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Trump and Biden First Presidential Debate (2020):
A Critical Discourse Analysis

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Requirements for a **Master's Degree in Linguistics**

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Dedication

Zakaria:

To the Lord, the one up above,

To my mother and my father, my prime source of love,

To my family, to my friends,

My sister and bother-in-law, my hosts for 2 long years

To Rafika, with whom this work was carried

To Mr. Mammeri, my teacher and supervisor

To any and everyone setting foot on this path,

Finally, but most importantly, to me,

This work goes to all of us mentioned above and all those I hold dear, yet I have failed to cite.

Rafika:

To God almighty my creator

To my beloved mother and father who never stop giving of themselves in countless ways

To my precious brothers and sisters who have never left my side

To my beloved nephew and nieces: Rayane, Alice and Ayline.

To my Dearest Brothers and sisters-in-law, my grandparents, uncles and cousins

To the beloved people who have meant and continue to mean so much to me

To My Supervisor, Mr. Mammeri

To my colleague with whom I accomplished this work.

Thanks my dearest family for being here for me. God bless you all.

Abstract

The US presidential elections of 2020 witnessed two debates between the candidates namely, Donald Trump and Joseph Biden. This study is a Critical Discourse Analysis, using the Van Dijk Model (2006), of the first debate between the opponents. This investigation aims to identify the ideologies and beliefs embedded in the corpus and the strategies used by the nominees, focusing on positive self-representation and others' negative representation. Accordingly, we attempt to illustrate the polarization and the use of "Us" as the in-group versus "Them" as the out-group. Therefore, the study is based on mixed methods as the qualitative method was used to identify the ideological strategies employed, while the quantitative one is used to statistically illustrate polarization. Consequently, we have come to the results that the Van Dijk Model (2006) does fit the analysis of the corpus. Additionally, the speakers used the discursive strategies found in the implemented model: positive self-representation and negative other-representation. Moreover, other strategies were found such as syntactic and rhetorical structures as well as speech acts. Importantly, the results have shown that Biden made more successful use of the abovementioned strategies, thus, demonstrating qualities of dominance and power.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, Ideology, Van Dijk Model (2006), Donald Trump, Joe Biden, US Elections 2020.

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List of Abbreviations:

DA: Discourse analysis

CDS: Critical Discourse Studies

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

US: United States

USA: United States of America

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Definition of Terms

Discourse Analysis: is the analysis of all what is beyond the sentence level, which is used in a specific social context to carry out social practices. Hence, it studies naturally occurring connected speech or written discourse, (Brown and Yule, 1983). Accordingly, Harris (1952) views DA as a method for the analysis of connected speech or writing. Thus, contribute to descriptive linguistics.

Critical Discourse Analysis: Van Dijk (2015) views CDA as a means for examining and analyzing how power, inequality, dominance, and bias which are disclosed in written and spoken texts in a specific social context. This in turn allows for understanding and making a change in society.

Van Dijk Model (2006): It is an ideological square model that was presented by Teun Van Dijk. It focuses upon polarizing macro-strategy of positive self-representation and negative other-representation (Van Dijk, 2006). Accordingly, this framework emphasizes the opposition in the self- other representation, where the in-group is regarded as positive while the out-group is regarded as negative. Therefore, they use different structures and strategies seeking to reinforce the positive aspects of the self, alongside the negative aspects of the other, while also diluting the negatives of the self-alongside the positives of the other.

General Introduction:

Politics can often be seen as a tangled field. Its complexity stems most for the conflicting ideologies it carries. Politicians use discourse for various purposes, most importantly to convey and convince. A successful political discourse is one that makes appropriate use of suitable discursive and ideological strategies. The tactics are employed to capture the audience and win them over, while also diminishing the opposition and depriving them support. The styles that politicians put to use are of great impact on societies and the world as a whole.

Since the first US presidential debate between Kennedy and Nixon in 1960, linguists did their best to analyze them from different perspectives, giving varying results (Pekka Isotalus, 2011). Due to its remarkably influential nature, political discourse analysis is essentially inevitable. Hence, in a world of mass media, debates reach now more than they ever did. This in turn gives immense importance to both political speeches and debates. It is very obvious the position and power the USA holds in the world. Thus, we have chosen to center this study around the first presidential debate between the two candidates, Biden and Trump. The nominees were shown to have conflicting ideologies and unmatched experience with discourse. The circumstances surrounding the USA in the current period makes this study interesting and welcomed, but mostly needed.

Political debates and their argumentative nature along with the efforts of the participants to self-praise and diminish the other, called for the creation of the Van Dijk model of critical discourse analysis. In fact, Political debates also carry ideological, religious, economical, philosophical, humanitarian and political orientations. Accordingly, Van Dijk offers lenses through which a linguist could investigate the ideologies and beliefs of participants. our aim for the present study is to investigate and initiate a descriptive study, a critical discourse analysis, using Van Dijk Model (2006), to a closer and a thorough look at the first presidential debate between Donald J Trump and Joseph Biden (2020).

1. Statement of the Problem:

American politics and political discourse is always attracting the attention of specialists and researchers, and raising curiosity of the fans of politics all over the globe. The first 2020 US presidential debate between the republican Donald J. Trump and the democrat Joe Biden has

largely attracted the attention of experts, hence the necessity of conducting analysis. The opposing sides attempted to praise the self and diminish the other on various occasions. Accordingly, their powerful discourses served as efficient tools and weapons to shape the opinions of the audience. Each of the candidates relied on his proper techniques and ways, using special lexis, syntax and rhetorical structures to strengthen and defend their ideologies and weaken that of the rival. Hence, the need to study and analyze the ideological discourse strategies put to use. Furthermore, we intend to intensively and extensively investigate the tools, aspects and language that each of the nominees utilized.

2. Questions of the Study:

Political discourse is merely a reflection of ideologies. Thus, the analysis of the chosen corpus would answer the questions below:

1) What are the ideological strategies used by both speakers?
2) What are the characteristics that feature the speech of the nominees?
3) Can the model of Van Dijk (2006) be applied to critically analyze the debate at hand?

3. Assumptions of the Study:

We, the investigators, have made the following assumption:

1) Van Dijk's model (2006) fits the analysis of the corpus.
2) Both speakers use positive self-representations and others-negative representation
3) Both nominees make use of polarization, different syntactic and rhetorical structures, speech acts and ideological strategies to impress and convince the audience.

4. Purpose of the Study:

The 2020 US election and the debate at hand came at a turning point in the history of the United States, especially with the covid-19 pandemic. This, in turn, drives us to conduct an analytical study that would reveal the strategies used by two very contradicting candidates. In addition, the investigation determines how effective is Van Dijk's Model (2006) for unraveling the hidden ideologies across the corpus. Moreover, we aim to dissect the language used by the nominees to draw out the features of both their discursive styles.

5. Significance of the Study:

To the best of our knowledge of previous literature of the subject, and which we have consulted, there are no studies yet done on the 2020 first presidential debate between Donald J. Trump and his adversary Joe Biden. This will be a humble reference study and a basis for further research on the matter. Accordingly, we have employed Van Dijk's (2006) for a thorough Ideological analysis. Hence, it offers an up to date analysis of American political language and discourse. Furthermore, it is an opportunity to discover the ideological strategies that feature both speakers' discourses. Thus, the study also contributes to the body of knowledge available on critical discourse analysis.

6. Organization of the Study:

In this investigation is comprised of two chapters, one for the theoretical background and one for the analysis and discussion. On top is a general introduction that explains the questions, purposes, and significance of the study. Next are two chapters, the first dedicated to theoretical research and a literature review. In this chapter, we introduce the knowledge needed and used in the investigation. The chapter has four sections that tackle three subjects; discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis and the Van Dijk Model (2006) in addition to a literature review. The second chapter carries the practical analysis, guided by an adapted Van Dijk Model (2006). The first section explains the design and methodology used as well as the procedures taken. In addition, the second section holds the analysis, made on four different levels. For starters, we analyzed the context and ideologies of the participants, then applied the ideological square model of Van Dijk. The third level is where we analyzed the form of the corpus, from syntax to rhetorical structures. The analysis ended with the action level, in which we looked through the speech acts used by both participants. The third section summarizes the findings of the analysis, the limitations of the study, as it also highlights areas for further research to be conducted. The study concludes with a general conclusion that draws upon what have been discussed along the paper.
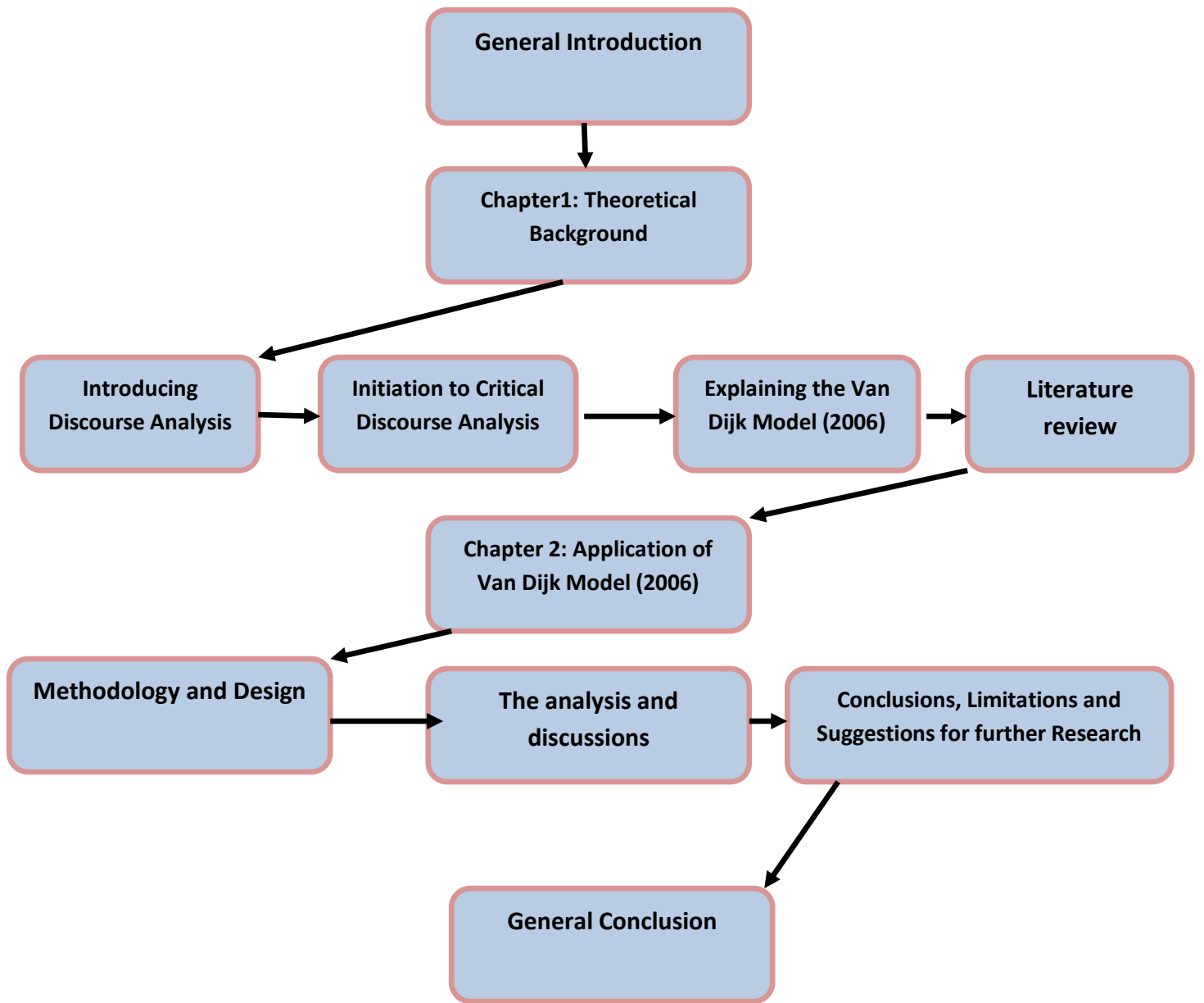
Figure 01: Organization of the Study

Chapter One: Theoretical Background

The present chapter constitutes of four interrelated sections. The first introduces Discourse Analysis. The second section takes a more specific approach, Critical Discourse Analysis. Van Dijk's Model (2006) used in this investigation takes up the third section. Finally, the fourth includes a review for some pertinent related studies to the research topic followed by our contribution.

Section One: Introduction to Discourse Analysis

In this section, we define discourse and Discourse Analysis, and provide a theoretical understanding of the field. We will also take a brief look at the history of DA.

1.1.What is Discourse?

Van Dijk (1997) believes that the notion of discourse is blurred, same as all other complex concepts related to humanities and social sciences. It is the role of the cross discipline of discourse studies (also known as discourse analysis) to provide definition for such fundamental concepts. A general characterization of the discourse establishes understanding of the phenomenon. Accordingly, the term discourse is commonly used to refer to language in use, be it a friends' meeting or a doctor appointment, a phone call or a public speech. Another informal use of the term is to refer to the beliefs and thoughts of groups such as the "discourse of neo-liberalism". Van Dijk says that describing discourse as language in use is still not adequate for analysts, so they tend to add theoretical concept to the phenomenon mainly: who uses language, how, when and why. One functional characterization of discourse is that of a communicative even such as the social situations above-mentioned giving more focus to the events happening beyond the use of language to communicate ideas and beliefs. Analysts according to Van Dijk give importance also to the aspect of interaction. Thus, a concept of discourse of includes language use, communication of beliefs and interaction for social situations (Van Dijk, 1997).

Fairclough on the other hand regards discourse as "language as a form of social practice" (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258). He later elaborated that the statement implies that language is inseparable of society and not in any way external to it, he also pointed out that it is a social process. This certainly shows that he believes discourse is a process in social situations and

deeply rooted in the forming of society (Fairclough, 1989). His view shows large common ground with Van Dijk.

Gee went beyond the typical use of the term that implies verbal interactions and series of utterances between speaker and hearer, to distinguish between discourse (with lower case d) and Discourse (with upper case D). Discourse with a capital D describes:

> "…a socially accepted association among ways of using language, other symbolic expressions, and artifacts, of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing and acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or "social network"" (Gee, 1996, p. 131).

Lower case discourse on the other hand is described as:

> "The language specific to a sub-culture is, in a sense, analogous to discourse, in the manner that Gee uses the term. In other words, a specific discourse is made up of all of the language bits and uses that are associated with a specific Discourse." (MacKay, 2003, p.4)

1.2.Defining Discourse Analysis:

Since a sentence is considered as the highest grammatical unit, grammar of language is limited to sentence level analysis; however, it does not analyse above the limits of a sentence. Thus, the need to investigate what is beyond the sentence gave birth to discourse. The study of discourse analysis evolved from works in different disciplines during the 1960s and early 1970s, including linguistics, semiotics, anthropology, psychology and sociology. The term 'discourse analysis' was first used by the linguist, Zellig Harris (1952), in his article entitled '*Discourse Analysis*', defined it as a method for the analysis of connected speech or writing, for continuing descriptive linguistics beyond the limit of a simple sentence at a time.

Discourse analysis is seen as a way of analysing what is beyond the sentence above the limits of a sentence which is used in a specific social context to carry out social practices. Thus, discourse is larger than a sentence and emphasises on language use in social context to perform social functions. Brown and Yule (1983, p. 1) assert that discourse analysis is:

> ''the analysis of discourse, is necessarily, the analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of

linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which
these forms are designed to serve in human affairs. ''

Hence, the focal point of discourse analysts is the study and investigation of language in social context, that is to say, the function of language used and for what purpose is the language used. However, it is not directly and exclusively related to the formal and structural feature of language. They are absorbed in various social contexts of conversations particularly its organization, arrangement and the steps involved in encoding and decoding its meaning. The naturally, authentic and spontaneous exchange is the focus and emphasis of discourse analysts. Accordingly, Onadeko (2000, p.83) states his view to discourse by saying '' It is the scientific study of naturally occurring (i.e. spontaneous) conversation (or what is meant to be rendered in written mode) which exists between at least two participants in a social context ''. In other words, all the verbal and non-verbal operations that take place in a discussion in a social setting are covered by discourse analysis. In addition, Schiffrin (1994) clarifies that the analysis of discourse discloses interdependence between structure and function of language in use. She states that structural definition focuses on text while functional definition focuses on context.

To sum up, discourse analysis is the study of language in use, in the context of society, culture history, identity formation, power and politics. Moreover, it is the study of how language helps us to create and accomplish objectives. It looks into to the meanings we give language and the actions we perform when we use it in a specific setting. DA is the study of language above the level of the sentences, how they are combined to create meaning and coherence in addition to achieving different purposes. Thus, it is both a branch of linguistics and a contribution to the social sciences.

1.3.Approaches to Discourse Analysis:

The development of Discourse analysis has attracted the attention not only of linguists or applied linguists, but also socio-political theorists, sociologists, anthropologists, computer experts, business and legal specialists, communication experts and organizational theorists. Moreover, it paved a productive way to understanding the use of language in a variety of institutional, academic, workplace and professional setting. Thus discourse analysis has developed in the last decades into a variety of schools using different approaches and frameworks. The focus of most recent approaches to discourse on 'language in use' has its roots

in a number of larger developments in the twentieth century in the fields of philosophy, anthropology, sociology and linguistics itself. Schiffrin in her "*Approaches to Discourse Analysis*" (1994) discusses and explains some of the different approaches to the linguistic analysis of discourse that have grown up of these interdisciplinary developments among them: speech act theory, ethnography of communication, conversation analysis, and interactional sociolinguistics. Therefore, this part of the study aims at introducing some of the linguistic approaches to discourse, which are available to the analysts.

1.3.1. Speech Act Theory:

Speech act theory was first introduced by the philosopher john Austin (1962) and later was developed more systematically by the philosopher Jean Searle (1969, 1975). For Huang (2012, p.7), speech act refers to ''the uttering of a linguistic expression whose function is not to say things but actively to do things or perform actions as well ''. Hence, the theory assumes that language is used to perform actions. Thus, they are interested in how meaning and action are related to language. The two philosophers believe that language is not merely used to describe things but also to accomplish certain kinds of acts. The speech act can be direct where there is a clear and direct relationship between the structure and the communicative function of the utterance. Moreover, there could be an indirect relationship between them, which is known as indirect speech act where the utterance may perform more than one act. Osisanwo (2015) explained how Schiffrin notes that speech act approach to discourse focuses on knowledge embedded circumstances with the production and interpretation of acts through words. Consequently, context of the utterance is important for the appropriate interpretation of the indirect speech act by separating the multiple functions of utterances from one another (can you pass the salt ? it is a question and a request at the same time). Moreover, the meaning of words and the context in which they occur help in the interpretation of the acts. Schiffrin (1994) asserts that some views of speech act theory have been exploited by various scholars to solve basic problems of discourse analysis (indirect speech act, multi-functionality and context dependence) even though this theory was not originally directed as a means of analysing discourse.

1.3.2. Interactional Sociolinguistics:

The works of the anthropologist John Gumperz (1982) and the sociologist Erving Goffman (1981) gave birth to the interactional sociolinguistics approach to discourse. As viewed by Schiffrin (1994) this approach is of multidisciplinary roots, since it is based on anthropology, sociology, and linguistics. Hence, its main interest is culture, society, and language. On another hand, Gumperz's approach highlights how people may possess the same grammatical knowledge of a language, however, differently contextualise and relate what is said .Thus, various messages are understood and interpreted differently. He views language as a socially and culturally constructed symbol system that reflects macro-level of social meaning, identity and different status and create micro-level of social meaning. That is, what a person is saying and doing at a particular moment. In other words, speakers belong to socio-cultural groups; that is, the way people speak and employ language reflects their group identity and discloses who they are; what they desire to communicate and how they want to communicate (Schiffrin, 1994 p. 102). On the other hand, Goffman's work that adds to Gumperz's contextual interpretation, provides a description of how language is used in specific circumstances and how it reflects, adds meaning and structure, and affects those conditions. Therefore, they both show the interaction between self, others, and context. The work of Gumperz contributes by identifying how the interpretations of context are crucial for communication of information and others' understanding of the speaker's intentions and hidden meaning. Also, Goffman's contribution demonstrates show the organization of social life provides contexts for both the conduct of self and communication with another person to make sense.

1.3.3. The Ethnography of Communication:

It is an approach to discourse analysis also known as the ethnography of speaking that was developed by Dell Hymes (1962). Dell Hymes (1992) proposed a reliable theory for communicative competence should be wide including four dimensions; (i) systematic potential (i.e. to what extent is something not yet realized), (ii) appropriateness (i.e. to what extent is something suitable, appropriate and adequate in some context), (iii) occurrence (i.e. the extent to which a communicative language component is performed), and (iv) feasibility (i.e. the extent to which something is likely to be achieved) this dimension came as a reaction to Chomsky's notion of linguistic competence which is too restricted and limited. Hymes' Ethnography of

Communication is concerned not with language structure and form, but with language use in its socio-cultural context. Thus, the utterance is understood only in connection with "speech event'' or "speech community" in which it is embedded (Hymes, 1962). Besides, Dell Hymes established a model for the analysis of any speech event in a particular speech community to understand society and culture through the communicative process, which he summarized in an acronym ''S.P.E.A.K.I.N.G''. Thus, the ethnographer should examine (Hymes, 1972):

S/ setting: the time and space of the speech events occur – physical context.

P/ participants: the speaker and the listener (or the addresser and the addressee) in a speech situation.

E/ ends: the goal/ aim of the speaker.

A/ acts: message form and content said by the speaker.

K/ key: the tone/manner of the message.

I/ instrumentalities: the channel (verbal, nonverbal, physical) through which the message is transmitted.

N/ norms of interaction and interpretation: the tradition – specific properties and features attached to speaking/interpretation of norms within cultural belief systems.

G genre: the style (textual categories).

1.3.4. Conversation Analysis:

Conversation analysis is an approach to discourse originated from ethno-methodology a branch of sociology developed by Harold Garfinkel (1967). This approach was introduced by a group of researchers (Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson) in the late 1960s and early 1970s known as ethno-methodologists. They aim at finding the methods used by people to take part and make sense of interaction. The main focus and purpose of the conversational analysis is the description and explanation of the competences that typical speakers exploit and depend on in participating in a comprehensible and socially organized interaction. Hence, Conversation analysts strive to understand and assimilate the paradigm in

social life by analysing the organization, structuring and properties of a conversation (Sacks, E., & Jefferson, 1978). The premise is that such patterns can be used to establish and develop procedural rules governing talk in interaction. As they view discourse as a social action, since usually we accomplish different activities and acts with our words. Moreover, Schiffrin (1994) argues that this approach to discourse regards how participants in an exchange build systematic solutions to periodic organizational problems. Some of the problems that are resolved are opening and closing talk, turn taking, repair, topic management, information receipt, and showing agreement and disagreement. Thus, Conversational analysts work on authentic and naturally occurring and transcribed conversational data and not on observed ones since they can be manipulated, unlike ethnographer's data, which comprises of interviews, field notes, lived experiences or narratives of participants. What distinguishes also these two approaches is the matter of context. For ethnographers the broader social context is used to inform their understanding of why language is employed the way it is, however, conversational analysts see context as constructed moment by moment through conversational moves, and they contend that those aspects of context not attended to by participants should not be part of the analysis. This does not mean that they are not interested in issues of social identity and power (such as gender and institutional communication). However, they believe that the means to comprehend and understand these matters is through a thorough analysis of patterns and mechanisms of interaction rather than with reference to larger social structures or ideologies (Schiffrin, 1994).

1.4.Brief History of Discourse Analysis:

Though the origins of discourse analysis trace back to the ancient Greek, it only came to be a coherent school in the second half of the twentieth century. The multidisciplinary aspect of discourse analysis may, at times, make it hard to trace its major tenets. As a fairly new discipline it is still developing and its usefulness has been subject of discovery till present day. Nwagabara (2014) reported that Van Dijk considers discourse analysis (DA) as both an old and a new approach. Additionally, Van Dijk believes that its origin go back to the study of language and public speaking as far as 2000 years ago. Before the shift to discourse, the focus of linguistics was on grammar and rhetorical performance and persuasion, paving the way for stylistics and structural analysis of discourse. Most of the importance of rhetoric faded during the seventeenth and eighteenth century with the arrival of historical and comparative linguistics (Essuman,

2014). The study of literary languages eventually resulted in the production of Handbook of discourse analysis. Kaplan and Grabe (2002) say that Discourse Analysis (DA), in its modern sense, emerged in the early 1970 and that Brown, Yule and van Dijk in addition to others where pioneers in the field, next to the extensive contribution of Prague school in the early 20th century. The discipline although fairly young in independence, originates from Hermeneutics; a discipline that stretches back hundreds of years. When looking at the history of discourse analysis, Kaplan and Grabe (2002) looked at four major strands:

1- Text linguistics, which originated in Germany with major constituents in Britain. It Considers text as a stretch of language, concerned with cohesion and coherence as well as textual unity. Major figures in the field are Halliday and Hassan (1976, 1986) and Finegan (1999).

2- Cognitive models, with a more psychological inclination that a linguistic one. It is concerned with cognitive processing as well as psychological and social activities. It views meaning as a resident of the communication event rather than the text. A major figure in the field is Van Dijk (1983, 1997).

3- Discourse analysis in terms of speech acts as developed by Austin and Searle. Meaning for them resides in the context as well as writers' intention and the relationship with the reader.

4- The last is the somewhat independent branch of contrastive discourse analysis where Hellinger and Ammon (1996) are major figures for the field.

Accordingly, DA is a multi-disciplinary field and making a history for it in a few pages is hard to conceive.

Section Two: introduction to Critical Discourse analysis

The second section introduces Critical discourse analysis along with its features and aims. Additionally, it will cover the main CDA approaches. Finally, a few important related concepts are0 be discussed.

1.5.Introducing Critical Discourse Analysis:

The development in theories about the study of language in social context in the late 1970s gave rise to a new field of analytical research known as "Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)" which developed from critical linguistics. One widespread wrong definition of CDA is that it is a special method for analysing discourse. However, there is no special method, all methods of the cross-discipline in discourse studies as well as other relevant methods of humanities and social sciences can be applied (Wodak and Meyer, 2009; Titscher et al, 2000). Thus, to show that many methods and approaches can be used in the critical study of text and talk they termed it Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) (Van Dijk, 2008). It emerged at the University of East Anglia (England) during the 1970s. Many researchers were immersed in CDA and started to work in this field of study with an interest in different disciplines (Van Dijk, 1990). Besides, Researchers in this field encompass describing language use in particular contexts, they consider their work as political and influential as they can establish a change (Van Dijk, 1997). This study came as a reaction against non-critical studies during the twentieth century which aim at describing how language is used in communication, establish methods of analyses that help find categories of discourse and construct theories about how communication takes place. In this context, Wodak and Meyer's history of CDA demonstrates that the theory of Frankfurt school gave birth to the Critical theory. Horkheime (1972, p. 226) stated that:

> '' Thus the critical theory of society begins with the idea of the simple exchange of commodities and defines the idea with the help of relatively universal concepts. It then moves further, using all knowledge available and taking suitable material from the research of others as well as from specialized research. Without denying its own principles as established by the special discipline of political economy, the theory shows how an exchange economy, given the condition of men (which, of course, changes under the very influence of such an economy), must necessarily lead to a heightening of those social tensions which in the present historical era lead in turn to wars and revolutions."

Van Dijk (2015), one of the major founders of CDA, defined it as:

> "A discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts

take an explicit position and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately challenge social inequality" (Van Dijk, 2015 p.466).

In other words, Van Dijk views CDA as a means for examining and analysing how power, inequality, hegemony, and bias are disclosed in written and spoken texts in specific social context. Hence, understand and make a change in society.

However, for Norman Fairclough (1995), CDA aims at investigating and exploring the impenetrable link between discourse practices, social practices and social structures. Fairclough (1995, pp.132-133) defined it as:

> ''CDA is a discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.''

Moreover, Rogers (2004) demonstrates that CDA gives not only descriptions, interpretations and explanations of language use in a particular social context but also clarifies why and how discourses work, this is what makes CDA unique from other areas. In other words, it provides other features of discourse such as disclosing social problems, hidden ideologies and their purposes. She says:

> ''CDA is both a theory and a method. Researchers who are interested in the relationship between language and society use CDA to help them describe, interpret, and explain such relationships. CDA is different from other discourse analysis methods because it includes not only a description and interpretation of discourse in context, but also offers an explanation of why and how discourses work.'' (Rogers, 2004 p.33)

Besides, according to Wodak (2009), CDA is:

> ''CDA can be defined as a problem-oriented interdisciplinary research programme, subsuming a variety of approaches, each with different theoretical models, research methods, and agendas. What unites all approaches is a shared interest in the semiotic dimensions

of power, injustice, and political-economic, social, or cultural change in society. '' (Wodak, 2009 p.311)

In other words, Wodak declares that CDA is interested not only in the language use, but also in the study of social problems, using different methods and approaches. This in turn makes it interdisciplinary.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) summarized the main tenets of CDA as follows:

1. *CDA addresses social problems.*
2. *Power relations are discursive.*
3. *Discourse constitutes society and culture.*
4. *Discourse does ideological work.*
5. *Discourse is historical.*
6. *The link between text and society is mediated.*
7. *Discourse Analysis is interpretative and explanatory*
8. *Discourse is a form of social action. (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, pp.271-80)*

1.6.Features and Aims of CDA:

Van Dijk (1995) mentioned the following features and aims of CDA:

1- CDA methods and approaches are useful and pertinent if they aim at studying and solving social problems like sexism, racism, colonialism and other sorts of social inequality. Thus, CDA is problem-oriented rather than paradigm-oriented (Van Dijk, 1995).

2- A direct and explicit critical approach, opinion, stance or position of examining text and talk are represented by CDA, but does not characterise a school, a field or a sub-discipline of discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 1995).

3- CDA usually functions in a multidisciplinary way, for the purpose of studying social problems or issues appropriately, with emphasis on the relations between discourse and society (including social cognition, politics and culture) (Van Dijk, 1995).

4- Historically and systematically, CDA is part of a wide area of marginal or marginalized critical studies in the humanities and the social sciences, such psychology, sociology, mass communication research, law, literature and political science (Van Dijk, 1995).

5- CDA studies look at all levels and aspects of discourse, namely those of interaction and those of grammar (phonology, syntax, semantics), style, rhetoric, schematic organization, speech acts, pragmatic strategies, among others. As they are also interested in semiotic

aspects, like pictures, film, sound, music, and gestures of communicative events (Van Dijk, 1995).

6- CDA focuses mainly on relations of power, dominance, and inequality while studying the role of discourse in society, and how these are reproduced or resisted by social group members through text and talk (Van Dijk, 1995).

7- Most of the CDA's work involves the strategies of dominance and resistance in social relationships of class, gender, ethnicity, race, language, religion, sexual orientation, age, nationality, or world region, and the discursively enacted and legitimated structures. In addition to the hidden and underlying ideologies that contribute in the reproduction of or resistance against dominance and inequality (Van Dijk, 1995).

8- Discovering the strategies and techniques of manipulation, legitimation, revealing the implicit actions and discursive ways undertaken to impact people's minds for the benefit of the powerful, were the major aims of CDA. Thus, this suggests a critical and disagreeable position against the powerful and the elites, mainly those who abuse of their power (Van Dijk, 1995).

9- CDA studies attempt to establish, formulate and maintain a general viewpoint of solidarity with dominated groups, e.g., by formulating strategic proposals for the enactment and development of counter-power and counter-ideologies in practices of challenge and resistance (Van Dijk, 1995).

1.7.Approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis:

Capon, in his book "*interdisciplinary studies is pragmatics, culture and society*" (2016), mentioned five major approaches to CDA that he described as the best established ones. He also clearly stated that they are not the only ones to exist but they are the ones most recognized and used. The following is a brief introduction to three of these CDA approaches we found most related to our investigation:

1.7.1. Dialectical Relational Approach (Fairclough, 1989):

Fairclough is one of the key figures and pioneers of CDA starting from his book "*Language and Power*" (1989) which marked the genesis of CDA. Having gone through various terminology changes from critical language study to language awareness, Fairclough was the founder of the realist approach to CDA, commonly referred to in other terms as the dialectical

relational approach. According to Fairclough, the purpose of his approach is to "to develop ways of analysing language which address its involvement in the workings of contemporary capitalist societies" (Fairclough, 2013, p.42). In this approach, he analyzes the dialectical relationships between and within discourse structures and between discourse and other elements of social life. The approach studies semiosis which is meaning making. Additionally, Fairclough describes his work as "transdisciplinary" in the sense that it combines elements of three disciplines: such as "cultural political economic" (Capone, 2016. PP, 74-78).

1.7.2. Socio-cognitive Approach (Van Dijk, 2006):

Concerning this approach, Capone asserts that:

> "Teun van Dijk is recognized as one of the early, prolific, and leading practitioners of CDA. His socio-cognitive approach (SCA; see van Dijk 2009b, to appear-c), emphasizes the "fundamental importance of the study of cognition (and not only that of society) in the critical analysis of discourse, communication and interaction" (Van Dijk 2009b, p. 64) and "the fascinating socio-cognitive interface of discourse, that is, the relations between mind, discursive interaction and society" (Van Dijk 2009b, p. 65). It thus represents the socio-psychological dimension of CDA4, and draws on social representation theory (Moscovici 2000), which refers to the "bulk of concepts, opinions, attitudes, evaluations, images and explanations which result from daily life and are sustained by communication" (Wodak and Meyer 2009b, p. 25)."
> (Capone, 2015, p. 79).

The Socio-cultural Model is an interdisciplinary approach that crosses psychology, sociology and in most cases politics. It studies the relation of society, power and ideology and identifies in practice the discursive strategies used to exercise them. Thus, this approach whose next section is dedicated for it, is explained with further details.

1.7.3. Discourse Historical Approach (Wodak):

As long as Wodak's approach is concerned, Capone (2015, p.81) mentioned in his book that:

> "Reisigl and Wodak (2009, pp. 95–96) characterize the ten most important principles of DHA in the following way: (1) it is interdisciplinary, (2) it is problem oriented, (3) various theories

and methods are combined, (4) the research incorporates fieldwork and ethnography, (5) the research moves recursively between theory and empirical data, (6) numerous genres and public spaces as well as inter-textual and inter-discursive relationships are studied, (7) the historical context is taken into account in interpreting texts and discourses, (8) categories and tools are not fixed once and for all, (9) "grand theories" are used as a foundation, but "middle-range theories" give a better theoretical basis, and (10) the application of results and the communication of them to the public is important."

Hence, most of the characteristics mentioned above are common among all the approaches of critical discourse analysis. Wodak also gave the DHA three main dimensions:

1- Analyze the topics/contents of a particular discourse
2- Investigate the discursive strategies used
3- Deconstruct the linguistic means and linguistic realizations of the discursive practices

This approach also adopts Van Dijk's notions of "positive self" and "negative other" presentation.

1.8. Concepts Related to CDA:
1.8.1. Ideology:

The notion of ideology was initiated more than 200 years ago by The French philosopher Destutt de Tracy, in order to indicate a new discipline that would study "ideas". For him it is the study of how we speak, think and argue … etc. He, thus, means an overall "science of ideas". The notion is employed in impartial and descriptive way in current political science; for instance to refer to political belief systems (Freeden, 1996).

However, Classical approaches claim that ideologies are merely negative; they are means of maintaining and legalising social and political power abuse. E. g. racism, however, they can also be positive, shared and employed by social groups to oppose inequality and dominance, and to disseminate egalitarian positions, attitudes and practices, such as feminism, (Van Dijk, 1998). Ideology is often perceived as a term associated with political science in which its core definition is "[…] a coherent and relatively stable set of beliefs or values […]" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 8). Besides, CDA is concerned with disclosing structures of power and unmasking ideologies. Accordingly, Wodak & Meyer argue that the type of ideology that interests CDA is the "[…]

hidden and latent type of everyday beliefs, which often appear disguised as conceptual metaphors and analogies […]" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p.8). In addition, ideologies are embedded, produced and reflected either explicitly or implicitly through discourse. As stated by Van Dijk (2006), "it is largely through discourse that [ideologies] are acquired, expressed, learned, propagated, and contested" (p. 732). This notion is the basis on which Van Dijk built his ideological square model.

Furthermore, Van Dijk, (1998) defined ideologies as : "Ideologies are special forms of social cognition shared by social groups form the basis of the social representations and practices of group members, including their discourse, which at the same time serves as the means of ideological production, reproduction and challenge". In other words, ideologies are shared beliefs, principles, norms, values, actions and interests by social collectivities. Thus, Ideologies are disclosed, spread, used, and acquired through social practices. Since discourses are considered as social practices. Moreover, and generally, the term ideology has a direct link with political issue as it represents a set of beliefs or principles, one on which a political system, party or organization is based.

1.8.2. Hegemony:

The notion of dominance in ideologies refers to ideology that everyone in the host society adopts, either with no alternatives or with weak ones that don't impose a challenge. When a speaker seeks influence, he uses the dominant ideology and bends it toward his own. In this sense, Gramsci (2000) developed the hegemony in *The Prison Writings* as part of his critique of the deterministic economist interpretation of history of "mechanical historical materialism." To Gramsci, it is the "cultural, moral and ideological" leadership of a group over others. This leadership, however, is not only exercised in the superstructure, is not only politically ethical, but it also needs to be economic, and be based on the function that the leading group exercises in the nucleus of economic activity. It is based on the equilibrium between consent and coercion (Gramsci, 2000).

For Cornwall and Eade (2010), hegemony is the values of the ruling culture: "whereby the values of the ruling culture – in this case, the captains of the Development Industry – capture the ideology, self-understanding, and organizations of the working class – in this case, those

whose lives are most significantly affected by international development policies and by the ministrations of development assistance" (Cornwall & Eade, 2010, viii).

Fairclough (2003), following the definition of Gramsci (2000), defines hegemony as a perspective in which politics is seen as a conflict for hegemony and dominance, a way of putting power to concept which emphasizes how power counts on achieving consent instead of merely having the resources to use forceful action, and the importance of ideology in maintaining relations of power (Fairclough, 2003).

Also, Van Dijk (1993) stresses the link between hegemony and critical discourse analysis by pointing that hegemony is managing the minds of the dominated class and creating consensus for maintaining power through articulation and discourse especially in politics, which is the same point that Fairclough has highlighted. Additionally, Van Dijk also defined the hegemonic class as the elite with the power to make decisions and manipulate the minds of the others.

1.8.3. Inequality:

The emphasis on hegemony and inequality highlights that CDA is not built around contributing to other disciplines, but rather on pressing and focusing on social issues, which we hope to further explore using discourse analysis. The focus on social matters such as dominance and inequality doesn't mean giving less care about theoretical issues. The justification of inequality involves two strategies, namely, positive self-representation and negatives other-representation. This is, according to Van Dijk, what is found in white discourse about ethnic minorities (Van Dijk, 1993).

Furthermore, Van Dijk (1993) mentioned several forms of discourse, whether in everyday conversation, media or in other contexts are usually used to highlight inequality in the above mentioned strategies. The discourse giver contradicts the "US" being the positive with the "THEM" being the negative. An example of this is when a political party representative gives a discourse during an election campaign. However, he will state "our" sympathy and sense of justice and how they carry hope and responsibility and the right way to prosperity. He will also point to "their" faulty methods and ideas, the risks behind "their" ideologies and how it may lead to disappointment unlike his own "in-group". Also, several semantic strategies may be used for these purposes, from arguments, stories and other semantic moves. The inequality imposed by

the discursive end is usually indicating superiority to the in-group, and representing the out-group as inferior or villainous.

1.8.4. Power as Control:

The notion of power, particularly the social power of groups or institutions, is in the core of CDA. Van Dijk (2008) defines social power in terms of control. That is a group associated with power if it can (to an extent) control the minds and acts of the other groups' members. The notion of power is supposed to require social resources such as money, status, force, fame, culture, knowledge, and other forms of public discourse and communication as power base and power generators. Moreover, power comes in various forms depending on its source. Coercive power is that of the military and other categories of violent people, having force as its base. The rich will have their power based on money and finance. Knowledge, information and authority may be a base for "persuasive power" to be exercised by parents, professors or journalists. It is rare for power to be absolute as groups can dominate others on limited levels and ranges. An example to illustrate is that of a policeman that controls traffic only when in uniform and under specific protocols (Schiffrin, 2001). Besides, Power may be realized in terms of laws, rules, norms, habits and even a general social consensus, that is what Gramsci has named Hegemony (Gramsci 1971). Power is not necessarily exercised in terms of abuse by it may rather be achieved through everyday taken-for-granted actions (Foucault, 1980). Furthermore, not all members of the dominant group are more powerful than those of the dominated as the concept of power is relative to whole groups rather that individual. In other words, while one group has more power over the other, that does not necessarily imply that all members of the dominant one are more powerful than all those of the dominated. Additionally, analyzing the relations between power and discourse reveals that having access to specific type of discourse is itself a source of power. Van Dijk (1996) says it also shows that the dominant groups that are able to control and manipulate the minds of others may indirectly control their actions (Van Dijk, 1996). (Schiffrin, 2001)

Section Three: The Critical Discourse Analysis Framework of Van Dijk (2006)

A brief biography of Van Dijk is first given, followed by an explanation and illustration of Van Dijk's Model (2006). Light is also shed on the Micro and Macro levels of Van Dijk's CDA in this section.

1.9.Teun Van Dijk Biography:

Teun Adrianus van Dijk was born in May 7, 1943, in Naaldwijk, the Netherlands. He is a scholar in the fields of Text Linguistics, Discourse Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Van Dijk started his work many years ago in French Language and Literature and got his diplomas (of French Language and Literature) in this field in the Free University of Amsterdam, 1962-1967 and of Theory of Literature from 1967 to 1968. Then, he got his doctorate in Linguistics from the University of Amsterdam in 1972 (Van Dijk, 2000). He was interested in French surrealist poetry. In the 60s, academics were influenced by Chomsky's work, and so, the only way to describe poetry in a systematic way through the linguistic of text. Since Text is more than just sentence structures, other aspects such as cognition and text coherence that has to do with mental representation were missing. He was interested afterward to establish the basis for some discourse structures like the macro-structures which cannot be directly observed in the text such as the general topics, the global meaning, etc. He contributed with Walter Kintsch to the development of the psychology of text processing. Thus, the book "*Strategies of Discourse Comprehension*" was a product of this collaboration (i.e. between T. Van Dijk and the American psychologist Walter Kintsch). It tries to explain how people produce and understand discourse. By the 1980s, many discourse structures like the structure of the mind that are relevant to producing and understanding discourse have already been discovered (Van Dijk, 2000). However, there was a third dimension missing that is society. And that means that for one to understand the full impact of discourse, he doesn't only need discourse structures or mental structures, but also social structures. Since the 1980s, his work in CDA focused especially on the study of the discursive reproduction of racism by what he calls the 'symbolic elites' (politicians, journalists, scholars, writers), the study of news in the press, and on the theories of ideology, context and knowledge. Later, he founded six international journals: Poetics, Text (now called Text & Talk), Discourse & Society, Discourse Studies, and Discourse & Communication, of which he still edits the last three. Teun A. van Dijk was a professor of discourse studies at the

University of Amsterdam from 1968 until 2004, and since 1999, he has taught at the Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona. In 2017 he founded the Centre of Discourse Studies in Barcelona. He has widely lectured internationally, especially in Latin America (Van Dijk, 2000).

1.10. Explaining Van Dijk Model (2006):

Although CDA has often been employed in particular fields to analyze contents and sub-themes, the domain of politics has made use of CDA to analyze parliament proceedings, election campaigns, demonstrations, and prominently political speeches and statements as ideological battles among politicians. Moreover, CDA offers the necessary tools and methods for examining the dialogical relations between discourse and ideology. One of the key concepts that CDA explores is the "self-other" schema, where the binary "us versus them" is stressed; In other words, "positive self-presentation" and "negative other-representation", which serve to empower ideological beliefs, practices and sentiments. A major approach that takes this idea as its core is the ideological square model of Van Dijk (Van Dijk, 2006).

The ideological square model that was suggested Teun Van Dijk is appropriate for the analysis at hand, because it focuses upon the polarizing macro-strategy of positive self-representation and negative other-representation (Van Dijk, 2006). Also, he asserts that this analytical tool is well suited for exploring and highlighting the polarization of "us versus them", where the speaker and his/her allies are considered to be "us or in-group": while his/her opponents are placed in the "them or out-group" column. This framework emphasizes the opposition in the self-other representation, where the in-group is regarded as positive while the out-group is regarded as negative. The former seeks to reinforce the positive aspects of the self, alongside the negative aspects of the other, while also diluting the negatives of the self alongside the positives of the other (Van Dijk, 2006).
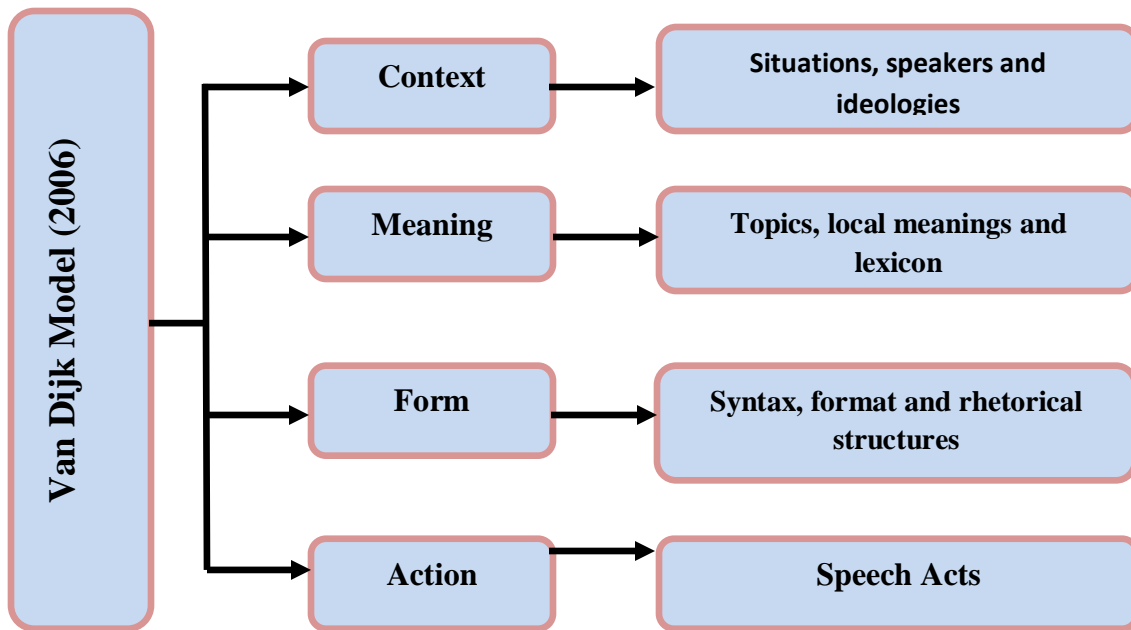
Figure 02: an Adapted version of Van Dijk Model (2006)

Van Dijk (2006) has identified four basic strategies that are used in order to legitimize the self and delegitimize the other:

1- Emphasize the positive things about us ;

2- Emphasize the negative things about them;

3- De-emphasize negative things about us;

4- De-emphasize positive things about them.

  a) Self, we ,us – in-group;

  b) Others, they, them – out-group.
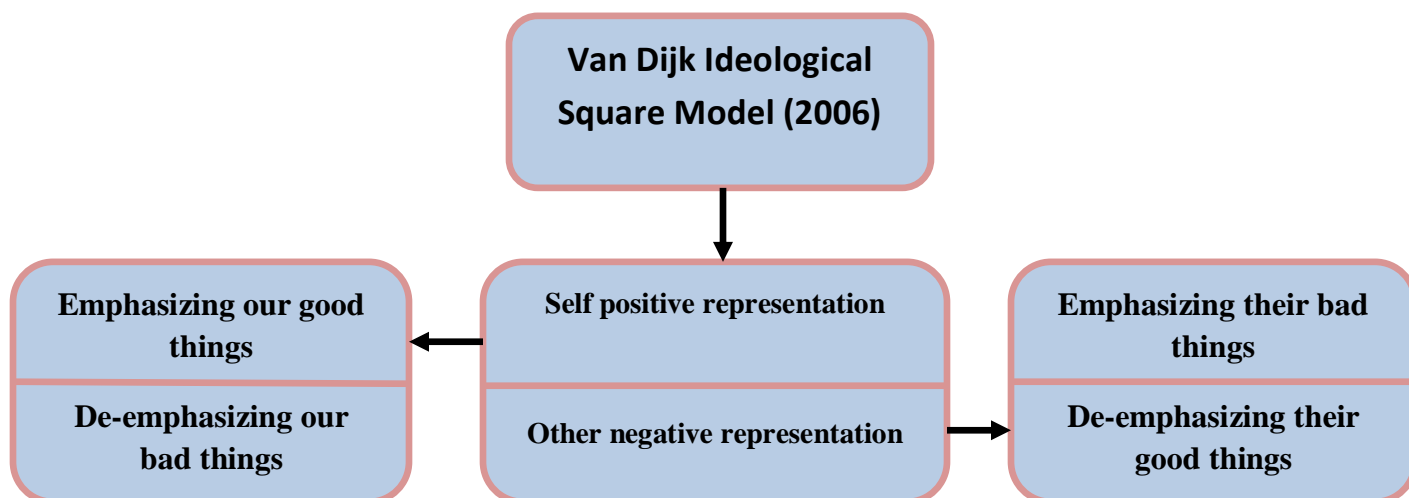
Figure 03: Van Dijk Ideological Square Model (2006)

1.11. Macro Vs. Micro Levels:

The micro-social order level includes verbal interactions, language use, communication and discourse, while the macro level is associated with other terms such as inequality, dominance and power. Hence, CDA attempts to fill the well-known gap between micro and macro approaches (Van Dijk, 2008).

An example to illustrate is when a parliament member gives a discourse about feminism as an interactional micro level, but at the same time this could enact on macro level if the status of feminism in society is to be affected. This example shows that a unified whole is created by the two levels in everyday interaction, exchange and experience (Wodak and Van Dijk, 2000). It is important to point that this very parliament discourse may again feature semantic macro structures (topics) as well as micro-structures (local prepositions and their concepts) (Van Dijk, 2008).

In order to connect the gap between the micro and macro levels and get a unified critical analysis, several ways of analysis were established:

1- *Members-groups:* discourse is used by language users as members of social groups, institution or organizations, thus they may act through or by the members (Van Dijk, 2008).

2- *Actions-process:* the social actions of individuals actors may constitute part of the group actions and social process such as newsmaking, and legislation of feminism (Van Dijk, 2008).

3- *Context-social structure*: social settings of communication are also part of social structure. A press conference is a typical local practice between organizations and media institutions as macro-level structure, meaning local and global contexts are closely related (Van Dijk, 2008)..

4- *Personal and social cognition:* personal (personal memories, knowledge and opinions) and social cognition (those shared with members of members of their group or culture as a whole) are both present in language users as social actors. Thus, the real interface between society and discourse is socio-cognitive since language users as social actors mentally represent and connect both levels. Whereas the three links mentioned above are merely analytical relations (Van Dijk, 2008).

Section Four: A Brief Literature Review

In this section we present some relevant previous research works in order to better understand the field and contribute with this humble study to the existing body of literature.

In his analysis of the media, political, textbooks and other public discourses, Van Dijk (2005) himself, after establishing his model in 2004, examined some of the properties of the speeches by former Prime Minister of that time, Jose Maria Aznar, given in the Spanish Parliament in 2003, Using the multidisciplinary CDA, legitimating his support to the USA and its war against the threat present in the Iraqi land. He strongly believed that discourses in the parliament are ought to be defined on the basis of their properties as texts and in contextual analysis. Also, he identified three types of strategies for positive self-presentation used by Aznar. First, it is when Prime Minister speaks for his own group, then when he speaks for his nation as a whole, and when he speaks for himself as a politician, a leader and a man. Next to these ideological properties Van Dijk (2005) gave attention to political uses and outcomes that are defined as reasoning based on political knowledge as well as on the contextuality of Aznar's speeches.

Wang (2010) used M.A.K Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) to analyze Barrack Obama's Speeches to detect formal features. The three meta-functions in the SFG; ideational, interpersonal and textual, were used in an attempt to find the relationship between ideology and power. Wang looked into the transitivity and modality in Obama's discourses. The results of the research point that modality and transitivity were used to better deliver speeches and make them easier to understand as well as smoother to accept by the audience. The president put his strategies to use in order to raise further confidence in the people towards himself and his actions and the nation as a whole.

The application of a stretched nigrescence theory (NT-E) and the theoretical framework of a diasporic consciousness were used in the study made by De Walt (2013) from the University of South Florida. He investigated the discourse of African American identity making the notions of consciousness explicit and adding contribution to the research made by First Generation US-born Africans (FGAs). He investigated the development, identity and status of African people. Patrick initiated a shift from conceiving identity from the angle of race to a culturally based vision that stands on eight identified factors. The study addressed the notion of blackness and the negative stereotypes associated with it. De Walt tackled the African heritage mentioned the FGAs research and how it fits in the identity of the African American, shedding light of the actual sense of belonging for the black society in the US. Moreover, he addressed the identity conflict of whether accepting the African heritage as part of the black US identity or the other notion adopted by some of the black society that goes to leave behind the heritage associated with them.

Rachman et al (2017), published an article in the TELL Journal that had a critical discourse analysis in Donald Trump presidential campaign to win American's hearts. The researchers used CDA's Van Dijk thematic theory to analyze Donald Trump's utterances in his presidential campaign at November 16th, 2015 in Knoxville Convention Center. The findings classified four major indicators and six concepts; 1) becoming public interest, 2) illustrating central issue of the speech, 3) persuading the audiences about political views, 4) affecting people's perception of themselves. Additionally, the results showed that the way Donald has delivered his ideology to assert power and control was in his ability to control people in line with his purpose to win America's heart. It is also shown that Trump has put to use political strategies

that got him large support and successfully had him elected as the candidate for the Republican Party.

Demitry (2017) examined the various linguistic tools used by Donald Trump in his third and final Presidential debate in 2016 to dominate people's minds, and enhance his attitudes .Thus, convince them that he is the righteous person to run USA. This analytical study aims at finding out the different pragmatic elements. In addition, to show the employment of Van Dijk socio-cognitive approach to determine how his attitudes, beliefs, power and ideologies were conveyed through the discourse to manipulate people's minds. To conclude, the researcher found that Trump made a considerable use of pragmatics devices among them presupposition and conversational implicature and stylistic tools such as metaphor, irony, hyperbole, repetition and syntactic parallelism. Due to these various strategies used, Trump impresses the audience and gains their voices.

Khan et al. (2019a) focus on Trump's ideology in his anti-islamic and anti-muslim discourses of 2016. This study aims at finding and examining the positive self- representation and others negative representation in his statement during the American Presidential elections of 2016. Thus, to do so, the researchers engaged in critical discourse analysis by applying Van Dijk ideological square model .The findings showed that he used various discursive strategies to refer to Islam and Muslims in a negative way while referring to himself as a person who will make America safe. Moreover, he employed various rhetoric strategies, among them, victimization, presupposition, authority, number game, evidentiality, polarization and populism. To conclude, Trump represented himself as an Islamophobe, and Muslims are enemies of the country; hence, he used many techniques to convince the whole nation about this.

Khan et al. (2019b) examine the different strategies the president of Pakistan "Musharraf" use to enhance his position of being a supporter and a fighter against terrorism .He uses language as a means of conveying his ideologies and beliefs of legalizing and legitimizing the war on Terror. By applying the socio-cognitive model of Van Dijk (2002), the researchers desire to find out the various techniques and strategies used by the president to manipulate and persuade people of Pakistan to be collaborators and be part of US alliance. Moreover, he tries to shape and impact people's opinions and to convince them to adhere to his ideology and beliefs of the emergency of putting hand in hand to face these evil acts that threatens the world. The

investigators came into conclusion that Musharraf used multiple strategies and tactics of discourse. Specific linguistic tools and a careful use of micro and macro structures that empowers his stance were successfully used.

Sujito et al. (2019) investigated the ideological strategies used by Donald Trump in his speech "How to Make America Safe" to gain people's voices and hearts to win the US 2016 election .This research is based on Van Dijk (2004) Model to CDA. It aims at finding the discursive strategies used by the nominee in his speech and examines how he manipulates through language, using it as an effective tool and weapon to persuade the audience that he is the man needed to run the United States. The authors come into conclusion that while trying to win the public consensus, Donald Trump used the strategy of positive self-representation, where he shows that he is determined to bring benefits and positive changes to America by fighting terrorism and making this nation safe, Also, by using the strategy of negative other representation trying to diminish the others especially Obama and Clinton .In addition to other strategies such as metaphor, lexicalization and illustration. Finally, Trump used various tactics to impress the audience and shape their opinions to win the US 2016 elections.

Alam et al (1020) analyzed Masses' talks about the Covid-19 Pandemic in different groups of Pakistani society, Religious scholars, Professional experts, and common citizens were the major participants. They examined and analyzed the talks by applying the socio-cognitive approach of Van Dijk (2009). It aims at finding the different beliefs, perceptions, and ideologies of Pakistani people; and how these diverse sections of one society give different talks about Covid-19 Pandemic. Thus, the study found that the participants in particular and citizens of Pakistan in general possess mixed feelings and beliefs about this Pandemic. Their talks were influenced by their beliefs, ideologies, knowledge, and attitudes. The religious scholars and common citizens announced that the Pandemic cannot be mortal, since death is considered by God's side. Hence, only religious practices like prayers can prevent him. In contrast to medical practitioners who emphasize on the importance of adopting precautionary measures such as ; social distance .As a result, both of them use persuasive strategies. That is, the doctors attempt to prevent propagation of the disease by sticking to the precautions. However, religious men convince repent before Allah. To conclude, this study has shown that Pakistani citizens hold

different views about Covid-19 Pandemic, and use various persuasive techniques. This is due to their diverse beliefs, perceptions, attitudes, knowledge, and ideologies.

Saoudi (2020) investigated the Salafis' Unofficial ideological discourse (ordinary religious Islamic grouping and not the discourse of official institutions) on Facebook and its identity significance. This study aims at finding the ideological strategies used in Salafis' discourse on Facebook, and how they employed the discourse to show and represent their identity, putting emphasis on lexical and text - generating techniques. In order to conduct a reliable analysis and accomplish the objectives, Fairclough's critical discourse analysis approach was adopted, in addition to Van Dijk's ideological square model. The different Facebook posts published by the Salafis on their profiles, pages, or groups which represent social media discourse that has been analyzed .this study showed that Salafis used positive self- representation meaning themselves as pure Muslims and others negative representation meaning the Muslim Brotherhood who combine Islam with politics. Besides, the Salafis used polarization in their use of "Us" Vs "Them". As they used new techniques such as new labeling terms, lexical modification and multimodal text generating techniques. Moreover, these posts represent the Salafis' identity. Finally, this analytical research highlighted that social media are an effective means for creating discourses using creative and innovative techniques.

Accordingly, the present study examines the first presidential debate between Donald J Trump and Joseph Biden (2020). It is similar to its predecessors in the following: (1) it is a discourse study of a political speech. (2) It aims to investigate a corpus that attempts to shift public consensus. (3) It gives special attention to the ideological strategies used by both the speakers. (4) The analysis will be done according to the Van Dijk Model (2006). However, it will be different from the previous ones in what follows: (1) it deals with a recent debate that received no CDA study as far as we know. (2) It investigates and explains the contemporary political status in the United States. (3) It gives an interesting insight on a debate between a veteran politician and an experienced businessman.

Chapter two:

Research Methods, Analysis, and discussion of the findings

Chapter two opens with the first section that draws on the research methods and design and describes the corpus of the study and data analysis procedures. The second section is about the analysis and discussion of the discourse according to Van Dijk's Model (2006). The last section provides the conclusion and results as well as the limitations of the study. It also gives suggestions for future research.

Section One: Research Methods and Study Design:

2.1 Research Methods:

This study is a descriptive research based on mixed methods design: both qualitative and quantitative. The qualitative method is used to find out the ideological strategies used by the two participants in the debate. The quantitative one is employed to give statistical proofs and evidence about by counting the number of repeated personal pronouns, object pronouns, and possessive adjectives utilised to talk about the in-group and the out-group. In addition to the frequency of related words in the main topics brought up. Hence, this study describes and explains the different strategies used by the orators to deliver powerful arguments. Thus, we believe that it is the suitable way for the analysis of Donald J Trump and Joe Biden first presidential debate in 2020's USA elections as it leads to valid results.

2.2. The Corpus:

It is important to note that the corpus of this study involves the transcript of the first debate between Donald Trump and Joe Biden in USA's presidential elections of 2020. The transcript was retrieved from "The Commission on Presidential Debates" official website. It is chosen because it represents the first clash between the two rivals, revealing important discourse features about both participants. It is a window to American contemporary political discourse. We aspire and foresee a respected amount of information to be extracted and analysed. It consists of 20 086 words and 55 pages.

2.3. Data Analysis Procedures:

We opted for critical discourse analysis in our research with the aim of figuring out the different ideological strategies used by the republican Donald J Trump and the democrat Joe Biden in the first USA presidential debate of 2020. In order to analyse the chosen corpus, we adopted Van Dijk's Model (2006) as a framework. First, we identify the context of the debate and main ideologies of the speakers, next step is to analyse the debate at the meaning level by identifying the main topics, positive self-representation and others negative representation and the lexicon. Then we move to the form level, we identify the schemata of the corpus, the syntax and the various rhetorical structures employed. The Final step is an analysis at the action level, where we identify the speech acts used by both the opponents. Hence, pertinent illustrations will be picked for each step.

Section Two: Analysis and Discussion of the Findings

The following is a study concerned with the analysis of Trump and Biden's first debate for the 2020 election. Van Dijk's Model (2006) is adopted for the analysis. The first aspect to be explored is the context, including the place, time, participants and the main ideologies of the contenders. It is later followed by an analysis on the level of meaning, in which we stick to the ideological square model of positive self representation and negative other representation. Form is the next aspect in the study, as we go through the syntax, schemata, and rhetorical structures. The model adaptation is concluded with the action level, which is concerned with speech acts.

2.4. Context:

The corpus at hand is a presidential debate between the two candidates; the republican Donald John Trump and democrat Joseph Robinette Biden Jr. The encounter took place on the evening of the 29th of September, 2020. The moderator was Chris Wallace from Fox News and the hosting center was the Health Education Campus of Case Western Reserve University and the Cleveland Clinic, Ohio. The debate is divided into six segments, each of which has a question for a specific topic. Following each of the questions is a 2 minutes period for the nominee to answer. Once the answers are provided, an open discussion of 15 minutes takes place, before moving to the next segment. An audience has witnessed the debate, but agreed to

remain silent. Safety and precautionary measures against Covid-19 were taken. There were no handshakes and no physical proximity, according to a protocol designed by the Cleveland Clinic.

2.5. Ideologies:

Van Dijk (2006) points out that ideologies are transmitted and expressed through discourse saying "it is largely through discourse that [ideologies] are acquired, expressed, learned, propagated, and contested (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 732). Based on what he suggests we try to (disclose) identify the main tenets in the ideologies of the two candidates, Trump and Biden.

On the scale of this debate is trump on the right hand, a businessman and a capitalist. Donald's belief of the US is largely focused on capitalist economy. He puts economy above various issues on several occasions. He has demonstrated that when he called for the opening of the country before the vaccine was released and bragged about the numbers he is making:

"what happened is we closed it down and now we're reopening and we're doing record business." (Trump, 2020 p. 19)

Being a conservative republican, he is largely opposed to social liberalism. His opposition to socialism is evident when he accused his rival for wanting to go socialist and ending private (capitalist) healthcare:

"you're certainly going to socialist. You're going to socialist medicine" (Trump, p. 3)

"you're going to extinguish 180 million people with their private health care, that they're very happy with." (Trump, 2020 p. 3)

Donald tried to enforce the grip of his conservative party on the Supreme Court, in attempt to further impose the ideologies and beliefs of the republicans. Having Amy Barrette replace Ginsburg served this purpose for him. One example of trying to reinforce the capitalist ideology is trying to remove the Obamacare Act which is socially liberal in core.

"I want to give them better healthcare at a much lower price, because Obamacare is no good." (Trump, 2020 p. 8)

The ideologies of Trump and his party are further shown when the two sides discuss the Covid-19 crisis. Donald defends his belief that opening America for business again is the right thing to do, and that the US economy must be restored to its former glory, before the pandemic hit. His argument when asked about the safety of the people is limited to the fact that they can take care of themselves and auto-manage their safety measures.

"people want their schools open. They don't want to be shut down" (Trump, 2020 p. 21)

"They can social distance. They can wash their hands, they can wear masks. They can do whatever they want, but they got to open these states up." (Trump, 2020 p. 19)

Donald says on the matter of racism that on both extremist sides, the white supremacists and the Antifa, are good guys. This in turn illustrates his ideology of wanting to end quarrels regardless of who is right and wrong, while justice calls to condemn the "KKK" and other extremist radicals. Trump puts more blame on Antifa (the left wing) as he only partially blames white supremacists

"tell you what: somebody's got to do something about Antifa and the left because this is not a right wing problem this is a left-wing. "(Trump, 2020 p. 39)

The situation and the spikes in crime, indeed shows that he has done very little and gave minimal attention to the matter.

Climate change was a matter brought up by Wallace in the debate at hand. Trump shoed little belief in the science behind climate change and global warming (GW). Henceforth, When asked if he is on board with what the science says is the cause of GW he answered;

"I think a lot of things do, but I think to an extent, yes. I think to an extent, yes." "(Trump, 2020 p. 44)

He addressed the fires and denied their relationship to climate change and related it to poor management of forests.

> "But I also think we have to do better management of our forests.
> Every year I get the call. California's burning, California's
> burning. If that was cleaned, if that were, if you had forest

management, good forest management, you wouldn't be getting those calls." (Trump, 2020 p. 44)

He also shied away from responsibility and blamed other nations, such as china, for the consequences they make on the planet. Donald implies in his arguments that if the environment is hurt for the good of the US and its economy, then it's a price worth paying.

"China sends up real dirt into the air. Russia does. India does. They all do. We're supposed to be good." (Trump, 2020 p. 48)

Biden on the left hand of the equation is the liberal, socialist, democrat. Having witnessed the reign on several presidents, the most prominent of which is the democrat Barak Obama, Biden is a veteran politician. He believes in sympathy towards the poor and strongly holds on to providing for the average American rather than the rich. He also mentioned in several instances his will to bring Americans of all races and religions together.

In an attempt to protect the socially liberal Act of Obamacare, which provides health care for those financially vulnerable, Biden initiated a claim that his opponent is abusing power in the Supreme court. Moreover, he defends the Affordable Care Act, saying that removing it will:

 "Strip 20 million people from having health insurance now" (Biden, 2020 p. 2)

The belief of having people as priority over money is explicitly shown in his will to close down the greatest economy in the world to prevent the expansion of the pandemic, as well as a will to provide the gear and financial instruments needed to protect the citizens. An example of this is shown in the following quote:

"You've got to provide these businesses the ability to have the money to be able to reopen with the PPE, as well as with the sanitation they need." (Biden, 2020 p. 15)

The Vice President has clearly illustrated his ideology of social liberalism even further, when he introduced his plan of increasing Taxes for the rich and decreasing them for the common.

"And he does take advantage of the tax code. That's why I'm going to eliminate the Trump tax cuts. And I'm going to eliminate those tax cuts." (Biden, 2020 p. 22)

Beyond his sympathy for the people, he further provides support to Paris accord aiming to save the planet. Biden stresses the need to take responsibility for the damage dealt to the climate and earth as a whole.

"I will rejoin the Paris Accord. I will join the Paris Accord because with us out of it, look what's happening. It's all falling apart." (Biden, 2020 p. 45)

The belief of bringing the people together was highlighted when the debate took a spin in the topic of racism. Joe condemned the white supremacists including the "KKK" and denies that Antifa is an entity saying:

"Antifa is an idea not an organization". (Biden, 2020 p. 39)

Biden believes that those who commit racism should be held accountable, as shown in the following quote:

" I've made it clear in my public statements that the violence should be prosecuted. It should be prosecuted, and anyone who commits it should be prosecuted." (Biden, 2020 p. 37)

2.6. The Meaning Level:

2.6.1. Ideological Square through Meaning:

2.6.1.1. Topics: (semantic macrostructures)

The corpus at hand has dealt with several topics selected by the moderator, Chris Wallace. He proposed a series of questions that tackled the matters of most interest. Hence, both nominees invested the time given in an attempt to answer and convince the audience, but more importantly to take advantage of the topics in order to provide a positive and polished image of the groups they belong to, while also inflecting negative effects on the status of the opponent and his ideologies. The following table organizes the main subjects dealt with as well as the views of both Trump and Biden:

Topics	Trump's View	Biden's View	Related Words (frequency)
Healthcare	Trump is for private health-care **In-group positives:** • Providing better treatment • Lowering drug prices • Lower and more	Biden is for Socialist Medicine and Obamacare **In-group positives:** • Cheap healthcare for the poor • Health insurance for	• Drug/s (9) • Healthcare(15) • Insurance (15)

	affordable care. **Out-group negatives:** • Budget consuming • Government takeover healthcare • Threatens private insurance	people with pre-existing conditions **Out-group negatives:** • Denying pre-existing conditions health insurance • Charging the poor more money (expensive) • Lowering healthcare coverage	• Medicine (4) • Obamacare(18)
Covid-19	End the lockdown and open America for business **In-group positives:** ➢ Fast economic recovery ➢ Avoiding psychological crisis (alcohol, divorce, suicide…) **Out-group negatives:** ➢ Psychological crisis ➢ Economic depression and loss of jobs	Lockdown the country and provide safety gear. **In-group positives:** ➢ Preserve American lives ➢ Prevent contamination **Out-group negatives:** ➢ economic recovery at the expense of the vulnerable ➢ Loss of American lives ➢ Promoting Covid contact and contamination.	• Coronavirus(2) • Covid-19 (17) • Mask/s (28) • Safety (3) • Vaccine (12) • Virus (2)
Economy	**In-group positives:** ➢ V-shape economic recovery ➢ More jobs for Americans ➢ Lower taxes **Out-group negatives:** Turn the economy socialist Slower economic growth	**In-group positives:** ➢ Lower taxes for people in need ➢ More jobs for Americans **Out-group negatives:** • fitting taxes for the rich and higher for the poor • K-shape economic recovery; upwards for the rich and down for the working-class.	• Dollar/s (31) • Economy (25) • Jobs (19) • Million (62) • Money (11) • Tax/es (35)
Racism	Using law and order to impose justice and prosecute the radical, especially the left. Moreover, removing the Racial Insensitivity Training (RST). **In-group positives:** ➢ He has done more for the African Americans than any other republican or president. ➢ remove racist thoughts and prevent them from	Fix the unequal justice system for black and the unfair treatment they get. Furthermore, Prosecute all radicals especially the right and bring back the RST. **In-group positives:** ➢ Equal justice for all Americans ➢ Tech generations to respect each other **Out-group negatives:** ➢ Did nothing to the	• African- American/s (7) • Antifa (6) • Black/s (5) • Race (10) • Racial (5)

	being implanting into the generations **Out-group negatives:** ➢ Feeding racial society to the people. ➢ Disrespecting the African American community	African American community ➢ Looking down on other peoples' races and religious affiliations. ➢ Removing racial education promotes racism.	• Racist (7) • Supremacist(4)
Climate Change	Trump Left the Paris Accord and is for going back to energy generation using traditional ways. He also wants to enhance forest management to prevent fires **In-group positives:** ➢ boost economic growth ➢ imposing fines on opposing nations like china **Out-group negatives:** ➢ hurting American economy ➢ planning expensive green house projects that would drain the budget.	Biden wants to join back to the Paris Accord, and he wants to plant trees and go for green energy and energy efficient housing. **In-group positives:** ➢ Help heal the planet ➢ Prevent green house gas emission ➢ Take responsibility and invite other nations to take it as well. **Out-group negatives:** ➢ Putting the planet in danger ➢ Avoiding responsibility for damaging the climate	• Climate (7) • Environment (5) • Green new deal • Paris accord(4) • Weatherize (3)

Table 01: topics views and word frequencies indentified in the first presidential debate of Trump and Biden (2020).

2.6.1.2. Positive Self-representation for Biden and Trump in the Corpus:

In the corpus at hand, the two candidates Donald J. Trump and Joe Biden have used positive self representation. It was clearly highlighted in several occasions in the debate. Moreover, Ideologies of the two rivals manifested in various forms. Members of Social interactions, such as the dialogical discourse at hand, reveal the ideologies of the groups they belong to. In the following analysis, we attempt to unravel the various strategies used from each side to provide sufficient positive representation for their in-groups.

Emphasizing in-groups' good things:

The nominees employed different tactics to support and strengthen the position of their ideologies and beliefs, next to that of the opponent. Trump has implicitly mentioned his

belonging to the Republican Party along the debate. He also emphasized his dominance and excellence over his group. One illustration of this is when he said:

"if you look at the polls, I'm doing better than any republican has done in a long time…" (Trump, 2020 p. 31)

He further demonstrated his influence in the party by pointing to the fact that he won the nomination to the presidency election over his republican opponents, the following is the extract for this:

"… and one of the big debates we had with 23 of my colleagues trying to win the nomination, that I won …" (Trump, 2020 p. 3)

When dealing with Covid-19, Trump has used evidence from the testaments of democrats and experts to show how much of a good work he and his government have done to manage the crisis. The following quote exemplifies this:

"Dr. Fauci said, "President Trump saved thousands of lives." Many of your Democrat Governors said, "President Trump did a phenomenal job."" (Trump, 2020 p. 12)

Moreover, Trump clarifies the fact that he has plan named "operation wrap speed" and the entire military ready to execute it at command. This in turn emphasizes his ability to manage the pandemic crisis, using figures and statistics.

"We have the military all set up. Logistically, they're all set up. We have our military that delivers soldiers and they can do 200,000 a day." (Trump, 2020 p. 13)

The subject of economy was one that Donald Trump was excited and happy to discuss. His position was initially enforced by the moderator, Wallace. Chris has stated the following:

"The economy is, I think it's fair to say, recovering faster than expected from the shutdown" (Trump, 2020 p. 19)

Trump continued with his answer and made it clear that his government has created a massive economy before it was forcefully shutdown by the disease, which he blames china for. Later, he further highlights the effectiveness of his economic strategies.

"we built the greatest economy in history. We closed it down because of the China plague" (Trump, 2020 p. 19)

> "Because there has never been an administration or president who has done more than I've done in a period of three and a half years…The greatest, before COVID came in, the greatest economy in history, lowest employ–unemployment numbers, everything was good. Everything was going." (Trump, 2020 p. 40)

> "Now we're reopening and we're doing record business. We had 10.4 million people in a four-month period that we've put back into the workforce. That's a record the likes of which nobody's ever seen before. And he wants to close down the… He will shut it down again. He will destroy this country." (Trump, 2020 p. 19)

Furthermore, Trump didn't hesitate to show strong claims that introduce him as a savior for the African American community in the face of racism. Wallace confronted him with his claims that he did better at the matter than any other president and he agreed.

"President Trump, you have often said that you believe you will have done more for Black Americans than any president with the possible exception of Abraham Lincoln." (Wallace p. 30)

"That's true." (Trump, 2020 p. 30)

All the arguments used by Donald to reinforce his higher ground in the debate where about making America great and building it back , as well as finishing the job he started in the first term of his presidency. He does this in an attempt to gain the support and votes of the audience and the American people.

"But now we're building it back up again. A rebuilding of the military, including Space Force and all of the other things. A fixing of the VA which was a mess under him." (Trump,2020 p. 40)

Biden on the other hand, has put a strong rivalry for Donald Trump. He has emphasized that he is the man for the mission and righteous leader the United States needs. He well provided the positives of his group as well as further augmented the positivity of their ideologies.

Besides, Biden mentioned explicitly that he belonged to the Democratic Party. He also emphasized that he won the nomination; hence, highlighting his dominance over the members of his group.

"The party is me. Right now, I am the Democratic Party." (Biden, 2020 p. 3)

"The platform of the Democratic Party is what I, in fact, approved of, what I approved of." (Biden, 2020 p.4)

Biden made it clear that his group wants the people of the USA to have a say in important matters of the nation. Thus, he thinks Trump shouldn't act in times of election.

"The American people have a right to have a say in who the Supreme Court nominee is and that say occurs when they vote for United States Senators and when they vote for the President of United States" (Biden, 2020 p. 2)

Besides, he presented himself as man of the hour, fighting for the health insurance of people with pre-existing conditions and those contacting Covid-19 as well.

"Supreme Court right now trying to get rid of the Affordable Care Act, which will strip 20 million people from having health insurance" (Biden, 2020 p. 2)

"Well, there's seven million people that contracted COVID. What does it mean for them going forward if you strike down the Affordable Care Act?" (Biden, 2020 p. 4)

Biden also came to be the hero, as he demonstrates what a president should do to deal with corona virus.

> "I laid out back in March, exactly what we should be doing. And I laid out again in July, what we should be doing. We should be providing all the protective gear possible. We should be providing the money the House has passed in order to be able to go out and get people the help they need to keep their businesses open" (Biden, 2020 p. 11)

The sympathy of Joseph Biden also made tremendous impact when attempting to bring the Americans together in the fight against racism. Moreover, he has suggested his Tax plan in favor of those financially vulnerable rather than the rich, meaning he is socially liberal.

"It's about equity and equality. It's about decency. It's about the Constitution. And we have never walked away from trying to require, acquire equity for everyone, equality for the whole of America" (Biden, 2020 p. 30)

"what I'm going to do as President of the United States is call a, a, together an entire group of people at the White House, everything from the civil rights groups, to the police officers, to the police chiefs, and we're going to work this out." (Biden, 2020 p. 32)

"In fact, we're all Americans. The only way we're gonna bring this country together is bring everybody together. There's nothing we cannot do, if we do it together." (Biden, 2020 p. 34)

"I'm going to eliminate the Trump tax cuts. And I'm going to eliminate those tax cuts." (Biden, 2020 p. 22)

"And make sure that we invest in the people who in fact need the help. People out there need help" (Biden, 2020 p. 22)

Moreover, Biden's responsibility and care towards climate change made difference in showing what he is made of.

". I will join the Paris Accord because with us out of it, look what's happening. It's all falling apart" (Biden, 2020 p. 45)

Joseph did a phenomenal job at emphasizing the positives of his group, making it difficult for trump to compete.

De-emphasizing in-groups' bad things:

Like all presidential candidates, Biden and Trump had flaws and negative points to cover up for. They both defended their ideologies and policies when they had to. After his attempt to

get his nominee Amy Barrette to the Supreme Court in times of election, Trump had to defend his decision by calling on a statement made by Justice few years ago.

"Justice Ginsburg said very powerfully, very strongly, at some point 10 years ago or so, she said a President and the Senate is elected for a period of time, but a President is elected for four years. We're not elected for three years" (Trump, 2020 p. 3)

He was later in obligation to de-emphasize the negatives of his policy when dealing with covid-19 pandemic, having to close the country and then taking option to re-open for business.

"He wants to shut down the country. We just went through it. We had to, because we didn't know anything about the disease." (Trump, 2020, p. 16)

"…I had to close the greatest economy in the history of our country. And by the way, now it's being built again and it's going up fast." (p. 15)

"He wants to shut down this country and I want to keep it open, and we did a great thing by shutting it down" (Trump, 2020, p. 16)

The controversial tax policies of Trump had him in a position to reduce the fuzz around it, as well as the impact of the low taxes he paid during the first two years of his presidency.

"I paid millions of dollars in taxes, millions of dollars of income tax." (Trump, 2020 p. 21)

"go to the Board of Elections. There's 118 page or so report that says everything I have, every bank I have, I'm totally under leveraged because the assets are extremely good, and I built a great company." (Trump, 2020 p. 21)

"I got it done. And you know what happened?... Our economy boomed like it's never boomed before." (Trump, 2020 p. 24)

After removing the racial insensitivity training, Trump has received criticism and was accused of raising racial sensitivity. Trump moves to defend his decision and convince the audience of the reasons behind it.

"they were teaching people to hate our country. And I'm not going to do that. I'm not going to allow that to happen… They were

teaching people that our country is a horrible place. It's a racist place. And they were teaching people to hate our country. And I'm not going to allow that to happen" (Trump, 2020 p. 33)

A major problem that faced Trump in the debate is his position of climate change crisis, choosing not to agree with scientists and leaving the Paris Accord of Green House Gas Emission. Trump showed the audience that he puts the US economy above all matters. Moreover, he throws responsibility on other nations like China, to ease the burden from the shoulders of his government.

"But I haven't destroyed our businesses. Our businesses aren't put out of commission. If you look at the Paris Accord, it was a disaster from our standpoint." (Trump, 2020 p. 43)

"China sends up real dirt into the air. Russia does. India does. They all do." (Trump, 2020 p. 48)

2.6.1.3. Negative Other-representation for Biden and Trump in the corpus:

The ideological square model includes a second part, where the sides of the discourse use negative other-representation. Meaning each side refers to the other as inferior, indicating his negatives and diluting his positives. The speaker uses this strategy to lower the stand point of the opponent; thus, having higher ground in the debate.

Emphasizing out-groups' bad things:

The first step of building up the negatives of the opposing side is highlighting the bad things about them. This is especially present in the debate at hand.

Trump:

Trump had emphasized the negatives of Joe extensively all across the corpus. Hence, the aggression was evident in all sections of the debate. Donald claims that the numbers his rival gives are of no real basis. Moreover, he argues that Biden wants to rip off private healthcare:

"Joe, the hundred million people is totally wrong. I don't know where you got that number. The bigger problem that you have is that you're going to extinguish 180 million people with their private healthcare that they're very happy with." (Trump, 2020, p.3)

Also, Donald has not hesitated to point out the fact that Joe was late to call for the shutdown of the boarders, thus he would have caused far more damage:

"If we would've listened to you, the country would have been left wide open, millions of people would have died, not 200,000." (Trump, 2020, p.11)

Not only does Trump emphasize the lack of management skills in Biden, but he also accuses him of being unable to keep up to his standards, neither in the past nor in present:

"But I'll tell you, Joe, you could never have done the job that we did. You don't have it in your blood. You could've never done that, Joe." (Trump, 2020, p.12)

The fact that Biden wants to be conservative in the matter of opening back the country has given Trump the opportunity to build a possible threat to the economy of the United States that would keep the people away from standing with Joe:

"He wants to close down the… He will shut it down again. He will destroy this country." (Trump, 2020, p.19)

The policy of the democrats that is all about keeping the country closed was also exploited by Trump to be in his favor. Donald used the statement of a democratic governor to show his opponent, not only as selfish and not caring to the people, but also as manipulative and bending covid-19 pandemic into their favor:

"One of them came out last week, you saw that, "Oh, we're going to open up on November 9th." Why November 9th? Because it's after the election. They think they're hurting us by keeping them closed. They're hurting people." (Trump, 2020, p.19)

The subject of economy took most of the time and energy from both sides. Trump continued to brag about how good of a job he did, but he also made major lines showing how bad the field was managed during the term of Obama as president and Joe as his vice president:

"miracle to bring back manufacturing. I brought back 700,000 jobs. They brought back nothing. They gave up on manufacturing." (Trump, 2020, p.25)

It was clear that Trump was planning on attacking Biden for racism ever since the subject was brought up, one of the first things to do for Donald was to bring an old statement of Biden's:

"You did a crime bill, 1994, where you called them super-predators. African-Americans are super-predators and they've never forgotten it. They've never forgotten it." (Trump, 2020, p.31)

After accusing Biden of racism, he has also accused him and Obama of dividing the nation during their term:

"During the Obama-Biden Administration, there was tremendous division. There was hatred." (Trump, 2020, p.34)

Biden:

Same as his rival, Biden didn't fall back on emphasizing the negative of points Donald. In fact, on many occasions, Biden has given more criticism to Donald than the other way around. As expected, the vice president was not reluctant to start his attack on Trump. First negative to be highlighted was when the subject of Supreme Court was brought up. Biden connected the Supreme Court to people's health, as it may be the best way to win them over. He accused Trump of depriving people health insurance which would win him millions of supporters:

"He's in the Supreme Court right now trying to get rid of the Affordable Care Act, which will strip 20 million people from having health insurance now" (Biden, 2020, p.2)

Biden related Healthcare to women's rights and freedom and came up with his claim that Donald was planning to strike down Roe V. Wade. This means that women will not have the right to abort anymore. This, in the United States, is something women have long demanded and would not be open to give up.

"The point is that the President also is opposed to Roe V. Wade. That's on the ballot as well and the court, in the court, and so that's also at stake right now." (Biden, 2020, p.4)

Besides, Donald was furiously accused of being a liar, but more controversially stupid. Biden used a former quote that trump said sarcastically to show the president as unworthy, in other words, idiotic:

"I'm not here to call out his lies. Everybody knows he's a liar." (Biden, 2020, p.7)

"This is the same man who told you … by Easter, this would be gone away. By the warm weather, it'd be gone. Miraculous, like a miracle. And by the way, maybe you could inject some bleach in your arm, and that would take care of it." (Biden, 2020, p.13)

The Trump administration had also been accused of neglecting and causing small businesses to go bankrupt. It was also accused of passing tax cuts that gave immense privileges to Trump and the billionaire class in general.

"They've done nothing to help small businesses. Nothing. They're closing. One in six is now gone." (Biden, 2020, p.20)

"the tax code that put him in a position that he pays less tax than on the money a school teacher makes is because of him" (Biden, 2020, p.22)

Moreover, the racism clash in the United States has been witnessing an oddly aggressive period, this in consequence, was used against trump, since it happened under his watch. Trump was accused of using violence against peaceful protests, as well as marginalizing the African-American community during the pandemic:

"when Mr. Floyd was killed, there was a peaceful protest in front of the White House. What did he do? He came out of his bunker, had the military use tear gas on them so he could walk across to a church and hold up a Bible." (Biden, 2020, p.31)

"one in 1000 African Americans has been killed because of the coronavirus. And if he doesn't do something quickly, by the end of the year, one in 500 will have been killed" (Biden, 2020, p.31)

Hence, Trump was called to be racist, in addition to looking down on people of other races, religions, and social classes:

"They look down their nose on people like Irish Catholics, like me, and grew up in Scranton. They look down on people who don't have money. They look down on people who are of a different faith." (Biden, 2020, p.34)

When it comes to foreign affairs and character, Donald was referred to as " putin's puppy". And finally concluded to be careless of climate change and ignorant of its consequences:

"He's Putin's puppy. He still refuses to even say anything to Putin about the bounty on the heads of American soldiers." (Biden, 2020, p.41)

"This is a guy who says that you don't have to have mileage standards for automobiles that exist now." (Biden, 2020, p.45)

De-emphasizing out-groups' good things:

The second part of building up the negatives of the rivaling side is downgrading the positive things about them. This has in fact taken a major portion of the debate as well:

Trump:

When Biden offered a plan that would give both socialist and private healthcare a common ground, Trump denied his plans saying that it contradicts with the beliefs of the Democratic Party and Biden's previous statements. Trump even denies Biden's dominance over his group:

"That's not what you've said and it's not what your party is saying." (Trump, 2020, p.3)

"Not according to Harris" (Trump, 2020, p.3)

Same as the previous, when Biden offered a second plan to deal with Covid-19, Trump pulled a card to remind him of his failure with the swine flu. Biden answered that the lives lost where not nearly this much, but Donald knew the difference in the situations:

"you didn't do very well in Swine Flu. H1-N1, you were a disaster. Your own Chief of Staff said you were a disaster." (Trump, 2020, p.12)

"A far less lethal disease, by the way." (Trump, 2020, p.12)

Also, Biden demonstrated how careful he was with his rallies and presidential gatherings, mainly to avoid spreading the Coronavirus. Trump knew well how to respond, taking the small number of the attendees to his favor to claim that his opponent has very little support:

"Well, it's true. Nobody shows up to his rallies." (Trump, 2020, p.18)

Trump de-emphasized the positive side of Biden when he talked about ending the Tax cuts for billionaires and investing in people that need help. Donald questioned Joe's intention by asking him why he had not done in the past years:

"why didn't you do it over the last 25 years?" (Trump, 2020, p.22)

The Obama Biden administration inherited an economy suffering depression. Biden talked about they were able to make a recovery. Trump on the other hand diluted the achievement saying that it is the slowest recovery in almost a century.

"They had the slowest economic recovery since 1929. It was the slowest recovery. Also, they took over something that was down here. All you had to do is turn on the lights and you pick up a lot." (Trump, 2020, p.24)

Besides, when talking about racism and violence, Biden mentioned how good his party deals with the problem, yet Trump didn't hesitate to point at the spies in crime the democrat states had:

"The places we had trouble were Democratic-run cities. . ." (Trump, 2020, p.35)

Moreover, the vice president mentioned how good him and his allies are dealing with the violence following Mr. Floyd's death, but the president told that the democrats didn't move a muscle to get the killers of a young man unlike his administration that interfered quickly:

"I sent in the US Marshals. . .get the killer of a young man in the middle of the street, they shot him. For three days Portland didn't do anything." (Trump, 2020, p.37)

Dealing with climate change, Joe again comes up with what he calls the Biden Plan that is based on green energy efficient buildings. Trump takes the light away from the plan and sheds light on its negatives, saying how expensive and detrimental it is.

"He's talking about the Green New Deal. And it's not 2 billion or 20 billion, as you said. It's 100 trillion dollars… Where they want to rip down buildings. . . And rebuild the building." (Trump, 2020, p. 46)

Biden:

Wallace, the moderator, had asked Trump if he had come up with a plan to deal with healthcare. Following that, Trump had offered what his ideas are about the topic. Though his ideas were not as organized as his opponents, they did slightly make sense. Despite that, Joe brought it all back to null as he denied any work or improvement from Donald in the field:

"He has not done healthcare" (Biden, 2020, p.6)

Although Biden was late to call for the closing of the United States and hesitant to open it back, he accused Donald for closing the economy and not providing the necessary tools to open back up. He also used his classic move of relating the negative of his opponent back to the people and the consequences it had on them:

> "We didn't shut down the economy. This is his economy he shut down. The reason it's shut down is because, look, you folks at home. How many of you got up this morning and had an empty chair at the kitchen table because someone died of COVID?" (Biden, 2020, p.12)

Trump was witty enough to come back from the previous claim as he demonstrates the fast recovery his economy is going through. However, this didn't stop Biden from pointing to the fact that the recovery is only made for the billionaire business owners and not for the working class. Joe didn't miss the opportunity to take advantage of the unemployment rates that had a massive spike during the pandemic:

> "The difference is millionaires and billionaires like him in the middle of the COVID crisis have done very well…you folks living in Scranton and Claymont and all the small towns and working class towns in America, how well are you doing?" (Biden, 2020, p.20)

"that he's going to be the first president of the United States to leave office, having fewer jobs in his administration than when he became president." (Biden, 2020, p.20)

Moreover, the two candidates had an extensive talk about economy that also covered manufacturing. Although Trump had pointed out to the fact that he could bring back a number of manufacturing jobs, Joe finds it to be not nearly enough if not worst that it was before. Joe points to the deals Trump had made, which created massive deficit with China and Mexico:

"Yeah, because what he did, even before COVID, manufacturing went in the hole. Manufacturing went in a hole" (Biden, 2020, p.25)

"you take a look at what he's actually done. He's done very little… He talks about the art of the deal…We have a higher deficit with China now than we did before. We have the highest trade deficit…with Mexico." (Biden, 2020, p.25)

Trump had always suffered with the Issue of racism and Biden hit hard in the spot. Despite trump trying to show his efforts to calm the situation after the tragic murder of Mr. Floyd by law enforcement, Biden used evidentiality to accuse trump of bending the situation to his favor.

He doesn't want to calm things down. Instead of going in and talking to people and saying, "Let's get everybody together. Figure out how to deal with this." What's he do? He just pours gasoline in the fire. Constantly. At every single solitary time." (Biden, 2020, p.38)

2.6.2. Ideological Square through Lexicon:

In the first presidential debate of 2020 between Joe Biden and Donald Trump, both sides have employed a set of lexicon to address themselves positively and the other negatively. Over 20,000 words were exchanged, from which we extract the following terms used by Trump and biden:

Positive self-representation for Trump	Negative other representation for Trump
➢ Fantastic	➢ Afraid
➢ good	➢ Disaster
➢ Greatest	➢ Disgrace
➢ Outstanding	➢ Hunter
➢ Phenomenal	➢ radical

|	
➢ Stupid bastard	
➢ Super-predator	
➢ Violent	

Table 02: Positive and negative representation terms used by Trump

Donald used more negative lexis to diminish his opponent that the words he used to polish his figure and represent himself positively.

Positive self-representation for Biden	Negative other representation for Biden
Lucky	➢ Bad apples
Equity	➢ Clown
Equality	➢ Disastrous
Decency	➢ Disgrace
Honest	➢ Failure
Transparency	➢ liar
	➢ Racist
	➢ Ridiculous

Table 03: Positive and negative representation terms used by Biden

Similarly, Donald used more other-negative representation lexis than self-positive representation.

2.7. The Form Level:

2.7.1 Format (Schemata):

On the first page of the corpus, from "Good evening…" to "Vice President Biden…", the host Chris Wallace, first introduces the setting of the debate as well as the safety protocols taken to ensure the health and safety of both the candidates and the people. Chris also explained how the debate is going to proceed, including time frames and segments.

Following the opening, the first segment was introduced by Chris, dealing with the topic of the Supreme Court. Trump and his party have nominated Amy Coney Barrette to succeed the late Ruth Bader Ginsburg on the court. Biden and his party, on the other hand, objected the decision and considered it as an abuse of power. Both candidates are asked to defend their position starting with Trump for 2 minutes.

From "gentlemen…" (p.1) to "they understand…" (p.10), Trump defends his position as an elected president with full power. Joseph then moves to deny Donald's claims and delivers his accusations. Donald then denies them and continues to insist of his point while accusing Joe back. The quarrel continues with accusations from both sides, mostly about different health care acts.

From "all right" (p.10) to "yes" (p.19), Chris initiated the second segment concerning the Covid-19 public health crisis. Wallace asked about their policies towards the problem. Biden initiated the debate on the matter by blaming Trump for the casualties and having no plan moving forward. Trump denies the statement of his opposition and exemplifies what he did good with positive testaments from the democratic party, governors and scientist. After a back and forth blaming, the two sides discuss their plans for the future and thoughts about masks and other safety measures. Trump shows support to his style and criticizes the other, and Biden does the same. Wallace then asks then to end discussion as they move to the third segment.

From "the economy is" (p.19) to "that's a good point" (p.30), the third segment starts. Accordingly, Wallace brought up the subject of economy and questioned them about its status after the lockdown and the shape of recovery it is witnessing. Trump suggests that the US economy is recovering upwards, in a V-shape, while Biden argues that its going in a K-shape, meaning the rich are recovering fast while the poor are not. Trump is then questioned about his income taxes and tax returns. Donald defends himself and once more the accusations are exchanged. Chris then asks the two candidates about the Tax policies they will be using. Vice president Biden says he will be reducing taxes for the common, while increasing them from the rich. Trump on the other hand believes in his free market approach and lowering taxes. As the tension increased, Trump accused Joe's son of taking illegal money. In return, Biden did the same for Donald's family. The situation got heated and so Chris intervened to end the segment.

From "we have six segments" (p.29) to "they'll overthrow you" (p.39), Wallace initiates the fourth segment about racial issues. Biden was first to respond, throwing accusations to Trump for being racist and defending the Klu Klux Klan. He also addressed the Trump organization for neglecting the African-American community. Trump responds to Joe by reminding him that he has previously called the African-Americans super predators. He also exemplifies democratic ran cities that suffer more racial problems than the republican ran ones.

Donald also brags about the support he has from law and order reinforcement organizations and agencies. Biden on the other hand systematically avoids law and order and drifts towards justice. The two sides continue to quarrel one condemning the white supremacists, while Trump puts the blame on the left radicals like Antifa.

From "I'm going to ask a question" (p.40) to "the Radical Green New Deal" (p.49), the fifth segments starts and tackles the issue of climate change. Trump answers to Chris first by partially agreeing to the science of global warming and climate change. He defends his practices towards the matter, including leaving various accords like the Paris Climate Change Accord. He also puts the blame of the fires in the west of the country on the poor management of forests. Biden on the other hand criticizes all the work done by the Trump administration concerning the matter saying "everything is falling apart". Accordingly, Biden put forth a 20 billion plan to boots renewable energy and fight pollution, the latter was also heavily criticized by Donald for lack of efficiency. Segment concludes with trump defending the US economy over climate change and throwing more responsibilities on other nations like china.

From "Alright Gentelmen" (p.49) to "Good night" (p.55), for the final segment, Wallace asked a question to both candidates about the integrity and transitivity of the election. Biden goes first, urging the people to vote through whatever means possible and available to them. Trump on the opposite side points to possible fraudulent activity concerning the ballots. Donald complains about thousands of lost ballots carrying his name, mostly military. Wallace tries to keep the debate under control as the argument heats up. Biden denies the claims of Donald and emphasizes his request to the people to vote. Trump finally requests his people to keep watch over the ballot and poll count. Wallace then struggles to close the debate, inviting the people to watch the next once between the vice president nominees. Chris thanks the audience and participants and wishes them a good night.

2.7.2. Syntax:

Throughout this debate, the nominees have employed several syntactic structures that are meant to serve a set of purposes. The use of flexible syntax serves not only as a rhetorical factor for embellishment but also to demonstrate mastery of language and political discourse as well as to provide for a means of persuasion.

The first syntax structure in the analysis is the cleft vs. non-cleft sentences. A cleft sentence is a structure in which a piece of information is isolated in a separate relative clause to further emphasize its importance (Nordquist, 2019). This faculty of shifting focus was used by Trump and Biden to emphasize their own goods and highlight the others' negatives.

In this respect, Donald Trump has used some cleft sentences to emphasize his opponent's negative points and his own positives. The following are illustrations for Trump's use of cleft sentences to highlight Biden's bad things:

- He is trying to accuse Biden of trying to go socialist and eradicate private healthcare:"The bigger problem that you have is that you are going to extinguish 180 million people with their private healthcare, that they are really happy with" (Trump, 2020 p. 3)
- He explains how bad was the economy managed during the Obama and Biden administration "All you had to do is turn on the lights and you pick up a lot. But they had the slowest economic recovery since 1929" (Trump, 2020 p. 24)
- He points out the high crime rates in democratic run cities: "The numbers are going up a 100, 150, 200 percent, uh, crime, it is crazy what's going on" (Trump, 2020 p. 25)

Donald also used some cleft sentences to emphasize the positives of himself and his in-group, the republicans. The sentences below are major illustrations of this case:

- He stresses the positive change that he has made on all levels: "It was a radical revolution that was taking place in our military, our schools, all over the place" (Trump, 2020 p. 33)
- He shows his self-confidence and how much he believes in his supporters "What you do is you go and vote" (Trump, 2020 p. 52)

Biden on the other hand has put even more cleft sentences to use across the corpus. Same as his opponent, Joseph has tried to emphasize the strengths of himself and his group as well as shed light on the weaknesses of the other. The following are examples of Biden attempting to shift focus to the negatives of the opponent:

- To raise awareness of the side effect of Trumps decision of striking down the affordable care act: "The deal is that it is going to wipe out pre-existing conditions" (Biden, 2020, p.4)

- To control women's minds through pointing to the freedom of abortion act that Trump was planning to take down: "The point is that the president also is opposed to Roe V. Wade." (Biden, 2020, p.4)

- attacked the integrity of all the statements of Donald and questioned every fact, word or gesture Trump does: "The fact is that everything he is saying so far is simply a lie" (Biden, 2020, p.7)

- accuses his rival of trying to take away people's right to health insurance, despite their pre-existing conditions: "That's what he wants to do, take it away" (Biden, 2020, p.8)

Not only healthcare and women's rights were the areas of accusation, Joe also accused Donald of trying to divide and break the togetherness of the American people. Joe put the blame of Trump for the racism growing in the United States.

- "All he ever wants to do is divide people, not unite people at all" (Biden, 2020, p.31)

- "This is a president who has used everything as a dog whistle to try to generate racist hatred, racist division" (Biden, 2020, p.31)

In addition, Joseph has made use of cleft sentences to bring attention to his positives and the strength of his in-group:

- The vice president announces himself as the savior and the man with the plan of salvation. Joe declares he has a plan for healthcare, not only to maintain it, but also to expand its coverage: "What I proposed is that we expand Obamacare and we increase it" (Biden, 2020, p.3)

- Unlike his rival who has questioned the opinions of scientists, the vice president has supported the findings of science and the statements of scientists and their advice: "What we trust is a scientist" (Biden, 2020, p.12)

- Joseph shows great sympathy for the people affected most by the pandemic, especially after losing their jobs and having their financial life shook: "The people who have lost their jobs are those people who have been on the frontlines" (Biden, 2020, p.20)

- The vice president has defended his socially liberal ideology. He maintained his position of supporting the American people and making all his effort about them: "You, the American people, it's about you. That's what we are talking about here" (Biden, 2020, p.29)

The second syntactic structure in the analysis is passive voice sentences. In this structure, the discursive participants shift focus from the subject of the sentence to the object of the action. In other words, light is shed not on who does something, but on what was done to something (Beare, 2019). This style is used to focus on the exact negative or positive point intended. Thus, President Trump has used a considerable amount of passive voice sentences, trying to impose his positives against the negatives of the vice president. The following are illustrations of the instances where Trump has used the passive voice to highlight Biden's negatives:

- Trump highlights the selfishness of Biden and his intentions behind the arguments he gave: "the problem is they didn't have the election so they were stopped" (Trump, 2020 p. 2)

- He also accuses Obama's administration of abusing power and being unfair: "the hotel on Pennsylvania Avenue. Which by the way, was given to me by the Obama Administration, if you can believe that. Now, the man got fired right after that happened" (Trump, 2020 p.22)

- Donald decided to end RST and pointed out how racist and disrespectful it was: "of people were complaining that they were asked to do things that were absolutely insane" (Trump, 2020 p.33)

- Focusing on the effects of racism and violence in democratic ran cities: "53 people were shot and eight died" (Trump, 2020 p. 35)

- He also shed light on the corruption that runs in the Biden family: "why was he given tens of millions of dollars?" (Trump, 2020 p.42)

- Donald also point to the mistreatment of democratic run cities towards his supporters during the vote:"They're called poll watchers, a very safe, very nice thing. They were thrown out. They weren't allowed to watch." (Trump, 2020 p. 54)

This example is made to show Trump's use of passive voice to add value and bring his positives to the table:

- Here, trump shows his ability to handle the fires and the consequences of climate change: "we would put out that fire in a half an hour. But they won't do it, because they're run by radical left Democrats." (Trump, 2020 p. 32)

Similarly, his rival has used passive voice sentences to emphasize his positives and his opponent's negatives. Bellow are instances where Biden used this structure to emphasize the president's negatives:

- Highlighting tax violations made by the president and abuse of power: "the year you were elected president, and 2017, your first year as president, that you paid $750 a year in federal income tax" (Biden, 2020, p. 21)
- Explaining the effects of Trumps Tax policies: "just take a look at what is the analysis done by Wall Street firms" (Biden, 2020, p. 23)
- To show the consequences of Trumps acts on black community: "when Floyd was killed" (Biden, 2020, p. 31)

The sentences below are passive voice structures used by Biden to bring up his positive points:

- To praise his plans and show their flexibility: "And under my proposal, we're going to make sure that every penny of that has to be made by a company-" (Biden, 2020 p. 23)
- To show that he belongs to the people and knows how they feel and what they need: "I was raised in the suburbs" (Biden, 2020 p. 35)
- To emphasize that he has support as well as the clean record of himself and his family: "That was totally discredited… by everybody. Well, by the media, by our allies." (Biden, 2020 p. 42)

2.7.3. Rhetorical Structures:

Political discourse is made mainly to convince and manipulate the mind of others. One of the most important tools of achieving persuasion is the use of rhetorical structures. A politician is someone who has rhetorical mastery. The two candidates at hand manifested their mastery though the use of different skills. Hence, Rhetorical structures can be further divided into two categories. The first category concerns forms while the second involves meanings. We have selected to analyze repetitions in the forms category and different elements of cohesion for the category of meanings (Van Dijk, 2006).

2.7.3.1. Forms:

To show the polarization of Us/Them in the debate, we calculated the repetition of the personal pronouns, objective pronouns and possessive adjectives for the in-group and the out-group; summarized in the tables below:

word	Frequency for Trump	Frequency for Biden
I	191	101
we	124	100
me	39	11
us	9	8
our	29	5
total	392	225

Table 04: Frequency of In-group Polarization Words

word	Frequency for Trump	Frequency for Biden
you	286	109
they	138	59
him	13	17
them	22	19
you	28	21
his	7	34
their	14	11
total	508	270

Table 05: Frequency of Out-group Polarization Words

Other types of repetition found in the debate, is when the two candidates use an utterance for a number of times on a row. This aims at emphasizing the importance of the idea being discussed. For example, Trump used the following repetition as part of his rhetorical style:

- "Top, top academic, good in every way"
- "we won the election… we won the election…we won the election"
- Trump pointed to his opponent also interrupting the flow of the debate saying: "he does plenty …he does plenty"

- Trump Pointed to the racist acts of Biden saying: "super predators… super predators…super predators… super predators"

Biden on the other hand has also used repetition to further augment his rhetorical style:

- "I am the democratic party… I am the democratic party"
- Biden shows that violence is unacceptable repeating: "never appropriate… never appropriate… never appropriate"
- Biden also accusing trump of being racist by frequently stating: "look down…look down… look down... look down"
- "Should be prosecuted… should be prosecuted…should be prosecuted"
- Biding encouraging people to vote by insisting and repeating: "vote, vote, vote… vote…vote…vote…vote… vote "

2.7.3.2. Meanings:

The second category of meanings includes several elements. Trump and Biden have used considerable amount of figurative language. The first rhetorical meaning structure is that of comparison. Both the opponents employed this figure, either positively or negatively as in the examples below:

"Insulin, it was destroying families, destroying people, the cost. I'm getting it for so cheap , it's like water" (Trump, 2020 p. 6) (positive self-representation)

"Pennsylvania, Michigan, and a couple of others, you got to open these states up. It's not fair. You are talking about its like being in prison" (Trump, 2020, p.19) (negative other representation)

"by the warm weather, it would be gone miraculous, like a miracle" (Biden 2020 p. 13) (negative other representation).

Also, the use of metaphors, personifications, irony and hyperbole was seen all along the debate. The following are some illustrations:

"It was driving energy prices through the sky" (Trump, 2020 p. 44) (metaphor)

"When a bat hits you over the head" (Trump, 2020 p. 40) (metaphor)

"Very sick ideas" (Trump, 2020 p. 33) (personification)

"Beautiful clean air" (Trump, 2020 p. 43) (personification)

"Insurance companies are going to love this" (Biden, 2020 p. 2) (personification)

"What is peaceful protest? When they run through the middle of the town and burn down your stores and kill people all over the place" (trump, 2020 p. 32) (irony)

"Trump: because I want to give them healthcare … Biden: good healthcare" (Biden, p 2020. 5) (irony)

"California's burning" (Trump, 2020 p. 44) (hyperbole)

"Shut down the whole country" (Trump, 2020 p. 16) (hyperbole)

In addition to the figures of speech, the nominees have also used metonymy and meronymy, as shown in the following examples:

"Clown" in the following example refers to Trump: "it's hard to get any word in with this clown" (Biden, 2020 p.38) (Metonymy)

"The left" I this sentence represents radical democrats: "he just lost the left" (Trump, 2020 p. 8) (Metonymy)

"The justice" in this expression refers to Amy Barrette: "… and the justice I'm not opposed to the justice, she seems like a very fine person." (Biden, 2020 p. 2) (Metonymy)

Trump has used the meronymy of "professor" being part of a "school" and has also used one for the "judge" being part of the "court":

"Three great supreme court judges" (Trump, 2020, p. 40) (Meronymy)

"He's been a professor for a long time at a great school" (Trump, 2020, p. 2) (Meronymy)

2.8. Action Level:

This part of the analysis deals with the speech acts used by the president Trump and the vice president Biden. The first lectures given by Austin (1962), which were later published under the title "*how to do things with words*", made the foundation of the major Speech Acts Theories. Austin (1962) believes that people do not utter words for the sake of description only, but rather to do things. Yule (1996) asserted that people use utterances not merely for the purpose of speaking. Instead, they use questions, commands, promises, denial, accusations … etc, equipped with the intention and force to impact the behavior of the listener. Searle (1999) classified the illocutionary acts into five different forces, namely, the representative, directive, commissive, expressive and declarative force (Basra & Thoyyibah, 2017).

Trump:

To an extent, Trump made use of different speech acts for intended purposes. Trump employed reported speeches to provide the needed evidentiality, which in turn strengthens his position and arguments and weaken that of his opponent:

> "Justice Ginsburg said very powerfully, very strongly, at some point 10 years ago or so, she said a President and the Senate is elected for a period of time, but a President is elected for four years. We're not elected for three years. I'm not elected for three years. So we have the Senate, we have a President" (trump, 2020 p.3) (report)

"They said the problem is, no matter how well you run Obamacare, it's a disaster. It's too expensive. Premiums are too high, that it doesn't work. So we do want to get rid of it. Chris, we want to get rid of that and give something that's cheaper and better." (Trump, 2020 p. 9) (report)

"Dr. Fauci said, "President Trump saved thousands of lives."" (Trump, 2020 p. 12) (report)

In addition, the president had to deny several claims made by his rival in an attempt to defend and de-emphasize his negatives. Other types of denials where made to refuse admitting the accomplishments of the vice president Biden:

> "Joe, the hundred million people is totally wrong. I don't know where you got that number. The bigger problem that you have is that you're going to extinguish 180 million people with their private health care, that they're very happy with." (Trump, 2020 p. 3) (denial)

"You don't know what's on the ballot. Why is it on the ballot? Why is it on the ballot? It's not on the ballot. " (Trump, 2020 p. 4) (denial)

"I don't think she said that" (Trump, p 2020. 38) (denial)

"I never said that at all." (Trump, 2020 p. 47) (denial)

"You're wrong. You're wrong. I love counting the votes" (Trump, p. 52) (denial)

Moreover, accusations were highly used by Trump to underline the negatives of the other nominee, as well as question his intentions:

"Joe, you've had 308,000 military people dying because you couldn't provide them proper healthcare in the military. So don't tell me about this." (Trump, 2020 p. 4) (accusation)

"But you agree. Joe, you're the liar. You graduated last in your class not first in your class" (Trump, 2020 p. 7) (accusation)

"Well, you didn't do very well in Swine Flu. H1-N1, you were a disaster. Your own Chief of Staff said you were a disaster." (Trump, 2020 p. 12) (accusation)

"I brought back 700,000 jobs. They brought back nothing. They gave up on manufacturing." (Trump, 2020 p. 25) (accusation)

Furthermore, the president used questions as means to draw out what Biden has tried to hide; his negatives and failures dealing with certain issues:

"Listen, who is on your list, Joe? Who's on your list?" (Trump, p. 10) (question)

"Why didn't you do it before, when you were Vice-President with Obama?" (Trump, 2020 p. 23) (question)

Although Trump made very little promises that denote having a future plan, the ones he gave were directly related to the safety of the American people:

"I got rid of it. And we will protect people." (Trump, 2020 p. 5) (promise)

"I'm willing to do anything. I want to see peace." (Trump, 2020 p. 39) (promise)

However, Donald didn't have second thoughts to show his beliefs, even when many would find them questionable or odd:

"I think it's a party issue." (Trump, 2020 p. 35) (belief)

"Antifa is a dangerous radical group" (Trump, 2020 p. 40) (belief)

"I believe that we have to do everything we can to have immaculate air, immaculate water, and do whatever else we can that's good." (Trump, 2020 p. 44) (belief)

Biden:

On the other side of the equation, Biden had also used several speech acts. The frequency in which they were employed was much higher than his competition. Joe has used reports to state how Donald's own in-group stood against him many times. He had also used them to call for the testimonies of experts to diminish the president by presenting him to the people as the ignorant:

"he said, "It is what it is." Well, it is what it is because you are who you are. That's why it is." (Biden, 2020 p. 11) (report)

"He said he didn't tell us or give people a warning of it because he didn't want to panic the American people. You don't panic. He panicked." (Biden, 2020 p. 11) (report)

> "A reporter came up to him to ask him a question, he said, "No, no, no. Stand back, put on your mask, put on a mask. Have you been tested? I'm way far away from those other people." That's what he said, "I'm going to be okay." He's not worried about you. He's not worried about the people out there" (Biden, 2020 p.18) (report)

"He said, "There were very fine people on both sides." No president's ever said anything like that." (Biden, 2020 p. 30) (report)

"his own former spokesperson said, you know, "Riots and chaos and violence help his cause."" (Biden, 2020 p. 37) (report)

The strengths of Biden may have been seen clearly during the debate, but that was no objection for him to deny the several clashes fired his way by Trump:

"That's simply not true." (Biden, 2020 p. 3) (denial)

"That is simply a lie." (Biden, 2020 p. 3) (denial)

"He has not done healthcare." (Biden, 2020 p. 6) (denial)

A counter attack was needed by Biden so, once his opponent came in furiously, Biden had no choice but to match and exceed his aggression:

"he wants to get rid of the Affordable Care Act. He's been running on that, he ran on that and he's been governing on that." (Biden, 2020 p. 2) (accusation)

"Because here's the deal, here's the deal. The fact is that everything he's saying so far is simply a lie. I'm not here to call out his lies. Everybody knows he's a liar." (Biden, 2020 p.7) (accusation)

"I'll tell you what, he is not for any help for people needing healthcare."(Biden, 2020 p.8) (accusation)

"He has no plan for healthcare." (Biden, 2020, p. 9) (accusation)

"You can't fix the economy until you fix the COVID crisis. And he has no intention of doing anything about making it better for you all at home in terms of your health and your safety." (Biden, 2020, p. 20) (accusation)

> "he wants to make sure that methane's not a problem. We can, you, you can now emit more methane without it being a problem. Methane. This is a guy who says that you don't have to have mileage standards for automobiles that exist now." (Biden, 2020, p. 45) (accusation)

Moreover, the debate witnessed heated conversations most often. Thus, Biden used questions and requests in a manner that one can argue to be disrespectful. Biden intended to show trump as a clown, ignorant and childish as may be seen below:

> "How many of you got up this morning and had an empty chair at the kitchen table because someone died of COVID? How many of you are in a situation where you lost your mom or dad and you couldn't even speak to them, you had a nurse holding a phone up so you could in fact say goodbye?" (Biden, 2020, p. 12) (question)

"you folks living in Scranton and Claymont and all the small towns and working class towns in America, how well are you doing? This guy paid a total of $750 in taxes." (Biden, 2020, p. 20) (question)

"Donald would you just be quiet for a minute." (Biden, 2020, p. 4) (request)

"Will you shut up, man?" (Biden, 2020, p. 10) (request)

"Will he just shush for a minute?" (Biden, 2020, p. 15) (request)

The charisma and strength of personality shown by the vice president were boosted one step further due to his use of command and order:

"Let me finish." (Biden, 2020, p. 4) (command)

"Oh, give me a break." (Biden, 2020, p. 15) (command)

"Show us your tax returns." (Biden, 2020, p. 21) (command)

Furthermore, the vice president came as the man of the hour. Joe promises the audience plans to fix social, medical, economical, environmental and military issues:

"were saying that Biden wanted to allow people to have private insurance still. They can. They do. They will under my proposal." (Biden, 2020, p. 3) (promise)

"he does take advantage of the tax code. That's why I'm going to eliminate the Trump tax cuts. And I'm going to eliminate those tax cuts." (Biden, 2020, p. 22) (promise)

"I will do, I will rejoin the Paris Accord." (Biden, 2020, p. 45) (promise)

"I will accept it, and he will too. You know why? Because once the winner is declared after all the ballots are counted, all the votes are counted, that'll be the end of it." (Biden, 2020, p. 55) (promise)

Noticeably, the clash of beliefs was not only from the side of the president. The vice president Biden had also demonstrated how strongly he believes in his ideologies towards the matters of interest, as well as his attitude towards his own in-group and the republicans, the out-group:

"I'm happy to talk about this." (Biden, 2020, p. 4) (attitude)

"This is so un-Presidential." (Biden, 2020, p. 10) (attitude)

"Yes, there is. There's systemic injustice in this country, in education and work and in law enforcement and the way in which it's enforced." (Biden, 2020, p. 32) (belief)

""We make up 15% of the world's problem. We in fact, but the rest of the world, we've got to get them to come along. That's why we have to get back into, back into the Paris Accord." (Biden, 2020, p. 47) (belief)

Section Three: Conclusions, Limitation and Suggestions for Further Research

2.9. Results and conclusions:

The result of the election is the best evidence of the quality of the Van Dijk model and how effective it is for identifying the strategies of speakers as well as their strengths and weaknesses. The successful application of Van Dijk Model (2006) came out with the following results:

- Both Trump and Biden used limited positive self-representation and a considerable amount of negative other-representation.
- The debate features clear polarization of "Us" Vs. "Them"
- The nominees used repetition, figures of speech and elements of cohesion to emphasize their good things and others' bad things.
- The ideologies of the candidate manifested, either explicitly or implicitly throughout the debate.
- Speech acts were employed as a strategy that put Biden high over Trump.
- The Van Dijk Model (2006) does fit the analysis of the corpus chosen.
- Finally, the assumptions of our study came to be valid and the questions are also successfully answered

To conclude we would like to point that American politics is far more complex to be covered in a single study, thus calling for much more research.

2.10. Limitations of the Study:

The present investigation is limited to the transcript of the first 2020 presidential debate, thus non-verbal communication is excluded from the analysis. in addition, the contribution of the moderator and the audience were not taken into consideration, as we focused mainly on the two nominees.

2.11. Suggestions for Further Research:

Despite the fact that the present research had made an ideological analysis of the 2020 first presidential debate between Donald Trump and Joe Biden, many areas remain to be explored. Hence, we have come to suggest some aspects worthy of investigation. The sociological side surrounding the debate is yet to be looked at. Additionally, the psychological clash between the rivals is till untapped to, nor is the psychological and sociological effect it had on the audience. Further investigation could also be conducted on the second debate between the nominees as well as the inaugural speech that followed the election, either using Van Dijk Mode (2006) or other alternatives. This debate may be looked at from more angles and more debates remain to be dissected.

General Conclusion:

This is a humble investigation using Van Dijk's Model (2006). We used the framework provided by Van Dijk to look into the first encounter between Trump and Biden (2020). Accordingly, the study unraveled many strategies and discursive techniques used by the participants. The model included four levels, each digging in a certain angle, ending up with a more wholesome picture of what happened in the debate. Context and ideologies were first looked at then followed by the meaning level. The following stages of the analysis tackled the form and action levels.

The first thing the study has uncovered was the ideologies enciphered in the discourse. The capitalist business man, Trump, had showed his belief in the art of deal, putting economy on top of most his arguments and defending private business over any type of government interference. Additionally, the republican side of Trump although was not mentioned explicitly yet we could identify it through his constant accusations made towards the democrats, and

bragging about the accomplishments of the republican states and government. Biden on the other hand had explicitly and powerfully stated his belonging and dominance over the Democratic Party. His social liberalism was also clear and evident from the initiation of the debate. Accordingly, his defense for the American people and desire to bring them together highlighted his notion of togetherness and social unity.

The second part of the analysis looked extensively at the meaning level through the use of the ideological square model of Van Dijk (2006). The six topics brought up by the moderator were taken advantage of by the two candidates, mainly to praise the self and diminish the other. The ideological square framework figured out that Trump and Biden had both used positive self-representation and negative-other representation. However, the strategy that was intensively used, is that of negative other representation. Both attempted to highlight the flaws of the opponent, as the debate was more of an ideological clash that an illustration of presidential plans. Lexicon was another lens for the framework. The president and the vice president made minimal use of positive lexis to polish the in-group and fierce use of negative lexicon to wound the image of the out-group.

Besides, the form level of the investigation magnified some of the syntactic structures utilized. Cleft sentences were employed by both participants with obvious advantage for Joe Biden. The structures emphasized aspects favored for the "US" and unfavorable for the opponent. The passive voice structure witnessed reversed advantage, this time for trump. As both structures shift focus from one part of the sentence to the other, it is evident that the nominees have different techniques. Mastery of language was further reflected in the use of rhetorical structures. Statistical count for the repetition of personal pronouns, objective pronouns and possessive adjectives demonstrated the polarization of the "Us" versus "Them". Another form of repetition had been integrated in the speech of the two debaters to emphasize and insist, usually serving for denial, disclaimers and other rhetorical purposes. Figures of speech; comparison, metaphor, personification, irony and hyperbole in addition to some elements of cohesion; metonymy and meronymy, were color to the arguments and statements of the rivals. The use of rhetorical structure was swinging well in the side of Donald unlike the syntactic structures.

The last level of the analysis was concerned with speech acts. The illocutionary acts made significant difference in the outcome of the debate. The investigation went through several

categories of speech acts including representatives, directives, commissives and expressives. The results came with flying colors in favor of Biden. The difference was clear and added bonus points for the vice president in a long series of heated conversations.

Since it is evident that the vice president made better use of his strategies, the results of the study favor Biden over Trump to come up victorious in the election. The arguments used by Biden in positive self-representation and other-negative representation were away from accusations that lack backing evidence and evidently of higher quality. The efficiency of the Biden strategy introduced him as the visionary, the man with the plan. Trump on the other hand was stressed to be the least sympathizing and caring side. Moreover, he was made the ignorant, irresponsible and the blindfolded. The strategies of Trump may have been not thought through enough; otherwise his opponent drew out the impact of political experience.

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Appendix 01: Description of the Corpus

Due to the length of the Debate and the delimiting of the research paper size, we have chosen to include a description rather that the whole corpus. The following are the main traits and source of the corpus:

Title:	The first presidential debate between Donald Trump and Joseph Biden (2020) (Transcript)
Place:	the Health Education Campus of Case Western Reserve University and the Cleveland Clinic, Ohio
Time	the encounter took place on evening of the 29th of September, 2020
Participants	the republican Donald john trump and democrat Joseph Robinette Biden Jr.
Source	The Commission on Presidential Debates
Pages	55 pages.
Words	It consists of 20 086 words

Table 06: Description of the Corpus

Abstract in French (Résumé)

Les élections présidentielles américaines de 2020 ont donné lieu à deux débats entre les candidats, à savoir Donald Trump et Joseph Biden. Cette étude est une analyse critique du discours, utilisant le modèle de Van Dijk (2006), du premier débat entre les parties opposées. Cette enquête vise à découvrir les idéologies et les croyances ancrées dans le corpus et les stratégies utilisées par les candidats, en se concentrant sur l'auto-représentation positive et la représentation négative des autres. En conséquence, nous tentons de mettre en évidence la polarisation et l'utilisation de "Nous" comme groupe d'appartenance contre "Eux" comme groupe d'exclusion. L'étude est donc basée sur des méthodes mixtes afin de mener une analyse fiable et de parvenir à des conclusions valides. Ainsi, la méthode qualitative nous a permis d'identifier les stratégies idéologiques employées, tandis que la méthode quantitative nous a aidé à illustrer statistiquement la polarisation. Par conséquent, nous sommes arrivés aux résultats que le modèle de Van Dijk (2006) correspond bien à l'analyse du corpus. En outre, les locuteurs ont utilisé les stratégies discursives trouvées dans le modèle mis en œuvre, principalement l'autoreprésentation positive et l'autre-représentation négative. De plus, d'autres stratégies ont été trouvées telles que des structures syntaxiques et rhétoriques ainsi que des actes de parole. Il est important de noter que les résultats ont montré que Biden a utilisé avec succès les stratégies susmentionnées plus que l'atout. Ainsi, il démontre sa dominance et son pouvoir.

Mots-clés: Analyse critique du discours, idéologie, le modèle de Van Dijk (2006), Donald Trump, Joe Biden, les élections américaines 2020

Agzul

Tifranin n tselwit n tmurt n Marikan n useggas 2020, glant-d s sin n yiskasiyen i d-yellan gar Donald Trump akked Joseph Biden. Γef waya, tazrawt-nneγ d tasleḍ tazγant n yinaw, s useqdec n tarrayt n Van Djik(2006), i uskasi amenzu i d-yellan gar snat n tamiwin-a tinemgalin. Tasastant-a iswi-s d asukkes n tesnaktayin yeffren daxel n usagem-nneγ d tarrayin yettwasqedcen sγur sin n yisertanen-a, aya s tririt n lwelha γer tgensas timanin tihawin d tgensas tibawin n wiyaḍ. Akken ad nessaweḍ γer tigzi n useqdec n «Nekkni» s wudem n unagraw n utekki mgal «Nutni» s wudem n unagraw n tukksa d ustixer. Tazrawt-a ihi, tettekka γef tarrayin i imyekcamen, aya akken ad nessiweḍ γer tesleḍt iwatan ara d-yefken igemmaḍ i iseḥḥan. Aseqdec n tarrayt tasmaktant iɛawen-aγ deg usnekwu n tsuddest n tesnakta yettusqedcen deg usagem. Γef waya i nessaweḍ γer ugemmuḍdakken tarrayt n Van Djik(2006) tedda akken iwata akked tesleḍt n usagem-nneγ. Acku, imsawalen sqedcen tarrayin tinawin yellan deg tarrayt-a i neḍfer, ladγa; tigensest timant tihawt akked d tgensest n Wayeḍ tihawt. Akken daγen nufa tarrayin-nniḍen am tγessa alγasnayt akked d kra n tigawin n tmeslayr. Ayen uγur yessefk ad nerr lwelha dakken d Biden i yessawḍen ad yesseqdec ugar tarrayin-a, i yessawḍen daγen ad d-yemmel tazmert-is tazmert-is deg useddu n uskasi.

Awalen igejdanen: Tasleḍt tazγant n yinaw, tasnakta, Van Djik(2006),Donald Trump, Joseph Biden, tifranin n teslwit n Marikan n 2020.