economic situation and dangerous social climate that common people are experiencing. He wants to motivate people to challenge the unjust status quo and develop a modern, prosperous country. He accentuates that there are poverty and unemployment as the factories have been closed.

In this way, Trump deepens the division between the rich and the poor. His goal is to inspire loyalty. There is no doubt that this speech effectively hit a relatable chord in the hearts of his audience who are overwhelmed by his glamour.

Trump draws further contrasts; here by stating how good things should be, then by claiming how bad they supposedly are. He declares that he will protect America from "ravages of other countries" (Trump, 2017, para. 40). Trump wants to instill the notion that immigrants are a threat to American security and that they are impeding economic progress in the United States by transferring businesses and employment to other nations. A sense that makes Americans no longer in control of their future as they are losing jobs and industries to other nations. In this way, he bitterly criticizes them as out-of-touch and self-interested. By using these figurative words, he shows compassion to the common people. Moreover, he creates a division between America and its allies, and Islamic terrorists, which is a very specific group saying "We will reinforce old alliances and form new ones, and unite the civilized world against radical Islamic terrorism, which we will eradicate completely from the face of the world" (Trump, 2017, para. 49). In this metaphor, Trump claims that all civilized nations will band together to face a common enemy.

The startling metaphor in the word '*carnage*' renders his inaugural more significant as no president has ever used it. Literally, "great and usually bloody slaughter or injury," is what the term '*carnage*' denotes. Trump uses it to refer to social and economic desolation. Trump bleakly portrays an image of the United States as a war-torn land damaged by the past presidents' deeds. However, the term scares many by conjuring up a rather ominous image due to its negative connotations. The metaphor plays a crucial part in making a discourse more understandable. He exhibits his determination to confront challenges and gain people's support. Trump believes in himself as a leader who will innovate the old, and establish a new, rich, and unprejudiced America. We are all aware that a large number of people regard him

as a destroyer, but what he wants is to change that unrealistic image that has been created for years. Using metaphor, Trump freely engages in a private debate with the American people.

Similarly, Biden (2021) utilizes metaphor in a highly creative way to attract the attention of his audience. For example, Biden portrays politics as a war and political election as a battle saying "We must end this **uncivil war** that pits red against blue, rural versus urban, conservative versus liberal" (para. 131). Biden does not want to issue a call to arms or stir up sentiments of anger or hatred while using war-related language. He clarifies his wish to put an end to the conflict and division in society that the previous administration started. He pleads with Americans to come together and see themselves as neighbors and not enemies. Biden's election campaign takes place in a chaotic environment. Indeed, he makes it clear that he is an opponent of war and conflict, with phrases like '*peace*,' '*protect*,' and '*defend*' being the most commonly used in his war metaphors. Such collocations create an appeal for peace, discussion, and understanding, giving his speech a reconciliatory and friendly tone. Biden (2021) also talks about politics in terms of '*path*' and '*journey*' saying, "This is our historic moment of crisis and challenge, and unity is the path forward" (para. 77). It is noted that positive words such as '*hope*' and '*light*' are associated with his plan for the future. With this metaphor, Biden accentuates the potential of these keywords. He describes Americans as traveling companions along the way, leaving no one out. He announces the goal of his rule. He encourages citizens to be united and inclusive. Only Biden can guide them on the path to success, Americans must thus support Democrats because they are the only ones qualified to put them on the right track.

Moreover, Biden (2021) utilizes a rebuilding metaphor saying, "We can reward work, rebuild the middle class, and make health care secure for all" (para. 58). By using the term '*rebuilding*,' Biden subtly presupposes the deteriorating situation of the nation, putting all the blame on his predecessor, Trump. He indirectly introduces himself as someone able to change the current situation. Under this

encouraging tone of the president, Americans should metaphorically identify themselves with the rebuilders of the country for its future restoration of national glory. For Biden, citizens are not just inhabitants, but constructors that should cooperate with the government to achieve the country's goals in the long run (Delgado, 2021). He reinforces their entailment in the construction process by his extensive use of the plural pronoun 'we' and the adverb 'together'.

Biden (2021) employs the personification metaphor in "You know the resilience of our Constitution and (...) the strength of our Nation" (para. 16). According to Johnson and Lakoff (1980), personification allows abstract nouns such as 'Nation' and 'constitution' to be presented as an entity or as a person. The nation carries out actions as a person does such as confronting challenges and dealing with crises. Biden modifies America and the constitution with human attributes such as strength and flexibility. Such a metaphor enhances our understanding of inhuman entities by relating their actions and motives to human ones. In this way, citizens feel represented by the nation depicted in this way, believing that the attributes given to it—mostly good ones—are a self-representation of themselves and foster empathy, which eventually leads to patriotism.

The use of metaphorical expressions in the two political speeches manifests the three stages of CDA. The creative metaphorical words/expressions that exist in the speeches under investigation represent the description stage as they are found in the text. The ways that metaphors are used in the speeches under investigation lead the audience to imagine the concept and feel it. Of course, this has to do with the interpretation level. Fairclough (1992) argues that discursive practice (i.e. the interpretation stage) is represented in a linguistic form in the form of what he refers to as "text". He further illustrates that text and discursive practice overlap, and thus talking about the features of a text will somehow involve discursive practice. Furthermore, there are traces and cues in the text that guides us to social practice. The interpretation process operates upon these traces and cues to

lead the audience to the ideas of the speaker. Both presidents seek to convince their audience. Of course, this has to do with the explanation stage: Trump is more likely to employ metaphors in his speech than Biden is. In contrast to Biden's light metaphor, the metaphors in Trump's speech conceptualize the darkness and guide the emotions of the audience. It has to do with the emotional force that shapes the interpretation of people.

Positive and Negative Rhetorical Devices

Both political leaders employ positive and negative rhetorical devices in their speeches. Trump makes use of a very simple vocabulary that can be understood by everyone. Trump utilizes positive rhetorical devices in association with the future of America under his presidency, but he uses negative rhetorical devices to describe the Establishment, the politicians, the foreigners, and radical Islamic terrorism.

Trump (2017) refers to his victory in the presidential election as a '*historical movement*' and '*new national pride*'. He frequently refers to his election using words like '*transfer*', '*become*', and '*change*'. In this approach, he hopes to convince the audience that the election represents more than just the selection of a new president; it also represents a shift in the US power structures and a change in the country. His election to the presidency is seen as a metaphorical manifestation of the people's voice rising and seizing control of the government. He positions himself as a member of the public who is coming to provide wealth to all of America rather than as the mere ascendant to the throne. Trump characterizes his inaugural ceremony in such a way that equates his oath of office to "*an oath of allegiance to all Americans*". His victory is not represented as one for Trump, but as a personal victory of the people. Trump uses the pronoun '*you*' as in '*your day*', '*your celebration*', and '*your country*' to reinforce this fact. Trump uses this characterization to show the strength that America can and will have when allied with the strength of Trump. He promises that a *united America* is "*totally unstoppable*". Trump projects America in terms of positivity to his audience to make them join the

new alliance under his command. Trump invites his audience to join him. He describes America, under his rule, as '*great*', '*wealthy*', '*safe*', '*strong*', '*proud*', and '*competitive*'. Trump stresses the benefits of this newly established alliance as having good jobs, a solid infrastructure, and strong military power. Trump promises that with unity '*together*', we can restore America to its former glory. This presents a positive outlook on the future sense. As put forward by Fairclough (1992), discourse is shaped by social practice in terms of class and other social relations. Accordingly. The idea of creating an alliance under his command contributes to the positive rhetorical devices that he utilizes in describing America under his presidency.

Furthermore, in the first half of his speech, Trump employs negative rhetorical devices to convey a pessimistic view of the politics of the establishment. He begins his inaugural with a stark contrast between him and the political establishment, who "reaped" the rewards of the system while ignoring the needs of the people they were meant to serve. He degrades them by saying "*a small group of people*". He portrays politicians as the oppressors and the American people as the disadvantaged masses – "the establishment protected itself, but not the citizens of our country, their victories have not been your victories, while they celebrated (...), there was little to celebrate for struggling families" (Trump, 2017, para. 10). They are represented as inhabiting the "*nation's capital*" distant from the everyday lives of people. He juxtaposed the fortune of the establishment with the misfortune of the American people several times to emphasize his view about the Establishment that "*flourished*," "*prospered*," and "*celebrated*," in wealth not shared by the people.

Words like *trapped*, *tombstones*, *cash*, *crime*, *gangs*, *drugs*, *stolen*, and *robbed* are very expressive. Trump portrays a situation that urgently requires a solution by painting the United States as a country where tombstones dot the landscape; the people are robbed and trapped. He paints a picture of the country's dreadful position, which had to be altered. He accentuates the severe economic situation and the perilous social

atmosphere that citizens are facing. His purpose is to blame the Establishment for the unemployment and poverty caused by the "*ravages*" of other countries, who were making products instead of Americans, stealing companies, and destroying US jobs. This negative description is intended to depict professional politicians in a bad light and for Trump to portray himself as an underdog savior for America.

By describing an American landscape of '*carnage*', Trump painted a bleak, dark, and scary image of the United States as a country plagued by a rise in crime and a decay in economy. For him, '*carnage*' symbolizes the oppression of past politicians. He intends to use this word figuratively to express the desolation of the US socially and economically. Trump paints a picture of the United States as a country destroyed and laid low by the selfish deeds of politicians.

Biden (2021) uses creative rhetoric to attract the attention of his audience. The positive rhetorical devices are associated with America. His 21-minute address has a unifying theme that is clearly articulated. The president's sober tone and hopeful words contrasted sharply with his predecessor. Biden has used positive words 99 times, which is more frequently than negative words, which are 47 times. The top 3 most used words are the combination of '*union*', '*unity*', and '*uniting*', along with the adverb '*together*' as a way to arouse emotions and call to action for all to come together and set their differences aside to fix the urgent and lasting problems of the nation. Only '*together*', Biden argued, could the country conquer the problems and the challenges it faced in the winter of 2021. Biden never gets tired of emphasizing the importance of unity. He clarifies the same concept by arguing that there is only one way to accomplish the most American ideal, namely democracy, and that method is via unity. He wants to convey a certain message to his audience: the polarization that happened during the campaign and election process will cease soon and can be addressed collectively. It indicates that Joe Biden puts unity above other things. Biden sought to pacify, not arouse; he

promised to serve the public good, not his self-interests. He uses the words *'fellow'* and *'folks'* as a way to convey a sense of togetherness and appeal to all audiences. *'Democracy'* is repeated 11 times, the second most used word. He defends democracy as a sole grantee of freedom of speech and individual rights. He modifies it as *'precious'* and *'fragile'* which implies that democracy is something that people need to cherish and protect carefully. He reiterates that with the prevalence of democracy, Americans can *'repair'* a divided nation torn by political extremism. This reflects Joe Biden's ideology of being liberal, which depicts freedom and equality as the main political values. Unlike Trump, Biden's speech is free from such radical expressions. Instead, he kept mentioning the values he wants to insert and encourage in Americans such as *'justice'*, *'truth'*, *'peace'*, *'love'*, *'faith'*, *'right'* and *'respect'*.

Biden adopts an optimistic view of the future by predicting a good future 29 times in his speech. Before using the term *'future'*, Biden (2021) purposefully creates repetitions of specific words, phrases, or sentences as in "Our country will be stronger, more prosperous, more ready for the future" (para. 138). He introduces two clauses with the adjectives *'prosperous'* and *'ready'* by saying the comparative degree of comparison *'more'* twice, and then he states for the future. In such a way, he emphasizes his concept of America's strength. Since the frequent use of *'more'* and the adjectives suggest strength and capacity. The notion becomes part of shared knowledge—something that is universally understood by the community—by repeatedly stating what is crucial (in this case, America is strong and has a bright future if it unites). On the other hand, Biden utilizes negative rhetorical devices to refer to Corona pandemic, many racist incidents, political extremism, white supremacy, and domestic terrorism. He uses very few negative words in his address. Biden acknowledges how devastating the pandemic has been for his country by modifying it as *'deadly'* and *'outraging'*. He touches on how many people have lost their livelihood due to the

virus and he even compares the number to the number of Americans that died throughout the entire world war. The word *'war'*, as the most used negative word, is only mentioned 7 times merely to retain some former histories. To him, security and peace in America are two important things that must be prioritized. He is against war and emphasizes that uncivil war must end. Proven by using much fewer negative words, he disagrees with any form of violence. He prioritizes unity as one nation to get through difficulties. He is non-hostile in his address.

To create a dramatic contrast between what America is like and what it should be, Biden uses the rhetorical tool of antithesis, which establishes the contrast between ideas. It is involved 27 times in Biden's speeches to highlight the importance of unity and a reference to the good future. "For without unity, there is no peace, only bitterness, and fury, no progress, only exhausting outrage. No nation, only a state of chaos" (Biden, 2021, para. 74). He repeats two phrases starting with the words *'no'* and *'only'* to demonstrate that individuals cannot accomplish anything while constantly criticizing and abusing each other. This antithesis helps his statement be memorable and obvious.

The audience interprets these creative rhetorical devices in terms of the effect imposed on them. Accordingly, both political leaders utilize creative rhetorical devices in terms of positivity and negativity to convince the audience about their ideologies. By surveying the two speeches under investigation: it seems to some extent that Trump is more likely to employ negative rhetorical devices than Biden is. Furthermore, both of them vary in terms of the ideological stands that are associated with these creative rhetorical devices. Biden adopts the path of diplomacy and peace when talking about certain issues. On the other hand, Trump speaks in terms of power and force, and thus he adopts a forcible path to deal with certain issues. Positive and negative rhetorical devices depict the principle of reward and punishment, and their wide use in Trump's speech indicates the high level of power he adopts.

Intertextuality

People usually use intertextuality to clarify and highlight certain issues in their speeches. Intertextuality is about shaping a new text based on previous texts. Fairclough (1992) points out that intertextuality refers to "the productivity of texts, to how texts can transform prior texts and restructure existing conventions (genres, discourses) to generate new ones" (p. 102). In this sense, the text is to be interpreted within a historical aspect because the new text belongs to another one in the past. Therefore, intertextuality leads the audience to link the current social conditions with the ones of the past. Of course, intertextuality refers to the interpretation level because the audience will start establishing presuppositions. Therefore, the speaker utilizes intertextuality to direct the audience toward some propositions that he/she creates by linking the present with the past. Fairclough (1995) adds that:

Intertextual analysis shows how texts selectively draw upon orders of discourse—the particular configurations of conventionalized practices ('genres, discourses, — particular configurations of conventionalized practices (genres, discourses, narratives, etc.) which are available to text procedures and interpreters in particular social circumstances. (p. 188)

Intertextuality is not overtly present in Trump's inaugural. Trump does not honor the past. He does not even attempt to highlight the accomplishments of any particular president or government. When discussing national principles, he does not cite former presidents' words—a tactic that is frequently employed by presidents. Rather, he invokes God and Christianity twice in his inaugural. He places his inaugural address in a religious framework. Trump invokes God twice as one of his communal values and emphasizes that Americans are "*God's People*" throughout his speech. By establishing Americans as "*God's People*", Trump (2017) immediately states that those people are threatened by "*radical Islamic terrorism*" whom he promised to "eradicate completely from the face of the Earth" (para. 49) to

keep the country secure. When he declares, "We shall be protected by God," (para. 56) he brings up the issue of safety once more. Through these invocations to God, Trump supports his calls for protectionism and establishes communal safety. Trump's submission to a higher power is particularly relevant since Vigil (2013) states, "the appeal to a higher being evokes... a sense of righteousness in the American mission" (p. 431).

Another section of his speech sounded like it could be a reference to a biblical passage. "We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example," (Trump, 2017, para. 48). Trump (2017) also said, "We will shine for everyone to follow" (para. 48). Jesus addresses his followers that it is their duty to live as Christians and serve as an example to the rest of the world (Austermühl, 2014). It is, nevertheless, a core concept of American exceptionalism. One may argue that Trump is sustaining the powerful image of America as a model for the rest of the world to emulate. He reinforces the idea of American exceptionalism by reiterating the phrase "America First. In this way, Trump links the idea of strength to his new vision for the United States via the intertextuality method.

As seen above, Trump's usage of intertextuality is reduced to an oblique paraphrase or an implicit allusion to Scripture. Politically, mentioning a passage of Scripture without referring to it as such can still accomplish the same goal because a believer should be able to identify it as biblical whether or not it is cited. As a result, the president can appeal to both believers and unbelievers because the references would be invisible to them. By appealing to Judeo-Christians in a way that grabs their attention and does not turn away non-believers with religious metaphors, Trump hopes to win over believers across the board. In this way, Trump uses religion to unify people under a religious deity. He sets a monolithic vision of the people against foreign enemies. Trump uses religion to orient this unification toward his specific policy positions.

Biden (2021) employs more intertextuality in his speech as an effective way to make his audience believe in his ideas. For example, Biden refers to one of the most enduring phrases from Abraham Lincoln's first inaugural address: the "*better angels*" saying, "Through civil war, the Great Depression, World War, 9/11, through struggle, sacrifice, and setback, our better angels have always prevailed" (para. 67). Biden borrows this extract from the 16th President of the United States of America. Abraham Lincoln was the President of America at the time of the Civil War. President Abraham Lincoln is often referred to as "the Great Emancipator" due to his role in dividing over slavery in the United States. During his presidency, He offers people hope for change and perspective to a new future after the deadly civil war.

Both Lincoln and Joe Biden are grappling with the challenge of a deeply divided country. It was a moment of strong symbolism that bound two different periods of deep loss for the country. For Abraham Lincoln, it was the destructive, painful Civil war that saw years of bloody battles and the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people. More than a century on, President Joe Biden steps up at another volatile moment in US history. Deep political divisions have long existed in the US, but four years of a Donald Trump presidency seemed to exacerbate tensions. Just days before the inauguration, those tensions would be on violent display, with deadly riots at the very place Joe Biden would take the oath of office. Biden uses his own presidential campaign to build a similar image of himself as a leader that would unify and heal, often referring to the election as a battle for the "*soul of the nation*". In the same way that Lincoln called people to appeal to their "*better angels*". A journey into ancient history implies that the wisdom of the founding fathers, the nation's first president, and the deeds of the past president will be discussed. History is seen as a useful tool for addressing the issues the country faces. This excursion into the past functions as a theoretical analogy that gives you hope for an effective solution to difficulties. This borrowed extract reflects Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional method

of CDA. That is to say, the borrowed extract of President Lincoln exists in the text of Biden, but it brings the social conditions of Lincoln's time and his political stands toward them. Of course, this is mediated by the interpretation of the audience, which is also constituted, affected, and guided by this borrowed extract of President Lincoln. As these nods to Lincoln bring an element of familiarity back to US politics and with it, potentially, a sense of return to stability after years of turbulence. Invoking Lincoln's remarks, Biden is demonstrating his commitment to devote his life to promoting American unity and fixing a broken country, just as Lincoln once did.

Biden (2021) also borrows texts from Christian teachings, including the Psalms and Saint Augustine, to acknowledge the pain of the current political moment and his desire to bring Americans together around common values. He cited Psalm 30 in his inaugural speech when he states "Weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning." (para. 142). He seems particularly apt in these dark times to encourage his fellow Americans to "open our souls instead of hardening our hearts," (para. 131) an allusion to God hardening Pharaoh's heart. He notably mentioned his Catholic "church" which is a worship place and referred to Saint Augustine. To Biden's belief, there are many "fundamental American values" (Ahmed & Amir, 2021) values that all Americans share. Additionally, he claims that while the Democratic Party has achieved a significant victory today, they do so with some humility and a commitment to bridging the gaps that have impeded America's progress. Biden therefore repeatedly emphasized that to be "*better people*" as Augustine said, Americans need to pursue the higher objects of love; dignity, respect, and truth. Biden purposefully used religion in his inauguration to show that he is a religious president.

Both political leaders seem to be skilled at utilizing intertextuality in their speeches. However, Biden tends to use more borrowed texts in his speech than Trump. The borrowed texts that Biden uses are various, some of which belong to American Presidents and the others belong to the religion. On the other hand, Trump seems to use borrowed

texts in a narrowed technique as all of his texts belong only to the Bible. Therefore, Trump seems to accentuate the idea that he does not venerate the past nor praise the actions of past presidents. Trump does not even cite any of past presidents' words when discussing national principles. Trump, though, asserts that he is only constrained by God. Biden seems to be more diverse than Trump in terms of intertextuality. Intertextuality incorporates historical social conditions, and thus it is considered as mutual knowledge for participants. The use of intertextuality in the two speeches under investigation reflects the ideological stands of liberalism and conservatism. Of course, Biden's liberal ideology supports his openness to texts that belong to different identities whereas Trump's conservative ideology supports his closure to texts that only belong to the religion.

Conclusion

By adopting Fairclough's (1995) three-dimension model of CDA, this study investigates the three persuasive strategies (repetition, creativity, and intertextuality) used in Trump and Biden's inaugural addresses. The results show that Trump and Biden have used the same techniques of persuasion but they differ in their ideological and political stands, the addressed issues, and the ways of addressing these issues. They have varied to what extent they use persuasive strategies.

Regarding modality, the medium-value modals (*will*, *can*) have the most striking impact in terms of frequency in the two speeches. Both presidents are inclined to use the middle modality to forecast the future and show their resolution. Trump uses "*will*" more than Biden does. Trump introduces himself as the savior of America, the only one that can make America strong, proud, safe, and great again. Thus, his frequent use of "*will*" allows him to dissimulate his intentions and beliefs as future facts under his administration. In this way, he builds great confidence in order to excite audiences' passions. He is very skilled at keeping his propositions neutral and avoiding controversy or argument. Moreover, Trump is very careful in reducing the use of the high-value modal "*must*" in order to narrow the gap

between him and the audience. He realizes that the overuse of "*must*" may have adverse effects. In fact, this contradicts the ideology of conservatives who believe in authority, power, and force.

For Biden, the dominant modals used in his inaugural speech are '*will*' and '*can*' respectively. His use of the medium-value modal '*will*' not only indicates his willingness but his determination to overcome all the problems that faced the Americans. His frequent use of "*will*" renders his speech more powerful and convincing. The modal '*can*' is repeated 22 times as a way to encourage people to set a model of excellence. Furthermore, Biden utilizes the high-value modals (must, have to) in association with certain issues, such as encountering uncivil war, terrorism and disunion (i.e. the roots of the problem), concentrating on putting aside their differences to solve the country's urgent problems. His multiple use of modals renders him more authoritative and strengthens his commitment.

Trump and Biden have used the plural pronoun '*we*' and its derivative (*us*, *our*) in a frequent style to indicate collectivity. However, Trump's conservative ideology has made the collective identity in his speech exclusive to certain people. Trump's use of the word '*we*' has nothing to do with the American people. He has structured his speech in a way that separates himself from politicians and people. Trump also uses the first singular person pronoun '*I*' only three times to create a fellowship with the people. He wants to evade the negative image of his arrogance, which shows his excellent persuasive skills.

In contrast, Biden employs a more frequent '*we*' to indicate collective identity. The collective identity in Biden's speech has been open to all audiences irrespective of political attitude, race, and social status. He welcomes all Americans in his collective work to confront all the challenges as well as save those who suffer from poverty and injustice. Biden has also been flexible to accept any of those identified as others in his speech if they decide to change the course irrespective of their previous stands. This has risen from the ideology of liberals who believe in equal opportunities and

openness to others. Moreover, Biden's inaugural address demonstrates a frequent use of the first-person singular pronoun 'I', at a rate of 10 more than Trump's inaugural address. Its association with the verbs of conviction and belief is to deliver an inclusive speech. Biden conveys a sense of togetherness along with the main theme of his discourse despite his desire to acknowledge his place as a newly elected president.

Both political leaders have thematized the term 'people' and made it a center of interest. The purpose of thematizing 'people' is to provide a sense of unity that connects all individuals as citizens of the nation. However, they differ in terms of the ideological stands associated with this thematization. Trump introduces the idea of loyalty instead of unity. Loyalty and unity have fundamentally distinct meanings. Although it is a kind of unity, loyalty is typically associated with force and is more reliant on a leader. Trump believes individuals must conform to his ideas to become Americans. In contrast, the concept of unity proposes that people find strength in grouping together in spite of their differences. Biden views disagreement as a necessary component of democracy since everyone has the right to have his/her opinion. However, disagreements should not lead to disunion. Unity allows individuals to come together and find strength in their differences. Biden's liberal ideological stands elucidate his way of calling for a unified country with a sense of shared values.

Concerning creativity, the findings show that Trump has succeeded in portraying the darkness metaphor that perfectly prepared the ground for the 'new dawn' rhetoric of his inauguration. He has been more likely to employ more negative expressions than Biden has. The wide use of negative expressions in Trump's speech shows the high level of power he has adopted. He is skilled at fanning the flames of hate and division. Trump's conservative ideology supports this wide

use of positive and negative expressions in his speech because these expressions are associated with the concept of (reward and punishment), and thus they are associated with authority and power.

Biden has used positive words more frequently than negative words. The positive rhetorical devices are associated with America. Biden utilizes negative rhetorical devices to refer to Corona pandemic, many racist incidents, political extremism, white supremacy, and domestic terrorism. Biden adopts the path of diplomacy, peace, and unity to face the challenges.

Regarding intertextuality, Biden has been more diverse in terms of intertextuality than Trump. The borrowed texts that Biden uses are various, some of which belong to American Presidents and others belong to the religion. On the other hand, Trump seems to use borrowed texts in a narrowed technique as all of his texts belong only to religion. Therefore, Trump seems to accentuate the idea he neither reveres the past nor appreciates the deeds of former presidents. Trump claims that the only thing limiting him is God. The reason for this comes from the fact that Biden's liberal ideological stands reinforce his openness to texts that belong to different people from all over the world irrespective of their stands.

Recommendation

Further analysis is recommended to be conducted in light of other persuasive strategies such as personification, metonymy, analogy, parallelism, contrastive pairs, etc. In fact, investigating other persuasive strategies employed in the same speeches under investigation will be like a continuous thorough analysis and may reveal a lot. Furthermore, the study recommends investigating other political speeches for both political leaders and linking the results of analyzing these speeches together in order to follow the "order of discourse" in doing CDA. However, comparing the speeches of Trump and Biden when directed to the nations of the world is recommended too.

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